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NEW SERIES.

I.

THE
HISTORY OF HUMAYUN
(FIUMAYUN-NAMA).

GUL-BADAN BEGAM (PRINCESS ROSE-BODY).

*Translated, with Introduction, notes, glosses and
biographical Appendix; and verified in the Persian
from the only known . of the British Museum*

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE, M.R.A.S.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE
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1902.

Do
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 Hariri* 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 Musalman, 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 *izafats* 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 nishin*.

The Biographical Appendix, which I have modelled in admiration of Professor Blochmann's in his *Aln-i-akbarl*, 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 un-failing 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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[To face p. xiii.]

INTRODUCTION.

PART I.

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCESS AND HER FAMILY,¹

SECTION I.—UNDEB BABAR.

GTUL-BADAN BEGAM (Princess Bose-body) was a daughter of Zjahu-d-dm Muhammad Babar, in whom were united the lines of highest Central Asian aristocracy—namely, that of Tlmur the Turk, through his son Miran-shah ; and that of Chingiz the Mughal, through his son Chaghatai. He was born on February 14th, 1488, and succeeded to his father's principality of Farghana 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 Afghanistan, where he captured Kabul from its Arghun usurpers.

Princess Gul-badan was born somewhere about 1523 and when her father had been lord in Kabul for nineteen years; he was master also in Kunduz and Badakhshan; had held Bajaur and Swat since 1519, and Qandahar for a year. During ten of those nineteen years he had been styled *padshah*, in token of headship of the house of Tlmur and of

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 Babar'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 Kabul but personal and inherited.

Babar 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 Turk! sovereign in Hindustan, and the founder of its mis-called Mughal dynasty.

If the princess had first seen light in London instead of in Kabul, 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 Timurid and Turk. She spent her childhood under her father's rule in Kabul and Hindustan; her girlhood and young wifehood shared the fall and exile of Humayun; and her maturity and failing years slipped past under the protection of Akbar.

Her mother was Dil-dar 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 Maham, the wife of Babar's affection and the mother of his heir; and with Gul-rukh, the mother of Kamran and 'Askarl. 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. Babar frequently mentions Maham, and calls her by this **name** *tout court*. Dil-dar's name occurs in the Turk! version of the Memoirs, but not in the Persian, and she is there styled *aghacha*—

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 Timurids had been Babar's wives in childhood and youth. These were: 'Ayisha, who left him before 1504 and who was betrothed to him when he was five; Zainab, who died in 1506 or 1507 ; and Ma'suma, whom he married in 1507 and who died at the birth of her first child. Maham was married in Khurasan, and, therefore in 1506; Dil-dar 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 Yusufzai chief brought him his daughter, Bibi Mubarika, 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-dar. She bore five children, three girls and two boys. The eldest was born in an absence of Babar from Kabul 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 Abu'n-nasir Muhammad, the Hindal 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 Agra, 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 Kabul in November, 1525, for the rallying-place at Jacob's Village (*Dih-i-ydqub*). 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 view-point 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 Kabul 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.

Babar left few fighting men in Kabul, but there remained a great company of women and children, all under the nominal command and charge of Prince Kamran, who was himself a child. His exact age I am not able to set down, for Babar does not chronicle his birth, an omission which appears due to its falling in one of the gaps of the Memoirs. Babar left the city on November 17th, and was joined on December 3rd by Humayun at the Garden of Fidelity (*Bdgh-i-wafa*). 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 Badakhshan. He had now brought over his army to reinforce his father, and it may well be that Maham had something to do with his delayed march from Kabul. She could have seen him only at long intervals since she had accompanied Babar, 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 Kabul, for three times before the middle of December, 1525, Babar 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 Babar 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 Kabul who took more than news, for Babar had found manuscripts in the captured fort of Milwat, and now sent some for Kamran, 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 *Tdrikh-i-rasMdi*, and the very stuff of the *Tuzuk* was in the living and making.

On February 26th Humayun created news which would be as welcome to Maham as it was to Babar, for he was successful in his first expedition on active service. This occurred at Hisar-firoza, and the town and district were given to him with a sum of money. News of the victory was despatched to Kabul from Shahabad ; and immediately after Babar'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 Humayun's beard.' Babar made an entry in June, 1504, of the same act accomplished for himself. It was one which Turks celebrated by festivity. The entry quoted above is made as though by Babar, but it is followed by an explanation that it is inserted by Humayun in pious imitation of his father's own. Humayun did this in 1553-4, shortly before he set out to recover his father's lost domains in Hindustan. The date is fixed by his statement that he made the interpolation when he was forty-six.¹

Humayun's little victory would be dwarfed by the next news of the royal army, for April 12th, 1526, brought the battle of Panipat and the overthrow of Ibrahim *Lodi Afghan*, the Emperor of Hindustan. The swiftest of runners would carry these tidings to Kabul in something under a month. On May 11th Babar 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

¹ There is a point of great interest about this note of Humayun 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 TurkI text of the Memoirs (*Boyal 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 Humayun's interpolation.

Arabia and 'Iraq. Kabul 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 amir who escorted the precious caravan. He was Babar's friend, Khwaja Kilan, who had extorted & 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 Turk! women from the outside world as came to be the rule in Hindustan. 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 Hindu 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 Kabul. Certainly Gul-badan will have seen them dance, and she will also have enjoyed the joke played off by Babar from Agra on an old dependent called 'Asas (night-guard).

¹ I remember a Muhammadan gentleman astonishing me by a story of a Musalmani 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 Babar gave expression to religious feeling and performed due devotional ceremonies. He had desired Khwaja Kilan 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 Kabul as Babar 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 Hindustan. His constitution was assuredly not suited to its climate. His men hated it; his closest friend had left it; Humayun and other intimates were soon to follow the khwaja on leave; but he resisted all influences, even when he had become so homesick that he wept at sight of fruit from Kabul. 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. Babar 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 Kabul, she was adopted by Maham Begam to rear and educate. Maham was the chief lady of the royal household and mother of Babar's eldest

son; she was supreme, and had well-defined rights over other inmates. Perhaps this position justified her in taking from Dil-dar two of her children, Hindal and Gul-badan, as she did in 1519 and 1525. Before 1519 Maham had lost four children younger than Humayun; 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 Babar (it is said she was to him what 'Ayisha was to Muhammad), 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 Babar, adoptions were made by a childless wife of high degree from a slave or servant, but no such reason seems behind those from Dil-dar. 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 Babar was away from Kabul on the expedition which gave him Bajaur and Swat, and which brought into the royal household Bibi Mubarika *Yusufzai*. On January 25th he received a letter from Maham, who was in Kabul, about a topic which had been discussed earlier between them—namely, the adoption by her of a child of which Dil-dar expected the birth. Now she repeated her wishes and, moreover, asked Babar 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 Maham 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 Babar wrote, giving over the child to Maham and communicating the prophecy. On March 4th a boy was born, to whom

was given the name of Abu'n-nasir with the sobriquet of Hindal by which he is known in history and which is perhaps to be read as meaning 'of the dynasty of Hind.'¹ Three days after birth he was taken, whether she would or no, from Dil-dar to be made over to Maham.

It is clear that Dil-dar 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-dar, as a widow, lived with Hindal, and she had back Gul-badan while the latter was still a young and unmarried girl.

Babar was separated from his family for over three years after he left Kabul 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 Kabul. On August 2nd, 1526, Maham gave birth to a son who was named Faruq, but he too died in babyhood and his father never saw him. In December, 1526, there occurred to Babar what must have roused anger and dread in all Kabul, for he was poisoned by the mother of Ibrahim

¹ The account of the adoption of Hindal 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 1519. The correct statement is that several had been borne by Maham younger than Huinayiin. The Turk! text of Kehr and Ilminsky has a longer account, with curious details which may have been omitted on revision of the Memoirs by Babar 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 Turki 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 Turk! 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.

Lodi Afghan. How Babar 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 Babar had called the 'ill-fated demon,' mother, and had shown her kindness, a sectional view which leaves out the Afghan mourner, Buw'a 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 Babar's officers—and then placed in the custody of a trusty man for conveyance to Kabul. 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 Babar. 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, Haidar Mirza *Bughlat*, frequently express religious sentiment; and here Babar 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 days¹ 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 Kabul? 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 Humayun and Khwaja Kilan, 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 Kabul 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 Hindu Rajputs under Bana Sanga, and at Khanwa, on the skirts of the yet uncrowned hill of Sikri. It was preluded by dread amongst the Musalmans, 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 Musalmans went into the fight and made great slaughter of valiant foes.

The victory was followed by change in the personnel of Babar's army, which had long been wearying for home and murmuring against Hindustan. This was especially so amongst Humayxin's Badakhshls, who were accustomed to short service of one or two months, and it was now almost sixteen since they had left even Kabul. 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 amirs had given 'stupid and unformed opinions' against remaining in Hindustan at all, and down to the humblest followers these views had found acceptance. As has been said, nothing would persuade Babar's closest friend to stay with him, although before his final decision

been composed in Turki, they have been preserved in Turki in the Persian translation. This may be an act of pious deference. The Memoirs were certainly altogether in Turki, 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 Kabul 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 Rajput defeat the time came for the promised leave, but there is no mention in the Memoirs of a general exodus. Humayun went with his Badakhshis, and also, as he seemed 'uncomfortable,' Mahdi¹ Khwaja, Khanzada'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 Kabul. He, however, left his son Ja far in his government of Etawa, and returned to India himself in 1528.

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

¹ There are difficulties in tracing the descent of this man, which are discussed in the Appendix. Cf. Index, a.n. Muhammad Mahdl.

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 Babar, and had been allowed to keep the great diamond which the Bani of Guallar had given him as the price of family honour and which, there is good ground to believe, is the *Koh-i-nur*. 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 Humayun 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. Babar was extremely hurt by his unexpected conduct and reproached him severely. There was enough now known of Humayun's character to awaken doubt of his fitness to rule, and to need all his father's great affection to veil and forgive. From Dihll he returned to Badakhshan, and is next heard of in the autumn of 1528, when he announced the birth of his first-born son, Al-aman. Al-aman was the child of that Bega (*Haji*) Begam of whom the histories all speak, when in 1539 she is captured by Shir Shah at Chausa.

Together with the news of Al-aman's birth came that of a marriage of Kamran with a daughter of Sultan 'Ali *Begchik*. Babar sent congratulatory gifts to both sons in response; and he has included his covering letter to Humayun 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 Humayun's complaints of the remoteness of Badakhshan, and tells him that no bondage is like the bondage of kings, and that it ill becomes him to complain. It attacks Humayun'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 Kamran have a coming interest; Babar 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 Kamran's power to show favour to Humayun. Humayun is also desired to make friends with Khwaja Kilan and with Sultan Wais of Kulab. He failed with the khwaja, who on Babar's death joined the worthy and correct Kamran. Humayun kept on better terms with Sultan "Wais (*Qibchaq Mughal*), and at a later date owed much to his daughter, the inimitable Haram (Khurram), who stands up in history bold, capable, haughty, and altogether strongly outlined.

Something must now be set down about Babar's third adult son, who was a younger full-brother of Kamran and is known in history by his sobriquet of 'Askari, which indicates a camp as his birthplace. Neither his birth nor Kamran'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 Panlpat, when he is classed with Hindal, 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 Multan, 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. Humayun had gone to Badakhshan at eleven; Babar 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' Askarl: 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 Kamran's shadow, and displayed a loyalty to mofcher-blood which was natural under the difficulty of being loyal to Humayun, but which made him a Tlmurid foe to his house, who initiated nothing and walked always in the bad path marked out for him by the 'worthy and correct' Kamran.

Coming back from this excursion into the future, to the simple topic of Babar'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 Hindal, and consisted of a jewelled inkstand, a stool inlaid with mother-of-pearl, a short robe of Babar'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 Hindustan. 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 Babar's wish to see his own people again; but it is clear that the enforced *levee 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 Tlmurids, and there was conflict of aims and palpable friction. It may well be that Kamran'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 Khwaja Kilan 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. Babar replied to the khwaja 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 khwaja'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 Hindustan, and, having resolved on making Kabul and all the neighbouring countries and districts part of the imperial domain, I have written fully on the subject to Humayun and Kamran. . . . 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-ab (Indus); so that, whatever impediments there may be to their leaving Kabul, they must, at all events, start out within a week after this arrives; for as a detachment has left Hindustan 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 Kabul? Not men ! The fighting chiefs were almost all in India; even Mahdl had rejoined the army before the date of this letter. Babar's word 'sisters' is a guiding light, and it does not altogether exclude the influence of the men who, though in Hindustan, were in touch with Kabul and its friction and intrigues. First of sisters was Khanzada, 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 Babar's safety. She was now the wife of a man, Mahdi Khwaja, who, if the story told of him by the author of the *Tabaqat* is true even in gist, was such as to suggest him as a possible successor of Babar to the powerful and sensible Khalifa. There was, since her husband was with Babar and all great ladies had been left in Kabul, Shahr-banu, Khanzada's half-sister, wife of Khalifa's brother, Junaid *Barias*, and mother of a son. There was also, it is probable, another of 'Umar Shaikh's daughters, Yadgar.¹

Besides Babar's sisters *de facto*, there were others of courtesy. Such was Sulaiman's mother, whose anxieties for his future were, however, about to find happy end by his reinstatement in 1530 in his hereditary government of Badakhshan. There were the families of three men of Timurid birth, grandsons of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqrđ*,

¹ Of the two others who are the complement in girls of his family, it is safe to say that they were absent. Mihr-banu was the apparently contented wife of an Uzbek Sultan, and Euqaiya, who, like Mihr-banu, had been spoil of battle and an Uzbek wife, was recently dead. Babar 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,—Muhammad Sultan Mirza, **the** arch-rebel of the future; Qasim Husain Sultan Mirza, **son** of an Uzbek father; and Muhammad-zaman Mirza, son of Husain's son, Badi'u-z-zaman. There were in Kabul the people of Yadgar-nasir also, Babar'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 Kabul; they do not include the many others furnished by Babar's personal circle, and by his numerous and influential aunts.

Two Timurid ladies, Fakhr-jahan and Khadija, both paternal aunts of the Emperor, had gone to Hindustan so early as November, 1527. With whom they went or why they went is not recorded. The first was the wife of a Tirmizi 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 Babar 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 Babar on November 23rd, and by him conducted in a lucky hour to their assigned palace¹ in Agra.

Fakhr-jahan and Khadija stayed eleven months, and were bidden good-bye before their return journey to Kabul 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

¹ Headers who are interested in the Turki 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 Hindustan, on his elder kinswomen. On the 17th three sisters of Fakhr-jahan and Khadija arrived in the suburbs and were welcomed. From all these Babar could hear the news and gossip of Kabul, and thus add to the impressions which led to his order for the begams to join him in India.

Ap[ro]pos of the aunts of frequent mention, it may be said that both Babar and Haidar 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 *Tuzuh* and the *Tarikh* indicate distinct deference to women of an elder generation.

A good deal about the exodus of the ladies can be gleaned from Babar 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 khwaja and from the fact that Maham started in January, 1529. Babar heard on March 22nd that all had really left Kabul, which news, taken with the arrival of the main cavalcade three months after her, suggests that Maham 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 Babar. Most of the journey would be made by horse-litter, and some perhaps by palki with bearers. Men frequently dropped down the Kabul 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 Babar's companions had done. Probably the road taken was that by But-khak (Dust of Idols) and Jagdalik, and by Jalalabad

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 Faruq, 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 Shirak (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, Babar 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 amir convoyed to the Chanab. 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-safd*), near Pind-dadan Khan, and this is the last such entry. Maham reached Agra on June 27th, and Babar 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 Turki 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 Bukhara 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 Humayun's time.

There were pleasant days after the coming to Agra, when Babar took Maham, and the child also, to see his works at Dholpur and Sikri. 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 Agra 'ugly and detestable' and 'repulsive and disgusting,' words which do not now link well with that Agra 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 Taj, with no Sikundra near and with Sikri uncrowned.

Dholpur and Sikri 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 *baba* invariably. At Sikri, amongst other buildings, was that in which she says he used to sit and write his book, *i.e.*, the *Tuzuk*. There, too, the great battle which had been fought in 1527 will not have been ignored to ears so sympathetic as Maham's. Perhaps here the little girl first learnt dimly what it was to be a Ghazi, 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 Khanzada 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 gentle 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.

Babar 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. Babar 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 Babar's recent failure in health; and springing from his power **was**, perhaps the dominant factor of his objection to leave,—a

disposition to supplant Humayun in the succession by a ruler of less doubtful character.

The fate of Badakhshan was decided by its bestowal on its hereditary chief, Sttlaiman Mirza, *Miran-shdhi*, now a boy of sixteen, while Humayun's youthful *locum tenens* was ordered to come to India. Humayun betook himself to the idle enjoyments of his *jagir* of Sambhal, and was there, in a few months, attacked by illness which threatened life and which led to the remarkable episode of Babar'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 Babar.

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 Babar'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. Humayun was restored and Babar died,—a return from the gate of death and an entry there which might have occurred without Babar'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-chihra; the amirs were addressed; Humayun was counselled and named to the succession. Babar 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 Humayun is of great interest. It is written of by Nizamu-d-din Ahmad, in the *Tabaqat*, who had the story he retails from his father, Muqim, an old retainer of the Court. Abu'l-fazl repeats the main statement, which is that Khalifa had had

thoughts of superseding Humayun by Muhammad Mahdi Khwaja, the husband of Khanzada Begam.¹

A few of the many points involved in Nizamu-d-dln's story find fitting entry here. Babar 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 Humayun; he wished him to leave when he came unasked; he had 'Askari in the full dignity of a commander near him; as he lay dying, he was fretfully anxious for Hindal's coming; he and Khalifa were friends of many years' testing; both knew the faults of Humayun; if Khalifa had planned to set the latter aside, it is likely that the thought was not altogether absent from the mind of Babar; it is not credible that Khalifa should have regarded a supersession as practicable, if he had no acquaintance with the Emperor's doubts as to Humayun, and without knowing that these were shared by others than his master and himself, for the nomination would be made by Babar and to his chiefs.

Muhammad Mahdi Khwaja 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 Babar 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 Babar 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 Muhammad Mahdi at a date which falls in one of the gaps of his book.²

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

¹ Neither of the sources thus describes Mahdi, but a somewhat full consideration of the several Mahdls of the time allows no other than the husband of Khanzada to be understood by the name Mahdi Khwaja of the two sources. Cf. Appendix, s.n. Muhammad MahdL

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 Dihll and Agra were not the centre or the desired heart of Babar's. He wanted Farghana and Samarqand 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 Dihll, 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 Sultiinam in 1587, 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 Humayin'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 Sultanam was with the royal household, and made her pilgrimage shortly after the exodus to Sind.

ruined Humayun, or have taken from him the lands most coveted by Babar. All Babar's plans and orders were such as to keep Humayun beyond the Hindu-kush, and to take him across the Oxus. The dislike of the royal army to Hindustan 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 Humayun's life in Sambhal that he would readily succumb.

Kabul was made an imperial domain by Babar's written command to both elder sons, and his own words leave one in doubt as to his further intentions about it. To whom Hindustan would have been given if Humayun had obeyed orders and had held fast in Badakhshan, there is nothing to show, but weight is due to the gist of the story of the supersession. Kamran declared that Kabul was given to his mother Gul-rukh, and Humayun gave it in fief to Kamran at his accession. There is mist over the scene from which only the accomplished facts emerge. Humayun came to India; he was Miiham's son; she was there; Khalifa let Mahdl fall; Humayun's personal charm reasserted itself over Babar's anger, and he became Emperor of Hindustan 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; Humayun'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 Best at Agra. Sikri furnished a part of the endowment for its readers and reciters, and Maham sent them food twice daily from her own estate. The tomb was put under

the guardianship of a man whom our begam calls Khwaja Muhammad 'All 'asas (night-guard), and who may be he that' nevqr killed a sparrow,' and may be Maham's brother. If so, he will be heard of again under other and widely different circumstances in 1547. As is well known, Babar's body was conveyed to Kabul, and there laid to rest in the spot chosen by himself.

SECTION II.—UNDER HUMAYUN.

In Babar's history the man holds the interest and lifts the eyes over his shortcomings to his excellence. No character demanding admiration attracts interest to Humayun, 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 Karenine 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 Hindustan 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 Timurids were defeated in 1539-40, and driven from Agra and Dihll and Lahdr, there was no refuge open to all. Their head, Humayun, 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 Babar and Humayun; 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 Humayun and of his years of exile will give our required framework. He became Emperor in December, 1530. In the next year Kamran took possession of Lahor and the Panjab, in addition to his grant of Kabul, and he was allowed to remain in possession of these wide and potential lands. In 1533 there were rebellions of the 'mirzas.' By 1535 Gujrat had been overrun, and in 1537 was lost. Years of indifference fostered the growth of Shir Shah *Afghan's* power, and there were campaigns against him in Bengal, which began well and ended ill. There was growing indignation against Humayun's character and private life, and this culminated in the attempt to set him aside for Hindal 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 Tlmurids to Lahdr, and their exodus from the lands that had been theirs east of the Indus.

Maham was spared the worst of these misfortunes; she died before Hindal'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 Hindal's rebellion and the

home conference about it, and about the murder in his name, but not by his act, of Humayun's favourite, Shaikh Bahlul. 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. Hindal 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 Humayun's army perishing in that sink of fever and corruption, and Humayun buried within its walls. There was no ruler in Hindustan; Shir Shah was between Humayun and the capital. The 'mirzas' were lifting up their heads again, and a chief was needed. Hindal was perhaps always the best of Babar's sons in character, and certainly so when Humayun had become the changeling of opium. He had the Friday prayer (*khutba*) read in his own name; and on his behalf, Nuru-d-din Muhammad, a son-in-law of Babar and grandson of Sultan Husain *Bayqra*, murdered Shaikh Bahlul. 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 Hindal's rebellion stirred Humayun 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 Tiirki troops by sword or river. Here Ma'suma was widowed, and here a terrible blank was made in the royal household by the loss of several women. Bega's (Haji Begam) capture is known to all the histories, and so, too, is her return to Humayun. Shir Shah 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 Humayun's amirs 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 'Ayisha *Bayqra*, the wife of Qasini Husain Sultan Mirza. The next name in our begam's list takes us far back. It is that of Bachaka, a head-woman servant (*khalifa*), 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 'Aqiqa of six years old. Two of Humayun's wives of low degree also disappeared.

When Humayun 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 'Aqiqa. 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. Humayun told her he did not recognise her at first, because when he went away with the army (1537) she wore the *taq*, and now wears the *lachak*. The *taq* 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 Khwaja Khan, *Chaghatai Mughal*, and of the line of the Great Khans. His father was Aiman Khwaja, and his mother a cousin of Haidar Mirza *Dughlat*. One ancestor was that Yunas 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 Yasln (Hasan or Ais)-daulat, the Fair Sultan, became the husband of Kamran's Habiba. He had two other brothers in India, namely, Mahdl and Mas'ud. Their father and one at least of them came from Kashghar to Agra just after the death of Babar.

Shortly after this interview Humayun took the field against Shir Shah, and Kamran, deserting his post, left Agra and led off his 12,000 troopers towards Lahor. 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 Humayun'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 Kamran'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, Yasln-daulat and Mahdl, and perhaps the third, Mas'ud, he desired to have Khizr 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 Kamran's strong force, she was spared a terrible journey which her mother and the rest of the royal party made under care of Hindal, 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 Agra ; but, says Haidar, 'we made no tarry; broken and dispirited, in a state heart-rending to tell, we went on to Labor.' Their road took them to Sikri, of which the memories and witness to Babar's genius for living must have rubbed salt into the wounds of their spirit. Many ladies had remained in Agra, and Humayun spoke to Hindal of the difficulty of getting them safe to Lahdr, and confessed that he had often regretted not killing 'Aqiqa with his own hand. Hindal combated the suggestion, born of defeat, that a mother and sisters should be killed, and himself fought his way through country folk and Afghans, and convoyed them safe to Lahor.

Here was a mighty gathering of Timurids 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 Kamran and made him object to every course proposed. He wished to make terms for himself with the daily approaching victor, and to keep Lahdr and the Pan jab; but if this could not be, he meant to hold fast to Kabul and keep Humayun out of it. The fief of Kabul had been granted to him by Humayun; Humayun therefore could resume it. That he would now do so was Kamran's expectation; so, when Humayun proposed to go to Badakhshan, Kamran would not hear of it, because the road thither lay through Kabul, and once in that beloved city, it was highly improbable that Humayun would move further.

On October 30th, 1540, something decisive had to be done, for Shir Shah had crossed the Biah and might appear at any hour. 'It was like the Day of Besurrection,' 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 Lahdr in flight on that day; an overtax of all resources of transport.

Happily for the fugitives, the Bavi was fordable, but the Chanab required boats and the Jehlam was in flood. Many episodes unfolded themselves in the *dudb* of the Ravi and Chanab. Haidar Mirza took his departure for Kashmir, hoping to secure in it a royal retreat; Hindal and Yadgar-nasir deserted and went south for Multan; Humayun was urged to put further mischief out of Kamran's power by his death; he refused,—a refusal which would be upheld in the *haram*, ever faithful to the injunctions of Babar, and knowing these better than the real risks caused by Kamran's disloyalty. Penetrating everything was the irritation aroused by Kamran's opposition to the royal march for Kabul,—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 Babar and Humayun, but none more dramatic than that in which the latter's flight through the Panjab ended. A little west of the Jhelam, at Khushab, the road runs through a ravine of an outlying spur of the Salt Range. Beyond this it forks, north-west for Kabul and south-west for Sind. Kamran asserted his intention to enter the defile first, perhaps with the object of closing the Kabul road. Humayun insisted on his right to take precedence, and blows threatened between their followers. Mediation was made by Abu'l-baqa, the man who had led Babar to offer himself for his son in 1530. He directed Humayun's attention to the superior force of Kamran, and he told Kamran that it was the right of Humayun to take precedence. In the end Humayun 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 Kamran and 'Askari or Humayun.

With the Kabul 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 Kabul, must have had some bitter feelings about their destiny. I believe Gul-badan went with Kamran. She does not say so, but it comes out with tolerable clearness incidentally. Her mother, Dil-dar, had gone with Hindal to Multan, and with her was Hamlda-banu, Akbar's mother to be. Khanzada seems to have gone with Humayun, for her niece mentions her later as an ambassador from him in Sind to Qandahar. No other writer speaks of this embassy, I think; but most tell of her other, made later from Kabul to Qandahar in the service of peace between Kamran 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 1548, 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 Klslk 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 'Hamlda-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 Qandahar with his auxiliary army.

In Kabul 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, Sa'adat-yar, 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 Kamran, 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 Qandahar to Kamran, came as a prisoner upon parole to Kabul and his mother's house. The movements of Humayiin were made known from Sind to Kabul with speed and completeness, and the news was acted on to Humayun's great detriment. There were domestic reasons why Shah Husain *Arghun* should not be well disposed to Humayun, 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; Babar had dispossessed the Arghuns from both Kabul and Qandahfir, and not only so, but had given in marriage to his foster-brother Qasim an Arghun girl, Mah-chuchak, daughter of Muqim Mirza. This was a great offence, because it was a misalliance in Arghun 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. Erskme, and to his pages readers may be safely referred for the sequel of my brief allusion to it.

When Qasim *kuka* died, Mah-chuchak married her cousin, Shah Husain, and she was with him during Humayun's miserable stay in Sind.

Another cause of friction lay in the presence of a former wife of Husain with Humayun's household. In 1524 Husain had allied himself with Khalifa'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, Nahid, the child of Qfisim and Mah-chuchak, married Khalifa's son, Muhibb-'ali. Husain and Gul-barg (Eose-leaf) did not get on well, and she left him after what Mir Ma'sum calls two years of wedded life. She then, says the same author, went to India with *Jannat-dshydni* (Humayun) '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 Humayun's household shortly after his accession. She was with him in Sind in 1541 onwards, and so, too, was Sultanam,¹ who was perhaps her mother, and both were unlikely to make the best of Shah Husain to Humayun.

In 1545 Kabul heard that Humayun was on his way back from Persia with the Shah's army behind him. A first result of this was to bring the little Akbar within reach of Khanzada and to her charge. All the histories tell of his wintry journey from Qandahar taken with Bakhshl-banu, the one being under three and the other about four. Their coming adds a touch of tenderness to the historic Khanzada, 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 Babar, and that he was like him altogether. Her first marriage with Shaibani had been made to save Babar 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-

¹ The presence of Sultanam here, and a royal permission allowed to her to go to Makka and take her daughter also, gives the impression that Khalifa 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 Mahdi no child; she adopted his sister Sultanam at the age of two, and reared her to become the wife of Hindal.

By March 21st Humayun was besieging Qandahar, and he then sent an envoy to Kabul, who would be a welcome guest as teller of the events since Humayun had left Quetta in 1543. This was Bairam Khan *Baharlu*, and with him went Bayazid *bryat*. Bairam saw Akbar, and could take back to Hamida news of his welfare; and also a number of princes who were kept in Kabul under Kamran's eye. These were Hindal, Yadgar-nasir, some of the 'mirzas,' Sulaiman, Haram and Ibrahim.

Bairam spent six weeks waiting till Kamran should choose his course now that he knew his brother was the stronger; and when he left the city, he was accompanied by Khanzada, charged to mollify Humayun and smooth the way for 'Askari when the latter should submit. She went into Qandahar, but her presence did not bring about the immediate surrender, and the weary siege carried on its burden of suffering. Many of the amirs of the defence began to slip away; the two Khizrs, *Hazara* and *Chaghatai*, dropped themselves over the wall. The first got away to the mountains with adventures which fit a Highland setting; the second sought Humayun and obtained forgiveness.

Qandahar was surrendered on September 3rd, and 'Askari and his amirs came out with swords hung round their

¹ The date of her return by Shah Isma'il to Babar in 1511 falls in one of the long gaps (eleven years) of the Memoirs. This covers also, it is probable, Babar's first association with Mahdi and the latter's marriage with Khanzada.

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 Kamran was in singular isolation in Kabul. He heard of the fall of Qandahar, of the move of the royal army for Kabul, of the death of the travel-worn Khanzada, and of the escape of some of his princely *detenus*. He was depressed and irritable. He sent troops out to meet Humayun, but there was no fighting, and he fled by way of Ghazni 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 Kabul. Hamida 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 Hamida, and made his way to her arms. Abu'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 Badakhshan. He sent word back to the governor of Kabul, Uncle Muhammad 'Ali, that he was to strangle Yiidgar-nasir, who had been tried and condemned to death for treachery. The khwaja declined the office. 'How should I kill the mirza, I who have never killed a sparrow?' This uncle (*taghai*) seems a mild man for his post. Another

executioner was found, and the mirza ' was relieved of the pains of existence.'

Humayun took 'Askarl with him as a precautionary measure. Of the ladies, Mah-chuchak went, and in attendance, Bibi Fatima, the chief armed woman of his *haram* and mother of Zuhra, whom Hamida's brother was to marry and murder. Near Khishm Humayun 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 Mah-chuchak 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 Kamran, reinforced by his father-in-law, Husain, hurried up and seized Kabul. Winter was at its depth on the passes, and the amirs 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 Kabul, where they found all their anticipations and dread justified. It does not seem right to stigmatize their leaving Humayun as traitorous; they had their own people to save, and this might be done by slight show of submission to Kamran. No one can consider Humayun a man who had claim to fidelity when the lives and honour of wives and children were in the balance. Indeed, to have left Kabul under the charge of Muhammad 'All 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 amirs was justified. On his northward march Kamran passed through Ghazni, where Zahld Beg was governor. He it was who when offered a Bengal appointment in 1538, had asked Humayun if he could not find another place to kill him in. He had not waited for a reply, but had left Bengal, and helped Hindal to rebel in Agra. Kamran now answered his question in Ghazni, and after this murder hurried off towards Kabul. 'It was

morning, and the Ka bulls were off their guard, and grass-cutters and water-carriers were going in and out as usual. Mirza Kamran went in with all these common people.' So speaks the princess. The gentle-hearted governor was at the *hamam*, and was brought before Kamran, 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. Humayun crossed the passes as soon as it was practicable, and sat down to take the city. When Kamran 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 Hindal let him pass the royal lines ; others that Haji Muhammad Khan *kuka* overtook him later (so destitute that he was being carried by a man), and that Kamran appealed to their milk-brotherhood and was allowed to go free. He then joined his hereditary foes, the Uzbegs.

In 1548 Humayun 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 Kabul on June 12th, and Hamlda bore him company with Akbar as far as Gul-bihar. As governor this time a soldier, and a man enraged against Kftmran, was left in charge of Kabul. The campaign culminated in the capture of Taliqan, which was made over on August 17th by Kamran, who was allowed to go to the refuge of all whose presence was undesired at home, Makka. Piety had no part in Kamran's intention to betake himself to the holy city, and when he had heard, with incredulous ears, that Humayun 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 Humayun, that he was received with kettle-drums, trumpets, tears and pardon. Certainly Humayun 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

it: ' When Kamran approached the Emperor, who was sitting in state in the pavilion of public audience, he took a whip from the girdle of Mu'nim Khan, 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 mirza 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. Kamran 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. Humayun, on resuming his seat, desired his brother to sit next to him on the left, the place of honour, adding kindly in Tiirkî, 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 Sulaiman), 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 Kamran, 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 ^f Askarfs 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 Sulaiman 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. Kamran received Kulab, where Haram Begam's father had

once ruled for Babar and Humayiin. He was now dead, and his son, Chakr' All, was left with Kamran 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 Kabul and Badakhshan? Kulab is a mere district of Badakhshan. How can I serve in it?' The bearer observed that he had heard Kamran was wise, and begged permission to remind him that the wonder was he had received anything at all. 'Askarl, too, was given a fief, and then, leaving them neighbours and at large, Humayiin went back to Kabul 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 Humayiin was peculiarly liable. One cause of it is more interesting than the common one of personal gain, because it is rooted in theological bias. Humayiln'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. Babar 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 Humayiin that the *riwaj* 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-daman (which is renowned for its *riwaj*); 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 Parza, 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 Uzbek 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 Uzbeks 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 Badakhshan at her disposal. She was a forceful person and had the go-between torn to pieces. Kamran was audacious, and his advances look the more so that Haram'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: ' Mirza Kamran wandered about the country with bad intentions.' In his course he surprised Humayun in the Qibchaq defile, and an engagement took place which was attended by great loss of life. It was witnessed by Kamran's wives and daughters from a commanding height. Bayazid mentions that the ladies wore turbans (*dastar-basti*) 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 Sultan Husain *Bayqra*. Shahr-banu, a daughter of Sultan Abu-sa'Id Mirza, was, with Husain's other wives, present at a battle between her husband and her brother, Mahmud Mirza. 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 Husain that he divorced her. Perhaps Kamran'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 Humayun was badly wounded. Gul-badan was able to hear the details of the misadventure, because Khizr Khwaja was with her brother and, it may be said, fighting against his own, Yasun-daulat. Khizr and Mir Sayyid Birkat *Tirmizi* 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 Babar's in that it was given through a covering turban and this was uninjured. The pain was great and caused faintness. Humayun 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 Kamran, who posted off with it to Kabul, showed it as evidence of death, and once more took possession of the unfortunate city.

Jauhar has quaint stories of the destitution in which Humayun now was, with his camp equipage lost and deprived of all necessities. 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 Haji Muhammad *kuka*. 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 *qibla* one of his followers, Sultan Muhammad *qarawal*, performed again for him the rite his father had observed, and expressed his willingness to die for him. Humayun spoke reassuring words and comforted his faithful sacrifice.

For nearly three months Kabul believed Humayun 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 Humayun should be dead. There was always a large following of powerful officers ready to join Kamran, and one cannot suppose their changes in allegiance mere folly and fickleness. But no courtly author has told Kamran's side of the whole matter, nor his view of his own position.

With Kabul 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 Kamran and by 'Askari. It has been said that on one occasion Kamran exposed him on the battlements of Kabul 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 Maham *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 Kamran to Khanzada, itself an act of surety and kindness. Again and again he fell into his uncle's hands when Kamran was exasperated by foiled attempts to keep Kabul, and yet he survived. Kamran had a son; it would have surprised no one to learn that, as complement to his effort to oust Humayun 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 Kamran'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 Kabul, 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-dar to the greatest of the ladies, Khanzada. In both these points there is something which, if better known, might mitigate the sweeping judgment usually passed upon Kamran as altogether wrong in all his doings.

Humayun spent some time in Ander-ab while his wound was healing and his army gathering, and here Haram comes again upon the scene. Where Sulaiman and Ibrahim were, is not quite clear, but it was to Haram a message went asking her for the army of Badakhshan. It was to Qome 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 Sulaiman and Ibrahim were already with Humayun, and that Haram despatched a supplementary force. The battle in which it was to engage was that important fight at Ushtur-gram which Humayun tried hard to prevent by previous mediation, and which was forced on by Kamran's chief officer, Qaracha Khan.

There was much previous discussion as to terms of peace, but Kamran and Qaracha would have nothing less than Kabul. A second embassy offered alliance of the 'unique pearl of the *khilafat*,' Akbar, with the mirza's 'dear daughter' (who may be 'Ayisha), and that Kabul should be theirs ; and suggested that Humayun and Kamran should join forces and again attack Hindustan. All came to nothing, because Qaracha cried, and enforced his cry, 'Our heads or Kabul.' 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 Humayun's camp. His father vowed charitable gifts for his restoration, and also that he would never part from him again.

A pleasant chance befell Humayun 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 Qibchaq defile. Many would be MSS. of the Persian poets; Babar knew these well and often quotes the Gulistan; and Humayun 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 Kamran is drawing to a close. He made a night attack, by which Hindal lost his life, on the royal forces on November 20th, 1551; sued for help in vain from Salim Shah, the Emperor of Hindustan; from Adam Ghakkar, and was surrendered by him to Humayun; was blinded by the insistence of the

amirs on August 17, 1558, and allowed to go to Makka. He was accompanied, as all the writers tell, by his Arghun wife Mah-chuchak, and by her equal in compassion, a servant of Humayun, Chilma Beg. He made the *haj* four times and he died on October 5th, 1557. Mah-chuchak 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 Kamran 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 Kabul 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 Humayun'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 Badakshan in 1551; he died between that city and Damascus in 1558. Both he and Kamran 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, Kamran.

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-banu to Ibrahim, son

of Haram. The BadakhshI trio had certainly deserved well of Humayun 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 Humayun had passed a short time of repose in Kabul after his victory of Ushtur-gram, he sent to Haram to ask Shahzada Khanam, 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 Khwaja Jalalu-d-dln Mahmud, mir *sdmdn*,¹ who, on Akbar's accession, was made commander of 2,500 ; and the other was Bibi Fatima, whom we know as having helped to nurse Humayun in his illness of 1546.

Haram, the dominant partner in the command of Badakhshan, mother of a girl in whose veins was reputed to flow the blood of Alexander and of Timur, daughter of a tribal chief, and conscious of intrinsic claim to deference, inquired of the two lowly messengers why no begam or lady (*aghacha*) had come to prefer the royal request. She must have known that Humayim 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 Sulaiman 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 Ibrahim's, there was a betrothal of Muhammad Hakim to a daughter of Haram.

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

¹ This title is sometimes rendered 'butler,' but this is misleading, and a word not linked in English with intoxicants would be better. Jalalu-d-din it was who led Humayun to give up the use of drugs, unfortunately late in life, by a gentle and forcible reproach.

Kamran's wives was Muhtarima Khanam *Chaghatai*, and on his death Sulaiman 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 Ibrahim.

The death of Hindal in the night attack of Kamran, 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 Musalman 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 Musalman! affection centred on those of the same blood.

The royal ladies must have felt it hard when, after having mourned Humayun through Kamran for nearly three months, Hindal was killed. This happened near Khizr Khwaja's fief of Jui-shahi, which explains why the body was sent there for burial and entrusted to the khwaja. It was removed later to Kabul and laid at Babar's feet. Hindal 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 Kamran,) 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, Humayun

determined, in 1554, to try his fortune again in Hindustan. He left Kabul on November 15th,—a date so near that of Babar'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 Jalalabad to Peshawar. 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 Dihll on July 23rd, 1555.

A little-known episode of the time is the visit to India and the court of Sldi 'All Reis, a Turkish admiral of Sulaiman the Great, who by the exigencies of war and weather found himself obliged to travel with a few officers and fifty sailors from Surat to Labor and thence across all the wide intervening lands to Turkey.¹ He was welcomed by Musalmans for his master's sake, and he was offered appointments in India, all of which he refused. He was received with great honour by Shah Husain *Arghun*, 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 Shah Husain 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 Mah-chuchak (wife of Husain), whom he calls Haji Begam, as prisoner of 'Isa *Tarkhan*, and of her return to Husain. He heard, too, something which is not supported by other writers, namely, that she poisoned Husain, 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 Husain'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

¹ 'Travels and Adventures of Sldi 'All Reis'; Vamberg; Luzac and Co., 1899.

where Sidl'Ali's route brought him into contact with Humayun's people, *i.e.*, Lahor. 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. Humayun sent for the admiral, and had him received, in the first half of October,¹ outside Dihll by Bairam *Khan-i-khanan*, other great amirs, 1,000 men, and 400 elephants. He dined with the *Khan-i-khanan*, 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 Chaghatai Turki so well that Humayun called him a second 'All Shir *Nawai*. He had a turn for chronograms, too, and at his first audience presented one of the taking of Dihll, 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,

¹ M. Vambery 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, Humayun 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 Dihli. Those who may read the interesting little book, for which thanks are due to M. Vambery, need to accept it in other places also with some caution—*e.g.*, p. 38, Sultan Mahmud *Bhakhwri* is called Husain *Arghun's* adopted brother, and, p. 40, his father. He was a *kuka*. 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.

Sultan Mahmud *Bhakkarl*. An official paper was drawn up, to which Humayun, literally, set his fist, for he dipped his clenched hand in saffron and laid it on the deed. Mahmud was much pleased, and both he and his vizier wrote their thanks to the mediator. This incident, and others too, gave occasion for other Turki ghazels and higher praise. Sidi 'All 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 Humayun's life. That Humayun should die violently was in keeping with the violent changes of his career; and that he met his death in a building of Shir Shah 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 Kabul; he had gone up to the roof of the Shir 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 Shir 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 *mitazzin* raised **the** cry for **prayer** from the neighbouring mosque. Sidi

'Ali says, as though it were some individual hattft of Humayun, 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 (*postin*), 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 Humayun 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 Dihll, 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. Sldl 'All took leave of the grandees, and conveyed the false news of Humayun's restoration to health in a friendly way along his route. By the time he reached Lahor 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 Kabul. Then he was sent to the presence in Kilanur, 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 Kabul.

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 Peshawar through the night to escape that

Adam Ghakkar who had made over Kamran to Humayun ; 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 Peshawar to serve as habitat for the huge and now vanished beasts ; and that they crossed the many-memored Khaibar.

In Kabul the admiral saw Humayun's two sons, Muhammad Hakim and Farrukh-fal, who were born in the same month of 1558, one being the child of Mah-chuchak and the other of Khanish *agha Khwarizmi*. This statement is a surprise, because Bayazid says that Farrukh died within a few days of birth. The admiral's information suggests an error in Bayazid's MS.

Sidi' All 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'nim Khan 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 Taliqan and there saw our well-known friends, Sulaiman and Ibrahim, but he is silent as to Haram. Here, too, he wrote and offered his ghazel, and was both welcomed and speeded. In Taliqan 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. Humayun 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 Abu'l-ma'ali, the operations

against Sikandar *Afghan*, and the encounter with Hlmu at Panipat. At length amirs were named to escort the ladies from Kabul. The officers set out, but on their march received orders to act first against Sulaiman Mirza, who, on hearing of Humayun's death, had come over from Badakhshan to besiege Kabul. 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 Timur after Humayun. 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 Kabul, 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 Mankot, in the western Sewaliks. The Emperor came a stage from it to meet them, and was 'much comforted by the reunion.' With Hamida-bami Begam, to whom, as Empress-mother, the chief place must be assigned, were Gul-badan, Gul-chihra, Haji, and Salima Begams. There was also a large company of officers' wives.

Perhaps the ladies remained near the camp until it broke up and went to Labor. 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, Bairam Khan-khanan married Salima Sultan Begam, a granddaughter of Babar. She was a half-niece of Humayun, and she had with Akbar cousinship of the 'four-anna' degree. Babar was their common ancestor, and their differing grandmothers diluted the cousinly relation.

This alliance had been arranged by Humayun, and the use of *sipur dan* by Abu'l-fazl 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 Sallma'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 Bairam for Humayun, the newest being those of the Kestoration, Bairam 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. Salima,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 Khwaja Khan had gone to Hindustan with Humayun in 1554, and early in 1556 had been appointed by Akbar to the government of Lah5r. He was left to carry on operations against Sikandar *Afghan* when Akbar was called away by Himu'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 Dihll; and there is no record of his death. He was raised to high military rank, and at some time was *amiru-l-umard*, but the *Ain-i-ahhari* does not place him in its list of *mansabdars*. He stands twelfth in the general list of the *Tabaqat*, 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 Bairam's fidelity to Humayun, must have felt his downfall keenly. Hamida can hardly have been ignorant of the intrigue which brought this about, because she was related to the chief actors in it,—Maham *anaga*, Adham Khan, and Shihabu-d-din Ahmad

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.* Salima.

Nishdpuri. The last was governor of Dihli, where she lived, and part of the scheme to separate Akbar from Bairam took him to Dihli to see her, and thus under the eye of Shihab. Hamlda must have had clear in memory the truly valid services done for her husband by Bairam 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. Muhammad Baqi Khan *kuka*, the *anagas* 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 amirs.

Many comments have been made upon Maham *anaga*, both by the Persian writers and by their European commentators. Abu'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 Nadim Khan *kuka*, a faithful servant of Humayun. 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. Maham *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. Bayazid *biyat* 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 Ahmad *J ami*. Amongst these was Haji

Begam, Humayun's widow and a person much regarded by the Emperor.

In the year following Bairam's death, Adham Khan, who, says the *Tabaqat*, held a place higher than the other courtiers because he was his mother's son, was on duty in Malwa against Baz Bahadur Sur. Incidents resulted which emphasize regret that for such as the actors in them Bairam had had to make way. Maham *anaga* was *de facto* prime minister; Munim Khan had been made *Khdn-ikhndn*, and it was looked for by his friend the *anaga* that he should become prime minister *de jure*. Baz Bahadur was defeated and fled from Sarangpur. Aping the Hindus, 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. Badayuni says that there followed slaughter by Adham and his colleague, Pir Muhammad Khan, of terrible extent, and his own eyes saw that these two regarded God's creation in mankind as leeks, cucumbers, and radishes,—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 Baz Bahadur's household had issued from a Bajput heart, there would have been no need for executioners while he was in flight. The victims were, however, not Bajputnis, and they suffered only to gratify the vanity of a Moslim. Amongst those wounded was Bup-matI, a dancing-girl renowned throughout Hindustan for beauty, singing, and poetic gifts. Her name seems that of a Hindu. Her wounds, inflicted by Baz Bahadur'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 Rup-mati 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 Khan took much booty from Baz Bahadur, 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 Sarangpur, out-distanced a messenger of Maham *anaga* 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 *anaga* had them murdered, so that they might not tell the tale of their abduction.

Having spent so many years under the influence of Maham *anaga*, 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 *Ghaznavo* and gave him the post. Shamsu-d-din was an unlettered man, but he was staunch and had sons who were true to Ji-Ji *anaga's* nursling.

The next episode in which Maham *anaga* and her son appear, was one to shake the home fabric to its foundations,

for Adham murdered Shamsu-d-dln, bursting in upon him as he sat in business audience and unsuspecting. 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 Maham *anaga* of her son's death: 'Mama! we have killed Adham,' are the words put into his mouth by Bayazid. She fell ill from anger and grief; this blow shattered her heart's idol and her ambition for him and herself. Badayuni 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 Mah-chuchak Begam in Kabul. She was the last recorded wife of Humayun, and was married in 1546, after the coming of Hamida from Qandahar to Kabul. 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, Muhammad Hakim. In 1554 Humayun had left her three-years-old boy as nominal governor of Kabul under charge of Mu'nim Khan, and in 1556 Akbar had confirmed the appointment. When Mu'nim 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 *kuka*, and with the terms of respect employed towards the *anaga* by the Persian writer who uses the degrading epithet.

his son Ghani became his *locum tenens*, but Ghani had neither 'suavity nor sense,' and the begam shut him out of Kabul, 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. Akbar, and no doubt the ladies also, heard of these doings, and despatched Mu'nim Khan with men to put things straight. Mah-chuchak met Mu nim at Jalalabad, 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 Haidar Qasim *Kohbur*. These proceedings surprise one in Mah-chuchak, and bring her story down to the first half of 1564, when Abu'l-ma'all appears upon her stage.

We cannot enter here into the previous history of Abu'l-ma'all,—his rebellions, murders, imprisonment, pilgrimage, and reinvigorated return to wickedness. He now came to Kabul fresh from two assassinations in Hindustan, a fugitive, and indited a letter to the ruling begam, with profession of affection and devotion to the memory of Humayun. She welcomed him, gave him her little daughter Fakhru-n-nisa in marriage, and let him take the lead. Before long he stabbed Mah-chuchak with his own hand, murdered Haidar Qasim, and stirred revolt against himself which led to woeful slaughter within the walls of Kabul. Word of all this went from Muhammad Hakim to Sulaiman and Haram, with a prayer for help. Haram approving and accompanying, the army of Badakhshan marched over the passes, met Abu'l-ma'ali in the Ghurband valley, captured him, and sent him bound to the prince, who had him strangled. Both he and Adham Khan had justified Bairam's distrust, which had prompted him to wish their death early in Akbar's reign.

A little story of Haram may be inserted here, somewhat after date. She had not been always on perfect terms with Sulaiman. Not only, a little earlier, had there been—

the discussion between them of his wish to take Muhtarima to wife, which Haram had frustrated by marrying the khanam to Sulaiman'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 Sulaiman and went over to Kabul, where then Mu'nim Khan was governor, and she had meant to carry on her complaints to Akbar. Mu'nim, however, who had been begged to mediate by Sulaiman, gave her good advice and pacified her, so that at last she consented to return to Badakhshan. 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 Badakhshan against Kabul. It came several times later and with her approval, but Haram could swear and break even 'awful oaths.' Bayazld *biyat* accompanied her to the Ghurband and was charmed by her suavity and agreeableness.

On the death of Abu 'l-ma'all, Sulaiman sent home for a daughter and married her to Muhammad Hakim, partitioned out some of the lands of Kabul to his own people, and went home to Qila'-i-zafar. Irritation against the interlopers led to their expulsion by the Kabulis, and this brought the BadakhshI forces again to Kabul, in 1564. Muhammad Hakim hurried to the Indus and complained to his big brother and Sulaiman was made to retreat.

In 1566 he and Haram and their girls were again before the coveted Kabul, and on this occasion Haram tried to supplement their failing military action by treachery. She got Sulaiman to lay an ambush for Muhammad Hakim, 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 Ibrahim was dead. The end of this affair was, in net result to the Badakhshis, nothing; Haram went home and Sulaiman followed. With them went the unfailing daughters, of whom Haram seems to have had many, or who were betrothed and not

'entrusted,' so many recorded times. They had been near capture by the Kabulls 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 Sulaiman's interesting fortunes to their close, under Akbar's protection, by death in Lahor in 1589. For our purpose, it is enough to say that he held Badakhshan so long as Haram's watchful eye was on him, and lost it at her death. It was Muhtarima's son, Shah-rukh, his own grandson, who turned him out of his beloved Badakhshan, and in this, too, there may be Haram's hand. Muhtarima would not be likely to teach her boy dutiful conduct to Haram or to Haram's husband, for the two women were foes, and Haram had tried to separate Muhtarima from her son, and to expel her from Badakhshan to her parental home in Kashghar. If Haram had lived, her pride would have found content in two alliances of her grandson with daughters of the royal blood,—one a child of Muhammad Hakim, and the other of Akbar himself.

The ill-behaviour of Hamida-banu's brother, Khwaja 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 madifess which overtook his last years. Bairam, the sensible, had exiled him, then had given him some countenance; on Bairam'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. Hamlda had been conscious before her marriage that her lowly birth was a point against her wedding with Humayun. The disparity in her case, as in other misalliances of the time, had raised unworthy people to power. Now, in 1564, Bibi Fatima lamented to Akbar that Khwaja Mu'azzam had threatened to kill his wife Zuhra, who was

her daughter. The Emperor consequently sent the khwaja word that he was coming to his house, and followed the message closely. As he entered, the khwaja stabbed Zuhra and then flung his knife, like a challenge, amongst the royal followers. Abu'l-fazl says that for punishment the murderer was flung into the river, but 'would not drown.' The more sensible Nizamu-d-dm Ahmad says he was beaten and then soused in the river. He died insane, in prison, at Gualiar. All the shortcomings and crimes of the man notwithstanding, Hamida must have cherished some warmth of feeling for the tricky 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 Nahid Begam, in whom our princess must have maintained interest for the sake of her father Qasim, Babar's foster-brother. Nahid, as has been said earlier, was the daughter of Qasim and of Mah-chuchak *Arghun*, who must not be confounded with Kamran's wife of the same name, one common amongst the Arghun women of the time. She had married Muhibb-'all, son of Nizamu-d-dm 'All *Khalifa Barlas*, and who had risen to high military rank but now lived remote from soldiering and in reposeful retirement. Nahid's mother was now in her (third) widowhood for 'Isa *Tar khan Arghun*, and she was not well regarded by her last husband's son, Muhammad Baqi *Tarkhan Arahun*, the ruler of Tatta. Nahid, in 1571, went to see her mother, and perhaps conveyed to Baqi the impression that her visit was something more than filial. He put Mah-chuchak in prison, and so behaved to Nahid 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 *Bhakkari*, that old retainer of Shah Husain who had kept the island-fort against Humayun in the forties, and for whom Sldi 'All *Reis* had negotiated terms in 1555. Mahmud had suggested an attack on Tatta, and, supported by him,

Nahid pleaded for help from Akbar to act against Baqi. She was very keen about her plan and persuaded the Emperor to give men and money.

Muhibb-'ali was disturbed from his repose, and put at the head of the force. With him went Nahid and also a wife named Saraia and her son, Mujahid. For Nahid's ends the long war that followed was infructuous. An amusing episode of it was that Samia, when things did not go as she wished, went into rebellion against Akbar, and actually held an entrenchment against the royal amirs a day and a night. In the end, Muhibb-'ali 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.

Nizamu-d-din Ahmad 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-pur). Bound 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, Kamran'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 Hindustan. 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 Hamlda'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 Hindustan. How did *sati* look to her? What did she think of the *juhar*? Both these Hindu 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, Babar'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 Yunas Khan. 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 Timurid women saw amongst the Hindus 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 Rajputnis died joyfully rather than be captured; that outmatched Rajputs 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 MusalmanI regard the willing death by fire of the Hindu widow, in that exaltation 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 Rajput wives from charming the MusalmanI ladies by recital of the legends of their race. These Hindus 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 Muhamniadan 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 Muliammadans. 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 Sallma 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 Sallma'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 Kamran,—Haji and Gul-'izar Begams. I do not know which child of his is veiled under the title of Haji. 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 Mah-chuchak *Arghun*, whom all his children must have held in reverence. Next comes a grand-daughter of Gul-badan herself, named Um-kulsum (Mother of Plumpness), presumably after the daughter of her Prophet. Whether she was the child of Sa'adat-yar is not said, nor whether the last name on the list, Sallma Khanam, is that of a child of Gul-badan, as well as of Khizr Khwaja Khan. 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-nar *aghacha*, who had been of Babar's household and was, I think, one of the two Circassians sent as a present to him by Shah Tahmasp 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 Babar's household, Blbi Saru-qad, or Saru-i-sahi (Straight Cypress). She had been, too, in Humayun's service and later had married, with full *nisbat*, Mu nim *Khan-i-khanan*. She was a widow, had been a singer and reciter, and was a 'reliable woman.' Like her in accomplishments were Bibi Safiya and Shaham *agha*, both formerly of Humayun's household. Of the first and of Bibi Saru-qad we have the happy little record that they sang in the moonlight on the road to Laghman in 1549.

Fathpur-sikri 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 Agra in the tenth month—this left in the seventh—of the

Muhammadan year. Akbar's second boy, Murad, was told off to escort the ladies to the coast. Salim met them one stage out to give last greetings. At Gul-badan's request, Murad was excused from his long task of escort to Surat, and he went back to Agra. One smiles to find that the princes were five and four years old. The real charge of the caravan was with several amirs, one being Muhammad Baqi Khan *kuka*, and another Bum! Khan of Aleppo, who may have been Babar'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 sight-seeing travel or pious duty. Surat 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 Surat, it had been a royal possession for two years only, and even when the Father took the fairly direct route from it to Fathpur-slkri, the Rajput 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 *haj* 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 Ahmadabad, and, perhaps by water, to Surat.

The governor of the port, who was to have a good deal of trouble with this caravan, was Qulij Khan *Andijani*, a sobriquet of pleasant sound in our begam's ears. He had inherited Timurid service from many generations, and his father had been a grandee of Sultan Husain *Bayqra*.

'There was peace with the isles of the Franks,' but it took the ladies a year to get to sea. The *Akbar-ndma* 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 *Sallml*, seized the other

pilgrims who were to sail in the royal ship, the *Ildhi*. 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. Abu'l-fazl 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, Badayuni makes the difficulty clear by saying that Khwaja Sultan'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 'Iraq, 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 *mir haj* sent word to the Emperor of his plight, who at once despatched orders to Qulij Khan, in Idar, to go to Siirat and arrange the difficulty. Qulij took with him a Cambayan, who was presumably a man versed in seafaring business,—hurried to Siirat 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 Musalman 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 *ka'ba*, towards which from distant homes has been directed the prayer of the bygone years; the ascent of the Mount of Purity (*Safa*), 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 *haj*, 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 *kaba*, 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 Khwaja Yahya was *mir haj*, a friend of Badayuni, and the charitable man to whom Husain 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,¹ who may perhaps have been wanted for the Arab *sarai*, established near the mausoleum of Humayun, outside Dihll.

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 *raj*. The governor did not behave well, and quitted the path of good manners, misconduct for which he was punished by his master, Sultan Murad 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 Bayazid² *biyat* with his wife and children were on board, and he shortened sail, though the wind was favourable, and gave and took news. Bayazid says that the persons who sent out the boat to him were Gul-badan Begam, Gul-'izar Begam, and Khwaja Yahya. Perhaps

¹ The passage in the *Akbar-nama* 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 khwaja 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 Fathpur-sikri.

On the northward journey they visited the shrines of the Chishti saints in Ajmir, and there met Prince Salim. Day after day there came an amir with greetings from the Emperor, until he met the caravan at Khanwa. 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 Fathpur-sikri, Gul-badan Begam would find much to ruffle her orthodoxy; for Father Rodolf Acquaviva was installed there and was giving Prince Murad 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. Hamlda-banu is named by the Father as protesting, with other ladies of the *haram*, against the royal countenance of Christianity, and assuredly Gul-badan would swell the chorus of complaint, in which, too, Hindu wives would join the Moslim lamentation.¹ When the Father was leaving Fathpur-sikri, he accepted only so much money as would pay his expenses back to Goa, but he asked a favour from Hamlda-banu Begam. She had amongst her household slaves a Kussian 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 Firingis, 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 *Humayun-nama*. 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-nama*. This was not her only composition, for she followed the fashion of her day and wrote verses. Mir Mahdi Shirazi has preserved in his *Tazkiratu-l-khiratin* two lines of hers, in which her thought seems to be, 'No love, no fruit of life.'

" *Har pari hi au ba 'ashaq khud yar nist,*
Tu yaqin midan hi hech az 'umr bar-khur-ddr nist,"

Nine copies were made of Bayazid's *Humayun-nama*, 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 Salim, Murid, and Danyal; one to our begam; two to Abi'l-fa/i; and one perhaps was kept by the author. This allotment brings out the little point that Gul-badan collected books. Badayuni has a curious passage about himself which also discloses something 'bookish' of Sallma: 'On account of the book *Khirad-afza*, which had disappeared from the library, and concerning Sallma Sultan 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 Abi'l-fazl 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 Muhammad-yar, a son of her daughter, who left the court in disgrace; again, she and Sallma join in intercession to Akbar for Prince Salim; again, with Hamida, 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. Hamida was with her to the end, and it may be that Euqaiya, Hindal's daughter, would also watch her last hours. As she lay with closed eyes, Hamida-banu 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.

P A E T I I .

GUL-BADAN BEGAM'S BOOK, THE 'HUMAYUN-NAMA:

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 Babar and Humayun. It escaped even Professor Blochmann's wider opportunities of acquaintance with Persian MSS. Until the begam's *Humdyun-nama* was catalogued by Dr. Rieu, it was a literary *parda-nishln*, and since that time has been little better. Abu-'l-fazl, for

whose information it was written, does not mention it, but the *Akbar-nama* is not without indication of its use.¹

Bayazid's *Tarikh-i-humayun* was reproduced several times on its completion. Gul-badan Begam's *Humdyun-nama* 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 *Kanun-i-humdyun* of Khwand-amir. It is now in the British Museum.

Hope was again aroused by a mention of Gul-badan's book in a recent work, the *Darbdr-i-akbari* of Shamsu-1-ulama 'Muhammad Husain azad. 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. Bieu 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 Dihli. It does not bear the vermillion

¹ A passage about Babar (*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 Babar's narrative by Abul-fazl, 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. Kieu'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 Turki words, and at least one Turki 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.

Turki 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 Turki? That she read Turki 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 Turki.

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

HUMAYUNNAMA OF GULBADAN BEGAM.

NOTE ON THE PERSIAN TITLES.

Of these there are two:

1. '*Humdyun-nama*. Written by Gul-badan Begam, daughter of Babar Padshah.' 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 Humayun Padshah. Put together by Gul-badan Begam, a daughter of Babar Padshah and a paternal aunt of Akbar Padshah.' 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).

(26 of the Persian text.)

IN the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate !

There had been an order¹ issued, 'Write down whatever you know of the doings of *Firdaus-makdni* and *Jannat-fishyani*.²

At the time when his Majesty *Firdaus-makanl* passed from this perishable world to the everlasting home, I, this lowly one, was eight³ 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.⁴

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

² Babar's and Hum'ayun's posthumous names, ' Dwelling' and ' Nesting in Paradise.' Several women, and notably Akbar's mother, have been named after death *Maryammahani*, ' Dwelling with Mary.' Babar's half-sister, Shahr-banu, is styled by A.F. *Bilqis-makani*,-- 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. Babar 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 *Sahib-qirdni*¹ down to my royal father there was not one of the bygone princes who laboured as he did. He became king in his twelfth² year, and the *khutba*³ was read in his name on June 10th, 1494,⁴ in Andijan, the capital of Farghana. (3a)

For eleven full years his wars and struggles against the Chaghatai and Tlmurid and Uzbek princes⁵ in Mawara'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 besieged⁷ (in Samarqand), and neither Sultan Husain Mlrza *Bayqra*, his paternal uncle,⁸ who

filled in. The *Tuzuk-i-babari* (Leyden and Erskine: Longman, Rees, etc., 1B26.) will be referred to in these notes as the 'Memoirs * or * Mems.'. Mr. W. Erskine's 'History of India under Babar and Humayun' will be indicated by 'B. & H.'.

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

² Babar was born February 14th, 14B3 (Muharram 6th, 88BH.). He therefore became king of Farghana (Khokand) when 11¹/₃ years old.

³ The prayer and oration in which it is ordained that the name of the reigning sovereign should be recited. Cf. Diet, of Islam, Hughes, 8.v.. The histories show that it was formerly so recited in India. The term 'Ruler of the Age' filled Victoria's place.

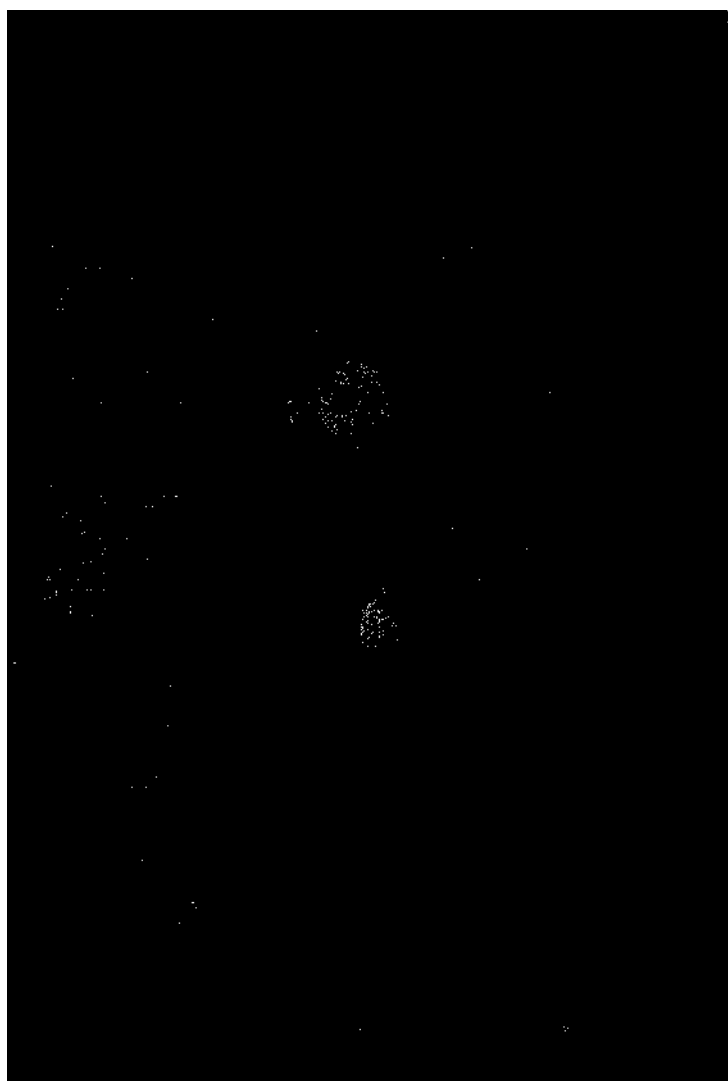
⁴ Ramzan 5th, 899H. [Text, 909H.].

⁵ The first and second of this triad of foes were near and elder kinsmen; the third was the Shaibani of the histories.

⁶ Babar 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 Shaibani, after the second occupation.

⁸ '*ammu*. Husain was of the fourth, and Babar of the fifth degree of descent from their common ancestor, Timur. Babar's father was (*anglice*) Husain's fourth cousin. As Husain was of an elder generation, Babar calls him 'uncle.' If '*ammu*' were ever used to denote an uncle by marriage, it would have triple application here, since Husain married in succession three paternal aunts of Babar—Shahr-



AMIR TIMUR (SAHIB-QIELN).

[To fact p. 84.

(ruled) in Khurasan, nor Sultan Mahmud Khan, **his** maternal uncle,¹ who ruled in Kashghar, sent him help. When none came from any quarter, he grew desperate.²

At this difficult time, Shahl Beg Khan⁸ sent to say : 'If you would marry your sister Khanzada Begam⁴ to me, (3&) there might be peace and .a lasting alliance between us/ At length it had to be done; he gave the begam to the khan, and came out himself (from Samarqand).⁶ 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 Badakhshan (Badakhshanat) and Kabul.⁶

Khusrau Shah's⁷ people and army were in Kunduz and the Badakhshanat. He came and paid his respects to his Majesty,⁸ my father, who, being as he was manly and kind and generous, did not in any way touch the question of retaliation, although Khusrau Shah had committed such crimes as the martyrdom of Bayasanghar Mirza and the blinding of Sultan Mas'ud Mirza, both of whom were sons of my royal father's paternal uncle. In addition to this, when in the early days of the forays,⁹ his Majesty chanced

banu, Latif and Payanda. Husain is the well-known Maecenas of Herat (1438-1506).

¹ *taghai*. Sultan Mahmud Khan was full-brother of Qutluq-nigar, Babar's mother, so that here *taghai* is exactly equivalent to our * maternal uncle.' Mahmud is 'the Khan' and the 'elder Khan' of the Memoirs, and also *Janaki* or *Khanaki* and *Jangi*. He was murdered by Shaibani in 1508.

² He was eighteen.

³ Abu'l-fath Muhammad Shahbakht Khan *Uzheg* (Shahl Beg Khan and Shaibani).

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 Turk, chief beg of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, the father of Bayasanghar and Mas'ud. He was put to death by ShaibanT's Uzbegs in 910H (1505).

⁸ Brevet rank. Babar was an exile from his own kingdom of Farghana, and not yet master of Kabul.

⁹ Turki, *qazzaqi*, from *qazzaq* (**Cossack**), the **name** of the **nomads** **whom** the Russians term Kirghiz. I think Gul-badan uses it to de-

10 cross his country, he was watched and rudely driven out. Now he was pleased to command that Khusrau Shah should take whatever his heart desired of his (own) jewels and golden vessels, and so he got leave to go to Khurasan in kindness and safety, and took with him five or six strings of camels and five or six of baggage mules.¹ (4a)

His Majesty now set out for Kabul, which was occupied by Muhammad Muqim, a son of Zu'l-nun *Arghun*, and grandfather of Nahlid Begam.² He had captured it after Ulugh Beg Mirza's³ death from Mirza 'Abdu-r-razzaq, son of his Majesty's paternal uncle (Ulugh Beg).

His Majesty reached Kabul in safety. Muhammad Muqim 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 Qandahar. This was in the last ten days of Babi II., 910II.⁴ Being now master of Kabul, his Majesty went to Bangash, took it at a blow, and returned to Kabul.

Her Highness, the khanam,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 *misqal* to his kinsmen, the owners of the garden, and laid her there.

At this time urgent letters arrived from Sultan Husain Mirza, saying: (46) 'I am planning a war against the Uzbeks. 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 Babar'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.): 'Babar, 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 (Mirza 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 Mah Chfichak.

³ A son of Abii-sa'Id, known as *Kabuli*. He died 1502.

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

⁵ Qutluq-nigar. She died June, 1505.

sought counsel of God. At length he set out to join the mirza. On the way news came that the mirza was dead. His Majesty's amirs represented that, this being so, it was advisable to return to Kabul, but he replied : ' As we have come so far, we will carry our condolences to the princes.' In the end he went on towards Khurasan.¹

When the princes² heard of the royal visit, they one and all set out to give him honourable meeting, except Badi'u-z-zaman Mirza, who did not go because Baranduq Beg and Zu'l-nun Beg—amirs of Sultan Husain Mirza—said, in effect, that as his Majesty was fifteen years younger than Badfu-z-zaman Mirza, it was right that he should be the first to bow, and that they should then embrace one another. Qasim Beg³ rejoined : ' Younger he is by years, but by the *tura*,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'u-z-zaman should then advance to show him honour, and they should embrace. The mirza was not attending when his Majesty came in at the door; Qasim Beg clutched my royal father's girdle and pulled it, and said to Baranduq Beg and Zi'Yl-nfin Beg : ' The agreement was that the mirza 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 Khurasan, each one of the princes showed him hospitality, and feasts were arranged, and excursions to all the gardens and places of

¹ Babar set out in June, 1506 (Muharrain, 912H.). Husain had died in May (Zu'l-hijja, 911H.), on his way northwards from Herat, and at Baba Hahl. Word reached Babar when he had already made a great journey and had crossed the Saighan and Dandan-shikan passes to Kahmard. After receiving the news he marched some 800 miles to the *nrlzas'* camp on the Murgh-iib.

² Badiu-z-zaman and Muhammad Muzaffar Husain, sons of Sultan Husain Mirza. The meeting was on November 6th, 1506 (Jumada I I . 8th, 912H.).

³ Babar's Prime Minister and (I believe) relation. He was of the Quchln tribe to which Babar's grandmother, Ais-daulat, belonged.

⁴ The Rules of Chinglz Khan. 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 years¹ long had Sultan Husain Mirza kept Khurasan safe and sound, but the mirzas could not fill their father's place for six months. When his Majesty saw that they were careless² about his expenses and revenue, he went to Kabul 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 Qasim Beg chose one³ 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 Qasim 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 Ghurband. Some Hazara rebels having met his Majesty here, there was fighting; and cattle and sheep and goods without number belonging to the Hazara fell into the hands of his people. Then they started for Kabul with their enormous booty.

At the skirts of Minar Hill they heard that Mirza Khan⁴ and Mirza Muhammad Husain *Gurkan*⁵ had rebelled and

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

² While on the Murgh-ab, Babar agreed to winter in Khurasan, and he went with the joint-kings to Herat 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. Babar 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 Kabul that he married Maham, Humfayun's mother.

³ Through the Aimftq and Hazara country, and south of his route to Herft.

⁴ Sultan Wais, a son of Babar's paternal uncle, Mahmud, and his maternal aunt (i.e., his mother's half-sister), Sultan Nigar Khanam.

⁵ Father of Haidar Mirza *Dughlat*, author of the *Tarikh-i-rashidi*. He married Khub-nigar, full-sister of Babar's mother.

were holding Kabul. His Majesty sent a comforting and cheering letter (to his friends in the fort), and said: 'Be of good heart! I too am here, (ea) 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.

Mirza Khan hid himself in his mother's house; she was his Majesty's maternal aunt. Mirza Muhammad Husain 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 mirzas their offences, for the sake of his aunts. He used to go, in his old fashion, in and out of his aunts' houses,¹ 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 Kabul from the power of Mirza Khan, committed it to my royal father's care. He was then twenty-three years old² and had no child and greatly desired one. In his seventeenth year a girl³ had been born to him by 'Ayisha Sultan Begam, a daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza, but she had died in a month. The most high God blessed the taking of Kabul, for after it eighteen children were born. (1.) Of my Lady (*Akam*⁴) who was Maham Begam there were born his Majesty the Emperor

¹ Text, *khana khali khahaha'i*. This I do not understand, as there were certainly no mothers' brothers present in Kabul now.

² He was twenty-three when he took Kabul from Muhammad Muqīm *Arghun* in 1504. Mirza Khan's rebellion took place two years later.

³ *Fakhru-n-nisa'*, 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 *Akam*, and sometimes *Akam*. The Turki *Aka* 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 childbed. The mother's name they gave to the daughter.

(8.) Of Gul-rukh Begam were born Kamran Mirza, and 'Askari Mirza, and Shah-rukh Mirza, and Sultan Ahmad Mirza, and G-ul-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. (*la*)

The blessed birth of the Emperor Humayun, the first-born son of his Majesty *Firdaus--makuni*, occurred in the night of Tuesday, Zu'l-qada4th, 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 (*bddshah*). For before the birth of the Emperor Humayun he had been named and styled Mirza Babar. All kings' sons were called mirzas. In the year of his Majesty Humayun's birth he styled himself *bad-shah*.

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

After children had been born to him, news came that Shah Isma'il had killed Shahl Beg Khan.⁵

(Cf. Vambery'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, 8.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 findustan.

His Majesty at this time entrusted Kabul to Nasir¹ Mirza, and set out² for Samarqand, taking with him his people **and** wives and children, who were Humayun Mirza, and Mihr-jahan Begam, and Barbul Mirza, and Ma'suma Begam, and Kamran Mirza. (*lb*)

With help from Shah Isma'il, he took Samarqand (October, 1511), and for eight (lunar) months the whole of Mawara'u-n-nahr (Transoxiana) was in his power. Owing to want of co-operation in his brothers and to the opposition of the Mughals,⁸ he was defeated at Kul Malik by 'Ubaidu-l-lah Khan. As he could not remain in those parts, he set out for Badakhshan and Kabul, and put out of his head further thought of Mawara'u-n-nahr.

He had become master of Kabul in 910H. (1504). He had always desired to go into Hindustan, 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,⁴ and there remained no amir 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 Afghani *aghacha*,⁶ Malik Mansur Yusufzai, came in and paid his respects. (*da*) 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 Babar's half-brother, son of Urnid, an Andijanl.

² January, 1511 (Shawwal, 916H.).

³ For a more interesting cause of defeat, *cf.* B. & II., I. 321, *et seq.* 'Ubaidu-l-lah was Shaibam's nephew. Kill (Lake) Malik is in Bokhara. Babar was again defeated by the Uzbeks in this same year (1511).

⁴ *i.e.*, dead. Jahangir died in 1507 and Nasir in 1515, both from drinking. This passage resembles Babar's own words. (Mems. 809.)

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 Islam' and addicted to infidel customs. (Mems. 246 *et seq.*)

⁶ The Afghan Lady. It is thus that Gul-badan always speaks of Bibl (Lady) Mubarikha, the Yusufzai wife of Babar. Pavet de Courteille defines *aghdcha* thus: 'Se dit des femmes par opposition a begam et khanam; dame.' I do not in Gul-badan's work trace any disrespect attaching to '*aghdcha*,' such as is indicated by '*concubine*,' as which it is sometimes translated.

bring men and labourers, etc., to your native land and cultivate it.'

Qasim Beg,¹ who was in Kabul, 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 Mirza Hindal.

Having subdued Bajaur, his Majesty went towards the Bhlra country, and on his arrival made peace without plundering. He took four *laks* of *shahrukhis*³ and gave to his army, dividing them according to the number of his followers. He then set out for Kabul.⁴

Just now came a letter from Badakhshan saying: 'Mirza Khan is dead ;⁵ Mirza Sulaiman is young; the Uzbegs are near ; take thought for this kingdom lest (which God forbid) Badakhshan should be lost.' (8b) Until there should be thought taken, Mirza Sulaiman's mother⁶ had brought him (to the Emperor). Agreeably to this petition and their wish, the Emperor assigned to Mirza Sulaiman the lands and inheritance which had been his father's, and he gave Badakhshan to Mirza Humayun.

The mirza set out for his province. His Majesty and my Lady (*Akam*) followed and also went to Badakhshan, and there spent several days together. The mirza remained

¹ Qasim Beg *Qnchin*, an ancient Beg of Andijan, and one of Babar's best followers.

² Qy., as to the child's name. His true name was Muh. Nasir, but he is only known as Hindal. He was Gul-badan's full brother, and was given, before birth, to Maham Begam, who had lost all her children younger than Humayun. *Of.* 24a n.

³ Estimated by Mr. Erskine at about £20,000 sterling.

⁴ End of February, 1519. In his winning fashion BSbar relates that he forbade the news of his return to be taken to Kabul, and that there was therefore no time to put his boys, Humayun and Kamran, 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.

⁵ *Cir.* 926H. (1520). Cf. *Mems.* 286 n., and *Tar, Rask.*, Ney Elias and Boss, 373 n.,

⁶ Sultan Nigar Khanam.

and my royal father and my Lady came back to Kabul¹ (926H.—1520).

After a time his Majesty set out for Qilat and Qandahar.² He was victorious at once in Qilat, and went on to Qandahar 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. Qandahar he bestowed on Mirza Kamran, and himself set off for Kabul.

His advance camp having been set up,³ he crossed the hill of Yak Langa, and gloriously alighted in the valley of Dih-i-ya'qub on Friday, Safar 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 Hindustan. In the seven or eight years since 925H. (1519)⁴ the royal army had several times renewed the attempt on Hindustan. Each time it used to conquer lands and districts, such as Bhira, Bajaur, Slalkut, Dlpalpur, Lahor, etc., up to the fifth time, when on Safar 1st, 932H., his Majesty went, march by march, from his glorious encamping in Dih-i-ya'qub towards Hindustan. He conquered Lahor and Sirhind, and every country that lay on his path.

On Friday, Rajab 8th, 982H. (April 20th, 1526), he

¹ Humayun was now thirteen years old. He was young to be sent so far as Badakhshan. That his parents went with him is one of Gul-badan's life-giving touches. *Ahdm* may now well have shown her boy to her father and her kinsfolk in Khost. (Memoirs of Bayazid, I.Q. MS., 26a.)

² Held now by Shah Beg *Arghun*, father of Shah HuBain, Humaym's later enemy in Sind. *Firishta* gives three years as the duration of the siege, Khafi Khan four years, and Mirza Haidar five years. The occurrence unfortunately coincides with one of the gaps in the Memoirs. This was Babar's culminating attempt on Qandahar; 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 Hindustan. Yak Langa is a hill between Kabul and Butkhak, and on the road to Jalalabad.

⁴ Text, 935H.; clearly a slip.

arrayed battle at Panipat¹ against Sultan Ibrahim, son of Sultan Sikandar, son of Bahlul Lodi. By God's grace he was victorious, and Sultan Ibrahim was killed in the fight.

His victory was won purely by the Divine grace, for Sultan Ibrahim had a *lak* and 80,000 horse, and as many as 1,500 head of fierce elephants; (9b) 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 amirs of Hind represented that in Hindustan 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

Khawja³ Killan⁴ Beg asked leave several times to go to Kabul. He said: 'My constitution is not fitted for the climate of Hindustan. If leave were given, I should tarry awhile in Kabul.' 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 some niggardly 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.)

Thrice in modern times a decisive battle has been fought out here : (1) by Babar against Ibrahim and the Lodis, 1526; (2) by Akbar against the Indian Afghans in 1556; and (3) by Ahmad Shah Durrani against the Maratbas in 1761.

² Babar distributed the treasure on the 11th or 12th of May, 1526, and loft himself so little that he was dubbed *qalandar*,

³ M. Garyin de Tassy says, in his 'Me'moire sur la Religion Musalmane' (46 n.) that khwaja, like sayyid, is a title for a descendant of Muhammad. Shaw's Turk! Dictionary states that khwaja 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 Babar's most admirable followers and friends, and perhaps a relation. He was one of seven brothers, sons of Maulana Muhammad Sadru'd'din, who spent their lives in Babar's service.

Sultan Ibrahim, to my elder relations¹ 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 Sultan Ibrahim, 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 *ashrafis*, and on two other trays *shahrukhis*,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 *ashrafis* and *shahrukhis*, and present, in accordance with my directions, to my elder relations the very plate of jewels and the self-same dancing-girl which I have given for them. I have made other gifts;⁴ convey these afterwards, (lob) Let them divide and present jewels and *ashrafis* and *shahrukhis* and stuffs to my sisters and children and the *harams*⁵ and kinsmen, and to the begams and aghas⁶ and

¹ *waliyu-n-ni'matan*, lords of beneficence. Ghil-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 (*mrdparda*), and not in hasty camp fashion of community of quarters. This would exalt the assembly.

The *sarajparda* or enclosing canvas wall, run at optional distance round tents, was, it is stated in the *Ma'dsiru-r-rahimi*, invented by Bairam Khan-i-khdndn, 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 *shahrukhi* at from 10d. to 1s., Steingass, 8.v.*ashrafi*, 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 Babar's own in Kabul.

⁶ This word seems to describe women who were heads of household departments and not merely the guardians of harems.

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 *fatihah*¹ for the benediction and prosperity of his Majesty, and joyfully made the prostration of thanks.²

The Emperor sent by Khwaja Kilan a large *ashrafi*,³ which weighed three imperial *sir*, that is, fifteen *sir* of Hind, for . . . 'Asas.⁴ He said to the Khwaja: 'If 'Asas asks you, "What has the Emperor sent for me?" say, "One *ashrafi*" ' 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 *ashrafi*, and that 'Asas should be blindfolded and the *ashrafi* hung round his neck, and that then he was to be sent into the *karam*. The hole was bored and the *ashrafi* 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 *ashrafi*' Each begam, too, gave (? him) ten or twelve *ashrafi*, so he had seventy or eighty, (11a)

After Khwaja Kilan Beg had started for Kabul, the Emperor made gifts in Agra to his Majesty Humayfin and

¹ The first chapter of the Quran.

² In this prostration the forehead touches the ground.

³ Perhaps from the Lodl treasury. (Cf. J.A.S.B. Proceedings, 1883; Thomas, 423; Richardson's Ar. & Per. Diet., 8.v. *sihka*; 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 'ammit*,—to the paternal uncle of 'Asas. But the story is of 'Asas, the night-guard and not of his uncle. Perhaps 'amah is a clerical error for 'amah, bewilderment, misleading, and this would suit the story well. Mr. Beveridge has suggested to me to read 'Umari, i.e., an old servant of 'Urnar 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 Babar. One 'Asas was a boon companion and partook of Babar's vow before the battle of Khanwa. (Mems. 283 and 354; Firishtha, Pers. Text, Briggs I. 449.) Gul-badan names one (206) as entrusted with the care of Babar's tomb,—Mah. 'Ali 'Asas. I think he was brother to Maham Begam, and the governor of Kabul whom Kamran murdered in 1547.

to all the mirzas and sultans and amirs. 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 *Sahib-qirdn* and Chingiz Khan, let them turn towards our court. The most High has given us sovereignty in Hindustan; let them come that we may see prosperity together.'

. Seven¹ daughters of Sultan Abu-sa'id came (to Hindustan): Guhar-shad Begam, and Fakhr-jahan Begam, and Khadija Sultan Begam, and Badru-l-jamal Begam, and Aq Begam, and Sultan Bakht Begam.

(Also) Zainab Sultan Khanam, daughter of his Majesty's maternal uncle, Sultan Mahmud Khan, and Muhibb Sultan Khanam,² daughter of Hacha Khan (Ahmad), his Majesty's younger maternal uncle.

In short, all the begams and khanams 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 Agra he used to go on Fridays to see his paternal aunts. One day it was extremely hot, and her Highness my lady (*Akam*) 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, 'Maham ! it is astonishing that you should say such things! The daughters of Abu-said Sultan Mirza, who have been deprived of father and brothers ! If I do not cheer them, how will it be done ?'

To the architect, Khwaja Qasim, 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 Mirza Ilaidar Dughlat, the historian.

palace, give it precedence, and carry it out with might and main.'

He commanded buildings to be put up in Agra on the other side of the river,¹ 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*² built. (12a)

He ordered a tank made in Dholpur, ten by ten,³ 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 Rana Sanga, he filled it with lemonade.

A year after Sultan Ibrahim's death, the rana⁴ appeared from the Mandii (or Hindu) side with a countless host. Amirs and rajas and ranas, every one of those who had come earlier and paid duty to his Majesty, now became an enemy and went and joined the rana, until Kul-jalall and Sambhal and Rapri—every *pargana*,—and rais and rajas and Afghans became hostile. Nearly two *laks* of cavalry assembled.

At this time, Muhammad Sharif, 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,⁵ and showed signs of cowardice. (126) When his Majesty saw his army

¹ i.e., opposite the fort.

² * A building on the roof which has a door on each of the four sides.' Vullers, 602. Badaoni uses *ghurfa*, upper room, as an equivalent. Of Elliot's History of India, V. 347 and 508.

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 Sikri, at Khanwa. Akbar's *prnmomen* of Fathipur—the City of Victory—was given to Sikri in 1573 to commemorate the Gujrat campaign.

⁵ When the fight had been won, Babar soundly rated Muhammad Sharif, 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 Kabul, and to Kabul in 1519 from Khost (Mahain'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—amirs and khans and sultans; 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 ditorce of their wives and on the Holy Book; they recited the *fatiha*, 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.'¹ (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 *firmons* 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

¹ Mr. Erskine thus gives Babar'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, Babar 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 night¹ before the battle word was brought that Qasim Husain Sultan,—a grandson of Sultan Husain Mirza through a daughter, 'Ayisha Sultan Begam,—had come to within ten *kos* (of the royal camp) on his way from Khurasan, (*nb*)

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 Qasim Husain Sultan, 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 (Jumada I I. [13th], 938H.), his Majesty arrayed battle against Bana Sanga on the skirts of the hill of Slkri, where now Fathpur 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 (*akam*), who was Mahain Begam, came from Kabul to Hindustan. I, this insignificant one, came with her in advance of my sisters, and paid my duty to my royal father. When my lady reached Kul(-jalall—*i.e.*, 'Alighar), his Majesty had sent two litters with three horsemen. (*Ua*) She went on post-haste from Kul to Agra. His Majesty had intended to go as far as Kul-jalall 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

¹ Babar says that Qasim had come earlier and with 500 men. Muh. Sharif, 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 *Ghazi*. Babar now assumed this title, because he had vanquished non-Muhammadans.

saddled but set out on foot. He met her near the house of Maham'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.

. . . ³nine 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 Kabul, and about a hundred of my lady's Mughal servants, mounted on fine (*tipuchaq*) horses,⁴ all elegance and beauty.⁵

My royal father's Khalifa⁶ with his wife Sultanam⁷ came as far as Naugram⁸ to meet (us). My *mamas*" had made me alight at the Little Garden, and having spread a small carpet, seated me on it. They instructed me to rise when Khalifa came in, and to embrace him. When he came, I rose and embraced him. Then his wife Sultanam came in

¹ *dor pesh khana nanacha Maham*, This might read 'in the advance camp.' Maham'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., 428.

³ *tuquz*. The Turks made kings' gifts by nines and attached superstitious reverence to the number.

⁴ A *tipuchaq* horse, according to Shaw, is long-necked like a Turkman horse, and it seems also to be one with speed, beauty, and specially-trained paces. Vambery says, 'em 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 cortege which followed Maham with Gul-badan.

⁶ Sayyid or Khwaja Nizamu-d-dm 'All *Barlas* and Babar's *vazlr*. His brother, Junaid *Barlas*, married Shahr-banfi, a half-sister of Babar.

⁷ Clearly an intimate. There were close relations, as has been said, between this *Barlds* family and Babar. Cf Biographical Appendix, 8.η. Sultanam.

⁸ Some four miles from Agra and on the east of the Jamna. The royal palace was not yet built on the western bank. Cf Bajputana Gazetteer, III. 274.

⁹ Steingass translates 'mother,' 'matron,' and 'old women.' One *mama* is named later, 'Fakhru-n-nisa', my *mama*.' (26a) She was the mother of Nadim Khwaja *kuka*. 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 Maham *anaga* who was Nadim's wife.

too. (146) 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 order¹ about him. So be it! what power have slaves?'

Prom Khalifa I accepted 6,000 *shahrukhis* and five horses, and Sultanam gave me 3,000 and three horses. Then she said: 'A hasty meal (*ma hazarl*) 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 Gujrati brocade, and six canopies of cloth and brocade, each of a (differing) colour, and a square enclosure² of cloth with painted poles.

I sat in Khalifa's quarters. The meal drew out to almost fifty roast sheep,³ 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. (i5a)

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 Agra three months, the Emperor went to Dholpur. Her Highness Maham Begam and this lowly person also went. A tank had been made there, ten (*gaz*) by ten, out of one piece (of rock). From Dholpur his Majesty went on to Sikri. 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 *chaukandl* in the Sikri garden, and my

¹ (?) as that she should rise to greet him.

² Text, *chahar chuqa-i-saraparda*. Cf. *Notices et Extraits*, Quatre-vingt-neuf, XIV. 498.

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 ahar*, five foods, i.e., courses, dishes. Gul-badan is now between five and six. Her doubt as to the reception due to Sultanam 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 *tur-khana*,¹ where he used to sit and write his book.²

I and Afghani *aghacha* were sitting in the front of the lower storey when my lady went to prayers. I said to Afghani *aghacha* : '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 Kabul. My royal father went as far as Naugram to give honourable reception to my clearest lady (*aka-jdnam*)* 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 (*Bagh-i-zar-afshan*). 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, Tahir the ewer-bearer will amply suffice. I will make over the kingdom to Hum ay fin.' On this my lady (*akam*) 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 Mirza 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-dar 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). C/. Khwand-amir, B.M. Or. 1,762, and Add. 30,774, ff. 25-114.

² The *Tuzuk-i-bahari*.

³ Khanzada 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 Dholpur,' He himself went comfortably and pleasantly by water, and the begams also begged to go by boat.

Just then there came a letter from Maulana Muhammad Farghari (Parghall) ;in Dihll, saying : 'Humayun Mirza is ill and in an extraordinary state. Her Highness the begam should come at once to Dihll, for the mirza is much prostrated.'¹ (16b)

My lady was very much upset on hearing this news, and started for Dihll, 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. Prom Mathura the two, mother and son, like Jesus and Mary, set out for Agra. 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.'² His Majesty rejoined : 'Maham ! although I have other sons, I love none as I love your Humayiln. I crave that this

¹ Cf, *Babar-nama*, Ilminsky, 502 et seq., and P. de Courteille, I I . 457 et seq., where is one of the supplementary fragments included in Kehr's *Babar-nama* (*Tuzuk*) and possibly taken from the Bukhara MS. (Cf. Notes on the Turki texts of the *Babar-nama*, A. S. Beveridge. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1900.)

² All Maham's other children died in childhood.

cherished child may have ins 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 Humayun's illness¹ his Majesty walked round him and turned his face (in intercession) to his Reverence, Murtaza 'All Karimu-l-lah. 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 Babar, I give my life and my being for Humayun.'²

That very day he fell ill, and Humayun 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 Humayun, who had gone towards Kalinjar. He came post-haste, and on paying his duty to the Emperor, noticed that he was very feeble. Pilled 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 Babar'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 Babar's own, it is not improbable was added to the *Tuzuk* by Jahangir) tells this story in Babar's person. After rejection of the suggestion to sacrifice for Humayun's life the great diamond (? the *Koh-i-ntir*), the narrative continues (P. de C, I I . 460.): 'J'entrai dans la chambre ou il se tenait, et je tournai trois fois autour de lui, en commençant par la tete et en disant, "J'assume sur moi tout ce que tu souffres." En meme instant je me sentis tout alourdi, tandis que lui se trouvait leger et dispos. Il se leva en pleine sante, et moi je m'affaissai, accable de malaise.'

Faith in the rite of circumambulation still prevails in Persia. Babar, it is clear, believed his devotion to have borne fruit. (Cf. Hughes, Dict. of Islam, 8,v. Intercession. For Karimu-l-lah, see Badayunf, *Bib. Ind. Text*, I I I . 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 Bardl 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 Bardl said: 'The fortunate prince has reached Dihll; he will wait on you to-day or to-morrow,' On this my royal father said to Mir Bardl Beg: 'Ill-fated little fellow! I have heard that they married your sister in Kabul, and you in Lahfir.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 Mlrza grown?' and 'What is he like?' As Mir Bardl was wearing one of the mlrza'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 Isan-tlmur Sultan and Gul-chihra to Tukhta-bugha Sultan.'⁶

¹ Hindal's guardian from birth (1519-1530). He had previously been Babar's *bakawal* (house-steward). One of his sons, Khwaja Tahir Muhammad, served under Humayun and Akbar, and was *mlrfardghat* (master of comfort). He may be the Mir Bardl (qy. a child's sobriquet, Master Full-of-fun) of this episode. Tahir's son, Baqi, was a sewer, i.e., table-decker (*sufra-chi*).

² Hindal, with whom doubtless Mir Bardl and his father were travelling, was on his way from Badakhshan to the court.

³ The text has no negative.

⁴ Hindal was now about eleven years old, so Mir Bardl must also have been a boy.

⁵ Khanzada Begam—*aka-jdnam*—dearest lady.

⁶ Isan (Ishan, or Yussun) was the ninth, and Tiikhta-bugha the tenth, son of Ahmad Khan, Babar's maternal uncle. They were uncles of Gul-badan's own husband, Khizr Khwaja.

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 *chicha*² herself and Badiu-l-jamal Begam and Aq Begam, both of whom were paternal aunts of his Majesty, were conducted into the hall. Having raised an estrade³ and spread carpets and chosen a propitious hour, Maham's *nanacha* made both *sultans* bow the knee⁴ in order to exalt them to the rank of sons-in-law.

Meantime his Majesty's disorder of the bowels increased. The Emperor Humayun 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 kundn.*

² This TurkI word presents great difficulty.

Vambery has *jicha*, Kirghiz, mother, and *chicha*, aunt (inferentially maternal); Shaw, *chicha*, Qazzaq, mother. P. de Courteille, Dict., *chicha*, 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., 887.) 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 *yanga* is an elder brother's wife; Vambery, *belle-sccur*, *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 Hablba *yanga* brings her daughter Ma'suma to marry Babar. (N.B.—Shaw writes *yanga* and *chicha*, where Vambery and others have a final 'round ha'.)

But if the *chicha* of Mems., 387, is to be read 'elder sister,' Babar can apply it only to Khanzada Begam (elsewhere called by him *aulugh igachi* (Ilm., 116.); and this would, I believe, make the reading of *Bikeh* (*Bega*) difficult, since Khanzada could not be called anything less than *Khanam*. The same objection would apply to the reading of *chicha* as mother or as maternal aunt. This inclines one to read *yanka*, and not *bikeh*, at Mems., 387; and the Zainab of the sentence may be granddaughter (*nabira*), through the female line, of the *belle-smwr*, or *bridesmaid*, of Khanzada Begam. But nothing is clear as to the relationship.

³ Text, *sufa dada*. Perhaps, content was given to all, but *suffa*, estrade, fits better with the following *basat*.

⁴ *Zand zana'inda*, literally, 'striking the knee.' Mems., 204 n..

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 Sultan Ibrahim's mother. It was in this way: that ill-fated demon (the mother) gave a *tola* of poison to one of her maids, and said: 'Take this and give it to Ahmad 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 Sultan Ibrahim.'¹ 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).²

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. (19b) Every day the disorder increased and his blessed countenance changed.

Next day³ he called his chiefs together and spoke after this wise : 'For years it has been in my heart to make over my throne to Huinayun Mirza 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 Humayun in my stead. Fail not in loyalty

¹ Her son, who died fighting Babar at Panipat.

² Pers. and Hind. Proverbs, T. Roebuck, Calcutta, 1824, p. 124, and Mems., 18.

³ (?) after Humayun's arrival.

to him. Be of one heart and one mind with him. I hope to God that Humayun also will bear himself well towards men.

* Moreover, Humayun, 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 *ftaram* 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 (Jumada I. 5th, 987H.). (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 Hindiistan, it is the custom of the *bazar* 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 Babar has become a dervish and has given his throne to the Emperor Humayun.' This his Majesty Humayun ordered to be done. People were at once reassured by the proclamation, and all offered prayers for

¹ Khanzada Begam,

² Babar'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, 1580 (Jumada I. 9th, 937H.), the Emperor Humayun mounted the throne, and everyone said: 'May all the world be blessed under his rule.' (206)

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 Hindal Mirza, having come from Kabul, 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 Muhammad "All 'asas³ its guardian, and ordered the appointment of sixty good reciters of the whole Quran and readers with good voices, so that the congregational prayers might be said five times daily and the whole Quran recited, and prayer offered for the soul of the royal dweller in Paradise (*Firdaus-makani*). (21a) The whole of Sikrl—now known as Fathpur—together with five *laks* charged on Bayana, was given as an endowment to the

¹ *ma'rka*. Kaverty (Afghan Diet..) 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, turmoil' (modern colloquial). Gul-badan uses it for the common social assemblies she names, and here for the gathering of relations at a tomb.

² Babar's body was laid first in the Ram or Aram Bagh (Garden of Best), on the opposite side of the river from the present *Taj-mahall*. Later it was taken to Kabul. Mr. Erskine (B. & M., I. 517 *et seq.*) quotes a charming passage from Burns' 'Travels in Bokhara' (II. 121 *et seq.*), which describes Babar's self-chosen resting-place. He follows this by an eloquent estimate of Babar'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 Maham Begam.

tomb, for the support of the men of learning *Culamd*) 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 Babar's daughters should see their brother in Blbi Gul-barg's¹ house.' Just as though her words were in the royal heart and mind, his Majesty used always, so long as he was in Hindustan, 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'suma Sultan Begam, and Gul-rang Begam, and Gul-chihra Begam,² 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-makani* that his Majesty *Jannat-ashyani* was in Hind, the people dwelt in repose and safety, and obedience and loyalty.⁵

Six months after the death of his Majesty *Firdaus-*

¹ Cf. post. 296, and 'Biographical Appendix,' 8.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 Maham Begam.

⁴ Beally 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 Afghans, conquerors of earlier date, or Babar's people, i.e., household.

makani, Biban¹ and Bayazid advanced from the direction of Gaur. On the news of this, his Majesty at once left Agra and moved to meet them. He defeated them, and then went to Chanada (Chunar),² took it, and thence returned to Agra.

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

Three days later Bega Begam⁶ came from Kabul. She became in the family way. In due time⁶ she had a daughter, whom they named 'Aqlqa. Maywa-jan said to Lady (Aka) Maham 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

¹ Text, Bibban. Biban and Bayazid were two distinguished Afghan chiefs and supporters of the fallen Lodi dynasty. The defeat named here occurred at Daura, on the G-urmti, 1531 (937H.).

All who love the story of an adventurous life, chequered through character of individuals in a marked degree, should fill out Gul-badan's brief narrative from Mr. Erskine's life of Humayun.

* 1632 (938H.). Taken from Shir Shah late in 1532 (939H.).

³ An attendant on a man of rank, who carries a gold or silver staff (Johnson, Pers. Diet., 8.v.); chamberlain in the service of Khans of Turkistan (Zenker, 8V.) Gul-badan's use of the word (81b) would allow a more extended sense.

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

⁵ Bega had had one son, Al-aman. She is known in the later histories as Hajl Begam, but she made her pilgrimage in 972H.. She was captured at Chausa in 1539 (946H.) by Shir Shah; and most writers give her at this date the brevet title of Haji. 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 ax yak sal*, which, read literally, spoils the story.

kept saying: 'Perhaps one of them will have a son.' She kept watch till Bega Begam's 'Aqlqa was born. Then **she** kept an eye on Maywa-jan. Ten months went by. **The** eleventh also passed. Maywa-jan said: 'My maternal aunt was in Mirza Ulugh Beg's¹ *barartu* She had a son in the twelfth month; perhaps I am like her.' So they sewed tents and filled pillows.² But in the end everyone knew she was a fraud.

His Majesty who had gone towards Chanada (Chunar), returned safe and sound.

My lady who was Maham Begam, gave a great feast. (226) They lit up the bazars.³ Before that time people used to illuminate the bazars (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,⁴ 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*⁵ and *sar-i-kannat* of Gujrati 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 Babar's paternal uncle, known as *Kabuli*.

² i.e., made all preparations. Perhaps *khirgahd dokhta* is not 'sewed tents,' but *pitched tents.' Cf. *zamin-doz*.

³ I am very doubtful as to the meaning of the following paragraph. It can hardly be true that India waited for Maham to instruct it in the Art of illumination or decoration. I have conjecturally read that, whereas formerly only *bazars* 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. 128 ff, many difficult words in it.

⁵ Ar., a pent over a doorway, a veil, an umbrella. Perhaps *qanat*, 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.¹

At this time came news that Muhammad-zaman Mirza² had killed the father of Haji Muhammad Khan *kuki*,³ and was meditating rebellion. (23a) His Majesty sent to summon them⁴ to the presence, and having laid hands on them, imprisoned them in Bayana, in charge of Uncle Yadgar. Uncle Yadgar's men sided with Muhammad-zaman Mirza, and let him escape (1533—940H.). At this time it was ordered that Sultan Muhammad Mirza⁶ and Nai⁶ (Wall) Khub Sultan Mirza should both be blinded. Nai Khub Sultan lost his sight, but the man who had the blinding of Muhammad Sultan did not injure his eyes.⁷ Muhammad-zaman Mirza and Muhammad Sultan Mirza,

¹ The feast here credited to Maham Begam may be that of the first anniversary of Humayun'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 Nizamu-d-din Ahmad that 12,000 robes were bestowed, 2,000 of these being * special.' For details as to *khil'at*, 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 Badfu-z-zaman Mirza, and grandson of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra*, and husband of Ma'suma, a daughter of Babar. 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 Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra*, and thus, a cousin of Muhammad-zaman,

⁶ Called both Nai and Wall in the histories.

⁷ See Mr. Erskine's interesting note on blinding. (B. & H., 11. 14 n.).

with his sons, Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza, 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 Biban and Bayazld, he was in Agra¹ 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 Gualiar.'² Her Highness my lady, and my mother (*ajam*),³ and my sisters Masuma⁴ Sultan Begam, whom we used to call Elder sister⁶ Moon, and Gul-rang Begam, whom we used to call Elder sister Rose,—we all were in Gualiar in attendance on the beneficent ladies.⁶

As Gul-chihra Begam was in Oude, and her husband, Tukhta-bughra Sultan, went to the mercy of God, her attendants wrote to his Majesty from Oude and said: 'Tukhta-bughra Sultan is dead. (23b) What is the order about the begam?' His Majesty said to Mir Zaycha:⁷ 'Go and bring the begam to Agra. We also are going there.'

At this time her Highness my lady said: 'If you approve, I will send for Bega Begam and 'Aqlqa, so that they also may see Gualiar.' She despatched Naukar⁸ and Khwaja Kablr, who brought them from Agra.

¹ * Occupied in dreamy speculations of false sciences'—i.e., astrology. (B. & H., II. 14.) The date is 1534 (941H.).

² The histories tell us that the Gualiar expedition was a military demonstration against Bahadur Shah of Gujrat. Khwand-amlr fixes its date as Sha'ban 939H. (February, 1533).

³ Taken as it is written, this name might be charmingly translated as 'Ma desiree,' but considered with other words in this text after which the enclitic *am* (my) is incorrectly written, it seems that prosaic *my mother,' Turki, *acham*, is safer. In favour, however, of reading *ajam*, desire, is the wording on 25b (No. 48 of the guest-list), *ajam walida-i-md*, our mother. *Ajam* occurs also at 296.

⁴ Her husband, Muhainmad-zaman, is the rebel of this name just spoken of.

⁵ *Chicha*; 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 Babar names this man as being sent from India in charge of gifts to Kabul (Mems., 887.), and Gul-badan names him again (676) as guardian of the begams' doorway in the citadel of Kabul.

They let two months slip by in one another's company in Gualiar, and then set out for Agra, which they reached in February, 1534 (Sha ban, 940 H.)¹

In April (Shawwal) my lady was attacked by a disorder of the bowels. On the 27th of the same month (13th Shawwal) 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. (24a) I remained one year more in her house.² When I was eleven, and his Majesty went to Dholpur, I

¹ This date cannot be right. The following are approximately correct for this time: Visit to Gualiar undertaken, Sha'biin, 939H. (February, 1588). Return to Agra and Maham's illness, Shawwal (April). Death of Mtlham, 18th Shawwal (May 8, 1533). Forty days of mourning carries on the time to late in Zu'l-qa'da (June). Start for Dihli, beginning of Zu'l-hijja,— after June 24. The building of Dinpana was begun Muharram, 940H. (July, 1533).

² Milham had also adopted Hindal. Babar details the circumstances, but the abbreviation, as it seems, of the Persian text, has led to an error. (Mems., 250.) Those children of Babar who died young, were not born in 'this year' (925H.), as will be seen in the fuller rendering of Ilminsky, 281, and of P. de C, I I. 44: 'Apres Humayiin (b. 918H.) j'eus encore plusieurs enfants, ne's de la meme mere que lui, mais qui ne vecurent pas.'

We know from Gul-badan that these were Barbul, Mihr-jahiln, and Ishan-daulat.

'Hindal n'etait pas encore venu dans le monde. Comme j'etais dans ces parages [Kehraj, in Mandesh, and on his way to India], il m'arriva une lettre de Milham, dans laquelle elle me disait, "Sera-ce un fils ou une fille ? Prononcez vous-meme sur la part que me reserve la fortune ; a moi de mettre Tenfant dans le monde [Erskine, 'I will regard the child as mine'] et de l'elever." Le vendredi, 26 du mois, toujours a ce meme campement, j'adjugeai Hindal a Maham [before birth], et je lui iterivis a ce sujet une lettre qui lui fut portee a Kabul par leusuf 'All rikab-dar [courier] quoique Hindal ne fut pas encore ne.'

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 a ete dit plus haut, il faut savoir que jusqu'a cette epoque, de tout les enfants nes de la meme mere

accompanied my mother.¹ This will have been before he went to Guallar and began to build.²

At the end of the mourning for my lady, his Majesty went to Dihl³ and began to build the fort of Dln-pana.⁴ He then returned to Agra.

Dearest lady⁵ (Khanzada Begam) said to his Majesty : ' When will you make Mirza Hindal's marriage feast ?' His

que Humayun, soit un fils [*i.e.*, Barbul], cadet par rapport a lui, l'aîné par rapport a mes autres enfants et trois filles, dont l'une était Mihrjan, il n'y en avait pas un qui ne fut mort en baa age. Je souhaitais vivement de lui voir naître un frere ou une soeur. [*i.e.*, a child of Maham. There were other children of other wives.]

' Précisément a cette époque Dil-dar *aghacha* se trouvait enceinte. Je ne cessais de rentrer, " Phit a Dieu que l'enfant qui va naître, sortit du même sein que Humayun !" A quoi ma mère [*sic*, Turk! text, Ilminsky, 271, *hazrat walida*] me répondait, " Si Dil-dar *aghacha* met au monde un fils, ne pourrais-je pas le prendre et m'en charger ?" " Rien de mieux," faisais-je a 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 s'écrivent, 'All ou Hasan, sur l'autre Fatima; 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 a 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 male qui en sortit. En recevant cette bonne nouvelle, j'écrivis aussitôt pour en faire part a 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 gre, mal gre, a sa mère et on l'apporta chez moi ou on le garda. Lorsque j'en donnai avis a ma mère [*sic*], celle-ci apprenant qu'elle avait obtenu l'objet de ses vœux, donna au jeune prince le nom de Hindal, qui était pour nous de bon augure. Par cet arrangement cet enfant fut pour moi [? nous] a la fois un frere cadet (for Humayun) et un fils (for Maham and himself).

The words *Hazrat wrilida* cannot mean the mother of Babar. She had been dead some fourteen years. They may be equivalent to *Sulftn-walida*—*i.e.*, the mother of the heir-apparent. Certainly it was Maham who adopted Hindal. This initial misconception as to the identity of *Hazrat walida* runs through the whole translation of this most interesting passage. According to Gul-badan, Faruq (born in 982H.) was Maham's son. Babar names the birth. (Mems., 848.)

¹ *i.e.*, returned to her own mother's charge *i.e.*, Dil-dar's.

² An obscure passage. Humayun was building about this time. (Elliot, V. 126.)

³ Beginning of Zu'l-hijja, 939H. (June—July, 1588).

⁴ *Humayun-nama*, Khwand-amir. (Elliot, V. 125.)

⁵ Cf. 15b n..

Majesty replied: ' *B'ismu-l-laah*.³ When Mirza Hindal was married, my lady (Maham) was living, but there was delay in arranging the feast. (Khanzada Begam) said: ' The things for the Mystic Feast are also ready. Let us first celebrate this, and afterwards Mirza Hindal'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 MYSTIC¹ 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 (*wilayati*) carpets. (24b) Young men and pretty girls and elegant women and musicians and sweet-voiced reciters were ordered to sit in the tank.²

The jewelled throne which my lady had given for the feast was placed in the fore-court of the house, and a gold-embroidered divan³ 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 Sultan Abu-sa'id Mirza:

1. ⁴ Fakhr-jahan Begam.
2. Badi u-l-jamal Begam.
8. Aq⁵ Begam.
4. Sultan Bakht Begam.

¹ *Tilism*; Greek, talisman. Perhaps an epithet drifted from astrological phraseology. This feast commemorated the accession of Humayun. Cf. *Humayun-nama*, trs. Sada-sukh La'l (B.M. Add. 30,774, p. 76.): ' talismanic palace,' which may be the building named by Gul-badan. Cf. * samite, mystic,' of Tennyson. Khwand-amlr speaks at length of this feast in his *Humayiin-ndma*, and calls the building in which it was held '*imarat-i-tilism*.'

² The sequel to this order follows later.

³ *tushak*, (?) *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 Sultan, Kamran's son-in-law, and Saliqa, daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza.

5. Guhar-shad Begam.
6. Khadlja Sultan Begam.

Upon another cushion sat our paternal aunts, the sisters of his Majesty, *Firdaus-makdni*:

7. Shahr-banu Begam.
8. Yadgar Sultan Begam.

(N.B.—Other guests of the right follow).

9. 'Ayisha Sultan Begam, daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza.

10. Ulugh Begam, daughter of Zainab Sultan Begam, a paternal aunt of his Majesty.

11. 'Ayisha Sultan Begam.

12. Sultani Begam, daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza, paternal (great-) uncle of his Majesty¹ and mother of Kilan Khan Begam. (26a)

13. Bega Sultan Begam, daughter of Sultan Khalil Mirza, paternal (grand-)uncle of his Majesty.

14. Maham Begam.²

15. Begl Begam, daughter of Ulugh Beg Mirza *Kabull*, paternal (grand-)uncle of his Majesty.

16. Khanzada Begam, daughter of Sultan Mas'ud Mirza; on her mother's side, grand-daughter of Payanda Muhammad Sultan Begam, paternal (grand-)aunt of his Majesty.

17. Shah Khanam, daughter of Badl'u-1-jamal Begam (No. 2.).

18. Khanam Begam, daughter of Aq Begam (No. 3.).

19. Zainab Sultan Khanam, daughter of Sultan Mahmud Khan, eldest maternal (grand-)uncle of his Majesty.

20. Muhibb Sultan Khanam, daughter of Sultan Ahmad Khan,—known as Ilacha Khan, the younger maternal uncle of the elder³ Emperor (Babar).

¹ The words used of Sultani do not grammatically apply to 'Ayisha, but I believe she is also a daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza and is Babar's first wife, who left him under the influence of an elder sister, perhaps Saliqa Sultan (Aq Begam). Saliqa married a son of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, and may have acted under the evil impulses of the family quarrels which did so much to embitter, if also to stimulate, Babar's early ambitions.

² This is not 'my lady,' whose death has been already recorded.

³ *kilan*; perhaps, great.

21. Khanish, sister of Mirza Haidar and daughter of (a) maternal (great-)aunt of his Majesty.

22. Bega Kilan Begam.¹

23. Kichak Begam.

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

25. Kichakna Begam.

26. Apaḡ (Afaḡ) Begam, daughter of Sultan Bakht Begam (No. 4.).

27. Mihr-LIḡ (? Mihr-banu) Begam, paternal aunt of his Majesty.

28. Shad Begam, grand-daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza, and daughter of a paternal aunt of his Majesty (? No. 22.).

29. Mihr-angez Begam, daughter of Muzaffar (Husain) Mirza, and grandchild of Sultan Husain Mirza. (25b) They had great friendship for one another (? Shad 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 Sultan Mahmud Mirza and mother of Shad Begam (No. 28.) by a son, Haidar, of Sultan Husain Mirza.

² Text *zih-gIrI*, *taraahi*, 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 (*cliaugdn*). Cf. Babar's account of Haidar's accomplishments (Ilminsky, 14, Mems., 13, P. de C, 22.), and Haidar's own recital in his prologue to the *Tarikh-i-rashidi*.

I suggest to take *tarashi* (a word not used by Babar or Haidar) as equivalent to the fletchery (*auḡ*), or the 'making arrow-heads' (*paikari*), of Babar.

Another possible reading has been suggested to me by Mr. Beveridge —(a)z *hikiiri tarashi*, 'by cutting arrows.' *HikrI* is a Hindi name for cultivated reeds grown on low marshy grounds. (Wilson's Glossary, s.v., and Piatt's Hindustani Diet..) 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 *zi7i-gir* 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-gIr* is of eccentric

with the bow and arrow. They also played many musical instruments.

- 30. Gul Begam.
- 81. Fauq Begam.
- 82. Khan (? Jan) Begam.
- 38. Afroz-banu Begam.
- 34. Agha Begam.
- 35. Firoza Begam.
- 36. Barlas Begam.

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

After the Mystic Feast (988 H.) came Mirza Hindal'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. Agha (*Agha,—passim, dgha*), *Sultan aghdcha*, mother of Yadgar Sultan Begam.

38. *Atun mama*.

39. Sallma.

40. Saklna.

41. Bibi Habiba.

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-glr*. The arrow is released by straightening the thumb, and the string then flies over the hard surface of the ring. The *zih-gir* 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 zihgir shah-i-shdhan Nadir suhib-qiran bar taskhir i-hind az jawahar-khana intikhab shud*' ('Selected for a thumb-ring for the king of kings and lord of happy conjunction Nadir, 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-gir*, *safn*. *Safn* is the rough skin of a fish or lizard which is used to smooth the arrow-shafts. (*Cf.* Lane's Ar. Diet..)

¹ *Ba wilayati*. (?) to Kabul and other outside places.

² Perhaps this is an explanation of the paucity of right-hand wedding-guests.

42. Hanifa Bega.
And the others who had sat¹ at the Emperor's left on embroidered divans.
43. Ma'siima Sultan Begam.
44. Gul-rang Begam.
45. Gul-chihra Begam.
46. This insignificant one, the broken Gul-badan.
47. 'AqIqa Sultan Begam.
48. Ajam, our mother, who was Dil-dar Begam.²
49. Gul-barg Begam.
50. Bega Begam. (26a)
51. Maham's *nanacha*.
52. Sultanam, the wife of Amir (Nizamu-d-din) *Khalifa*.
58. Alush Begam.
54. Nahid Begam.
55. Khurshld *kuka*, and the children of my royal father's foster-brothers.
56. Afghani *clghdcha*.
- 57.³ Gul-nar *aghdcha*.
58. Naz-gul *aghdcha*.
59. Makhduma *agha*, the wife of Hindu Beg.
60. Patlma Sultan *anaga*, the mother of Baushan *kuka*.
61. Fakhru-n-nisa¹ *anaga*, the mother of Nadlm *kuka*.
62. The wife of Muhammadl *kuka*.
68. The wife of Mu'yid Beg.
64. The *kukas* of his Majesty : Khurshld *kuka*.
65. Sharlfu-n-nisa' *kuka*.
66. Path *kuka*.
67. Rabf a Sultan *kuka*.

¹ (?) 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 Humayun, and who were at both feasts.

²Cf. 236 n..

³ Nos. 57 and 58 are, perhaps, the two Circassians whom Shah Tahmasp sent as a gift to Babar (Mems., 347.). Gul-nar is named in Abu 'l-fazl's list of pilgrims who went with Gul-badan to Makka in 983H., and as being of Babar's household. They (Nos. 57 and 58) are named also by Firishta.

68. Mah-liqa *kuka*.
69. Our nurses (*anaga*).
70. Our *kukas*.
71. The begams' people and the wives of the amirs.
Those who were on the right.
73. Sallma Bega.
74. Blbl Neka.
75. Khanam *agha*, daughter of Khwaja 'Abdu-l-lah
Marwarld.
76. Nigar *agha*, mother of Mughal Beg.
77. Nar Sultan *agha*.
78. *Agha kuka*, wife of Mu'nim Khan.
79. Daughter of Mir Shah Husain, (illegible) Bega.
80. Klsak Maham.
81. Kabull Maham.
82. Begl *agha*.
83. Khanam *agha*.
84. Sa'adat Sultan *agha*,
85. Blbl Daulat-bakht.
86. Naslb *agha*.
87. (Illegible) Kabull.

Other begas and aghas, the wives of the amirs, 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 (*adsaqahai*) embroidered with gold, and wonderful strings of pearls (*shadhiha*) hung, each 1J yards (*gaz*) in length. At the end of each string (*larl*) 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 pan-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 *pan*.

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,¹ 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.² (27a)

In the second room, called the House of Good Fortune, an oratory had been arranged, and books placed, and gilded pen-cases,³ and splendid portfolios,⁴ and entertaining picture-books written in beautiful character.⁵

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,⁶ and before these table-cloths, all of gold brocade. Various fruits and beverages had been got ready, and everything for merri-ment and comfort and pleasure.

On the feast-day of the Mystic House, his Majesty ordered all the mirzas and begams to bring gifts,⁷ and everyone did so. He said: 'Divide the gifts into three heaps.' They made three trays of *ashrafis* and six of *shahrukhis*. One of *ashrafis* and two of *shdhrukhis* he

¹ As to this threefold classification, Elliot and Dowson, V., 119, may be consulted.

² Six articles only are separately named, but the *qur* (translated armour) may be taken in the sense given to it in the *Ain* (Blochmann, 109.), and include four weapons, which makes the total the mystic nine. Cf. *Ain*, Z.c, and plates. (N.B.—The numbering of the weapons [*Lc.* p. 110.] does not agree with that of the plates. Plate X. should be consulted.)

³ *qalam-dan*. 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-dan*. Perhaps the beautiful book-covers of the day. Those having flaps might be called portfolios.

⁵ *muraqqa*.'

⁶ *nilialcha*. Placed, I presume, over carpets.

⁷ *sachaq*. This word appeal's 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 mirzas and chiefs and vazirs and soldiers.' (27b)

He gave in the same way to Mulla Muhammad Fargharl (Parghali) 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 *ashrafis* and two of *shahrukhis* 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 *ashrafu* and on another *shahrukhis*. Let each person take her hands full.' What was left, that is two trays of *shah*rukhis*,—which may have been 10,000,—and all the *ashrafis*,—about 2,000—he gave in largesse, and scattered¹ first before the wall 'u-n-nimatdn (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 *nisar*. Again a word which, like *sachaq*, would seem to fit the marriage feast better than the accession.

² *shit* The text has no points and would yield *seb*, apple; but anise is the better remedy against cold.

³ *ma'jun*, any medical confection, but commonly an intoxicant. Here it may be some preventive of chill.

honour were put on,¹ and gifts bestowed, and head-to-foot dresses given to the comfit-eaters and others.

On the margin of the tank was a room (*talar*)² fitted with talc windows, and young people sat in the room and players made music. Also a woman's bazar³ had been arranged, and boats had been decorated. In one boat was made (?) the semblance of six people (*kasi*) and six alcoves (*kanj*); in (another) an upper room, and below it a garden with amaranthus and cockscombs and larkspurs⁴ and tulips. In one place there were eight boats, so that there were eight pieces.⁵

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 MIRZA HINDAL'S (MARRIAGE) FEAST IS
AS FOLLOWS:⁶

Sultanam Begam (*i.e.*, the bride) was a sister of Mahdl Khwaja.⁷ My father's brother-in law (*yazna*) had no child except Ja'far Khwaja, and there was no child (?) of Khanzada Begam).⁸ Dearest lady had taken care of Sultanam

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-pai*. 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 *Jchi'lat*, *sar-u-pai*, and 'honorary dresses.'

² The dictionaries I have seen, explain *talar* as a saloon built of wood and supported on four columns, and this is appropriate here. Le Strange and Haggard (Vazir of Lonkuran) 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 *hahvri*. Approaching this meaning is the *throne* of the dictionaries.

³ Cf. *Ain*, Blochmann, 276; *Khushroz*, or Day of Fancy Bazaars.
⁴ *na-firman*, stubborn, (?) because they will break and not bend. Balfour (Cyclopaedia) and Forbes (Hind. Diet.) give larkspur; Fallon, poppy. An account of the boats, etc., may be read in B.M. MS. Add. 30,774, where is a translation by Sir H. Elliott's *munshi* from Kh wand-amir.

⁵ *parcha*. Perhaps flower-gardens; perhaps Fr. *piece*. Cf. *Tin appartement de deux, trois pieces*.

⁶ Jauhar's date for this is 944H. (1537).

⁷ Many difficulties gather round this name. Cf. Appendix s.n. Mahdi Khwaja.

⁸ The copyist has perhaps omitted one *Cika-jandm*.

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 *kushka*¹ and hangings (*adsaqa*)¹ and five divans and five pillows for the head (*yistuiq*), and one large pillow and two round ones (*galula*); and girdles (*qushqa*) and veils (*naqab*), together with a tent³ with three gold-embroidered cushions and head-to-foot dresses for a prince, with collar and bordering of gold embroidery, and bath-wrappers (*fauta*) and napkins (*rupak*) and embroidered towels (*rumal*) and an embroidered mantle (*qurposh*) to be worn over the armour.

For Sultanam Begam: nine jackets (*nim-tana*). with garniture of jewelled balls,⁵ one of ruby, one of cornelian,

¹ M. Quatremere uses this word twice with perhaps two meanings. (Notices et Extraits, XIV. 824, 825 and 406-8.) At p. 408 he translates it *Mosques*, 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*, trone ; *bastar*, estrade ; . . . *kushka* ; *jiniik* ; *sandali*, siege,' 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 *nim-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 Iran differs 'in every respect' from the Persian of India. The Persian of Gul-badan allows one to feel at home with the *vazir* of Lonkuran, 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 Iran, and her teachers were probably Persian born. Dr. Rosen's remark appears to require some restriction.

⁵ *tukma* (*dar*), 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 bodice. The *vazir* of Lonkuran 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 Babar 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 jackets¹ with ball-trimming (*tukma-dar*), and one pair of ruby earrings and another of pearls, three fans,² and one royal umbrella.

One *dirakht*³ and two *khuTB*³ and other furniture and effects, and household goods and chattels and workshops⁴ of all sorts. (29a) Khanzada 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.

. . . nine *tipuchaq* horses, with jewelled and gold-embroidered saddles and bridles; and gold and silver vessels and slaves,⁵ Turk and Circassian and Arus (?Rus) and Abyssinian,—of each (race) a royal gift of nine.

What my royal father's brother-in-law⁶ (Mahdi Khwaja) gave to the mlrza was a set of nine *tipuchaq* horses, with jewelled and gold-embroidered saddles and bridles; and

¹ *char qartiji*; a suggested rendering only. Johnson gives *karti* (*qarti*) as a short boddice reaching to the hips, and the *qar* recurs in other words, having the sense of a body garment; e.g., *qartaq*, a short-sleeved jacket; *qarza*, a woman's vest.

² *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 *Qutb* 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 *dirakht*, a tree.

⁴ *kar-hhanaha*. These may be the kitchen and its plenishing; the goldsmith's, with his tools, furnaces, and appliances; the perfumer's, etc.. Cf. Ain, Blochmann, and *Tar. Bash.*, E. & R., 470.

⁵ *ghulaman*, which I have rendered slaves, because they were a gift. But I know no warrant for such servitude as is thus implied.

⁶ *yazna*, which is explained by Vambéry and Steingass as 'husband of the king's sister.' Nizamu-d-din Ahmad styles Mahdi Khwaja *damad*, which Meninsky and Steingass explain as 'husband of the king's sister' and 'son-in-law.' I do not find *yazna* rendered son-in-law by any of the dictionaries. To read *yazna* 'brother-in-law of the king' agrees with the detailed statement of Mahdi's relation to Babar made by Bayazid biyat. Cf. Appendix, s.n. Khanzada.

gold and silver vessels, and two other sets of nine horses, baggage animals, with velvet saddles and bridles; and brocade and Portuguese cloth, and Turki and Habshl 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 Bahadur, Khurasan Khan by name, had attacked Bayana. His Majesty despatched Mirza 'Askarl, with several amirs, Mir Faqr-'ali Beg and Mir Tardi Beg, etc.. These went to Bayana and fought and defeated Khurasan Khan.¹ (29b) The Emperor set out for Gujrat shortly afterwards, in prosperity and safety. It was on the 15th of the revered Bajab 941H.² 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, *ajam* (Dil-dar Begam) and my sisters and the ladies (*haraman*) were often in his company. Of all the tents, Masuma Sultan Begam's was at the top of the row. Next came Gul-rang Begam's, and *ajam*'s was in the same place. Then the tent of my mother,³ Gul-barg Begam and of Bega Begam⁴ and the others.

They set up the offices (*kar-khanaka*) and got them into

¹ Mirza Muqim, Khurasan Khan.

² January 29th, 1535. Abu'l-fazl gives *Jurnada* 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 Humayun 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 *a jam* 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 'Bibi Gul-barg,' mentioned somewhat condescendingly (21a) by Maham Begam; I incline to take Gul-barg there and here as Khalifa's daughter, and the former wife of Mir Shah Husain *Arghun*. Cf. Appendix, s.n. Gul-barg.

⁴ This is, I think, Humayun's wife and the mother of 'AqlIqa. The object of Gul-badan's enumeration of the tents seems to be desire to show that Babar's daughters and widow had places of honour higher than Humayun's family.

order. When they **had** put up the pavilions (*khaima*) and tents (*khar-gah*) and the audience tent (*bar-gah*), 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'suma Sultan 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 (*begahd*) and of position (*aghdha*), and other ladies (*dghachaha*), 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.' (306)

When she had finished, his Majesty said nothing, and

¹ *khana*, lit., house.

² *pahr*. Gul-badan names the Hindustani division of time into watches on which her father had commented as being a novelty to himself. (Mems., 831.)

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 *wazu'* ablution before prayers. Cf. Hughes, Diet, of Islam.

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-dar Begam, and Afghani *aghacha*, and Gul-nar *aghacha*, and Meywa-jan and Agha-jan, and the nurses (*anagaha*). 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 (*wali'u-n-ni'matan*) of you all (*shumayan*). 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 (*sijli*), 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. Bather, 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.¹ Bega Begam insisted a little, saying: ' The excuse looked worse than the fault.'² (31a) 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 up³ with her also.

On February 18th, 1584 (Shaban 14th, 941H.), he set out from the Gold-scattering Garden and marched for Gujrat, to fall upon Sultan Bahadur. They confronted one another at Manhasur (Mandsur); a battle was fought, and Sultan Bahadur, on his defeat, fled to Champanir. Then

¹ *ba Gul-barg Begam daryaftand.*

² A familiar proverb. Cf Steingass, 840, 8.v. '*azr*.

³ *daryaftand.* 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 166.

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 Kanbayat⁵ (Cambay). A few days later there came a woman with news, and said : 'Why are you sitting here? The men of Kanbayat 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. (31 b)

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

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

² Humayun's half-brother.

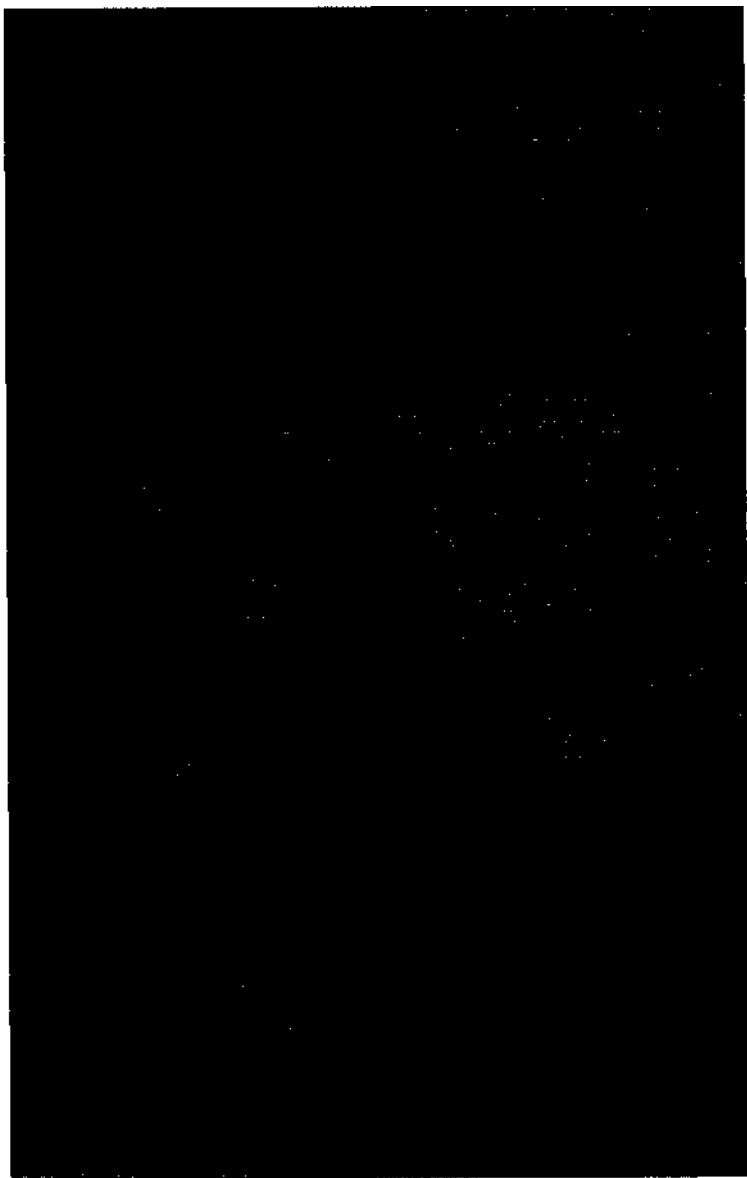
³ Grandson, through a daughter, of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra*; on his father's side an Uzbek.

⁴ Hurnayun's first cousin, the son of Babar's half-brother Nasir. 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 Nasir, 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 waiters. This was Huniayun'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 Abul-fazl calls them Bhils and Gawars. (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. Humayin 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. Bairam Khan was the fortieth, Humayin the forty-first of the three hundred who mounted. Such a Babar-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.).



SHIR SHAH AFGHAN.

[To face p, 133.

was a tumult, and Mirza'Askari's people left Ahmadabad and came to the Emperor. They represented to him that Mirza' Askari¹ and Yadgar-nasir Mirza had conspired, and wished to go to Agra. On hearing this, he himself was forced to go; he left the important affairs of Gujrat [(?) its pacification], and turned away and went to Agra. Here he spent as much as a year.²

He then went to Chanada (Chunar), and took it,³ and also Benares. Shir Khan 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 Bangala⁵ came wounded and a fugitive. For this reason he gave no attention (to Shir Khan), but marched towards Gaur Bangala. Shir Khan knew that his Majesty had gone there, and went himself also with a large detachment of horse, and joined his son (Jilal Khan), who was in Gaur with his servant Khawas Khan. Shir Khan sent them out, and said: 'Go and fortify Garhl.'⁶ (32a)

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

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

Gul-badan's 'we had settled down' (*nishista budim*) 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 *khutba* read in his own name in Agra. Such an aspiration in Humayun's brothers was encouraged by his own abdications of sovereignty.

² A fatal year which allowed Shir Khan to gather force. Gul-badan's recital of the historical events of this time has no value.

³ Shir Khan.

⁴ Jharkand.

⁵ Sayyid Mahmud Shah. He had been defeated by Shir Khan, (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 Bihar, and which has a hill on one hand and the Ganges on the other. It is the Teria garhi or Tilia gully of our maps.

to Garhi.' There was fighting, and Jahangir Beg was wounded and many men were slain.

When the Emperor had spent three or four days in Kohlganu (Colgong), it became advisable for him to march on and halt near Garhi. He marched forward, and when he came near Garhi, Shir Khan and Khawas Khan fled by night, and he entered Garhi next day. Thence he went to Gaur Bangala, 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 amirs had deserted and joined Mirza Hindal.²

Khusrau Beg³ (*kukaltash*) and Zahid Beg⁴ and Sayyid Amir⁵ paid their respects to the mirza, and said: 'The Emperor has gone comfortably far away, and the mirzas, Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his sons, Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza, have again raised their heads,⁰ and continually keep showing themselves in company.' (326)

Just at this time the asylum of shaikhs, the servitor (*bandagi*) Shaikh Bahlul, hid⁷ armour and horse-accoutre-

¹ City of Paradise. The demoralizing effects of life in Gaur were felt under Akbar. Huniayiin, 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, Hindal.

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

³ Babar first names him in 1507-8 as coming from Harat. There are two men named Khusrau *kukaltash* by Babar, 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, Humayun's wife. He was put to death by Mirza Kamran at Ghazni in 1547.

⁵ Sayyid Nuru-d-din Mirza, the father of Salima Sultan Begam, and the husband of a daughter of Babar. Cf. App. s.n. Gul-rang.

⁶ Hindal had recently defeated them. (Erskine, I I. 89 *et seq.*) For causes of Hindal's rebellion, and for Bega Begam's part in it, see Erskine's Jauhar, Z.t.f., 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 Khan and the mlrzas.¹ Mlrza Hindal would not believe it, so Mlrza Nuru-d-din Muhammad was sent to inquire into the matter. He found the armour and accoutrements, **and** had *Bandagi* Shaikh Bahlul killed.² The Emperor, on hearing news of it, set out for Agra.

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

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

Just now Babi, Beg (*Jalair*) came from Jaunpur and Mlrak Beg from Chanada (Chunar), and Mughal Beg from Oude. (33a) As these three amirs joined the Emperor, corn became dear.

Then,—such was God's will,—they had halted without precaution, when Shir Khan 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 Chunar, and then came to Arall.⁴

cannot have believed the accusation. Perhaps, however, her long friendship with Nilru-d-din's daughter Salima would make her pen discreet in blaming his murder of the shaikh.

¹ The rebels mentioned on p. 23b.

² For the probable facts, cf. B. & H., I I. 162 *et seq.*

³ It was Mu'yid Beg *Duladwi Barlas* 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 Humayun, 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 raja (Blrbahan) 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 raja started a bazar, 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 raja 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, (33*b*)

When his people were rested, he went on to Kalpl, and then marched on to Agra.

Before his arrival in Agra, he heard news that Shir Khan 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 'Ayisha Sultan Begam, daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza¹ (*Bayqra*); and Bachaka, who was a *khalifa* of my royal father;² and Bega-jan *kuka*; and 'Aqlqa Begam;⁸ and Chand Bibl, who was seven months with

the misadventures which culminated in the defeat. This—the rout at Chausa—occurred near to where the Son falls into the Ganges and at Chupat Ghat, on June 27th, 1539 (Safar 9th, 946H.). The statement of Humayun's visit to Chunar, I do not find elsewhere. Chunar was then held by royalists. The Arail named is presumably that near Allahabad.

¹ Wife of Qasim Husain Sultan *Uzbeg*, whose timely arrival gave Babar so much satisfaction. (18a) Qasim had been Governor of Patna (826), but, from the circumstance of his wife's being at Chausa, would seem to have left it with Humayun.

² A Bachaka, who was a *khalifa* of Babar's household, escaped with him from Samargand in 1501 (907H.), some thirty-eight years before the Chausa episode. *Khalifa*, 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 Shad Bibi, all three¹ (*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 illness² dragged on for forty days, and he then grew better.

At this time, when Khusrau Beg (*kuknltash*), and Diwana Beg, and Zahid Beg, and Sayyid Amir, had come on in advance of his Majesty, news again arrived that the mirzas, Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his sons, had come to Kanauj. (34a)

After Shaikh Bahlu's murder, Mirza Hindal went to Dihli. He took with him Mir Faqr-'all and other well-wishers to frustrate and disperse the mirzas. The mirzas fled, and came into the Kanauj quarter. Mir Faqr-'all brought Mirza Yadgar-nasir to Dihli. As there was neither friendliness nor confidence between Mirza Hindal and Mirza Yadgar-nasir, Mirza Hindal, when Mir Faqr-'all made this mistake, sat down out of sheer annoyance and besieged Dihli,³

When Mirza Kamran heard these things, there arose in him also a desire of sovereignty. With 12,000 fully equipped horsemen he went to Dihli. Mir Faqr-'all and Mirza Yadgar-nasir closed the city gates on his approach. Two or three days later, Mir Faqr-'all, having made an agreement, went and saw Mirza Kamran. He represented : 'The news heard of his Majesty and Shir Khan may be so and so.⁴ Mirza Yadgar-nasir, from thought of his own interest, does not wait on you. The advisable course at this crisis is, that you should lay hands on Mirza Hindal,

¹ Perhaps the copyist has omitted a name; perhaps, as a child of Humayun, 'Aqiqa 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 Hindal 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 Dihll.' (346)

Mirza Kamran gave heed to Mir Faqr-'all's words, and bestowed on him a head-to-foot dress. He then seized Mirza Hindal and came to Agra. He visited the tomb of *Firclaus-makanl*,¹ saw his mother and sisters, and halted in the Bose-scattering² Garden.

At this time Nur Beg brought word of his Majesty's coming.³ As Mirza Hindal was excluded from the presence because of the murder of Shaikh Bahlul, he went to Alwar.⁴

A few days after his Majesty's arrival, Mirza Kamran came from the Bose-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 Bangala, you wore the high cap (*taq*), 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 (*fifrat*) I was thankful I had not, and I said : (35a) " Thank God I did not bring Gul-badan !" For although 'Aqiqa⁷ was young, I have been

¹ Babar's remains then had not been conveyed to Kabul 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 *jagir*.

⁵ *zafrazar*. This, after Chausa, can only be a precativ of Gul-badairs.

⁶ This change appears to indicate that Gul-badan, who is about eighteen or nineteen years old, has been married. The Persian has *lachaqaqasaba*, without conjunction. Steingass and Johnson describe the *lachaqa* as a square mantle worn by women, doubled into a triangle, but here the description given in the *Burhan-i-qati* 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. *Qasaba* appears to have the same meaning as *lachaqa*.

⁷ Cf. p. 336.

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 retire¹ for awhile, and they rose and there was privacy. Then he said to *ajam* (Dil-dar Begam) and this insignificant one, and to Afghani *dghacha*, and Gul-nar *aghacha*, and Nar-gul *aghacha*, and my nurse (*anaga*): ' Hindal is my strength² 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 Mirza Muhammad Hindal about the affair of my⁴ Shaikh Bahhil? What was to be has been! Now there is no anger in my heart against Hindal. If you do not believe it' . . . He had lifted up the Holy Book when her Highness my mother, Dil-dar 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, Muhammad Hindal Mirza?' (35b) 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 Abu'l-baqil⁵ with her Highness my mother, to fetch Mirza Hindal. At once on hearing this

¹ *kinara hardand*. This metaphor recalls the arrangement of carpets in Persian rooms, with the carpet proper in the centre, an upper end (*sar-andaz*) and borders (*kindra*). 'Go aside' might be a good rendering.

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

³ Ar. *qanat*.

⁴ Here and in the apostrophe to Gul-badan I have allowed the *men* to indicate the affection Humayun 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!' Muhammad Hindal Mirza made his mother happy by giving her honourable meeting. He came with her from Alwar, and paid his duty to his Majesty.¹ About Shaikh Bahlfil he said: 'He used to send arms and military appurtenances to Shir Khan. When this was ascertained, I killed the shaikh on account of it.'

To put it briefly: in a short time came news that Shir Khan 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 Nizam, some said Sambal. But to cut the story short, his Majesty made the water-carrier servant sit on the throne, and ordered all the amirs 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. Mirza Hindal was not present at his court;² he had taken leave, and had again gone to Alwar with the intention of getting arms ready. Neither did Mirza Kamran 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 Shir Khan is near, what kind of affair is this to engage your Majesty?'

In those days Mirza Kamran'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 Hindal was received in the presence of Kamran and other kinsmen. Huniayfin said to Kamran: 'You know who is to blame! Why did Hindal rebel?' Kamran passed on the question to Hindal 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 mirza and swore that he had never had such a thought, nor given such an order to any one. Nevertheless, Mirza Kamran'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 Mirza Kamran in Agra to act for him. In a few days the mirza heard that he had made a bridge of boats and crossed the Ganges. On this, he himself marched out of Agra towards Labor.²

We had settled down³ when he sent⁴ a *farman* like a king's, and said: 'You⁵ are commanded to go with me to Lahor.' He must have said⁶ to his Majesty about me something of this sort: 'I am very ill and very miserable and lonely, and I have no one⁷ to sympathize with me. (37a) If you will order Gul-badan Begam to go with me to Lahor, 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 mirza 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

¹ i.e., Babar's widows.

² A treacherous defection.

³ The royal family, after the Emperor's and the mirza'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 *whan farmudand*. This seems to mean Humayun, and to refer the following speech back to the earliest discussion of the project of Gul-badan's journey at the time Humayun was still in Agra. The whole episode is confused in narrative.

Lahor), 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. (37i) 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 Mlrza Kamran.' To this humble note he sent a compassionate answer (*salam-nama*), to this effect: 'I had no heart to part with you, but the mlrza 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 mlrza was starting, many people, amirs and traders and so on, made preparation with the intention of letting their wives and families march under his escort to Lahor. When we reached (the city) news came of a battle on the Ganges, and that defeat had befallen the royal army.⁸

At least there was this limit to misfortune,—his Majesty and his brothers came safely through the peril.⁴ Our other relations⁶ came from Agra by way of Alwar to Lahor. (38a)

¹ It must be remembered that Gul-badan's husband, Khizr Khwaja, was a brother of Aq Sultan (Yasin-daulat), Kamran's son-in-law, and Kararan 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 Khan, soon to be closed at Kanauj. Gul-badan's enforced departure with Kamran saved her a painful and hazardous flight.

³ May 17th, 1540 (Muharram 10th, 947H.). Mlrza Haidar gives an admirable account of it as 'the battle of the Ganges.' Gul-badan's full brother, Hindal, led the van at Kanauj, and defeated Shir Khan's son, Jalal. Hindal was a successful general. 'Askari, Kamran's full brother, was defeated by Khawas Khan.

⁴ As at Chausa, so at Kanauj, Humayun was nearly drowned. Here he was saved by Shamsu-d-din Muhammad of Ghazni, whose wife, under the sobriquet of Ji-ji *anaga*, became a nurse of Akbar.

⁵ They were convoyed by Hindal. See *infra*.

Just now the Emperor said to Mirza Hindal: "Aqlqa Begam disappeared in that first interregnum (*fitrat*¹), 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.' Mirza Hindal 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 Fathipur (Sikri) with Mirza' Askari and Yadgar-nasir Mirza and the amirs who had come safely off the battlefield.²

Mirza Hindal sent on before him³ her Highness his mother, who was Dil-dar Begam, and his own sister, Gul-chihra Begam, and Afghani *aghacha*, and Gul-niir *aghacha*, and Nar-gul *aghacha*, and the amirs' wives and families, etc.. He was marching along when the Gawars 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 Gawars, he sent on (to Lahdr) his mother and sister, and many of the amirs' people, etc., and went to Alwar. Here he got together tents and pavilions and numerous requisites, and then started for Lahdr. 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 Haidar Mirza, who describes the fugitives as 'broken and dispirited, and in a state heartrending to tell/ Sikri must have rubbed salt into their wounds, since it recalls Babar's triumph. Their halting-place there was his garden, a token of his genius for living.

³ The known enemy, Shir Khan, was in the rear. With Hindal's marriage-feast fresh in mind, *one* may give a thought to Sultanam. She was probably of this party, since her husband's contingent was with Humayun, and he was not on his *jagir* of Alwar.

⁴ *Asp i-mubdrik*, (?) 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 Khwaja Ghazl's garden near Blbi Haj-taj.¹ Every day there was news of Shir Khan; and during the three months that the Emperor was in Lahor word was brought day after day: 'Shir Khan has advanced four miles,' 'six miles,' till he was near Sirhind.

One of the amirs was named Muzaffar Beg. He was a Turkman. The Emperor sent him with Qazl 'Abdu-l-lah to Shir Khan to say: 'What justice is there in this? I have left you the whole of Hindustan. Leave Lahdr 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 Kabul. You should go there.'

Muzaffar 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 Eesurrection. 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 Lahor water (Ravi) where everyone crossed. His Majesty halted a few days on the river's bank. Then an ambassador came from Shir Khan. The Emperor had decided to see him next morning, when Mirza Kamran made a petition, saying: 'To-morrow there

¹ Abu'l-fazl says that Hindal's quarters were in Khwaja Ghazi's garden, and Humayun's in Khwaja Dost *munshi's*.

Bibi Haj, Blbi Taj, Blbi Nur, Blbi Hur, Bibi Guhar, and Blbi Shabaz are said to have been daughters of 'Aqil, brother of 'All (Muhammad's soivin law). They were famous for piety and asceticism. After the murder of Imam Husain at Kerbela, these ladies left Syria for India in obedience to a secret intimation. They alighted outside Lahor 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 Hindu, 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. (*Khazina'u-l-affiya*, II. 407.)

will be an entertainment, and Shir Khan'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

Hamida-banu Begam says it was his Majesty who wrote and sent the following verse to the mirza.² I had heard that he sent it to Shir Khan by the envoy. This is the verse :

'Although one's image be shown in the mirror,
It remains always apart from one's self.' (397)

¹ It is wonderful to see one's self in another form :
This marvel will be the work of God.'

When Shir Khan'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 Jalalu-d-din Muhammad Akbar.' The Emperor asked: 'What is your honourable name?' He answered: 'The Terrible Elephant,³ Ahmad of Jam;' and added : 'Your son will be of my lineage.'⁴

¹ For an account of Kamran's odious and fruitless treachery see B. & H., I I. 200 *et seq.*. The meaning of his message to Humayun is not clear to me. Perhaps he wished to show the envoy that he was not on the level of Hindal and 'Askari, but able to claim recognition as a ruler and as Humayun's equal. Perhaps it was a hint to Humayun that he must recognise Kamran's equality in the lands in which the latter had been supreme while he himself ruled in Dihli.

At this time Humayun was strongly advised to put Kamran to death. He refused, but later on and after a dreary waste of good nature, his filial piety had to yield to the common-sense of his victimized followers and allow the blinding.

² At the time when the verse was written Hamlda 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,—Hamlda who might later have heard the story from her husband, or Gul-badan who was in Lahor? 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 Humayun was of the lineage of Ahmad of Jam through his mother Maham. (A. N., *Bib. Ind.*, ed. 1.121.) To give force to the prophecy,

In those days Bibi Gunwar¹ was with child. Everyone said: 'A son will be born.' In that same garden of Dost *munshi* and in the month of Jumada'u-1-awwal, a daughter was born whom they named Bakhshl-banu.

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

While the brothers were in Lahdr, they conferred and took counsel and asked advice, but they did not settle on any single thing. At last the news was: 'Shir Khan 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 Mirza Haidar *Kashghari*; but news of the mirza'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 Khan in Lahor—be a very difficult time.'

Khwaja Kilan Beg² was in Sialkot, and disposed to serve his Majesty. With him was Mu'yid Beg, who wrote: 'The khwaja greatly wishes to serve you and would come, but he has Mlrza Kamran 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 khwaja, and joined company with him and brought him along.³

however, the coming child's mother had to be of the same descent, since Humayun'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, Hamida, was of the line of Ahmad of Jam. So, too, was Bega (Haji) Begam. Another of the same family was Babu or Banu *agha*, wife of Shihabu-d-din Ahmad of Nishapur.

¹ To give value to Ahmad's prophecy, Bibi Gunwar 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 Humayun, there having been Al-aman and 'Aqiqa, children of Bega Begam and now both dead.

² The well-known old servant of Babar and now one of KamrSn's chief amirs.

³ The begam's story here does not agree with that of Mr. Erskine's authorities. Mu'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 Badakhshan. (40b) Let Kabul remain the fief of Mirza Kamran.' But Mirza Kamran would not consent to (his Majesty's) going to Kabul,¹ and said: 'In his lifetime the Emperor *Firdaus-makani* gave Kabul to my mother (Gulrukh Begam). It is not right (for you) to go to Kabul.'

Then said his Majesty: 'As for Kabul, his Majesty *Firdaus-makani* often used to say, "My Kabul 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 *Wdqia-nama*. What was the good of my showing kindness to the mirza from civility and brotherliness, if he now keep on talking in this way!'

Let his Majesty talk as he would, pacifying and conciliating, the mirza resisted more and more. When he saw that there was a large following with Mirza Kamran, and that the mirza was in no way willing for him to go to Kabul, he had no resource but to move towards Bhakkar and Multan. Having arrived in Multan, 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.² He stood distracted. There were no boats, and he had a large camp with him. Then there came word that Khawas Khan,³ with several amirs, was coming up behind.

There was a Baluchi named Bakhshu (*sic*) who had forts

¹ Kamran may well have feared that Humayun would get no further than Kabul on his way to Badakhshan.

² *i.e.*, the Indus. The begam's 'seven' is interesting:. Cf. 'Sketch of the Hindustani 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 hindu* (Sk. *sapta sindhu*), or "seven rivers," now called, with the omission of two (probably the *Saraswati* and *Drishadwati* or *Ghaggar*) the Panj-ab.'

³ A follower of Shir Khan.

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 Bakhshu *Baluchi* 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 Bakhshu 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 Mahmud (*Bhakkari*),² had fortified himself in it. (41b) The Emperor alighted safe and well over against the fort, near which was a garden³ made by Mirza Shah Husain *Samandar*.⁴

At length his Majesty sent Mir Samandar to Shah Husain Mirza 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 Gujrat, and should leave you your own country.' By tricks and wiles, Shah Husain 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 Gara, near Uch.

² Foster-brother of Shah Husain *Arghun*, and the man for whom Sidi 'All *Beis* negotiated terms with Humayun in 1555.

³ A delightful garden, the *Char-bagh* of Ruhr! (Luhri), on the left bank of the Indus. Shah Husain felt no anxiety as to military operations after hearing that Humayun had camped here. *Char-bagh* seems, to denote a royal and private garden.

⁴ 'A place in Hindustan from which aloes are brought.' (Steingass, 8.v.) Cf. *Samanduri*, aloe-wood, of the *Ain*. (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 Mirza Kamran, and a meeting with me is impossible. I could not wait on you.'

As at this time Mirza Muhammad Hindal crossed the river, some said he might be going to Qandahar.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 Qandahar.' When questioned, the mirza said: 'People have given a wrong impression.' On this the Emperor came⁴ to see her Highness my mother.

The mirza's *haram* and all his people paid their respects to his Majesty at this meeting. Concerning Hamlda-banu Begam, his Majesty asked: 'Who is this?' They said: 'The daughter of Mir Baba Dost.' Khwaja Mu azzam⁵ was standing opposite his Majesty, who said: 'This boy will be one of my kinsmen (too?).'⁶ Of Hamlda-banu he said: 'She, too, is related to me.' (42b)

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

¹ Humay tin's treasurer (*mir-i-mal*) whose official functions must now have been of the least pressing.

² The admirable Mah-chuchak who insisted upon accompanying the blinded Kamran to Makka. As her peer in compassion may be commemorated Chilma Beg *kuka*. (B. & H., II., 418.)

³ He encamped at Pat (text, Patr), about twenty miles west of the Indus and about forty miles north of Sehwan. Pat is in the *sarkdr* of Slwistan, a little to the east of the highroad to Hyderabad, and not far north of Meani, the scene of Napier's victory of 1843. I am indebted to Major-General Malcolm R. Haig for the information that Pat is 'now a ruin, having been destroyed in the latter part of the eighteenth century when two Kalhora chiefs of Sind called in the Afghans to quell domestic troubles.'

* Leaving his troops to prosecute the siege of Bhakkar, and passing through Darbila where was his cousin, Yadgar-nasjr. From the wording it might be supposed that Gul-badan was with her mother in Pat, but I believe she was in Kabul at this time.

⁵ Cf. Appendix, s.n. Ilamida-banu.

⁶ (?) interrogative, but the preceding verb is *guftand*, and not *pwrsi-dand*.

Baba Dost is related to us. It is fitting that you should give me his daughter in marriage.' Mirza Hindal 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.'¹

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.'² 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 Hamlda-banu 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 Subhan Qull, and said: 'Go to Mirza Hindal, and tell him to send the begam.' The mirza said: 'Whatever I may say, she

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

Jauhar says that Hamida had been already asked in marriage, but not betrothed or perhaps promised. Her objections to marry Humayun seem personal, and may indicate preference for another and dislike for him. She is said to have been fourteen years old and Hurmlyun 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 Hamida 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 Hamida some few years younger.

² *Madar-i-duklitar az in ham peshtar naz mikanad.* Perhaps, 'caressed the idea.'

will not go. Go yourself and tell her.' When Subhan Qull went and spoke, the begam replied: 'To see kings once is lawful; a second time it is forbidden. I shall not come.' On this Subhan Quli went and represented what she had said. His Majesty remarked: 'If she is not a consort (*na 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-dar 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. (43/;)

At last, after forty days (discussion), at mid-day on Monday (fault) Jumidu-1-awwal (*sic*) 948H. (September, 1541), and in Patr (*sic*), his Majesty took the astrolabe into his own blessed hand and, having chosen a propitious hour, summoned Mir Abu'l-baqa and ordered him to make fast the marriage bond. He gave the mlr two laks of ready money for the dower¹ (*nikahana*), and having stayed three days after the wedding in Patr, he set out and went by boat to Bhakkar.

He spent a month at Bhakkar and he sent Mir Abu 1-baqa to Sultan *Bhakkari*. The mir fell ill while away, and went to the mercy of God.²

His Majesty then gave Mirza Hindal leave to go to Qandahar, and he dismissed Mlrza Yadgar-nasir to his own place, Lar. He himself went towards Seawan³ (Sehwan),

¹ Perhaps the ladies romance a little here. Humayun was certainly at a loss for money now and later.

² This is not a historic account of the death. He was sent to Yadgar-nasir and was shot while crossing the river on his return to Ruhl by adherents of Shah Husain. His death caused great grief to Humayun. (B. & H., II., 222.)

³ At the end of September, 1541. Hindal's leave is a sisterly gloss on his acceptance of an invitation to Qandahar given by its governor, Qaracha Khan.

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.

Mirza Shah Husain 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.' Three³ 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.

⁴As after this there were few men even with the Emperor, (? Shah Husain) filled several boats with cannon and muskets, and came from Tatta against him. Sehwan is near the river. (? Mir 'Alika) 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 (Shah) Husain *Samandar* had sent word to Mirza Yadgar-nasir : (44b) ' If the Emperor, when he is retreating, should

¹ Semblance of relevance can be given to this statement only by reference to other writers. Humayim 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 Arghun and follower of ShSh Husain. Perhaps Gul-badan wrote or intended to convey that 'Alika had served Babar as once all the Arghuns had done. Perhaps she has confused the import of the story that Mir 'Alika when sent by Shah Ilusain to take command of Sehwan, actually passed through Humayun's lines and the bazar without recognition as an enemy.

³ Text, thirty—*suad*. No wonder Humayun's force vanished ! He is said to have left Hindustan, i.e., Lahor, with a following of 200,000. This presumably included Kamran's party, and was made up of soldiers and women, children, traders, servants, etc.. At this time Humayun had lost both Hindal's and Yadgar-nasir'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 mirza 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 : ' Baba,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 Raja Maldeo.⁴ I have bestowed this country on you, but Shah Husain will not let you keep it. You will remember my words.' Having said this to the mirza, the Emperor marched away by way of Jisalmir, towards Maldeo. He reached Fort Dilawar (Dirawal), on the raja's frontier, a few days later. (45a) He stayed there two days. Neither corn nor grass was to be had. He then went to Jisalmir, and on his approach the raja 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 : Alush⁵ Beg, brother of Shaham *Jalair* and Pir Muhammad the equerry, and Eaushang 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 Sltalmir, where he was harassed all day till he reached Pahludi, a *pargana* of Maldeo. The

¹ The mirza was at Ruhr! and had not possession of the fort. Cf. B. & H., I I., 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 Humayun and Yadgar-nasir make ' father' inappropriate.

³ In this extremity Humayun turned his thoughts towards Makka.

⁴ Raja of Judpur (Marwar), who had proffered help.

⁵ Var., Lush 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 *ulue* should be read. Cf. App. s.n..

⁶ Muqim *Harawl*, father of Nigamu-d-din Ahmad, took part in this engagement.

raja was in Jodhpur, and sent armour and a camel's-load of *ashrafis*, and greatly comforted his Majesty by saying: 'You are welcome! I give you Blkanlr.' The Emperor halted with an easy mind, and despatched *Atka Khan* (Shamsu-d-dm *Ghaznavi*) to Maldeo, and said: 'What will his answer be?'¹

In the downfall and desolation in Hind, Mulla Surkh, the librarian, had gone to Maldeo, and had entered his service. (45b) He now wrote: 'Beware, a thousand times beware of advancing. March at once from wherever you are, for Maldeo intends to make you prisoner. Put no trust in his words. There came here an envoy from Shir Khan 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 Nagor and Alwar and whatever place you ask for." ' *Atka Khan* 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 Muhammad *Gird-baz*² and struck him with it, and then wounded Baqi *Gualiori*. The other at once unsheathed³ 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, 'Maldeo is here!' The Emperor had no horse fit for Hamlda-banu Begam. He may have asked for one for her from Tardi Beg,⁴ who apparently did not give it. He then said: 'Let the camel of Jauhar, the ewer-bearer, be got ready for me. I will ride it, and the begam may have

¹ Presumably to *Atka Khan*'s message from Humayun.

² (?) *gird-bam*, strong-limbed.

³ Doubtful translation; *az may an yak hashlda*.

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 Haushan Beg into a similar story of this terrible journey.

my horse.' It would seem that Nadim¹ 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 'Umrkot. It was extremely hot; horses and (other) quadrupeds² kept sinking to the knees in the sand, and Maldeo was behind. On they went, thirsty and hungry. Many, women and men, were on foot. (46b)

On the approach of Maldeo's troops, the Emperor said to Ishan(Isan)-timur Sultan and to Munim Khan³ 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 Hindus are coming up in numbers, mounted on horses and camels.' Then the Emperor dismissed Shaikh 'Ali Beg (*Jalair*), and Raushan *kuka* and Nadim *kuka*, and Mir Payanda Muhammad, brother of Muhammad Wall, and many others.

They recited *the fatiha*, and his Majesty said: 'Go, fight the infidels!' He thought: 'Ishan-tlmur Sultan, and Mu'nim Khan,⁴ and Mirza Yadgar,⁵ 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 *fatiha*, Shaikh 'Ali Beg struck the Rajput captain with an arrow, and cast him from his horse. (47a)

¹ The husband of Maham *cnaga*, Akbar's celebrated nurse. (B.A.S.J., January, 1899, art. Maham *anaga*, H. Beveridge.) His mother was Fakhru-n-nisa.' Cf. Gul-badan, 26a and 71a.

² Perhaps ponies only. Text, *charwa*.

³ Gul-chihra's husband.

⁴ The well-known *Khan-i-kfaman* of Akbar's reign.

⁵ Perhaps 'Uncle Yadgar' (*taghali*), the father of Bega Begam. Yadgar-nasir 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 fatiba* came up with the camp.

There was a mace-bearer named Bihbud. 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.' Bihbud himself was taken to the presence, and conveyed the good news.¹

His Majesty dismounted, and a little water even (*ham*)² 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 ! Maldeo !'³ His Majesty sent a man for information, who came running back and said: ' Ishan-timur Sultan, and Mirza Yadgar, and Munim Khan 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; Tardl Beg Khan was at another; at a third, Mirza Yadgar, and Mu'nim Khan, and Nadim *kuka*; and at the fourth, Ishan-timur Sultan, and Khwaja Ghazi, and Raushan *kuka*.

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

¹ And also, tied to his girths, two heads of foes which he flung at Huinltun's feet.

² to brim of the cup of joy.

³ These cries remind one that even now Humayun 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. (48a) Beyond this place water was found at every stage on the way to 'Unirkdt,¹ which is a beautiful place with many tanks.

The rana² gave the Emperor an honourable reception, and took him into the fort, and assigned him excellent quarters. He gave places outside to the amirs' people. Many things were very cheap indeed; four goats could be had for one rupi. The rana 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 Khan had a great deal of money, and the Emperor having asked him for a considerable loan, he lent 80,000 *ashrafis* at the rate of two in ten.³ His Majesty portioned out this money to the army. He bestowed sword-belts and *cap-a-pie* dresses on the rana and his sons. Many people bought fresh horses here.

Mir Shah Husain had killed the rana's father. For this, amongst other reasons, the rana collected 2,000 or 3,000 good soldiers and set out with the Emperor for Bhakkar.⁴

In 'Umrkot he left many people, and his family and relations, and also Khwaja Mu'azzain to have charge of the *haram*. Hamida-banu Begam was with child. Three days after his Majesty's departure, and in the early morning of Sunday, the fourth day of the revered Bajab, 949H.,⁵

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. Humayun reached 'Umrkot on August 22nd, 1542 (Jumada I. 10th, 949H.).

² Text, *passim*, *ra'na*. The 'Umrkot rank's name was Parsad.

³ (?) 20 per cent. Cf. Mems., 138.

⁴ After a stay of seven weeks in Umrkot. ⁵ October 15th, 1542.

there was born his imperial Majesty, the world's refuge and conqueror, Jalalu-d-din Muhammad Akbar *Ghazi*. 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 Tardl Muhammad Khan took the news to him. He was highly delighted, and by way of reward and largesse (*nisar*) for the tidings he forgave all soever of Tardl Muhammad Khan's past offences. He gave the child the name he had heard in his dream at Lahdr, the Emperor Jalalu-d-din Muhammad 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 rana and of the outlying tribes and Sudmas (Sodhas) and Samlchas. (49a) They reached the district of Jiln, where there was one of Shah 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 Jun) in *jagir* to his followers.

It is a six days' journey from Jun to Tatta. The Emperor was as much as six² months in Jun, and brought his family and people and the whole 'Umrkot party there.³ The Emperor Jalalu-d-din Muhammad Akbar was six months old when they took him to Jun. The party which had come from various places with the royal family and the *haram* now broke up. As for the rana, he marched off at midnight for his own country, on account of a coolness⁴ caused by some talk between him and Tardl Muhammad Khan.⁵ All the Sudmas and Samlchas went off by agree-

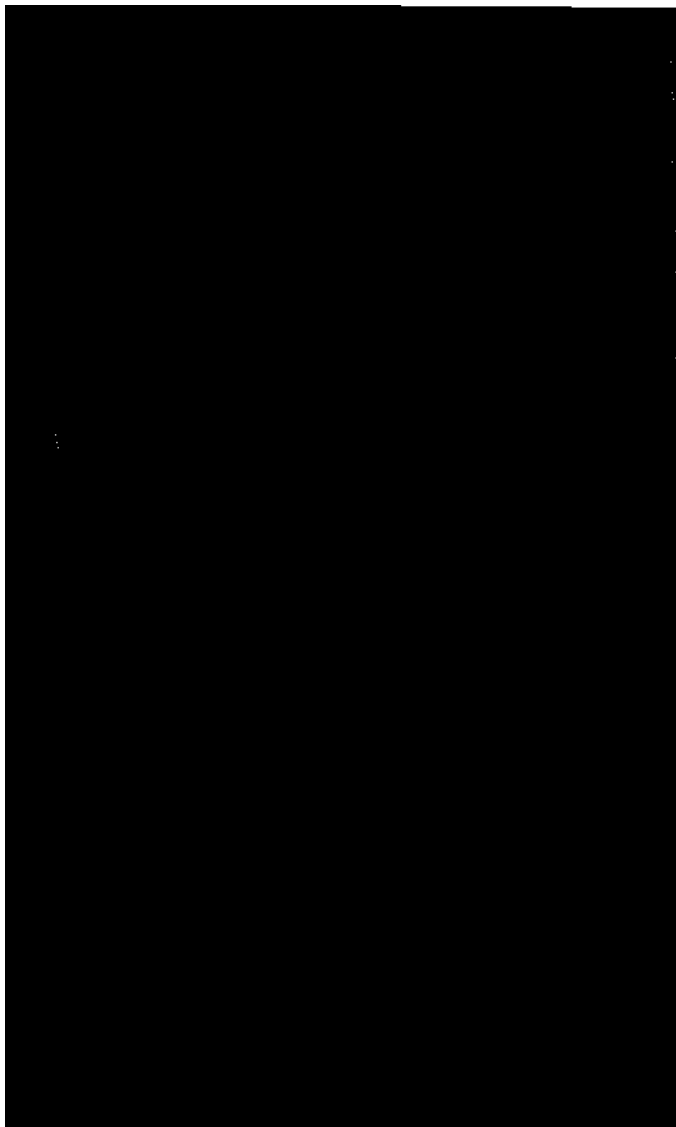
¹ C/. B. & H., I I . , 256, for stories of the taking of Jun.

² Other writers say nine.

³ Hamida and her baby were good travellers. They left 'Umrkot when the child was under five weeks old (November 20th), and joined Humayun early in December (1542).

⁴ *shuhr rangi*. I do not find this word in dictionaries, and translate tentatively on the analogy of *shukrer-ab*, a tiff.

⁵ Other writers give Khwaja GhazI as the second in the quarrel.



INCIDENTS FOLLOWING THE BIRTH OF AKBAR.

At the top, on the right, are Hamda-banu 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 astrologer..

At the foot, the news is being given to Humayun by Tardi Beg, and is WELCOMED by music and **dancing.** [To

ment with him, and the Emperor was left alone, as before, with his own people.

He sent brave Shaikh 'All Beg (*Jalalr*) and Muzaffar Beg *Turkman* towards the large district of Jajka (Haj-kan). (49b) Mirza Shah Husain sent a force to attack him, and there was a famous fight. At last Muzaffar Beg was routed and fled, and Shaikh 'All Beg (*Jalair*) was killed and perished with all his men.¹

A squabble arose between Khalid Beg² and Tarsh Beg, a brother of Shaham Khan *Jalalr* and his Majesty turned all his favour to Tarsh Beg. So Khalid Beg deserted and went with all his men to Mir Shah Husain. Then the Emperor ordered Khalid Beg's mother, Sultanam, to prison and this made Gul-barg³ Begam angry. Then he forgave Sultanam 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 Khalid 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, (soa) Shah Husain Mirza brought boats up the river to near Jun, 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 Shah Husain. In one of these fights was killed Mulla Taju-d-din whom his Majesty held in the greatest favour as a pearl of knowledge.

There was a squabble between Tardi Muhammad Khan and Mu'nim Khan. Mu'nim Khan consequently deserted.

¹ A stubborn fight, and fateful for HumSytin. It occurred in November, 1543.

² Son of Nigamu-d-din 'Ali *Khalifa Barlas* and of Sultanam who appears to be Gul-badan's former hostess (14a).

³ Daughter of Khalifa, and as such sister or half-sister of Khalid, and daughter or stepdaughter of Sultanam. She is, I believe, the Gul-barg of earlier episodes and a wife of Humayun.

Very **few** amirs remained; amongst **them were Tardi Muhammad Khan and Mirza Yadgar and Mirza Payanda Muhammad and Muhammad Wall and Nadim kuka and Raushan kuka and Khadang**¹ the chamberlain. Then there was word brought: 'Bairam Khan has reached Jajka (Haj-kan) on his way from Gujrat.' The Emperor was delighted, and ordered Khadang and others to give him honourable meeting.

Meantime Shah Husain Mirza had heard of Bairam Khan's coming and sent to capture him. Bairam Khan rashly went into a hollow, and there they fell upon him. (soft) Khadang the chamberlain was killed. Bairam Khan and the rest escaped, and the khan came and paid his respects to the Emperor.

At this time letters arrived (addressed to) Mirza Hindal for his Majesty from Qaracha Khan, saying: 'You have been long near Bhakkar, and during the whole time Shah Husain Mirza 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 Qandahar). This is really advisable. If he will not come, come you yourself without fail.' As his Majesty's coming was delayed, Qaracha Khan went out and met Mirza Hindal, and made over the town to him (in the autumn of 1541).

Mirza 'Askarl was in Ghaznin, and to him Mirza Kamran wrote: 'Qaracha Khan has given over Qandahar to Mirza Hindal. Qandahar must be considered.' His idea was to take it from Mirza Hindal.

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

¹ Probably the father of Maywa-jan. Bahrain arrived April 12th, 1543 (Muharram 7th, 950H.).

² From this it would seem that Khanzada was in Sind with HumSyun. No other writer, I believe, mentions this or the embassy on which she is now sent. The Uzbegs and Turkmans do not appear apropos here. If, as Gul-badan says,—and her authority is good,—Khanzada now went to Qandahar, she will have gone on to Kabul, possibly with Hindal after he surrendered the town to Kamran. Of Mahdi Khwaja, Khanzada's husband, I find no mention made by any



MEETING IN CELEBRATION OF AKBAR'S BIRTH.

[To page p. 100.]

me the honour of going to Qandahar and advising Mirza Hindal and Mirza Kamran, (sia) Tell them that the Uzbeks and the Turkmans are near them, and that the best plan is to be friends amongst themselves. If Mirza Kamran will agree to carry out what I have written to him, I will do what his heart desires.'

Mirza Kamran came to Qandahar four days after the begam's arrival.¹ Day after day he urged: 'Read the *khutba* in my name'; and again and again Mirza Hindal said: 'In his life-time his Majesty *Firdaisi-makanl* gave his throne to the Emperor Humayun and named him his successor. We all agreed to this, and up till now have read the *khufjba* in his name. There is no way of changing the *khuf,ba*.² Mirza Kamran wrote to her Highness, Dil-dar Begam:³ 'I have come from Kabul with you in mind. It is strange that you should not once have come to see me. (51b) Be a mother to me as you are to Mirza Hindal.¹ At last Dil-dar Begam went to see him, and he said: 'Now I shall not let you go till you send for Mirza Hindal.' Dil-dar Begam said: 'Khanzada Begam is your elder kinswoman, and oldest and highest of you all. Ask her the truth about the *khufba*.' So then he spoke to *Aha*. Her Highness Khanzada Begam answered: 'If you ask me! well! as his Majesty *Firdaus-makam* decided it and gave his throne to the Emperor Humayun, 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, Mirza Kamran besieged Qandahar and kept on insisting about the *khufba* for four

historian after Babar's death,—a singular fact and matched by the similar disappearance of the great Khalifa. Abu'l-fazl names his tomb. Cf. App. s.n. Khanzada.

¹ She had a weary journey from Jun to Qandahar, and Kamran had another, but less toilsome, from Kabul. Kamran kept Hindal 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 EftndSI found no difficulty in changing the *khutba* to his own name in Dihli.

³ She would be probably with her son Hindal 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 *khutha* was read. (52a) He gave Qandahar to Mirza 'Askari and promised Ghaznlñ to Mirza Hindal. When they reached Ghaznlñ, he assigned the Lamghanat and the mountain passes (Tangayha)¹ to the mirza, and all those promises were false.²

Mirza Hindal went off to Badakhshan, and settled down in Khost and Andar-ab. Mirza Kamran said to Dil-dar Begam: 'Go and fetch him.' When she arrived, the mirza said: 'I have withdrawn myself from the turmoil of soldiering, and even³ Khost is a hermitage. I have quite settled down.' The begam answered: 'If you intend to lead the darvish-life, even³ Kabul 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 Kabul.

About this time, Mir Shah Husain sent to the Emperor to say: 'The course favouring fortune is for you to march for Qandahar. 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 Qandahar.' (52b) Shah Husain Mirza 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.'

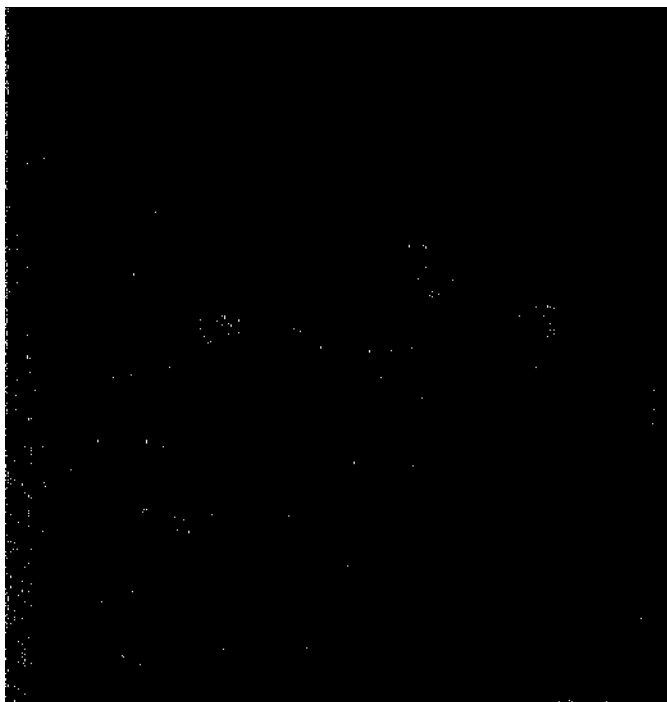
[If words by Khwaja Kasak (? Kisik), kinsman of Khwaja Ghazi, are recorded about the journey from Bhakkar and Sind, they are copied from the writings of the said Khwaja Kasak.⁴]

¹ (?) The *Tangt* of Rudyard Kipling.

² The *Tarikh-i-badftyuni* states that Ghaznlñ was given to Hindal and then taken away, and Mr. Erskine comments on this as probably untrue. (B. & H., II. 265 n..) Gul-badan here supports 'Abdu-l-qadir.

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 Khwaja Kasak. This name may be the Turki *liwxk*, 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. Mamida-banu 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 Shah Husain Mirza's territory is a village called Nuasi.¹ Here they halted, and his Majesty sent Sultan Qull, the head-camel-driver, to fetch the camels. Sultan Qull 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. (53a) 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 Qandahar. Some 200 camels must have gone off like this.

Shah Husain Mirza's head-camel-driver Mahmud was in Siwi (Sibi), 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 Mir Allah-dost and Baba Jujuk² had arrived in Siwi from Kabul two days earlier, and were going on to (visit) Shah Husain Mirza. By them Mirza Kamran had sent a dress of honour, and *tipuchdq* horses, and much fruit, and they were to ask for Mirza Shah Husain's daughter.³

The Emperor said to Khwaja Ghazi: 'As there is the

¹ Runai, B. & H., II. 262. The text is clear.

² Both these names may be sohriquets. Abu'l-fazi names Shaikh 'Abdu-l-wahab as Allah-dost's companion. (A. N., *Bib. Ind.* ed. I. 189 *et seq.*)

Jujuk is perhaps the Turki 'sweet-savoured,' and an epithet of 'Abdu-l-wahab, a lawyer with persuasive tongue.

³ The daughter has already been named as promised.

tie of father and son¹ between you and Allah-dost, write and ask him in what way Mirza Kamran stands towards me, and what he will do if I go into his neighbourhood.' (53b) He also gave this order to Khwaja Kasak: 'Go to Siwi, and ask Mir Allah-dost whether he thinks it advisable for me to come to Kabul.' The khwaja set out, and the Emperor said: 'We will not march till you have returned.'

When the khwaja came near Siwi, Mahmud, the head-camel-driver, caught him, and asked: 'Why are you here?' 'To buy horses and camels,' he answered. Mahmud ordered: 'Feel under his arm and search his cap. Heaven forbid that he should have brought a letter to win over Allah-dost and Baba Jujuk.' They searched, and brought out the letter from under his arm. He had no chance to twist it into a fold.² Mahmud took it and read it, and, not letting the khwaja go, forthwith conveyed Allah-dost and Baba Juuk 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 'Khwaja Ghazi is related to us and he was with Mirza Kamran,⁴ and this is why he has written.' Mahmud decided to send all three to Shah Husain, and Mir Allah-dost and Baba Jujuk spent the whole night smoothing him down and entreating him, and in the end they were set free.

Mir Allah-dost sent 3,000⁵ 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 Mirza Askari or the amirs, it would not be bad to go to Kabul;

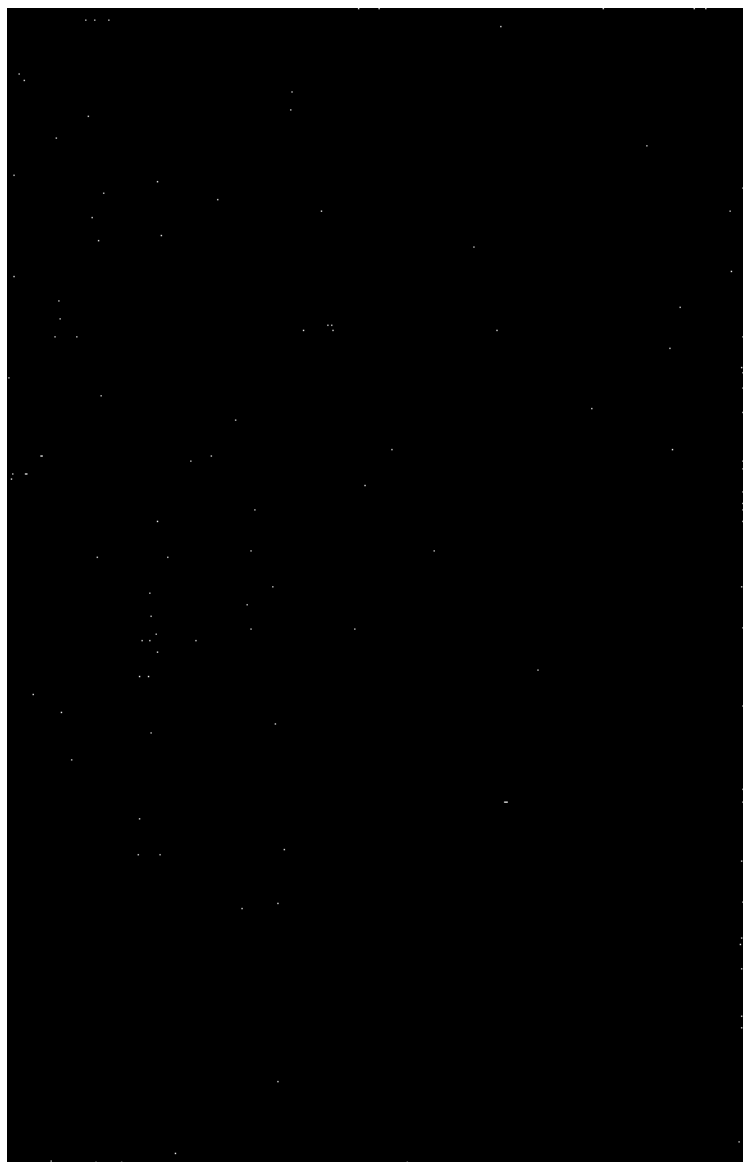
¹ Probably a spiritual relationship; that of religious teacher and disciple.

² (*) to toss it secretly into a corner.

³ *sabq khwanda ast* Perhaps Kasak as a pupil 'has said his lessons to us,' t.e., to Allah-dost.

⁴ He had been Kamran's *diwan* up to the time when the royal family left Lahor, and he joined Humayun when the brothers parted for Sind and for Kabul.

⁵ Text, *sisad*, but perhaps only 300 should be read.



THE EMPEROR AKBAR
(*AKBAR-NAMA*).

To be published.

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) Tardi Muhammad Khan and Bairam Khan gave it as their opinion that it was impossible to decide to go anywhere but to the north and Shal-mastan,¹ the frontier of Qandahar, 'There are many Afghans in those parts,' they said, 'whom we shall draw over to our side. Mirza' Askari's people, too, will join us,'

Having settled it in this way, they recited the *fatiha* and went, march by march, for Qandahar. Near Shal-mastan they halted in a village named Rani (? Rail), but as it had snowed and rained, and was extremely cold, they determined to go on to Shal-mastan. At afternoon prayer-time an Uzbek 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 Khwaja Mu'azzam and Bairam Khan to fetch Hamida-bilnu Begam. (55a) They went and mounted her, but there was not a chink of time in which to take the Emperor Jalalu-d-din Muhammad Akbar. Just when the begam left the camp to join his Majesty, Mirza '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 mirza knew that his Majesty had gone away just as he himself

¹ Approximately Quetta. The route seems to have been over the Bolan.

² The youth was Chupl Bahadur, a former servant of Humayun. Gul-badan's story differs in some details from that told by other writers.

³ Late in 950H. (1543). The little Akbar reached Qandahar on December 15th, 1543,

came in. Then he took possession of the Emperor Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar, and gave him in charge to his wife Sultanam,¹ who showed him much kindness and affection. He made all the royal followers march, saying: 'Go to Qandahar.'

His Majesty, when he left, took the road to the mountains. He went eight miles, and then travelled as fast as possible.² (55b) He had with him Bairam Khan, Khwaja Muazzam, Khwaja NiazI, Nadim *kuka*³ and Raushan *kuka*, and Haji Muhammad Khan, and Baba-dost the paymaster, and Mirza Quli Beg *chuli*,⁴ and Haidar Muhammad the master of the horse, and Shaikh Yusuf *chuli*, and Ibrahim the chamberlain, and Hasan 'All, the chamberlain, and Ya'qub the keeper of the armoury, and Ambar the superintendent and the royal agent (*mulk-makhtar*), and Sambal captain of a thousand, and Khwaja Kasak.⁵

Khwaja Ghazi says:⁶ 'I also was in attendance/ This company went with the Emperor, and Hamida-banu Begam Bays,⁶ 'There were as many as thirty people,' and that of women there was, besides herself, the wife of Hasan 'All, 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, Mirza '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.

¹ I believe she was in Qandahar, and that she received the child on his arrival there.

² Perhaps he rode four kos, and then, having waited for Hamida, hurried on.

³ His wife, Mahani *anaga*, remained behind with Akbar. With Akbar was also Atka Khan (Shamsu-d-din Muhammad) and his wife, Ji-ji *anaga*.

⁴ Humayun's sobriquet for those who went to Persia with him; from *chul*, a desert. Others in this list might claim it.

⁵ Nizamu-d-din Ahmad puts the number of the party at twenty-two.

⁶ The tense used suggests conference and talking over. Jauhar says that Khwaja Ghazi joined Humayun in Persia from Makka. This looks like a contradiction of Jauhar.

They grew very hungry and feeble. (56a) 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 Biluchis 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 Biluchis 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 Biluchis 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 Mirza "Askari, he will certainly give us their arms, and many gifts besides.' (56b)

Hasan 'All, the chamberlain, had a Biluchi 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 *farman* has come from Mirza Kamran and Mirza 'Askari, 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 Qandahar." 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! Mirza'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 Baba Haji¹ by a visit. He reached it in two days. It belongs to the Garm-sir,² and lies on the river (Halmand). There are many sayyids there, and they waited on the Emperor and showed him hospitality.

Next morning Khwaja 'Alawalu-d-dln (Jalalu-d-dln) Mahmud,³ having left Mirza '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. Haji Muhammad Khan *kuki*⁴ brought thirty or forty troopers and offered a string of mules.

Being helpless because of the disunion of his brothers⁵ 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 Khurasan.⁶ (57b)

After many stages and a journey of many days, he came to parts adjacent to Khurasan. When Shah Tahmas (*sic*) heard that he had reached the Halmand, he remained sunk in wonder and thought, and said: 'The Emperor Humayun 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,

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 mirza.

⁴ Son of Baba Qushka, an intimate of Babar.

⁵ Kaniran was master of Kabul and Ghazni, Qandahar, Khutlan and Badakhshan, 'Askari was attached to his full-brother's fortunes, and Hindal was a prisoner in Kabul. Shir Shah ruled Babar's Indian Empire, and Shah Husain was in Sind. Certainly there seemed no 'crack' to hold Humayun. The date is December, 1543.

⁶ i.e., on his way to Persia proper. Humayun's messenger to the Shah was Chupi Bahadur. (55a and n..)

nobles and grandees, low and high, great and small. All came to the Halmand to meet the Emperor.¹

The Shah sent all his brothers to meet his Majesty,—Bahram Mirza, and Alqas Mirza, and Sam Mirza. All came and embraced him, and escorted him with full honour and respect. As they drew near (the Shah) his brothers sent him word, and he also came riding to meet the Emperor. They embraced. (58a) The friendship and concord of those two high-placed pashas 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 Shah often went to his quarters, and on days when he did not, the Emperor went to his.

In Khurasan³ his Majesty visited all the gardens and the flower-gardens, and the splendid buildings put up by Sultan Husain Mirza, and the grand structures of olden days.

There was hunting eight times while he was in 'Iraq, and each time trouble was taken for him also. Hamlda-bami Begam used to enjoy the sight from a distance in either a camel or a horse litter. Shahzada Sultanam,⁴ the Shah's sister, used to ride on horseback, and take her stand

¹ He had crossed the river without receiving invitation or permission, because of Kamran's threatened approach. The incidents of Humayun'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 pashas 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 Khurasan but on and off the route to Tahmasp's summer quarters where the pashas met, did Humayun visit noteworthy places. He saw Harat as his father had done, and later his devious journey took him to Jam, where he saw the shrine of his own and of Hamida's ancestor, the Terrible Elephant, Ahmad. He visited the tomb of the Founder of the Saf I dynasty at Ardabll, and the date of his visit (1544) makes it probable that he trod that 'Holy Carpet' of Ardabll 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 Humayun vital assistance in Persia, and even pleaded for his life when it was in the balance. She was highly esteemed by TahmSsp, and had influence in state affairs.

behind her brother. His Majesty said (to Hamida-banu):
⁴ There was a woman riding behind the Shah at the hunt. She stood with her reins held by a white-bearded man. People told me it was Shahzada Sultanam, the Shah's sister.' (58b) In short, the Shah showed the Emperor much hospitality and courtesy, and laid a charge (on his sister) to show motherly and sisterly hospitality and sympathy (to Hamida-banu Begam).¹

One day, when Shahzada Sultanam had entertained the begam, the Shah 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 (*barga*), and also set up *chatr*² and *taq*.³

In Khurasan and those parts they use enclosing screens (*saraparda*), 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 Shah's people put coloured chicks (*cheggha*) all round. His kinswomen and his paternal aunt were there, and his sisters and the ladies of his *haram*, and the wives of the khans and sultans and amirs, about 1,000 women in all splendour and adornment.

That day Shahzada Sultanam asked Hamida-banu Begam: (59a) 'Are such *chatr* and *taq* met with in Hindustan?' The begam answered: 'They say two *dang*⁴ with respect to Khurasan, and four *dang* 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 *madarana wa khwaharana*. On this same page occurs *hinduana*; at 436, *nikahana*, and at 62a, *padshahana*.

² (?) umbrella-shaped tents.

³ round-topped tents or balconies, or arched erections.

⁴ or *danak*. Hazarding a guess, the meaning 'quarter of the world' seems fittest to select from the several of *dang* or *danak*. 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.

Harnida's ready use of a colloquial phrase to express that the reputedly greater contains the less is neat and diplomatic.

dustan. When a thing is found in two *dang*, it is clear it will be found better in four.'

Shah Sultanam 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 *dang*? where are four *dang*?" 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 amirs' wives stood and served, and the Shah's ladies placed¹ food before Shahzada Sultanam.

Moreover, they were hospitable² with all sorts of stuffs, embroidered and others, to Hamida-banu Begam, as was incumbent and fitting. The Shah went on in advance⁸ and was in his Majesty's quarters till the prayer before sleep. (59b) When he heard that Hamida-banu Begam had arrived, he rose from the presence and went home. To such a height of pleasantness and kindness was he amiable!

Raushan *kuka*, 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 (*tumar*⁴), 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 *kuka* thought this a good chance to steal five rubies. Then he agreed with Khwaja Ghazl, 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

¹ *mandand*, used transitively; also at 4a.

² *mihmani kardand*. (?) In the way of gifts, or perhaps by lavish decoration.

³ i.e., from the place of entertainment to the town.

⁴ Also *tfimur*, 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, Khwaja 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.'

Khwaja 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 Khwaja Ghazi and Eaushan *kuka*² have each bought themselves a *tipuchaq* 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.' Khwaja 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 khwaja's servant, and said: ' Where is the khwaja's wallet, with his honorary dress and his clothes ?⁴ Where does he keep it ? ' The servant answered: ' My khwaja has no wallet and no clothes. He has one high cap which, when he goes to sleep, he

¹ Text, tatu.

² Jauhar states that amongst other disaffected persons these two men, and a third, Sultan Muhammad, the spearman (*nazabaz*), had just returned from Makka, and were of Kamran's party. Gul-badan makes it seem probable that Jauhar's statements apply only to Sultan Muhammad. (Cf. list of companions of Humayun on his journey, 556.)

³ *mah chicham*. Cf. 186 n..

⁴ *rari wa pari*.

puts under his head or his arm.' Khwaja Mu agzam saw the meaning of this, and made up his mind for certain that the rubies were with Khwaja Ghlizi, and were kept in his high cap. He came and represented to his Majesty: 'I have found trace of those rubies in Khwaja Ghazi'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.

Khwaja Mu azzam then repeatedly played off tricks and little jokes and pleasantries on Khwaja Ghazi, 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 Khwaja 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 Khwaja Ghazi was seated in the reception-room, Khwaja 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 Hamlda-banu Begam. His Majesty smiled, and the begam was delighted, and said, 'Bravo!' and 'Mercy be upon you.' (61b)

Khwaja Ghazi and Baushan *kuka*, in shame at their deed, made secret communications to the Shah, and carried their talk so far that his heart was troubled. His Majesty saw that the Shah'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: 'Khwaja Ghazi and Baushan *kuka* are in fault; they turned my heart from you, and truly I used to regard you

¹ It was now that Humayun gave to the Shah the 'diamond which had been obtained from Sultan Ibrahim's treasury,' i.e., the *Koh-i-nur*. (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1899, art. 'Babar'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 Shah, who, when opportunity occurred, got possession of those rubies,¹ and, as to the men, ordered : ' Let them be kept in custody.'²

His Majesty's time in 'Iraq was (now) spent happily. In various ways the Shah showed good feeling, and every day sent presents of rare and strange things. (62a)

At length the Shah despatched his own son and khans and sultans and amirs with his Majesty to help him, together with good arms and tents, folding and audience tents ; and *chattr* and *taq* and *shamiana*, 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 Qandahar.³

At the time of his departure, he asked pardon from the Shah for the offence of those two faithless ones (Khwaja Ghazi and Raushan *kuka*), and, having himself forgiven them, took them with him to Qandahar.

When Mlrza 'Askari heard (1545) that he was on his way from Khurasan and approaching Qandahar, he sent the Emperor Jalalu-d-dm Muhammad Akbar to Mlrza Kamran in Kabul, who gave him into the care of Dearest Lady, Khanzada Begam, and our paternal aunt. (626) 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 Babar, and he is like him altogether.'⁴

¹ (?) those already bartered away.

² They were, it would seem, let down by tent-ropes into the celebrated underground prison of Sulaiman's *Biwan*. (Jauhar, Stewart, 72.)

³ Humayun again indulged his love of travel and sights, and delayed so long in Persian territory that the Shah, coming unexpectedly upon him, angrily turned him off without ceremony.

⁴ The child was just over three. It was now that he and Bakhshl-banu travelled together to Kabul in the snow.

When Mirza Kamran was sure that the Emperor was approaching Qandahar, 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 Qandahar to the Emperor and make peace between us.'

When she left (Kabul) she made over the Emperor Akbar to Mirza Kamran, who gave him into the care of (Muhtarima) Khanam. Then she travelled as fast as possible to Qandahar. The Emperor besieged Mirza Kamran² and Mirza ' Askari for forty days in the city, and he sent Bairam Khan on an embassy to Mirza Kiimran.⁸ (63a) Mirza 'Askari grew dejected and humble, admitted his offences, and came out and paid his duty to the Emperor, who then took possession of Qandahar (September 4th, 1545). He bestowed it upon the son of the Shah, who in a few days fell ill and died.⁴ When Bairam Khan⁵ arrived, it was given into his charge.

The Emperor left Hamida-banu Begam in Qandahar and set out after Mirza Kamran. Dearest Lady, Khanzada 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 Kabul and laid in the burial-place of my royal father.⁷

During several years that Mirza Kamran was in Kabul,

¹ of persuasion.

² The context shows that this is wrong, and so do the histories.

³ Bairam saw Akbar in Kabul, and also Hindal, Sulaiinan, Haram, Ibrahim and Yadgar-nasir, all under surveillance. The embassy reached Kabul before Khanzada left, and she travelled with Bairam on his return to Humayun.

⁴ He was an infant.

⁵ The begam's chronology is faulty here. Bairam had returned before the capitulation.

⁶ For location of this place cf. *Akbarnama* H. B., I. 477 n.. It seems to have been in the mountain district of Tiri, between the basins of the Halmand and the Arghand-ab.

⁷ Khanzada, Mahdi (her husband) and Abu'l-ma'all are buried in the same spot.

he had never made a hostile raid,¹ 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 Hazara country.² (63b)

Mirza Hindal, who had chosen the darvish's corner (in Kabul), now heard of the Emperor's return from 'Iraq and Khurasan, and of his success in Qandahar. He saw his chance, and sent for Mirza Yadgar-nasir, and said: 'The Emperor has come to Qandahar, and has been victorious. Mirza Kamran sent Khanzada Begam to sue for peace, but the Emperor did not agree to his sort of peace. The Emperor sent Bairam Khan as his envoy, and Mirza Kamran did not agree to what he proposed. Now the Emperor has given Qandahar to Bairam Khan and has set out for Kabul. Come now, let us, you and I, plan and agree together, and scheme how to betake ourselves to his Majesty.' Mirza Yadgar-nasir agreed, and the two made their plan and compact. Mirza Hindal said: 'You make up your mind to run away and when Mirza Kamran hears of it, he will certainly say to me: "Mirza Yadgar-nasir has gone off; go and persuade him to come back with you." (64a) 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, Mirza Yadgar-nasir ran away. The news went to Mirza Kamran, who came back at once to Kabul and sent for Mirza Hindal and said: 'Go and persuade Mirza Yadgar-nasir to come back.' Mirza Hindal mounted at once, and joined Mirza Yadgar-nasir 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 *takht raftan*. I do not know what the begam wishes to say. Kamran had made hostile raids to Badakhshan and against the Hazaras. One might read 'hunting expedition.'

² He had a Hazara wife. Perhaps the passage about Kamran's hostile raid or hunting is merely an introduction to Hindal's plan of escape. (Cf. B. & H., II. 314, 315, for this story.)

They advised the Khimar¹ Pass as the best route. On Bamzan 9th, 951H. (the third week of October, 1545), his Majesty ordered a halt in that pass. News of this went to Mirza Kamran 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 (646)

On the 11th of the same month, the Emperor ordered a halt in the valley of (?) Tipa, and Mirza Kamran³ also came and drew up opposite to fight. Then all his amirs deserted and were exalted by kissing the royal feet. Even Bapus⁴ 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 Bapus⁵ 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 Dashtl,⁷ and halted near a piece of water, and sent back DostI *kuka* and Juki *kuka* to fetch his eldest daughter Hablba, and his son Ibrahim Sultan Mirza, and Hazara Begam⁸ who was the brother's child of Khizr Khan (Hazara), and Mah Begam⁹ who was sister of Haram (Khurram) Begam, and Mah-afroz, mother of Haji Begam,¹⁰ and BaqI *kuka*.¹¹ (65a) This party went with the mirza,

¹ (?) *himar*, the Ass's Pass.

² (?) The Ferry Garden, or perhaps Babar's burial-place.

³ Not in person, I believe. His troops were under Qasim *Barlas*.

⁴ Governor (*ataliq*) of Yasin-daulat (Aq Sultan), the betrothed husband of Hablba.

⁶ Mr. Erskine says that Kamran escaped by a breach opened in a wall. He went by way of Binl-hisar to Ghaznl, where 'Askarl still was.

⁶ (?) His mother.

⁷ The Desert Father; perhaps a shrine in a lonely spot. (Cf. Khwaja Khizr, *infra*, 706.)

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 Maham *anaga*. Maham *anaga* would be in Kabul now.

who planned to go to Tatta and Bhakkar. In Khizr Khan Hazara's country, which lies on the way to Bhakkar, he married Habiba Begam to Aq Sultan and entrusted her to him, while he himself went on.

The victorious Emperor dismounted in triumph in the Bala-i-hisar when five hours of the night of Bamzan 12th had passed,—prosperously and with safety and good luck.¹ All those followers of Mirza Kamran who had been promoted to the royal service, entered Kabul with drums beating (November, 1545).

On the 12th of the same month, her Highness my mother, Dil-dar 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. (65b) 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 *shahrukhis*. Whoever lost, lost those twenty *shahrukhw*, which would make five *misqdl*s.² Each player gave the winner his twenty *shahrukhw* to add to his own.³

To widows and orphans, and kinsfolk of men who had

¹ The hour was probably fixed by astrological counsel. Abii'l-fazl, 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 Abu'l-fazl and Gul-badan.

² One *shahrukhi* was about ten pence. Four *shahrukhis* made one *misqal*.

³ Mr. Erskine says that the earliest mention of cards as made known to him by an Oriental writer is when Babar sends some to Shah Husain Arghun who was 'very fond' of them, by Mir 'All, the armour-bearer, in 988H. (1526-27). No doubt such an easy means of speeding the hours was known to the ladies of Babar'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,¹ 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 Hamida-banu Begam from Qandahar. When she arrived, they celebrated the feast of the circumcision of the Emperor Jalalu-d-din Muhammad Akbar. Preparations were made, and after the New Year² they kept splendid festivity for seventeen days. People dressed in green,³ 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 Kabul. They gave it in that same large Audience Hall Garden.⁴ They decorated all the bazars. Mirza Hindal and Mirza Yadgar-nasir, and the sultans and amirs, decorated their quarters beautifully, and in Bega Begam's garden the begams and ladies made theirs quite wonderful in a new fashion.

All the sultans and amirs brought gifts to the Audience Hall Garden, (66b) There were many elegant festivities and grand entertainments, and costly *khilats* and head-to-

¹ Text, *fafratha*. The begam writes this word sometimes with a *ta* and sometimes with a *to'e*.

² i.e., Persian era. Nizamu-d-din Ahmad places the date of entry into Kabul by Humayun on Ramzan 10th, 958H., 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. Abu'l-fazl gives Ramzan 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 Panipat. (106) Hence, perhaps, the use of the word 'same.'

Eoot¹ 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 Mirza Sulaiman, 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 Khan's brother, Faza'il Beg, to Kabul, and said: 'Go! comfort and reassure the people of Kabul. Set them at ease in various ways.⁴ Let them not quarrel. Say: "It began ill, but has ended well." ' ((57a)

When Faza'il Beg had gone, he (Humayun) went one day nearer Kabul.⁵

False news having been sent to Mirza Kamran in Bhakkar, he set out post-haste for Kabul. In Ghazni he killed Zahid Beg⁶ and then came on. It was morning; the Kabulls 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 mirza passed into the fort with all

¹ Perhaps there is expressed here a difference of degree of honour in the *khi'lat* and *sar-u-pai*.

² Sulaiman had not made submission to Humayun,—hence this expedition to Badakhshan.

³ He is said to have been insensible for four days. He was nursed by Mah-chuchak and Bibi Fatima, an armed woman (*ordu-begi*) of the *haram*. She was, it would seem, mother of Zuhra *agha*, the wife of Khwaja Mu'agzarn, and to save whose life Akbar nearly lost his own. (Elliot, V. 292; B. & H., II. 330 *et seq.*)

⁴ (?) As to his health, and their own safety from Kamran'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 Shahdan, between Khishm and Qila'-i-zafar, and Qaracha Khan, his *vazlr*, behaved with decision and good sense, so that Humayun's authority was upheld.

⁵ Doubtful translation. Humayun is elsewhere said to have gone to Qila'-i-gafar to recruit, and Faza'il to have arrived in Kabul 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 Muhammad Ali¹ who was in the hot bath. He alighted at the college of Mulla 'Abdu-1-khaliq.

When the Emperor was starting for Qila'-i-zafar, he placed Naukiir² at the door of the *haram*. Mirza Kamran must have asked: 'Who is in the Bala-i-hisar?' and someone must have said: 'It is Naukar.' Naukar heard of this and at once put on a woman's dress and went out. The mirza's people laid hands on the doorkeeper of the fort, and took him to Mirza Kamran, who ordered him to be imprisoned. (676) The mirza's people went into the Bala-i-hisar, and plundered and destroyed innumerable things belonging to the *haram*, and they made settlement³ for them in Mirza Kamran's court (*sarkar*). He put the great begams into Mirza "Askarfs 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.⁴

In what was once Mirza Yadgar-nasir's house he put Khwaja Mu azzam⁵ 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.⁶

When the Emperor heard that Mirza Kamran had come from Bhakkar and was acting in this way, he returned from Qila'-i-zafar and Andar-ab safe and sound to Kabul. Qila'-i-z"afar he gave to Mirza Sulaiman. (68a)

¹ Brother of Maharn Begam.

² Probably the servant sent with gifts by Babar from Agra to Kabul. The name looks like that of an Abyssinian. Is it 'new in work,' and a sobriquet given in youth and retained?

³ *zabt wa rabt*. Is this an indication of Gul-badan's opinion that Kamran 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 khwaja's disgrace with Humaytin.

⁶ Probably for the exploitation so often named in the histories.

When he came near to Kabul, Mirza Kamran sent for her Highness my mother and for me from the house,¹ 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 Khwaja Khan and tell him to come and join me and to keep an easy mind, for just as Mirza 'Askarl and Mirza Hindal are my brothers, so is he. Now is the time to help.' I answered: 'Khizr Khwaja Khan has no way of recognising a letter² 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 Mahdi Sultan³ and Shir 'All to fetch the khan. From the first I had said to the khan: 'Your brothers may be with Mirza Kamran, (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 khan kept to what I said.

When the Emperor heard that Mirza Kamrln had sent Mahdi Sultan³ and Shir 'All to fetch Khizr Khwaja Khan, he himself despatched Qambar Beg, the son of Mirza Haji, to the khan, who was then in his own *jagir*, and said: 'Beware, a thousand times beware! Let there be no joining Mirza Kamran. Come and wait on me.' The result of this auspicious message was that the khan set out at once for court, and came to the 'Uqabain (Hill of the two eagles) and paid his respects.

When the Emperor passed Minar Hill, Mirza Kamran sent forward all his well-ordered soldiers under Shir

¹ Presumably the brick and mud quarters of the ladies.

² *Sudd na darad ki khat-i-mara shinasad*. 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'aiat-yar, as being her own. She is now about twenty-five

³ Brother of Khizr and of Yasin-daulat (Aq Sultan).

Afkan,¹ the father of Shiroya, so that they might go out and fight. We saw from above² how he went out with his drums beating, out beyond Baba Dashtl, and we said, 'God forbid you should fight,' and we wept. (69a) When he reached the Afghans' village (*Dih-i-Afghan an*), the two vanguards came face to face. The royal advance-guard at once drove off the mlrza's⁸ and, having taken many prisoners, brought them to the Emperor. He ordered the Mughals to be cut to pieces.⁴ Many of the mlrza's men who had gone out to fight were captured and some of them were killed and some were kept prisoners. Amongst them was Juki Khan, one of Mirza Kamran's amirs.

In triumph and glory and to the sound of music, the Emperor entered the 'Uqabain, with Mirza Hindal in attendance and a splendid cavalcade. He set up for himself tents and pavilions and an audience hall,⁵ He gave Mirza Hindal charge of the Mastan bridge,⁰ and stationed the amirs one after another. For seven months he kept up the blockade.⁷ (69b)

It happened one day that Mirza Kamran went from his own quarters to the roof (? of the citadel), and that someone fired a gun from the 'Uqabain. He ran and took himself off. Then he gave this order about the Emperor Akbar: 'Bring him and put him in front.'⁸ Someone let his august Majesty (Humayun) know that Mirza Muhammad Akbar was being kept on the front, so he forbade the guns to be fired and after that none were aimed at the

¹ Son of Quch Beg, an amir who lost his life in trying to protect Bega Begam at Chatta.

² From the citadel where the ladies were.

³ The begam underrated Humayun's victory. The struggle was fierce, renewed and stubborn.

⁴ Doubtful translation.

⁵ I think she merely wishes to say that Hum&yun camped out on the 'Uqabain, and did not take up quarters under a roof.

⁶ Under it flows the stream which issues from the defile of Dih-i-ya'qub. Cf. *Ain*, Jarrett, I. 404.

⁷ Of the Bala-i-hisar, the actual citadel.

⁸ Gul-badan's narrative does not support the story that M&ham *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, Nadirn *kuka*, is so named.

Bala-i-hisar. Mirza Kamran's men used to fire from the town upon the Emperor on the 'Uqabain. The royal soldiers put Mirza 'Askari to stand right in front and made fun of him.

Mirza Kamran'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 Khwaja Dost Khawand *madarchi*¹ to his Majesty to say: 'For God's sake, do whatever Mirza Kamran 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.³ He wrote:⁴ 'For their sakes, I could not use force against the citadel, lest I should give an advantage to their enemies.'⁵

During the siege Jahan Sultan Begam who was two years old, died. His Majesty wrote: 'Some time or other, if we had used force against the citadel, Mirza Muhammad Akbar would have disappeared.'

To finish the story: There were always people in the Bala-i-hisar from evening prayer till dawn, and there was a continuous uproar. The night Mirza Kamran went away,⁶ prayer-time passed and indeed bedtime came, and there was no noise at all. (706)

There was a steep stair by which people came up from

¹ Follower of the Musalman saint Madar.

² This message seems one from the imprisoned ladies. The khwaja to whom it was entrusted may now, as in the earlier siege of Kabul, have been Kamran's envoy to Humayun.

³ *parcha* and *nimcha dokhta*. 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 V Perhaps a thousand people were standing in front (of the fort). We were afraid, but all at once, without warning, off they went. Qaracha Khan's son Bahadur brought us word that the mirza had fled.¹

Having thrown a rope, they (or he) brought up Khwaja Mu'azzam by way of the wall.²

Our people and the begam'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 Nazir 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-dar Begam and me, and then Bega Begam and Hamida-banu 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 Nazir: 'Guard one side,' and to Tardl Beg Khan: '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 Mah-chuchak Begam and Khanish *agha* and those of the *haram* who had been with the Emperor on the campaign.

In Badakhshan Mah-chuchak had a daughter born. On the same night the Emperor had this dream: 'Fakhru-n-nisa, my *mama*,³ and Daulat-bakht came in by the door,

¹ Nizamu-d-din Ahmad says that Katnran escaped by a hole fashioned for the purpose in the wall' on Khizr Khwaja's' side. This suggests that Gul-badan's husband connived at the evasion, unless one remembers that Khizr Khwaja is a place outside Kabul.

² I do not understand this sentence. Either the followers of Kamran drew the khwaja up into the fort-precincts to take him with them, he having displeased Humayun and being nearly connected with him, or the ladies had him drawn up. He was, it seems, not a prisoner. (676)

³ Fakhru-n-nisa', the mother of Nadim *kuka*,, **would seem from this to have been Humayun'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*'.

Mah-chuchak had four daughters¹ and two sons,—Bakht-nisa' Begam, and Sakina-banu Begam, and Amina-banu Begam, and Muhammad Hakim Mirza, and Farrukh-fal Mirza. (71*b*) She was with child when the Emperor went to Hindustan (1554), and bore a son, in Kabul, whom they named Farrukh-fal Mirza. A little later Khanish *agha* had a son whom they named Ibrahim Sultan Mirza.

The Emperor spent a full year and a half in Kabul, prosperously and happily, and in comfort and sociability.²

After taking flight from Kabul, Mirza Kamran went to Badakhshan, and there stayed in Taliqan. One day the Emperor was in the Inner Garden,³ and when he rose at dawn for prayers, news came that many of the amirs who formerly were with the mirza, had gone to him again. Amongst them were Qaracha Khan and Musahib Khan, and Mubariz Khan and Bapus.⁴ Many wretches fled by night and went to join the mirza in Badakhshan.

In a propitious hour the Emperor also started for Badakhshan. He besieged the mirza in Taliqan, and after a time made him agree to submit and become obedient (72*a*) when he waited on the Emperor, who bestowed Kulab on him, and gave Qila'-i-zafar to Mirza Sulaiman, Qandahar (*sic* ; (?) Kunduz) to Mirza Hindal, and Taliqan to Mirza 'Askari.

¹ Gul-badan does not name Fakhru-n-nistV who became the wife of Shah 'AJbu'l-ma'ali and of Kliwaja Hasan *Naqshbandi*. Perhaps she is Bakht-nisa'.

² From 1547 ; but a term of one and a half years does not quite fit the facts. Huinayiin started for the north on June 12th, 1548. (B & H., II. 352.)

³ *orta-bagh*.

⁴ Perhaps it may be taken as an indication of the degradation of * home life' that Qaracha and Bapus again joined Kamran, although the latter had exposed Qaracha's son and a wife of Bapus 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 Kishm¹ they had set up² the tents and there was an assembly of the brothers, his Majesty the Emperor Humayun, and Mirza Kamran, and Mirza 'Askari, and Mirza Hindal, and Mirza Sulaiman.³

His Majesty enjoined certain regulations⁴ 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 Mirza Kamran washed his. By years Mirza Sulaiman (b. 920H.) had precedence of Mirza 'Askari (b. 922H.) and Mirza Hindal (b. 925H.). So, to show him respect, the two brothers set the ewer and basin first before him.

After washing his hands Mirza Sulaiman did something improper with his nose. Mirza 'Askari and Mirza Hindal were much put out, and said: 'What rusticity is this? (726) 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 mirzas went and washed their hands outside and came back and sat down. Mirza Sulaiman 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 Lahor: "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 Musalman's ill;

¹ Abu'l-fazl says the meeting was at Ishkamish, and this seems to agree with the movements of Humayun better than Kishm.

² *khirga dohhta budand*. Certain tents are termed *dokhta*, sewed. They seem to have been large, and were laced together, whence, perhaps, *dolchta*.

For an interesting account of this historic family gathering see B. & H., II. 358 *et seq.*

³ 'Brother' by courtesy and custom; *cnglice*, 'cousin.'

⁴ *Tura*, the Institutes of Chingiz Khan 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 Badakhshan the Emperor spent a year and a half in Kabul 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 *riwaj*² will be coming up!' He replied:

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., 218 n.. It is translated by him from the *Makhdzinu-l-adwiya* (Treasury of Medicines). 'Ribas, rivris, riwaj or jigari (so named from a person of Nishapiir who first discovered it) is a shrub two or three feet high, in appearance like beet (*salq*). 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-shir was named *Rawand-dast* (rhubarb-hand) from the length of his hands. The root is called *rawand* (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 rivas is harsher than that of unripe grapes.' For mention of the name *riwaj* see *Tabaqat-i-akbari*, Lucknow lith. ed., 215; *Tuzuk-i-jahangiri*, 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, *rawand*'

' When I join the army, I shall travel by the Kob-daman, so that you may come out and see the *ruvaj* growing.' It was at afternoon prayer-time that he rode out¹ (of Kabul) to the garden. Quli 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 *kornish*. (73b) Directly they had made this salutation, he beckoned with his own blessed hand, to say: 'Come.'²

Fakhru-n-nisa *mama* and Afghani *aghacha* went on a little ahead. There was a stream in the lower part of the garden which Afghani *aghacha* could not cross, and she fell off her horse. For this reason there was an hour's delay.³ At last we set out with his Majesty. Mah-chuchak Begam not knowing, her horse went up a little.⁴ 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,⁵ and Mir (fault) and Khanish *aghacha* and Zarif the reciter and Saru-sahl and Shaham *agha* sang softly, softly.

Up to the time of our reaching Laghman, neither the

¹ Presumably from Kabul, and on the day of starting for Balkh via the Koh-daman.

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 *ruvaj* growing, and Humayun'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-amez*¹ tent had come. We all, his Majesty and all of us, and Hamida-banu 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 (Humayun).

Early next morning he wished to go and see the *riwaj* on the Koh. 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 Mah-chuchak 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 Mah-chuchak 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. (83b) It would be hot the whole way. God willing, we will go after offering the afternoon prayer.' He seated himself in a tent with Hamlda-banu Begam.² After afternoon prayers, there was the interval between two prayers before the horses arrived. In this interval he went away.³

Everywhere in the Daman-i-k5h the *riwaj* 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

¹ Perhaps a tent of Humayfm's invention, in the name of which *mihr* means *sun*. Cf. 'another of his (Humayun'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.' (*Al'bar-ndma*, H. Beveridge I. 361.)

² Perhaps, a tent of Hamlda having come, he seated himself in it.

³ (?) the start was made to see the *riwaj*.

distance (*birun*), and from there wrote separate letters to Bega Begam and to Hamida-banu Begam and to Mah-chuchak 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 Farza or Istalif, 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 Lamghan to Bihzadi. At night each one went to her own quarters, and in the morning they ate (? alone), and at mid-day prayer-time rode to Farza.

Hamida-banu Begam sent nine sheep to the quarters of each one of us, Bibi Daulat-bakht had come one day earlier to Farza 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 Farza to where there is a beautiful waterfall. Then his Majesty went to Istalif and passed three days, and then in 958H.² marched towards Balkh.

When he crossed the pass, he sent *jarmans* to summon Mirza Kamran and Mirza Sulaiman and Mirza 'Askarl, 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.' Mirza Sulaiman and Mirza 'Askarl came and joined him. (74b) Then march by march they came to Balkh.

In Balkh was PIR Muhammad Khan,⁸ and on the first

¹ Humayfin'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., I I. 368, has 956H. (1549), and other differences of detail.

³ Son of Jani Beg, and uncle of the famous 'Abdu-l-lah Khan *Uzbek*. 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 Pir Muhammad's men tasted defeat and returned to the city. By the next morning the khan had come to think : ' The Chaghatai 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.¹ The news of their march reached the Uzbeks 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. (75a)

The Emperor waited a little, and when he saw that no one was left, he too had to go. Mirza 'Askarl and Mirza Hindal, not having heard of the confusion, rode up to the camp. They found no one and saw that the Uzbeks 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 Mirza'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. Khizr Khwaja Khan said : ' If you approve, I will bring news.' ' God's mercy on you!' rejoined his Majesty. ' May they have gone to Kunduz !' (756)

Two days afterwards the khwaja, to the Emperor's great

¹ From other sources we learn that the royalists were anxious on two grounds; (1) as to the threatened arrival of an overwhelming Uzbek force from Bukhara, and (2) lest Kamran should again take Kabul and have their families at his mercy. The last was perhaps the dominant motive for the flight without a pursuer.

delight, brought word that Mirza Hindal had arrived at Kunduz safe and sound. His Majesty gave Mirza Sulaiman leave to go to his own place, Qila-i-zafar, and came himself to Kabul (1550, 957H).

While Mirza Kamran was in Kulab, a woman named Tarkhan¹ Bega, who was a thorough cheat, showed him the way by saying: 'Make a declaration of love to Haram Begam.² Good will come of it.' Acting on these words of an ill-judging adviser, he actually sent a letter and a kerchief³ to Haram Begam by the hand of Begl *agha*. This woman laid the letter and the kerchief before the begam and then set forth the mirza's devotion and passion. Haram Begam said: 'Keep that letter and that kerchief now and bring them again when the mirzas come home.' Begl *agha* then wept, and moaned, and coaxed, and said: 'Mirza Kamran has sent you this letter and this kerchief; he has loved you a long time, and you have no pity for him.' (*iQa*) Haram Begam began to show her disgust and violent anger, and at once sent off for her husband, Mirza Sulaiman, and her son, Mirza Ibrahim. She said to them: 'Mirza Kamran 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.⁴ 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 me⁵ nor my son?'

¹ This title indicates rank. A 'Tarkhan Begam' was wife of Sultan Ahmad Mirza. (Mems., 22..)

² or Khurram. One of her sisters was a wife of Kamran.

³ What fascination may lurk in an embroidered kerchief can be guessed by inspecting the dainty examples in the South Kensington Oriental Section.

⁴ *'kil'n*. Both here and at 776 this word seems to have wider meaning than is given by the Turk! and Persian dictionaries.

⁵ The begam's martial character spices this story, since her husband

Instantly hands were laid on Begl *agha* Blbi, condemned of fate to die, and she was torn in pieces. In consequence of this affair, Mirza Sulaiman and Mirza Ibrahim were displeased with Mirza Kamran, or rather they became his enemies. (766) They wrote to the Emperor that Mirza Kamran 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 mirza, in Kulab,¹ could not find, in his terror-stricken thoughts, any better remedy than to become a darvish. He sent his son, Abu'l-qasim (Ibrahim) to Mirza 'Askari, and betook himself to Taliqan with his daughter 'Ayisha (Sultan Begam), and said to his wife (Muhtarima Khanam): '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-ab.' The khanam was related to the Uzbek khans, and some of her kinsfolk let the Uzbeks² know: 'If you want booty, there are goods and men and women servants; take these, and let the lady go free, for if 'Ayisha Sultan Khanam's 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 Uzbek bondage, and reached Khost and Andar-ab. Here she stayed.

When Mirza Kamran heard of the royal disaster in Balkh, he said: 'The Emperor is not so friendly to me as he was.' (77a) So he left Kulab, and went hither and thither.

At this time (1550) his Majesty came out from Kabul. "When he reached the Qibchaq defile, he incautiously halted in a low-lying place, and Mirza Kamran, coming from higher ground, armed and equipped, poured down foes upon him.

did not dare even to make war without her consent. Perhaps Kamran's devotion extended to the armed force she disposed of. It was clearly in Tarkhan Bega's eye.

¹ In Kulab were the kinsfolk of his wife, Mah Begam, sister of Haram Begam, daughter of Sultan Wais *Qibchaq*, and sister of Chakr 'All Khan.

² i.e., across whose country she had to travel,

³ (?) Mughal Khanam.

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-makmii*, the Emperor Babar, 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 Humayun used to say with surprise: 'I wondered at it, for cap and cloth were whole, and yet the head was cut.'¹ The very same thing happened now to his own head.

After the rout in the Qibchaq defile, his Majesty went to Badakhshiln, and Mlrza Hindal, and Mlrza Sulaiman, and Mlrza Ibrahim came and waited on him. (77b) He went² to Kabul and the mirzas were in attendance, friendly and united and at peace together, when Mlrza Kamran approached. His Majesty sent a message to Haram Begam: 'Ask my killin³ to send me the army of Badakhshan as quickly as possible and ready for service.'¹ 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 'Tarnbol 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.' (Morns., 266. Also 111.)

² Nigarnu-d-din Ahmad, 'after forty days.'

³ Cf. 77a n.. This story bears out Haram's military reputation. Kamran's power of attraction and Hurnay tin's present risk can be gauged by the fact that even after the defeat at Charlkaran 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 Kamran's downfall was made between Humayun and his amirs. (B. & H., II. 338.) These swore fidelity by whatever oath would bind them and then, at the instance of Hajl Muhammad Khan kuka, Humayun bound himself to,—do as he was told. The compact was effective. The amirs were the long-suffering victims of Humayun's folly and their present turning was, he admitted, justifiable.

Either at Charlkaran or Qara-bagh there was fighting with Mirza Kamran and his Majesty's army was successful. The mirza fled to the mountain passes (*tangayha*) and Lamghanat.¹

Aq Sultan (Yasin-daulat) who was the mirza's son-in-law, said in effect to him (*gufta bashad*): '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.' Mirza Kamran said fiercely: 'Have my affairs come to such a pass that *you* offer me advice?' Aq Sultan 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 mirza wrote to Mirza Shah Husain, and said: 'Aq Sultan 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.' Shah Husain Mirza at once, on receiving the letter, deprived Habiba Sultan Begam of the company of Aq Sultan and let him depart for the blessed Makka.²

In the fight at Charlkaran, Qaracha Khan³ and many of Mirza Kamran's well-known officers were killed.

'Ayisha Sultan Begam⁴ and Daulat-bakht *aghacha* were in flight for Qandahar, and were captured at the Khimar Pass, and brought in by the Emperor's people. Mirza Kamran went to the Afghans,⁶ and stayed amongst them. (786)

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 (*tangayha*) to see the oranges. Mirza Hindal was in attendance, and of the ladies (*haraman*),

¹ Nizamu-d-din Ahmad, 'mountains of Mandrud.' B. & H., I I . 398, 'by the Pass of Badpaj towards the Afghan country.'

² Kamran was the son-in-law of Mir Shah Husain *Arghun*, and was therefore able to secure this interference with Aq Sultan's domestic.

³ Cf. Elliot, V. 233. ⁴ Kamran's daughter.
⁵ i.e., Lamghan.

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 mirza was hunting and had made a very good bag. Following the rules of Chinglz Khan, the mirza proffered his game to the Emperor, for it is a rule of Chinglz 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. (79a) 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 Kamran blocked the road, and shot an arrow at the unwitting mirza 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: '111 begun has ended well I¹ Do not be anxious, for I am getting better.' To finish the story: as it was hot, his Majesty went back to Kabul, and in the course of a year the arrow-wound got better.

A year later word was brought that Mirza Kamran had collected troops and was preparing for war. His Majesty also, taking military appurtenances, set out for the mountain passes (*tangayha*) 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 Kamran has decided that an attack must be made to-night.' (79b) Mirza Hindal went to the Emperor and submitted his advice: 'Let your Majesty stay on this high ground, and let my brother (nephew) Jalalu-d-dm Muhammad Akbar *padshah* 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.¹ 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,² and he set it down for a while. Because of this delay, the mirza 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.' (80a)

The mirza 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 *fathiha* 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 *tabaqchi*? hearing his voice, cried: 'They are attacking me.' The mirza, 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 sallied from the trenches, and in this endeavour became a martyr.

I do not know what pitiless oppressor slew that harmless youth⁴ 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 Hindal was killed on Zi'l-qa'da21st, 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 adat-yar, my son's, or Khizr Khwaja Khan's ! Alas! a hundred regrets ! Alas! a thousand times alas! (*nob*)

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: Mirza Hindal gave his life freely for his sovereign.

Mir Baba 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 mirza is badly wounded and that the Emperor forbids anyone to enter.'¹

Then he went and said to his Majesty: ' Mirza Hindal is wounded.' The Emperor called for a horse; ' I will go and see him.' Mir ' Abdu-l-hai said : ' He is badly hurt. It is not desirable that you should go.' He understood, and however much he tried,¹ he could not help it, he broke down.

Jul-shahi² was Khizr Khwaja Khan's *jagir*. The Emperor sent for him and said: ' Take Mirza Hindal to Jul-shahi and care for his burial.' The khan took the camel's bridle,³ and when he was going away with weeping and lament and voice uplifted in grief, (*sia*) 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 jbloodthirsty, tyrannical foe. With him at hand, there is no help but patience.' Then the khan with a hundred regrets, miserable and stricken, conveyed the body to Jul-shahl, and there laid and left it.

If that slayer 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 *hafs kardand*. Perhaps as a matter of etiquette which demands composure in public.

² Text, Jusahi, the modern Jalalabad, on the road to Kabul.

³ *i.e.*, that of the camel which bore the corpse.

monster, Mirza Kamran had not come that night, this calamity would not have descended from the heavens.

His Majesty sent letters to his sisters in Kabul, and the city at once became like one house of mourning. Doors and walls wept and bewailed the death of the happy, martyred mirza.

Gul-chihra Begam had gone to Qara Khan's house. When she came back, it was like the day of resurrection.¹ Through weeping and sorrow she fell quite ill and went out of her mind.

It was by Mirza Kamran's evil fate that Mirza Hindal 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. He set his face to evil in such fashion that fortune never befriended him again nor gave him happiness. It was as though Mirza Hindal had been the life, or rather the light-giving eye of Mirza Kamran, for after that same defeat he fled straight away to Salim Shah, the son of Shir Khan. Salim Shah gave him a thousand *rupis*.² Then the mirza told in what position he was, and asked help. Salim Shah said nothing openly in reply, but in private he remarked: 'How can a man be helped who killed his own brother, Mirza Hindal? It is best to destroy him and bring him to naught.' Mirza Kamran 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 Shah, he imprisoned many of them.

Mirza Kamran had gone as far as Bhlra and Khush-ab when Adam Ghakkar, by plot and stratagems, captured him and brought him to the Emperor. (82a)

To be brief, all the assembled khans and sultans, and high and low, and plebeian and noble, and soldiers and the

¹ Khwand-amir compares a bustle of people to the day of resurrection.

² A scornful measure of Kamran's fall. The date is the end both of 1552 and of 959H..

rest who all bore the mark of Mirza Kiimran'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 Qibchaq defile through this same Mirza Kamran? He it was whose traitorous and crafty conspiracy with the Afghans killed Mirza Hindal. 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 amirs both of the right and left assembled. They wrote down and gave in that same line (*misrd*): ' 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 Rohtas, the Emperor gave an order to Sayyid Muhammad: ' Blind Mirza Kamran in both eyes.' The sayyid went at once and did so.

After the blinding, his Majesty the Emperor²

END OF THE MS.

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 736, and have placed there.

APPENDIX A.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE WOMEN MENTIONED BY BABAR, GUL-BADAN, AND HAIDAR,¹

I Afaq (Afaq) Begam.

Princess of the Universe; Ar. *afaq*, four quarters, universe, etc*.

She is mentioned, without clue to her parentage, by Babar, as a wife of Sultan Husain Mlrza *Bayqrti*. He mentions her again, with others of the mlrza/s widows, as seen in Harat in 912H. (1506-7), and here his wording, both in the Turk! and the Persian texts, allows the inference that she is a daughter of Sultan Abu-sa'id *Miran-shahi*. Mr. Erskine translates the passage thus: ' Payanda Sultan Begam, my father's sister, Khadija Begam and the other (Turki, *yena*; Pers., *digar*) daughters of Sultan Abu-said Mlrza.'

When greeting the ladies, Babar gave Afaq precedence over Khadija, and notes the fact, Khadija was not a woman of birth.

Husain *Bayqra* married three daughters of Abu-sa Id, Sbahr-banu, Payanda, and Afaq. The last bore him no child, but she reared and educated nine children of his by her own foster-sister, Baba *dghacha*.

Early in 932H. (1525) she went from Harat to Kabul and was received by Babar (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 Begara's *Humayun-nama*.

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 Babar when he was besieging Chandiri in 934H. (January, 1528).

Mems., 182, 183, 204.

II. Afaq Begam. (No. 26.)¹

She was a daughter of Sultan-bakht Begam; her father's name has not yet come to my knowledge; she was a grand-daughter of Sultan Abu-sa'ld Mirza.

Babar mentions the arrival of a daughter of Sultan-bakht Begam in Agra in 935H. (October, 1528), and Gul-badan supplies the name Afaq by naming an Afaq of this parentage as at the Mystic Feast in 938H. (1531).

Gul-badan. Persian text, 256.

Mems., 387.

(*Afghani aghacha*, the Afghan lady. See Mubarika Blbl.)

III. Afroz-banu Begam. (No. 33.)

Pers. *afroz*, dazzling, illuminating, and *banu*, (?) a form of *ban* (van), 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, 256.

IV. Agha Begam. (No. 34.)

Turki, *agha*, a title of honour, and Ar. *sultan*, sway, pre-eminence. Steingass classes the word *agha* as Persian. It may be *aka*, lady. The dictionaries do not apply it to women.

Mentioned as at the Mystic Feast in 1531. She may be *Bayqrd* (*infra*).

Gul-badan, 256.

¹ Numbers so entered are those of Gul-badan's guest-list, 246 et seq..

V. Agha Begam Bayqra.

She was a daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra* and of Payanda Sultan Begam *Miran-shahi*. Her descent being so high through both parents, her name *Agha* rises above its frequent application to wives of less degree. Here it may have the meaning of *chief* or *great*. She married her cousin Murad who was a son of Kabfa-sultan Begam (Bedka). The *Habibu-siyar*, 327 *et seq.* (lith. ed.), states that she died before she reached maturity, but this does not agree with Babar's statements. The *Hablb* places her death earlier than 912H. (1506).

Mems., 181.

Habibu-s-siydr, lith. ed., 327 *et seq.*

VI. Agha kiika. (No. 78.)

Wife of Mun'im Khan ; at Hindal's Feast (1537).

Gul-badan, 26a.

VII. Agha-sultan aghacha. (No. 37.)

(?) The lady of chief honour.

She was a wife of 'Umar Shaikh Mirza (died 1494), and mother of Yadgar Sultan Begam (Babar'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, 256.

Mems., 10, 14.

VIII. Agha-sultan Sultanam Dughlat.

She was a daughter of Muhammad Haidar Mirza *Dughlat*, and therefore aunt of the author of the *Tarikh-i-rashidi*. She married 'Abdu-l-qadus Beg *Dughlat* in Kashghar, after 877H. (1472-73). Her husband was alive in 900H. (1494-95), and was governor of Khost for Sultan Mahmud Mirza *Miran-shahi*.

Mems., 27.

Tar. Rash., E. and R., 95, 103.

IX. Ai Begam *Miran-shahi*

Turki, ai, 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 Sultan Mahmud Mirza *Miranshdhi* and Khanzada *Termizi* II ; and wife of Jahangir Mirza, half-brother of Babar. 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. Aka Begam *Baygrd*.

Aka is clearly a title; her personal name I have not found. Her sister who is styled *Bedka*, appears to be named *llabi'a-sultan*.

Daughter of Mansur Mirza *Baygrd* and Firoza Begam *Miran-shdhl*, full and elder sister of Sultan Husain Mirza. Babar states (Mems., 176, 177) that she married (his uncle) Sultan Ahmad Mirza, and had a son, Klchak Mirza (the young or small prince). But he does not mention her, either as *Aka* or otherwise, amongst Ahmad's wives (Mems., 22), and he says that Ahmad had two sons who died young. Klchak, however, lived to change his military occupations for literature.

It is singular that a marriage of the oldest *Mirdn-shahi* of his generation with the oldest *Bdygrd* girl should not have been entered in Ahmad's biographical notice.

Mems., 22, 23, 176, 177.

(Alush—Anush—Begam, Ulus, q.v.)

XI. Amina Begam *Miran-shdhi*.

Ara., *amin*, faithful.

Daughter of Humayun and Mah-chuchak.

Gul-badan, 71a.

XII. Aq Begam Bayqra.

Turki, *aq*, fair. The word is frequently a sobriquet and the bearer's personal name is occasionally known; e.g., Yasin-daulat, Aq Sultan ; Saliqa Begam, Aq Begam, But frequently the personal name is not traceable.

Daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra* and Payanda Sultan Begam *Miran-shahi*; first cousin of Babar; wife of Muhammad Qasim *Arlat*.¹ She had one daughter, known as the Black-eyed (*qard-guz*) Begam,

Mems., 181.

XIII. Aq Begam Miran-shahi. (No. 3.)

Aq Begam was a daughter of Abu-sa'id *Miran-shdhi* and Khadlja. She was one of the several paternal aunts of Babar who went to India at his invitation. She reached Agra in October, 1528 (Safar, 935H.), and was met by her Aephew. She was present at the double wedding of Gul-rang and Gul-chihra in 1530 (937H.), and was probably at Babar's death-bed. She was at the Mystic Feast on December 19th, 1531 (Jumada I. 9th, 938H.).

Gul-badan, *11a*, 186, 20a, 246.

Mems., 179, 182, 387.

XIV. Aq Begam Miran-shahi.

Third daughter of Sultan Mahmud Mirza *Miran-shahi* and Khanzada Begam *Termizl*; and first cousin of Babar. The Memoirs do not mention her marriage or (as usual alternative) early death. She was full sister of a wife of Babar, Zainab.

Mems., 30.

(Aq Begam, Saliqa, *q.v.*)

¹ Muhammad Qasim was a Timurid through his grandmother, Bega Begam, the sister of 'Abdu-l-qasim Babar *qalandar*, King of Khurasar (died 1457).

XV. 'Aqiqa ('Afifa) Begam *Miran-shahu* (No. 47.)

Her name may be Aqlqa, 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 Humayun and Bega and second child of both parents. She was born in Agra in 1531. It is only from her aunt Gul-badan that anything is known of her. She went to Gualiar with her mother in (?) 1584; she was at Hindal's feast in 1537, and she was lost at Chausa on June 27th, 1539.

Gul-badan, 22a, 23b, 25, 33b, 346.

XVI. *Atun mama*. (No. 88.)

An *ntun* is a teacher of reading, writing, and embroidery, etc. *Mama* seems to be the title of old women-servants.

Babar mentions an *utan* in 1501. He met her at Pashaghar whither she had come on foot from Samargand and where she again joined her old mistress, Baba's mother, Qutluq-nigar Khanam. She had been left behind in the city after Shaiban's capture of it because there was no horse for her to ride.

Gul-badan mentions an *atun mama* as at Hindal's wedding feast, and as *manul* seems to be used for old servants, it is possible that she is the woman mentioned by Babar.

Gul-badan, 26a.
Mems., 99.

XVII. 'Ayisha-sultiin Begam *Bayqra*. (No. 9.)

Ar. 'aish, joy, and *sultan*, sway, pre-eminence. Cf. App. s.n, Dauiat.

Daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra* and Zobaida *aghacha* of the Shaiban sultans. 'Ayisha married, (1) Qasim Sultan *Uzbek*, a Shaiban sultan, and by him became the mother of Qasim Husain Sultan *Uzbek*, an amir of Babar and Humayun; (2) by *yanga-lik* (cf. App. S.N. Jamal), Buran Sultan,

a kinsman of Qasim Sultan, and by whom she **had** 'Abdu-l-lah Sultan *Uzbek* who entered Babar's service.

'Ayisha 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 'Ayisha was in Qasim Sultan's *baram*, but this does not agree with Babar's narrative. His entry that 'Abdu-l-lah 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-lah, and his growth to respectable military service.

Gul-badan, 246, 38b.

Merns., 182.

Hablu-s-siyar, lith. ed., 827 *et seq.*

XVIII. 'Ayisha-sultan Begam *Miran-shahi*. (? No. 11.)

Third daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza *Mvrdn-shahi* and Qutiiq (Katak) Begam. She was a first cousin of Babar, and his first wife. They were betrothed in Samarqand when he was five years old, 894H.(1488-89), and married in Sha'ban, 905H. (March, 1500), at Khojand during the 'troubles' i.e., conflict with Khusrau Shah and Ahmad Tambol. Babar says that at first he had no small affection for 'Ayisha and that it declined. She was the mother of his first child, Fakhru-n-nisa (born 907H., 1501). She left Babar before the overthrow (*wirani*) of Tashkand by Shaibanl in 909H. (1503), being influenced by the 'machinations' of her elder sister, probably Sallqa, who was married to one of those many kinsmen who tried to overthrow the boy-king of Farghana.

Gul-badan mentions an 'Ayisha Sultan Begam (No. 11) as being at the Mystic Feast, without describing her. The following entry (No. 12) is that of Sultanl, a daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza, 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. Sultanan.*)

Gul-badan, 66, 246.
Mems., 22, 78, 90.

XIX. Ayisha-sultan Begam *Miran-shahi*.

Daughter of Kamran Mirza.

Firishta (lith. ed., 241) and Khafi Khan (1. 122) say that Kamran left one son and three daughters.

The son is called Ibrahim by Gul-badan, and in the early part of the *Ahbar-nama*. (*Bib. Ind.*, ed., I. 226.) Later the A. N. and other sources call him Abu'l-qasim, which may be a hyonymic (*kunyat*).

As to the three girls, Firishta, without naming them/ gives the information that:

No. 1 married (a) Ibrahim Husain Mirza (*Bayqra*).

No. 2 „ (b) Mirza 'Abdu-r-rahman *Mughal*.

No. 3 „ (c) Fakhru-d-din *Mashhadi* who died in 986H. or 987H. (No. 88 of Blochmann's list. *Aln-i-akbari*, p. 406).

Khafi Khan's information coincides with Firishta's verbally as to No. 8, and actually as to No. 1 and No. 2. For Ibrahim 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 Dughlat *Mughal* and cousin of Mirza Haidar.

If we take the girls' names from other sources we can (conjecturally in part) fill up the table.

1. Gul-rukh is known in history as the wife of Ibrahim Husain Mirza *Bayqra*.

2. Kamran's eldest daughter, *Hablba*, was forcibly parted from her husband, Aq Sultan, in about 1551-52, and this would allow re-marriage to (b) or (c). Aq Sultan went to Makka from Sind 1551-52 (*cir.*), and his name disappears thenceforth.

3. 'Ayisha may also have married (b) or (c).

In the list of the pilgrims of 988H. (*A. N. Bib. Ind.*

ed., III. 145) are included 'Haji and *Gul-'zrar*, *farzand an* of Mirza Kamran.'¹ We have already the three names required by Firishta and Khafi Khan, i.e., Gul-rukh, Habiba and 'Ayisha. GuKizar is 'superfluous.' Perhaps *farzanddn* may be read 'offspring,' and she may be a granddaughter. Or Habiba or 'Ayisha may have predeceased Kamran, 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 Haji Begam of 983H. is not clear.² It would seem that this was her second pilgrimage, since she is enrolled as Haji before starting. Kamran'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 983EL, and therefore quite free to make the *Haj*. Ibrahim Husain died in 981H. (1578).

Haji Begam was visited by Akbar and she died in 991H. (1583).

Gul-badan, 77a., 78a,
Akbar-nama, III. 145, 373, 375.

XX. 'Ayisha-sultan Khanam and Khatim, Mughal Khanam, *Chaghatai Mughal*.

Daughter of Sultan Mahmud Khan. In 909H. (1503) she, together with other ladies of her father's household, was captured by Shaibam and was married by him. She bore him a son, Muhammad-rahlm Sultan. She wrote Turk! verses, and her name

¹ Mr. Beveridge tells me that a MS. *Akbar-nama* belonging to the R.A.S. has *wa* (and) before *farzandan*, but it does not seem practicable to read this.

² Professor Blochmann (*Ain*, p. 465, No. 187) has (by a slip of reference numbering) confused Haji Begam, daughter of Kamran, with Flaji Begam, Bega Begam, widow of Humayun. The latter died in 989H. before Gul-badan's party returned. Bega Begam went to Makka in 972H..

appears in the biography of poetesses by Fakhri *amiri*. Mirza Haidar says that some of her children and of two other Mughal khanams (Daulat and Qut-Iiq) who were forcibly married at the same time, were living and reigning in Transoxiana at the time of his writing the *Tarikh-i-rashid*. She is, I think, the 'Ayisha named by Gul-badan on 16b.

Tar. Bash., 160, 192, 193.

Gul-badan, 766.

Jawahiru-l-' ajaib. Fakhri *amiri* (Bodleian MS.).

XXL Babu *dghd* (Mama *agha*).

Professor Blochmann writes the name *Babu*; but *Babu*, darling, or *Banu*, lady, would seem more appropriate for a Persian woman.

She was the wife of Shihabu-d-din Ahmad Khan *Nishdpurl*, and was related to Hamida-banu Begam *Jdmi*, Akbar's mother. Abu'l-fazl calls her *Mama agha*. 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.

Shihabu-d-din was *damdd* of Maham *anaga*, and as *damdd* is presumably used here in its more common sense of 'son-in-law,' Babu *agha* would seem to be a daughter of Maham *anaga*.

Akbar-nama, Bib. Ind. ed., III. 716.

Ain-i-akbari, Blochmann, 333.

XXII. Bachaka *Khalifa*.

Gul-badan, Bachaka; Mems., Bachaka; Ilminsky, Bichka. Vambery (*Chaghatdische Sprachstudien*) has an appropriate word, *becheh*, Chok. (? Kokand), *zierrath*; ornament. The name is presumably Chaghatal Turki, as the bearer of it was an old family servant of a Farghana household.

Bachaka was a head woman-servant (*khalifa*) of Babar'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 ' *khalifa* of my royal father,' lost at Chausa

in 1539, and the two references may well be to the same woman.

Mems., 98.
Gul-badan, 336.
Ilminsky, 116.

XXIII. Badi'u-l-jamal Khanam Chaghatai Mughal.

The khanain of rare beauty; Ar. *badi*, astonishing, rare; *jama'i* beauty.

Daughter of Sa'id Khan *Chaghatai Mughal*, ruler of Kashghar; and first cousin, once removed, of Babar. She married Baush Sultan of the Uzbek Kazaks. On her father's death, her brother Rashid insisted upon her divorce, and then gave her in marriage to Muhammad! *Barias* whom Haidar Mirza styles 'a peasant.'

Tar. Rash., E. & R., 453.

XXIV. Badl'u-l-jamal Begam Miran-shahi. (No. 2.)

She was a daughter of Sultan Abu-sa'id Mirza *Miran-shdlu*. She went to India during Babar's life; was at the double wedding of his daughters, and at the Mystic Feast in 1531.

Mems., 387.
Gkil-badan, 11a, 186, 246.

XXV. Bairam (Maryam) Sultan.

Ilminsky calls her Bairam; Khwand-amir, Maryam. The Mems. give her no name.

She was the elder daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqrd* and Mingli-bi *aghacha Uzbek*. She married Sayyid 'Abdu-l-lah Mirza of Andikhud (a Timurid through his mother). She bore a son, Sayyid Birka, who served Babar.

Ilminsky, 209.
Mems., 181.
Habibussiyar, 327 *et seq.*

XXVI. Bakhshi-banu Begam.

Princess Good-fortune. Pers. *bakhsh*, fortune, and *banu* (*van*), possessing.

She was a daughter of Humayun and of Gunwar Bibi, and was born in Jumada L, 947H. (September, 1540), the year of the TImurid 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 Qandahar to Kabul. In 957H. (1550), and when ten years old, she was betrothed by her father to Ibrahim, son of Sulaiman and Haram. Ibrahim (b. 1534) was six years older than Bakhshi-banu, and he was killed in 1560, leaving her a widow of twenty. In the same year she was given in marriage by Akbar to Mirza Sharaf u-d-din Husain Ahrdri.

Gul-badan, 396.
Akbar-nama, 8,n.,

XXVII. Bakhtu-n-nisa Begam.

Felicity of womanhood; Pers. *bakht*, felicity, fortune, and *nissa*, woman.

She was a daughter of Humayun and Mah-chuchak, and was born in 957H. (1550). Gul-badan says that she received her name in accordance with Humayun's interpretation of a dream. There is, however, ground for thinking that she and Fakhru-n-nisa, both mentioned in the histories as daughters of Mah-chuchak, are one and the same person. Gul-badan enumerates three daughters of Mah-chuchak, 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 Pakhr.

Of Bakhtu-n-nisa it is recorded in the histories that she came from Kabul to India with her son Diwali, after the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, her brother (993H.—1584-85), and that she was concerned in a reconciliation effected by Salima-sultan Begam between Akbar and Salim.

Of Fakhru-n-nisa it is recorded that she married Shah Abu'l-ma'ali *Termini* and Khwaja Hasan *Naqsh-bandi*.

Gul-badan, 71a.
 Khafi Khan (*Bib, Ind. ed.*), I. 226.
Badayuni, Lowe, 72.
Akbar-nama, 8.n..
Ain-i-ahbari, Blochmann, 322.

XXVIII. Bakht-sultan Begam *Miran-shahi*. (No. 4.)

Daughter of Sultan Abu-sa'id Mirza *Mirdn-shdhi* and mother of Afaq (No. 26). She went to India shortly after its conquest by Babar, and was at the Mystic Feast.

Mems., 887.
 Gul-badan, 11a, 246, 25b.

XXIX. Barlas Begam. (No. 36.)

There is no clue given by which to identify thiB lady. Others who were, like herself, at the Mystic Feast might, by tribal descent, be styled *Barlas*.

Gul-badan, 256.

(Bedka, Kabl'a, q.v..)

XXX. Bega *agha*.

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 *legs*, as may be seen by the instances here given. For a confusion of *bega* and *yanga* cf. App. s.n. Zainab.

A messenger of Mirza Kamran to Haram Begam.

Gul-badan, 756.

XXXI. Bega Begam *Bayqra*.

Daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra* and Payanda-sultan Begam *Miran-shahi*; full sister of Haidar *Bayqra*; first cousin of Babar; wife of Babar

Mirza of Haji Tarkhan who was her first cousin and the son of BablVsultan (Bedka) *Bayqra*.

Khwand-amir says that she married ' Khwaja Maulana.' This may be a second marriage or a confusion with Klchak, her sister.

Mems., 177, 181.

Habibu-s-siyar, 327 *et seq.*,

XXXII. Bega Begam and Bibi.

The Emperor Jahangir, when in his Memoirs enumerating the gardens of Kabul, mentions one which belonged to Bega Begam, a widow of his father's grandfather, *i.e.*, Babar. Which of Babar's wives is indicated by this title cannot be said with certainty.

Jauhar has a story of Kamran's want of consideration for ' Bega Begam,' in which the points useful here are that on the day in 1545 when Humayun took Kabul from Kamran, he asked for food from Bega Begam, and he said of her that she was the very person who had brought Babar's bones and laid them in Kabul.

These two references of Jahangir and Jauhar are probably to the same lady. Of Babar's wives, Bibi Mubarika (*Afghani aghdeha*) appears to me the most suitable to the time and task.

Babar's body was still in its Agra tomb in 1539. (Gul-badan, 346.) Maham was then dead; Dil-dar's movements exclude her from consideration ; Gul-rukh, if living, will have left Agra with her son Kamran before the Tlmurid exodus was enforced by defeat at Kanauj; Bibi Mubarika remains, the probable and appropriate agent for fulfilling Babar'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,

Babar's body was not removed till after the *fifrat*, *i.e.*, the Timurid 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 Agra under the protection of one of the religious families and safeguarded by pious duty to Babar's tomb, until Shir Khan 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 Humayun, and, like Bega (*Haji*) Begam, have been made captive. It would harmonize with Shir Khan's known actions if he had allowed Babar's widow to remove his bones, and if he had aided her pious task.

Tuzuk-i-jahangir, lith. ed., 51.
Humdyun-nama, Jauhar, Pers. text, 8.a. 951H. (November, 1545).
 B. & H., II. 325 n..

XXXIII. Bega Begam *Miran-shahl*. (No. 15.)

This Bega was a daughter of Mirza Ulugh Beg *Miran-shahi* who was king of Kabul and known as *Kabuli*. She was Babar's first cousin, and may be that daughter of her father who married Muhammad Ma'sum Mirza *Bayqrd*. Gul-badan styles her '*ama*', paternal aunt, of Humayun; *anglice*, she and he were first cousins, once removed. She was at the Mystic Feast in December, 1531.

Gul-badan, 246.
 Mems., 180.

XXXIV. Bega Begam *Miran-shahi*. (? No. 22. Bega Kilan Begam.)

Daughter of Sultan Mahmud Mirza and Khanzada II. *Termini*; wife of Haidar Mirza *Bdyqra* and mother of Shad Begam (No. 28).

In 901H. (1496) Sultan Ilusain *Bayqra* was besieging Hisar which was held for Bega's brother Mas'ud,

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, Payanda-sultan. The betrothal took place outside the fort, with assistance of such music as could be procured, and later when the bride was taken to Harat, the marriage was celebrated with the splendour loved by Husain and befitting a Tlmiirid alliance. Haidar was a full Tlmurid; 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, (?) 246, No. 22.

XXXV. Bega (Haji) Begam (?) Begchik Mughal. (? No. 50.)

She was a daughter of Uncle (*taghal*) Yadgar Beg who was, I think, a brother of Sultan 'All Mirza, father of Kamran's wife, Gul-rukh. Abu'l-fazl calls Bega Begam *dukhtar-i-taghai-i-walida-i-Jannat-dshyan*. Yadgar and 'All *Begchik* are both styled *Mirza*, but this elevation is due, it seems, to their alliances with the royal house. Haidar calls their brothers *mirs*.

Bega married Humayun, 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 *Barlds*, 'Khalifa's' daughter, whose second husband he was, had best claim to high birth.

The first son, perhaps first child, of Bega and Humayun was Al-aman, born 934H. or 935H. (1528) when his father was about twenty-one and was in Badakhshan. 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 ('Aqiqa) was born in 1531.

In 1534 (*circa*) Gul-badan's story (29b, 30b) shows Bega as resenting neglect by Humayun 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 Humayun'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; Humayun'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.*, *Miran-shahl*, daughter of Ulugh Beg *Kahull*.)

Bega was with Humayun during the idleness of his decadence in Bengal, and with her was her sister, the wife of Zahid Beg. Zahid offended Humayun, and Bega tried in vain to obtain his forgiveness.

She was captured at Chausa by Shir Khan, and here she lost her little girl, 'Aqiqa. The historians all call her *Haji Begam* in recording her capture; it is only Gul-badan who calls her Bega Begam. She was returned in safety to Humayun under the escort of Shir Khan's best general, Khawas Khan. How soon she was returned I am not able to say. Support is to be found for the view that she was sent to Agra directly after Humayun'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 Kabul. She was *in* Kabul 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, Gul-badan, and the rest to join Akbar in 964H. (1557). After this she built her husband's tomb near Dihll, 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 *Haji 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 Kamran. 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. Abu'l-fazl says that her affairs were settled by one Qasim 'All Khan. 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 Dihll in 981H..

Gul-badan, 22a, 236, 29b, 306, 786, 83a.

Mems., 388, 890.

Akbar-nama, Bib. Ind. ed., index, 8.n..

Ain-i-akbari, Blochmann, 465. (Confusion has been made here with Kamran's daughter.)

Badayunl, Lowe, 308 n..

History of the Afghans, Dorn, I. 103.

XXXVI. Bega Kilan Begam. (No. 22.)

She was at the Mystic Feast. No clue is given to her identification. The '*kilan*' of her title indicates a pre-eminence which would suit Bega *Miran-shahi*, daughter of Sultan Mahmud Mirza. (*Cf. supra.*)

Gul-badan, 246.

XXXVII. Bega Sultan Begam Marri.

Daughter of Sanjar Mirza of Marv; first wife of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra*; mother of Badi'u-z-zaman Mirza. 'She was extremely cross-tempered, and fretted the mirza 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 Sultan Begam Miran-shahi. (No. 13.)

Daughter of Sultan Xhalil Mirza *Miran-shahi*; grand-daughter of Sultan Abu-sa'id; first cousin of Babar.

Gul-badan, 246.

XXXIX. Begam Sultan.

Daughter of Shaikh Kamal. Died 945H. (1538).

Beale's 'Oriental Biography,' s.n.,

(Begam Sultan, Sa'adat-bakht, q.v..)

XL. Beg! Sultan ayhacha.

Inferior wife (*chahar'shambilu*) of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqrd*.

Mems., 183.

XLI. Buwa Begam.

Mother of Sultan Ibrahim *Loth Afghan*. She attempted to poison Babar in December, 1526 (933H.) in the manner which is told in most of the histories. The

Iqbal-nama adds the interesting detail that she was deported from India, and that on her enforced journey to Kabul she drowned herself in the Indus.

Mems., 347.
Gul-badan, 19a.

XLII. Chuli Begam Azak.

The Desert Princess; Pers. *chul*, desert. The Memoirs have *Juli*, but the meaning of *chuli* (which looks like a sobriquet) suits the descent of the begam better than anything which can be extracted from *jul*. Ilminsky writes *Juli* but for this the Mems. are his possible warrant. B.M. Pers. Or. 16,623, f. 123, l. 7., has a clearly-pointed *chull*; also on f. 1246.

Chull (Jul!) Begam was a daughter of a beg of the Azaks, and married Sultan Husain *Bayqrd* before he conquered Khurasan in 878H. (1478). She was the mother of Sultanam, his eldest girl and her only child, and she died before 912H. (1506).

Mems., 181, 182.
Habibu-s-siydr, 327 *et seq.*

XLIII. Daulat-bakht aghacha.

(?) The lady of happy horoscope (*bakht*).

She may be the mother of Kamran's daughter 'Ayisha, with whom she was in flight for Qandahar.' (Cf. Ayisha.)

Gul-badan, 786.

XLIV. Daulat-bakht Bibi. (No. 85.)

She was clearly an active and working member of Humayun's household. She appeared to him in a dream (71a), and her name formed a part of Bakhtun-nisa'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 Hindal's marriage feast.

She may be the Daulat-bakht *aghacha* of the preceding notice.

Gul-badan, 26b, 71a, 74a.

XLV. Daulat-kitta (?) *Arghun*.

Kitta I find only as a Turki word, meaning noble, powerful. With it the name would be a mongrel of Arabic and Turki. Perhaps Baulat-giti might be read.

She was a servant in Mirza Muhammad Muqim *Arghun's* house, and was an intermediary in effecting the elopement of her master's daughter, Mah-chuchak *Arghun*, from Kabul. Mr. Erskine tells the story admirably.

B. & H., I. 348 *et seq.*, and the Sources there referred to.

XLVI. Daulat-nigar Khanam *Chaghatai Mughal*.

Good-fortune itself; the very image of felicity. Ar. *daulat*, and Pers. *nigar*, effigy, image.

Daughter of Isan-bfigha Khan *Chaghatai*; wife of Muhammad Haidar Mirza *Dughlat*.

Tar. Bash., E. & R., 88.

XLVII. Daulat-sultan Khanam *Chaghatai Mughal*.

Ar. *daulat*, fortune, and *sultan*, sway. In many proper names, *sultan* 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., *Latif-sultan*, *Daulat-sultan*. 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 Yunas Khan *Chaghatdl* and Shah Begam *Badakhshl*; half-sister of Babar's mother; wife by chance of battle, of Timur Sultan *Uzheg*; mother by him of a daughter.

In 907H. (1501-2) she was in Tashkand, and Qut-Ilq-nigar Khanam went to visit her after thirteen or fourteen years of separation. Babar, dejected and an exile, joined the family party in the next year. In 909H. (1503) Shaibam sacked Tashkand and forcibly married

Daulat-sultan to his son Timur. She bore him a daughter, and she remained in his *haram* until Babar took possession of Samarqand in 917H. (1511), and she joined him. She went south with him in 1513, and remained several years in Badakhshan with another nephew, Mirza (Wais) Khan who behaved to her like a son.

Another nephew, Sa'ld, her own brother Ahmad's son, then invited her, with costly gifts, to visit him in Kashghar. She made the long and difficult journey; joined him in Yarkand; and with him she spent the rest of her life.

Babar mentions that her foster-brother brought him news and letters from her in 925H. (September 8th, 1519). In the same year Mansur, Sa'ld's eldest brother, went to Kashghar to visit her, his 'beloved aunt/

The Persian text of the *Tarikh-i-rashidi* says that Mansur went so that by looking at her kind face his grief for the loss of his father might be mitigated. The Bible Society's Turk! 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 Khan took place in 909H. (1503) and Mansur'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.

Tar. Bash., E. & R., 108, 117, 156, 160, 351, 352, 356.

XLVIII. Daulat-sultiln (?) *Sakanj Begam*.

Sahanj I cannot explain. B. M. Add. 24,090 (44/;) has no points, and the word may be S-k-n-gh. B. M., Or. 137 (48a) has k-ni-n-i or b-k-n-j. The Turk! (Bible Society's MS. translations) has Daulat.

Daughter of Amir Shaikh Nuru-d-dln *Qibchaq Mughal*, governor of Turkistan; wife of Wais Khan *Chaghkatali Mughal*.

Tar. Bash., E. & R., 64 and 64 n..

XLIX. Dil-dar Begam. (No. 48.)

The Heart-holding Princess; Pers. *dil*, heart, and *ddr*, holding.

Neither her husband, Babar nor her daughter, Gul-badan gives any clue to her parentage. Her marriage is not spoken of in the Memoirs; it, as well as Gul-rukh's, probably occurred in the missing decade of 1509-19. If Babar held the view that four wives were a lawful number, Dil-dar, of whatever parentage, may be counted amongst them, since in 1509 Mabain only remained of his earlier wives, 'Ayisha, Zainab, and Ma'suma having disappeared from the household by death or divorce.

Dil-dar is mentioned once in the Turk! text of Kehr and Ilminsky, and then as *aghacha*. 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 Babar and by Gul-badan, 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 *Akbar-ndma* (Bib. Ind. ed., II. 62) makes use of the words 'Dil-dar *aghacha* Begam,' and adds *dghd* as a variant (cf. App., s.n. *agha*). Gul-badan always styles her mother begam, and sometimes *hazrat*. In enumerating her father's children and their mothers, she does not mention the parentage of any wife besides Ma'suma *Miran-shahi*, a Timurid, 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-dar was of *Mirdn-shdhi* birth. (Cf. *infra*, p. 277.)

Perhaps some indication of non-royal birth is given by Maham's forcible adoption of Dil-dar's son in 1519, but I am too ignorant of the *nuances* of Muhammadan etiquette to venture on assertion or even on opinion in such a matter. That Maham did not take Gul-

rukh's¹ son tells nothing, since the chief factors in the adoption, *i.e.*, Maham'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-dar are mentioned by Gul-badan: Gul-rang, born between 1511 and 1515; Gul-chihra; Abu-n-nasir Muhammad (Hindal), 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, 66, 16a, 23a, 256, 296, 30a, 35a, 356, 38a, 42a, 506, 516, 65a, 706.

Jauhar, Stewart, 30, 31.

¹ Ilminsky, 281.

Akbar-nama, *Bib. Ind. ed.*, 8.n..

B. & H., II. 164, 220, 302.

L. Dil-shad Begam.

The Heart rejoicing Princess; Pers. *dil*, heart, and *shad*, rejoicing.

Daughter of Shah Begam and grand-daughter of Fakhr-jahan Begam *Miran-shalii*. Of her paternal descent nothing is recorded.

Gul-badan, 246.

L I. Dudu Bibl.

Wife of Sultan Muhammad Shah *Lohanl*, Afghan King of Bihar ; mother of Sultan Jalalu-d-din ; regent for her son in his minority from 1529.

B. & EL, s.n..

LII. Fakhr-jahan Begam *Miran-shahi*. (No. 1.)

The world's ornament. Ar. *fakhr*, ornament, and Pers. *jahan*, world.

She was a daughter of Sultan Abu-sa'Id Mirza; a paternal aunt of Babar ; the wife of Mir' Ala'u-l-mulk *Termul*; and mother of Shah and Kichak Begams.

¹ For *erratum* in my Introduction as to Gul-mkb, cf, App. 8.n.

She went to India in 1526, the first year of Babar's occupation, with her sister Khadija, and stayed there nearly two years. She took leave of Babar before starting on her return journey to Kabul on September 20th, 1528 (Muharram 5th, 935H.). She was again in Agra and at the Mystic Feast in 1581.

Gul-badan, 11a, 246.

Mems., 874, 382.

P. de Courteille, I I. 453. (This is a fragment, supplied by Kehr and Ilrninsky, which has the appearance of memorandum and which concerns a period already and variously written of in the *Babar-nama* of Kehr and contained in the Memoirs of Mr. Erskine.)

Ain-i-akbari, Blochmann, 322.

LIII. Fakhru-n-nisa'.

The ornament of womanhood; Ar. *fakhr*, ornament, and *nisa'*, woman.

She was a daughter of Babar and 'Ayisha-sultan, and his first child, born when he was nineteen. She died when about a month old.

Mems., 90.

Gul-badan, 6b.

LIV. Fakhru-n-nisa'^f *anaga* and *mama*.

Mother of Nadim *kuka*; mother-in-law of his wife, Maham *anaga*.

She and Nadim are several times mentioned by Gul-badan.

Gul-badan, 26a, 46a, 71a, 736.

Journal of the Boyal Asiatic Society, January, 1899, art.

Maham *anaga*, H. Beveridge.

Akbar-ndma, Bib. Ind. ed., s.n. Nadim.

LV. Fakhru-n-nisa' Begam Miran-zhdht. (No. 61.)

Daughter of Humayun and Mah-chuchak ; sister of Muhammad Hakim; wife (1) of Shah Abu'l-ma'all and (2) of Khwaja Hasan *Naqshbandi*. (Cf. Bakhtu-n-nisa'.)

Ahbar-nama, Bib. Ind. ed., 8.n..

Ain-i-akbari, Blochmann, 8.n..

Badayunl, Lowe, 72.

LVI. Fatima Sultan *aqha*.

Ar. *Fatima*, a name given presumably in honour of the Prophet's daughter. The meaning of *sultan* here is not apparent. It does not seem as, *e.g.*, in *Daulat-sultan*, safe to consider it as a part of a compound word, and to read *Fatima-sultan*. Nor from the bearer's parentage does it suit to take it as a title, implying that she is of the sultans of her tribe.

There are points in the use of the word *sultan* which require fuller discussion than is practicable here. One *Fatima Sultan* and her sister *Bairam* (*Maryam*) were the children of *Husain Bayqrd* by an Uzbek servant of one of his royal wives. They are not given any further title, but their brothers are *mirzas*.

Daughter of the chief of a Mughal *tuman* (10,000 men); first wife of 'Umar Shaikh *Miran-shdhi*; mother of his second son, *Jahangir* who was two years the junior of *Babar*.

Mems., 10, 14.

L VII. Fatima Sultan *anaga* and Bibl. (No. 60.)

Mother of *Kaushan kaka* and of *Zuhra*, wife of *Khwtlja Mu azzam*. *Bayazld biyat* speaks of her as the *ordu-begi* of *Humayun's haram*, a title which *Blochmann* translates 'armed woman.'

She was at *Hindal's* marriage feast; she helped to nurse *Humayun* in 1546; and was an envoy to *Haram Begam* for marriage negotiations; and she appears in *Akbar's* reign when her daughter is murdered.

Journal of the Boyal Asiatic Society, October, 1898, art. *Memoirs of feayazid biyat*, H. Beveridge.

Tabaqat-i-akbari, Elliot, V. 291.

Akbar-nama, Bib. Ind. ed., s.n..

Gul-badan, 26a.

L VIII. Fatima Sultan *Bayqrd*.

Daughter of *Sultan Husain Mirza Bayqrd* and of *Mingli-bi aghdcha Uzbek*; wife of *Yadgar Muhammad Mirza Shah-rukhi* (died 875—1470-71). She was dead before 912H. (May, 1506).

Mems., 182.

Habibu-siyar, 327 et seq..

LIX. Fatima Sultan Begam.

A wife of Shah Husain Beg *Arghun*, and mentioned in the *Tdrikh-isind*.

LX. Fauq Begam. (No. 81.)

Ar. *fauq*, superiority, excellence.

Gul-badan, 25b.

LXI. Firoza Begam. (No. 35.)

The princess of victory ; Pers. *faro*z, victorious, prosperous.

Gul-badan, 25b.

LXII. Firoza Begam Miran-shahi.

She was a grand-daughter of Timur, and married Mansur Mirza *Bayqrd*. Their son Husain was therefore a double Timurid, fourth in descent through Mansur and third through Firoza.

Mems., 176.

LXIII. Gauhar-shad Begam and agha, Turkoman.

The jewel of joy; Pers. *gauhar*, jewel, and *shad*, joy, delight.

Wife of Shah-rukh, son of Timur; sister of Qara Yusuf *Turkoman*; founder of the Masjid which bears her name in Mashhad, and, with her husband, of the Bagh-i-zaghan (Ravens' Garden) at Harat. Babar saw her tomb (dated 861H., 1457) and her mosque in 1506.

Mems., 207.

Northern Afghanistan, C. E. Yate, 8.n.

Tar. Rash., E. & R., 83 n..

LXIV. Gauhar-shad Begam Dughlat.

Daughter of Muhammad *Dughlat Hisari*; wife of Amir Yar (*sic*); son of Amir Jan-wafa, who was *darogha* of Samarqand under Shaibani in 906H. (1500) when Babar took the city, and who was an

intimate of Muhammad *Hisari*, and saved his life by a warning word, as a reward for which Gauhar-shad was given in marriage to his son.

Mems., 86, 88, 239.

Tar. Bash., E. & R., 193.

LXV. Gauhar-shad Begam *Miran-shahi*. (No. 5.)

Daughter of Sultan Abu-said Mirza and paternal aunt of Babar. She was at the Mystic Feast.

Mems., 387.

Gul-badan, 11a, 246.

LXVL Gul-badan Begam *Miran-shahl*. (No. 46.)

Cf. Biographical Introduction and her own *Humayun-ndma*.

LXVII. Gul-barg Begam *Barlas*. (No. 49.)

The rose-leaf princess; Pers. *barg*, leaf.

Daughter of Nizamu-d-din 'All *Barlas*, Babar's *Khalifa*; niece, therefore, of Sultan Junaid *Barlas*, a brother-in-law of Babar. (Cf. *Shahr-banu*.) She may be the child of that Sultanam who received Gul-badan at Kul-jalall. (14a) She married, first, Mir Shah Husain *Arghun*, in 930H. (1524). The alliance was not happy and a separation took place. She appears to have remarried Humayun at some time before the defeat at Chausa (1539). She was with him subsequently in Sind, and from there went with Sultanam to Makka previous to 1543.

She was buried in Dihli. Mir Ma'sum 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, 256, 296, 306, 496.

***Tarikh-i-sind*, Mir Ma'sum.**

B. & H., I. 385.

LXVIII. Gul-barg, or - izar, or -rang, or -rukh *Miran-shahi*.

By these various names is mentioned the mother of Salima-sultan Begam. There are difficult points as to her descent which are discussed 8.n. Salima-sultan.

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, 256.

LXX. Gul-chihra Begam *Miran-shahh* (No. 45.)

The rosy-cheeked princess ; Pers. *chihra*, face.

Daughter of Babar and Dil-dar ; their second child, and born between 1515 and 1517. She was full-sister of Gul-rang, Hindal, and Gul-badan.

She married Babar's first cousin (a son of his mother's brother Ahmad), Sultan Tukhta-bugha Khan *Chaghatal Mughal*. The marriage was arranged by Babar, and took place in 937H. (end of 1530). She would then be about fourteen years old.

She was widowed *cir.* 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. 8.n. Salima-sultan.) In 956H. she entered upon what looks like a *manage de raison* with 'Abbas Sultan *Uzbeg*, just before Humayun set out on his expedition for Balkh. The bridegroom came to suspect that the Timurid 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 Hamlda to India in 964H. (1557).

Gul-badan, 6b, 166, 186, 236, 256, 38a, 65a.
Akbar-nama, Bib. Ind. ed., 8.n.

L X X I. Gul-'izar Begam Mirdn-shahi.

The rosy-cheeked princess; Pers. *gul*, rose, and 'izar, cheek, face.

Daughter of Babar and Gul-rukh; full-sister of Kfimran and' Askarl.

Gul-badan names no marriage for her, but she may have been the wife of Yadgar-nasir.

Gul-badan, 66.

Mems., 10.

L X X I I. Gul-'izar Begam Miran-shahi.

Daughter of Kamran Mirza ; she accompanied Gul-badan Begam to Makka (983H., October, 1575). (Cf. App. 8.n. 'Ayisha Miran-shahi.)

Akbar-nama, Bib. Incl. ed., III. 145.

L X X I I I. Gul-nar aghaeha. (No. 57.)

The red, red rose; Pers. *gul*, rose, and *nar* (*anar*), pomegranate, carnation red.

She was of Babar's *haram*, and may have been one of the two Circassian (Cherkis) slaves (the other being Nar-gul) who were presented to the Emperor by Shah Tahmasp in 933H. (1526).

She was at Hindal's wedding-feast, and shared in the conferences of Humayun and his family; and she was one of Gul-badan Begam's pilgrim band (988H., 1575).

Gul-badan, 256, 30a, 35a, 38a.

Mems., 347.

Akbar-nama, Bib. Ind. ed., III. 145.

L X X I V. Gul-rang Begam Miran-shaJn, (No. 44.)

The rose-hued princess.

Daughter of Babar and Dil-dar and her mother's first child. She was born in Khost, probably between 1511 and 1515, during Babar's exile from Kabul after the Mughal rebellion. She was given in marriage to Isan-timur *Chaghatal* Mughal, her father's first cousin, during the last days of her father's life and in 1580.

Isan-tlmur is last mentioned in 1548, and of Gulrang there is no certain record after *cir.* 1534, when she was at Gualiar. (23a) (*Cf.* App. 8.n. Salima.)

Gul-badan, 66, 166, 186, 23a, 256, 296.

LXXV. Gul-rukh Begam (?) *Begchik Mughal*

The rose-cheeked princess.

Wife of Babar; mother of Kamran, 'Askarl, Shah-rukh, Ahmad, and Gul-'izar. Outside Kabul there was in 1545 the tomb of Gul-rukh Begam. (*Gib*) This may well have been hers.

She is perhaps a *Begchik*, This may be judged from the following notes :

(1) Kamran married a daughter of Sultan 'All Mirza *taghai*.¹ (Mems., 388.)

(2) Humayun married a daughter of Yadgar *taghal*. (Mems., 388.)

Amongst contemporary *Begchik* amirs are Sultan All Mirza and Yadgar Mirza.

If one follows the recorded incidents of Sultan 'All's life, one sees that Gul-rukh may be his sister.

(a) In 914H. (1508-9) he was ordered to drown Khalil Khan. (*Tar. Bash.*, 183.) Having done so, he took refuge with Babar in Samarqand. (*I.c.*, 265.)

(6) In 917H. (1511) he was with Sayyid Muhammad *Dughlat* in Andijan, apparently at Babar's instance. (*I.e.*, 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, *taghai*, in the next and the next. Once a *faghal*, always a *taghai*. The numerous uncles on the mother's side who appear in the Memoirs and the *Tarikh-i-rashidi* as so-and-so *taghal*, 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 *taghai* is the Machiavelli of Mirza Haidar's life, 'Ali Mirza *taghai* (*Dughlat*). 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. (I.e., 308, 326.)

(d) In 925H. (1519) he waited on Babar, and is styled *taghai* of Kamran. (Mems., 274.) Babar says here: ' Sultan 'Ali Mirza, the maternal uncle of Kamran (Ilminsky, 311, *Kamran-nlnak taghai*), who in the year in which I passed over from Khost to Kabul had proceeded to Kashghar, *as has been mentioned*,¹ waited on me here.'

Babar must several times have passed from Khost (Andar-ab) to Kabul. 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, Sultan 'Ali Mirza *Begchik* is fairly-well identified with Sultan 'Ali Mirza, *taghai* of Kamran.'

(e) In 935H. (1528) Kamran married his daughter. (Mems., 388.)

Mems., 274, 388.

Tar. Bash., 183, 248, 264, 265, 280, 308, 326.

LXXVI. Gul-rukhl Begam *Miran-shdhl*.

Daughter of Kamran Mirza; wife of Ibrahim Husain Mirza *Bayqra*; mother of Muzaffar Husain who married Sultan Khanam, Akbar's eldest daughter, and of Nuru-n-nisa' who became a wife of Salim (the Emperor Jahangir).

¹ Something interesting as to the *Tuzuk-i-babarl* (TurkI text of the Memoirs) may lie here. The period of Said's Kashghar conquest falls in a gap of the *Tuzuk*. 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. *Tar. Bash.*, 247 n.,)

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 Jahangir in 1023H. (1614). (Cf. XIX. 'Ayisha-sultan.)

LXXVII. Gun-war Bibi.

Wife of Humayun and mother of Bakhshl-banu Begam.

Gul-badan, 396.

LXXVIII Habiba Begam Miran-shahl.

The beloved or desired princess.

Eldest daughter of Kamran Mirza and probably of the daughter of Uncle (*taghai*) Sultan 'Alī Mirza *Begchik* whom Kamran married in 935H. (1528). She married Yasm-daulat (the Fair Sultan) *Chaghatai 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 Yasin-daulat in 1551-52. (Cf. App. 8.n. *Haji Miran-shahl.*)

Gul-badan, 646, 65a, 78a.

LXXIX. Habiba-sultan Begam Arghln.

The desired of the desired; Ar. *habiba*, beloved, desired, and *sultan*, pre-eminence, sway.

brother's daughter of Sultan *Arghun*' (? Muqim, Shah Shuja'a, or a brother of Zu'l-niin); wife of Sultan Ahmad Mirza *Miran-shahl*; and mother of Babar's wife, Ma'suma. Babar gave her a name of affection, *yangha*. (Cf. Index, 8.v..)

Mems., 22, 23, 208, 238.

LXXX. Habiba-sultan Khanish Dughlat. (No. 21.)

Daughter of Muhammad Husain *Dughlat* and Khub-nigar *Chaghatai*; full-sister of Mirza Haidar; first cousin (maternal) of Babar; wife (1) of 'Ubaidu-l-lah *Uzbek*, and (2) of her cousin, Sa'id Khan *Chaghatai*.

She was taken captive as a child by Shaibanl *Uzbek*, and she lived in his household until he gave her in marriage to his nephew, 'Ubaidu-l-lah. Shortly before Shaibanl murdered her father (914H., 1508-9),^f 'Ubaidu-l-lah asked for Haidar (*cetat.* 11) to come to him and Habiba in Bukhara, and thus saved him from a general massacre of Mughal sultans.

When 'Ubaidu-l-lah retreated to Turkistan (*cir.* 1511), Habiba remained in Bukhara. She then joined her uncle Sayyid Muhammad *Dughlat*, in Samarqand, and with him went to Andijan where he married her to her cousin Sa'id. She reared one of Sard's children, Eashid whose mother was a 'tribeswoman,' Makhdum *Qaluchi*, 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.

Tar. Bask, E. & R., 140, 192, 193, 206, 268, 451, 453.
Gul-badan, 246.

LXXXI. Haji Begam Miran-shahi.

She was a daughter of Kamran, 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 *Haji*, since she is so entered before the *haj* of 983H. (*Cf.* XIX., 'Ayisha-sultan.)

(*Haji Begam*, Bega, *q.v.*)

(*Haji Begam*, Mah-chuchak *Arghun*, *q.v.*)

LXXXII. Hamida-banu.

Ar. *hamida*, praised, laudable, and Pers. *banu*.

Daughter of Sayyid Muhammad Qasim. She died 984H. (1576-77), and was buried at Andakhui.

The above information is given by Captain Yate,

and as Hamida-banu may be the daughter of one of Humayun's followers, I have inserted her name.

Northern Afghanistan, Yate, p. 849.

L X X X I I I . Hamida-banu Begam *Maryam-makanl*.

Posthumous style, *Maryam-makani* 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 Ahmad *Jami Zinda-fil*.

(a). Gul-badan, whose long intimacy with Hamida invests her statement with authority, states that Mir Baba Dost was Hamida's father, and that Khwaja Mu'azzam was her *baradar*, i.e., brother undefined.

(b). The *Tarikh-i-sind* states that her father was Shaikh 'Ali-akbar *Jami* who was one of the pillars of Mirza Hindal. Nizamu-d-din Ahmad says that 'Ali-akbar was father of Muazzam.

If the statements of paragraphs (a) and (b) stood alone, 'Baba Dost' and 'Ali-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 Baba Dost with 'AH-akbar are the following points :

(1). 'Baba Dost' seems to be not a personal name, but a sobriquet of affection and domestic intimacy.

(2). Jauhar calls Hamida the daughter of HindaPs *akhund*, and Mr. Erskine (perhaps, however, inferentially) calls 'Ali-akbar Hindal's preceptor.

(8). Mir Baba Dost was alive in 947H. (1540-41), the year preceding Hamida's marriage, and was then with Hindal. (*Akbar-nama*, H. Beveridge, I. 860.)

(4). Nizamu-d-din Ahmad and *Badayuni* contribute negative support to the identification by using the

indefinite *khal*, maternal uncle, to describe the relation of Akbar and Mu'azzam.

(5). *The Md'amrul-umartf* confirms the identification by use of the words *barddar i-a yani*, full-brother. Its authority may not be of the best, but the choice of these words has some weight.

(6). 'All-akbar was of the lineage of Ahmad *Jamu* Humayun 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 Baba Dost, but saintly descent was claimed for Hamlda's father.

(7). Gul-badan gives one the impression (it is little more) that Muazzam was younger than Hamlda. He calls his sister *Mdh-chlchdm*, which may be read as 'Moon of my mother,' but also as 'Elder Moon-sister.' (Cf. 18b n.) If he were Hamlda's junior, and as Mir Baba 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 Baba Dost and 'Ali-akbar.

(ii.) The important fact that Abu'l-fazl calls Muazzam Hamlda's *ukhuwivat-i-akhyafa*,¹ which, according to Lane, must be rendered 'uterine brother,'

Was, then, the name Baba Dost a sobriquet of Shaikh 'All-akbar?

Were Hamlda and Muazzam full brother and sister? Were they the children of one father and two mothers, or were they uterine brother and sister?

Shaikh 'All-akbar's name I have not found in any

¹ Steingass does not recognise the force of 'uterine,'¹ since he renders *barddar-i-a'yani* by 'uterine brother.'

passage except the one dealing with Hamida's parentage, Mir Baba Dost may be the man so named by Babar (Mems., 262), and who was then with Humayun in the year of the birth of Hindal (1519). He may also have gone with Humayun, Hamlda (? his own daughter) and Mu'azzam (? his son) to Persia, the *bakhshi* in the little party of exiles. He is mentioned by Abu'l-fazl not only where already noted, but, we believe, also amongst HindaFs servants who were transferred to Akbar in 1551 (958H.).

Two men with the name 'Ali-akbar are mentioned under Akbar, but neither appears to be a *Jdnu*, or to warrant identification with Hamlda's reputed father. (Cf. *Ain-i-akbari*, Blochmann, s.n. 'Ali-akbar.)

"Whether there was any relationship more close than that derived from common descent from Ahmad *Jdml* between Maham Begam and Hamlda I am not able to say.

Hamlda was related to Banu (Babu) *agha* who was the wife of Shihabu-d-din Ahmad *Nishapurl* and a relation of Maham *anaga*. Bega (*Haji*) Begam also had claim to descent from Ahmad *Jami*, 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 Hamlda's marriage, there may be added the following passage from the *Tagkirattid-wdqidt* of Jauhar, (L.O. MS. No. 221 and B.M. MS. Add. No. 16,711, f. 82.) After Humayun has asked whose daughter Hamlda is, he is told, perhaps by Dil-dar, that she is of the line of his Reverence the Terrible Elephant, Ahmad *Jami*, and that her father, by way of blessing and benediction, has taught Mirza Hindal, and that for this reason Hamlda is with the mlrza's household.

The Persian (taken from the I.O. MS.) is as follows: *Pidar-i-ishan do sih kalma ha jihat-i-tabarruk*

wa tayammun ha Mirza Hindal sabq farmudand. Az an jihat ha ma hamrd and.

Erskine (II. 220) and Stewart (Jauhar, 31 n.) both say that Hamida 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-ndma* 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 Humayun 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 Jun, after travelling for ten or twelve days. In 1543 she made the perilous journey from Sind which had Qandahar for its goal, but in course of which Humayun had to take hasty flight from Shal-mastan, '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 Sistan, its governor brought his mother and his wives to entertain her. With Humayun she made, amongst other pious visitations, one to Jam where was their ancestor Ahmad's shrine. She was kindly treated by Shah Tahmasp and by his sister, and Gul-badan's details of the Persian episode can hardly have been learned from anyone but Hamida. In 1544, in camp at Sabz-awar, a daughter was born. She returned from Persia with the army given to Humayun by Tahmasp, and at Qandahar would meet Dil-dar and Hindal, 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 Mah-chuchak as a co-wife. In June, 1548, she and Akbar accompanied Humayun on his way to Taliqan as far as Gul-bihar, and thence returned to Kabul. This may

be the expedition made by the ladies and chronicled by Gul-badan, to see the *riwaj*. When Humayun, in November, 1554, set out for Hindustan, she remained in Kabul.

Bayazid *biyat* 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'nim Khan, and was forgiven. Early in the reign of Akbar, Khwaja Mirak, Nizamu-d-din's grandfather and who was her *diivdn*, was hanged by Mu'nim Khan because he had sided with Mirza Sulaiman.

She rejoined her son in the second year of his reign (964H., 1557), together with Gul-badan and other royal ladies. She is mentioned as in Dihll in the fifth year, and she had a part in the plot for deposing Bairam Khan. She was closely associated with Gul-badan in Akbar's court and affection; together they interceded for Salim with his father; together they received gifts from the Emperor; and their tents were side by side in his encampments. Hamlda was with Gul-badan in the latter's last hours.

Abu'l-fazl 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.

Hamlda died in the autumn of 1604 (19th Shahr-riyar 1013H.), 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 Bihar's victory at Khanwa, and have been some seventy-seven years old at the time of death.

Gul-badan, 39a, 42a, 486, 48a, 55a, 556, 58a, 596, 626, 66a, 74a, 786, 83a.

Akbar-nama, Bib, Ind. ed., 8.n.

Ain-i-akbari. *Ain*, 26, *Sufiyana*, Blochmann, 61, 62.

Jauhar, l.c., Nigamu-d-dTn Ahmad, etc.

Ma'asiru-l-mara' Bib, Ind, ed., I. 618.

Journal of the Boyal Asiatic Society, October, 1898, art.

Bayazid *biyat*, H. Beveridge, 16.

LXXXIV. Haram Begam Qibchaq Mughal

Princess of the *Ear am*. 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-nama* 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 *Kulabl Qibchaq Mughal*; and sister of Chakr' Ali and Haidar Begs and of Mah Begam, a wife of Kamran. She married Sulaiman Mirza *Mirdn-shahi*, son of Khan Mirza (Wais). She had one son, Ibrahim (Abu'l-qasim), and several daughters. Her children, through Shah Begam *Badahhshi*, 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. *Baddyum* calls her *Wall-niamat*, 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, 756.

Akbar-nama, Bib. Ind. ed., 8.n..

Badayuni, Lowe, 61, 89, 90, 217.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1898, art. Bayazid *biyat*, H. Beveridge, 12, 16.

B. & H., 8.n.

Ain-i-akbari, Blochmann, 8.n.

Introduction, *supra*.

LXXXV. Hazara Begam.

Princess of the tribe of the Hazara. This is a title, and not a personal name.

She was the daughter of a brother of Khizr Khan *Hazara* who was the chief of his tribe during the

struggles for supremacy of Humayun and Kamran,
She married Kamran.

Gul-badan, 646.

L X X X V I. Husn-nigar Khanam Chaghatai Mughal.

The image of beauty; Ar. *husn*, beauty, and Pers. *nigar*, image.

Daughter of Isan-bugha *Chaghatai* and niece of Yunas Khan; sister of Dost-muhammad and wife of Aba-bakr *Dughlat Mughal*.

Tar. Rash., E. & R, 89, 99.

L X X X V I I. Isan-daulat Khanam and Begam Quchin Mughal.

Her name takes several forms. The *Bilbor-nama*, Turk! text (B.M. Or. Add. 26,824), has a clearly pointed *Islidn*; Ilminsky has *Isdn passim*. An early Persian MS. (B.M. Or. 8,714) has *Isan* and *Isan*.

The Memoirs have *Isan* in all but two instances (p. 12), where *Ais* 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 *Ais* with those he renders *Isan*) yield *Isan* in all places. Where he reads *Ais* (pp. 10 and 141) the *nun* is not dotted; the letters closely correspond with those where it is dotted, and where he reads *Isan*.

The *Tarikh-i-rashidi* (B.M. Or. 157) writes *Isdn*. The weight of authority is in favour of *Isan*.

Isan-daulat was Babar's maternal grandmother and a daughter of Mir Shir-'all Beg *Quchin (Kunji)*, chief of the Saghariehl *tuman* (10,000) of the *Quchin Mughals*.

She married Yunas Khan *Chaghatai 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 Yunas was made Great Khan of the *Mughals*.

Isan-daulat bore three daughters, who were named *Mihr-nigar*, *Qut-Hq-nigar*, and *Khub-nigar*. She had many brothers, of whom three, *Shiram*, *Mazld*, and

' All-dost, took leading parts in Babar's affairs. Her chief co-wife was Shah Begam *Badakhshi*.

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 Kashghar, *cir.* 860H. (1455-56), when Mihrnigar was an infant at the breast and when she was returned in safety to her husband.

(2) In Tashkand in 877H. (1472-73), when Yunas had gone to buy barley at a time of dearth in Mughalistan. It was then that there occurred the well-known episode which shows Isan-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 Andijan in 903H. (1497-98), when the town was taken from her grandson Babar 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 Kashghar.

(4) At Samarqand in 906H. (1500-1), when the town was taken by Shaibanl. She remained behind when Babar 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 Babar's affairs with decision and sense in Andijan. 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 Babar in Kabul 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 Andijan, She reared a half-sister of Babar, Yadgar, daughter of Agha *aghdcha*.

Mems., 10, 12, 16, 27, 58, 59, 100, 111, 169,
Tar. Rash, E & R., 86, 94, 175, 197, 308.
B. & H., 8.*n*.

LXXXVIII. Jahan-sultan Begam.

The world-ruling princess; Pers. *jahan*, world, and
 Ar. *sultan*, sway.

Probably a child of Humayun. She died in Kabul, aged two, in 954H. (1547).

Gul-badan, 10*a*,

LXXXIX. Jamal agha.

Grace; Ar. *jamal*, grace, beauty.

Wife (1) of Saniz Mirza *Dughlat*, and by him mother of 'Umar and Aba-bakr and Jan (or Khan)-sultan Khanam.

(2) of Dost-muhammad *Chaghatdl* in 869 H.

(3) of Muhammad Haidar *Dughlat*, and by him mother of Muhammad Husain Mirza *Hisari* (Haidar's father) and Sayyid Muhammad Mirza.

Her third marriage was made by the Mughal custom of *yanga-lik*, i.e., marriage by a younger brother of an elder brother's widow. (Cf. Khan-zada *Miran-shahi*)

Tar. Rash., E. & R., 88, 89, 99, 102, 104.

XC. Jan-sultan Begam. (No. 32.)

The soul-ruling princess; Pers. *jan*, life, soul, and
 Ar. *sultan*, sway.

She was at the Mystic Feast in 1531-

Gul-badan, 256.

(Juli Begam, *Chuli*, q.v.)

XCI. Khadija Begam.

Presumably she was named after Muhammad's first wife.

She was first a slave¹ of Sultan Abu-sa'id Mirza, and upon his death in 878H. (1469) she betook herself to Harat and there became the wife of Sultan Husain *Bayqra*.

She had a daughter, known as Aq Begam, by Abu-sa'id, and two sons, Shah Gharlb and Muzaffar Husain, by her marriage with Husain.

Hers is an instance where the conferring of a title is mentioned. Babar says that Husain 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 Husain's family. She acquired more influence than any other of his wives, and it was consequently round her surviving son Muzaffar Husain, that adherents gathered after his father's death. She forced on the joint-kingship which excited Babar's ridicule. Mirza Haidar when speaking of the death of Jahanglr *Miran-shahi*, said that he was generally reported to have been poisoned in his wine by Khadija Begam after her old fashion.

In 912H. (1506-7) Babar saw her in Harat, and he was there unlawfully entertained by her at a wine-party. When ShaibanI 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 Shaibani's meanest slaves.

Mems., 179, 182, 183, 198, 204, 223.

Tar. Rash., E. & R., 196, 199.

¹ Turki text (Ilminsky), *ghuncha-chi*, which Redhouse translates a seller of rosebuds and a young and good-looking female slave. The Persian text has the same word *ghuncha-chi*. The interest of these details is the light they maycast on the use of such words as *aghu* and *aghacha*.

XCII. Khadija-sultan Begam *Chaghatai Mughal*.

Fourth daughter of Sultan Ahmad Khan *Chagkatdt*. 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-hisar. She then remained, respected and honoured, in her brother Sa'id's family circle. In 923H. (1517) she was married to Shah Muhammad Sultan *Chaghatai*, a grandson of Sultan Mahmud Khan, through Muhammad, the only son of Mahmud who survived the massacre of sultans by Shaibani. The marriage of one of Khadija's brothers, Aiman, was celebrated at the same time.

When Kashid 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 Badakhshan. She died on the road after much hardship of travel. She left four children, Isma II, Ishaq, Ya'qub, and Muhtarima. They went on to Kabul, and were there received with fatherly kindness by their uncle, Isan-timur.

Tar. Rash., E. & R, 161, 329, 352, 382, 451.

XCIII. Khadija-sultan Begam *Miran-shahi*. (No. 6.)

Daughter of Sultan Abu-said Mirza *Miran-shahi* and paternal aunt of Babar. I have not ascertained the name of her husband. She went to India in 934H. (1527), arriving in November, with Fakhr-jahan and their children. She planned to return with her sister and Babar took leave of them both on

Muharram 5th, 985H, (September 20th, 1528), but various business detained her and Babar 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 Agra in 1531 •

Gul-badan, 11a, 246.

Mems., 874, 382, 387.

XCIV. Khal-dar *anaga*.

The nurse with a mole; *khal-dar*, mole-marked.

Mother of Sa'adat-yar *kuka*.

Akbar-ndma, Bib. Ind. ed., I. 44.

XCV. Khanam Begam. (No. 18.)

Daughter of Aq Begam; grand-daughter of Abu-sald *Miran-shahi*. The 'Khanam' may indicate that she is a Chaghatai chief's child.

Gul-badan, 246.

(Khanam, Muhtarima, *q.v.*)

XCVI. Khanish agha *Khwarizmi*.

Daughter of Jujuq Mirza *Khwarizmi*; wife of Humayun; mother of Ibrahim who died as an infant. Bayazid calls her child Muhammad Farrukh-fal, but Gul-badan and Abu'l-fazl are against him. Farrukh-fal was the child of Mah-chuchak. Ibrahim was born on the same day as Muhammad Hakim, *i.e.*, Jumada I. 15th, 960H. (April 19th, 1553).

Gul-badan, 71a, 71b, (?) 73b.

Bayazid (I. O. MS. 72a), *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1898, art. Bayazid *biyat*, H. Beveridge, p. 14.

Akbar-nama, Bib. Ind. ed., I. 381.

XCVII. Khan Sultan Khanam and Sultanam *Daghlat*.

Both these names appear to be titles, and not personal.

Daughter of Saniz Mirza *Dughlat* and Jamal agha; full-sister of Aba-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.

Tar. Bash, E. & R.; 88, 258.

XCVIII. Khan-zada Begam Baygra. (No. 16.)

The khan-born princess; Turki *khan*, and Pers. *zada*, born.

Gul-badan says she is a daughter of Sultan Mas'ud Mirza *Miran-shahi*, and through a daughter grandchild of Payanda Muhammad (*sic*) Sultan Begam, paternal great-aunt of Humayun. Babar names no such marriage of a daughter of Payanda. 'The second of the daughters [of Payanda] was Kichak Begam [whose name is probably a sobriquet]. Sultan Mas'ud Mirza was extremely attached to her, but whatever efforts he made, Payanda-sultan Begam, having an aversion to him, would not consent to the match. She was *afterwards*' (Turki *sungra*, P. de C. *dans la suite*) 'married to Mulla Khwaja.'

A daughter of Husain *Baygra* and of Baba *aghacha*, whose name was Sa'adat-bakht and title Begam Sultan, was married to Mas'ud after his blinding. Her daughter might be fitly described as of inferior rank to the great begams. Such a description is given by Babar of 'Khan-zada, daughter of Sultan Mas'ud Mirza.' Husain and Payanda's daughter would certainly rank as equal in birth to the daughters of Abu-sa'id, since she was a full Timurid.

The 'extreme attachment' of Mas'ud to Kichak fits Musalman marriage better than Musalman courtship. It may be that, spite of Payanda's opposition, Mas'ud married Kichak. The 'afterwards' of the *Memoirs (supra)* and the *de la suite* of Pavet de Courteille seem to demand some more definite antecedent than

Mas'ud'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'adat-bakht given to him?

Mems., 181, 182, 387.

Gul-badan, 246.

XCIX. Khan-zada Begam *Miran-shahi*.

Daughter of 'Umar Shaikh Mirza *Miran-shah* and of Qut-llq-nigar Khanam; full-sister of Babar and five years his senior. Eldest of her father's daughters. She is recorded as thrice married: first, to Shaibani in 1501 (907H.); secondly, to a man of inferior rank, Sayyid Hada; and, thirdly, to Mahdi Muhammad Khwaja,¹ son of Musa Khwaja. One child of hers is recorded, Shaiban's son, Khurram-shah Sultan.

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 Shaibani when he captured Samarqand from Babar. Gul-badan makes the marriage a condition of Shaiban's peace with Babar; Haidar says she was given in exchange for Babar's life, and Khafi Khan, as a ransom (*ba tariq-i-faida*). She was in Shaiban's power and could have been married without consent of Babar. As in 1501 she was twenty-three years old, she had almost certainly been married before, possibly to Mahdi. Her marriage arrangements with Shaibani might include the divorce which the Musalman law requires. Babar does not go into details as to the marriage; he says she fell into Shaiban's hands. Presumably as himself of Timurid birth, Shaibani would treat a Timurid woman with respectful forms even when she was spoil of battle. To marry Khan-zada, he divorced her maternal aunt, Mihr-nigar *Chaghatai*

¹ Cf. Appendix B., Mahdi Khwaja.

Khan-zada's son by Shaibani, Khurram-shah, died a young man. Shaibani 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 Shaibani himself (1510).

In 1511 and at the age of thirty-three, she was returned to Babar by Shah Isma'il. At what date she married Mahdi Muhammad Khwaja 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 Babar 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 Babar and his marriage with Khan-zada took place in the decade 1509-19, of which no record is known to survive.¹ Mahdi was with Babar in 1519 (925H.), and is frequently mentioned subsequently.

There are many references to Khan-zada by Gul-badan who frequently calls her Dearest Lady (*aka-janam*). She died at Qabal-chak in 1545 (952H.), aged about sixty-seven years, and after a life full of sorrows and chagrins.

Gul-badan, 36, 156, 186, 23b, 246, 276, 286, 506, 626, 63a.
 Mems., 10, 98, 241 (Supplement).
Tar. Bash., E. & R, 117, 155, 175, 196, 239, 400.
Habibu-s-siyar, under date 923H.
 Khafi Khan, I. 33 (here Khana-zada).

C. Khan-zada Begam *Miran-shahi*.

Daughter of Sultan Mahmud *Mir an-shah I* and Khan-zada *Termizl I I* . ; wife (1) of *Aba-bakr Dughldt*, and mother by him of (?) *Jahangir*, *Turanglr*, and *Bus-tanglr*; (2) of Sayyid Muhammad *Dughlat* who married

¹ **There are** some indications that a record of this decade on< existed.

her in conformity with the custom of *yangha-lik*.
(Cf. *Jamal agha*.)

Mems., 30.

Tar. Hash., E. & R., 330.

Ct. Khan-zada Begam Termizi

Of the family of the Khans of Termiz; wife of Sultan Ahmad Mirza *Mirdn-shdhl*. She was a bride when Babar was five, i.e., in 893H. (1488) but, according to Turki custom, was still veiled. Sultan Ahmad desired Babar 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.

CH. Khan-zada Begam Termizi (a.).

Daughter of the chief (*mir-i-buzurg*) of Termiz; wife of Sultan Mahmud Mirza *Miran-shdhi*; mother of Sultan Mas'ud Mirza. She died apparently early in her married life. The mirza was greatly afflicted at her death.

Mems., 29, 30.

CHI. Khan-zada Begam Termizi (b.).

Daughter of a brother of Khanzada *Termizi* (a.); grand-daughter of the chief of Termiz; wife of Sultan Mahmud Mirza *Miran-shahi*; mother of Husain (who died, aged thirteen, before his father) and of five girls, Khanzada, Bega, Aq, Ai, and Zainab.

Mems., 29, 80, 38, 128.

CIV. Khan-zada Khanam.

' Epouse legitime ' of Muzaffar Mirza *Bayqra*, and illegally taken by Shaibani.

Mems., 224.

Pavet de Courteille, II., 10.

CV. Khub-nigar Khanam Chaghatai Mughal.

The image of beauty. Here *Jckanam* has its full value, since Khub-nigar was daughter of the *Khaqan*, the Khan emphatically.

Third daughter of Yunas Khan *Chaghatai* and Isan-daulat *Quchin*; wife of Muhammad Husain *Dughlat Hisari*; mother of Haidar and Hablba.¹ She was a year older than her husband, and was married in 899H. (1493-94), Babar, writing in 907H. (1501-2) mentions the reception of news of her death. Her husband was murdered in 914H..

Merns., 12, 99, 218.

Tar. Bash., E. & R, 117, 118, 153, 156, 197.

CVI. Khurshed kuki. (Nos. 55 and 61)

Pers., the sun, sunshine.

Gul-badan, 26a.

CVII. Kichak Begam Bayqra.

The small princess; Turki, *kichak*, small. The name is probably a sobriquet.

Daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra* and Payanda-sultan Begam *Miran-shahi*; wife of Maulana Khwaja who was of the family of Sayyid Ata one of her father's best vazlrs.

Khwand-amir reverses her marriage with that of her sister Bega, and makes her marry Babar, son of Kabfa.

Mems., 181.

Habibu-s-siyar, 327 *et seq.*,

CVIII. Kichak Begam Termizi. (No. 23.)

Daughter of Mir 'Ala'ul-mulk *Termizi* and Fakhr-jahan *Miran-shahi*; wife of Khwaja Mu'In *Ahrari*; mother of Mirza Sharafu-d-din Husain.

¹ The translation of the *Tarikh-i-rashidi* (E. & R., 159) has the statement that Khub-nigar bore six sons (*farzandan*), 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 Hindustan with her mother, and was at Hindal's wedding feast.

Mems., without names. (Cf. Fakhr-jahan and Shah Begam.)
Gul-badan, 25a.

Akbar-nama (lith. ed.), 8.n..

Ain-i-akbari, Blochmann, 322.

CIX. Kichak maham. (No. 80.)

Cf. 8.n. Maham for meaning of the word.

She is named as at Hindal's wedding.

Gul-badan, 266.

CX. Kilan Khan Begam.

This is clearly not a personal name. Pers. *kilan*, elder, great, and Turki *khan*, a title.

Daughter of Sultanam Begam *Miran-shahi* and grand-daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza. Which of Sultanam's three husbands was Kilan Khan Begam's father is not said; from her daughter's title, Timiir Sultan *Uzbeg* seems most probable.

Mems., 22.

Gul-badan, 246.

CXI. Lad-malik Turkoman.

(?) Mistress of the Fort; Pers. *lad*, fortress, and Ar. *malik*, possessor, ruler.

Wife of (1) Taj Khan *Sarangkhanl* and (2) of Shir Khan *Sur* (935H., 1528-29).

B. & H., II. 131, 132, and authorities there cited by Mr. Erskine.

CXII. Lal-shad Khanam Chaghatai Mughal.

Perhaps, with a lip like the gleam of a ruby; Pers. *lal*, ruby, and *shad*, gleam, happy.

Eldest daughter of Sultan Ahmad Khan *Chaghatai* and of a 'slave' (*amm-i-wald*).

'Although she was outside the circle of distinction, she was finally married to Muhammad Amir Mirza *Dughldt*.'

Tar. Rash., E. & E., 161.

CXIII. Latlfa-sultan aghdcha.

Of pre-eminent delicacy or gentleness; Ar. *latifa*, delicate, and a jest, and Ar. *sultan*, sway.

Char-shambihi, a Wednesday wife, of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra*; mother of Abu'l-hasan and of Muhammad Muhsin (*kepek*, round-shouldered).

The *Habibu-s-siyar* says she was a relation of Jahan-shah (? *Turkoman* or *Barlds*). She was dead before 912H. (1506).

Mems., 179, 183.

CXIV. Latif Begam Duladai Barlas.

Grand-daughter of Ahmad Haji Beg; wife (1) of Sultan Ahmad Mirza *Miran-shahl*; (2) of Hamza Sultan *Uzbeg*, and by him mother of three sons who fell into Babar's hands at Hisar, and were released by him.

Both her grandfather Ahmad and his paternal uncle, Jani Beg *Duladai*, were amirs of her first husband.

Mems., 28.

CXV. Mah-afroz Begam.

The princess who outshines the moon; Pers. *mah*, moon, and *afroz*, dazzling, illuminating.

She was a wife of Kamran and mother of *Haji* Begam. Two of Kamran's wives are not known by their personal names, Hazara Begam and the daughter of Uncle 'All Mirza *Begc'hik*. Mah-afroz may be one of these.

Gul-badan, 64b.

CXVI. Maham anaga.

Nurse of Akbar; wife of Nadim *kuka*; mother of Baqi and Adham *kukas*. Cf. Babu *agha*. Much of her story is given in the Introduction to this volume.

CXVII. Maham Begam : aka and akam (lady and my lady).

The word Maham is explained by Mr. Erskine (who did not know Gul-badan's book) as Babar'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 Bukhara was known as 'My moon (Maham) of Keninghez.'

But many Mahams are chronicled, and not only Babar gives the name to Hunaayun's mother; Gul-badan speaks frequently of 'my lady who was Maham Begam,' and Maham seems to be her personal name. It is used at least once as a man's. {*Abbar-nama*, I. 320, Maham 'Ali Qui! Khan.)

Whether maham is to be classed with sultanam, khamam, begam, shaham, I am unable to say.

Sir Douglas Forsyth (*Mission to Yarkand*, 84) translates khamam and begam by *my lord* and *my chief*. But neither is a domestic word; both are in common use in the sources to designate, for general readers, the wives or daughters of khans and begs, or princes. Sultanam 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 sultan as khamam to khan, etc..

Against reading khamam as *my lady*, with a sense of possession or admission of superiority (as is done by Sir Douglas Forsyth), there are the Turk! words formed from it, viz., *khamam-ali*, honeysuckle, and *khamam-buja'ki*, ladybird. Shaham, which has the appearance of being formed from shah like the others by the suffix *am* or *im*, is used both for man and woman. Shlram occurs as a man's name.

Maham was a wife of whom it was said that she was to Babar what 'Ayisha was to Muhammad, and she was Humayun'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 Babar calls Yadgar *Begchik*, *taghal* when speaking of him in connection with Humayun. Further consideration led to the abandonment of the theory.

Uncle Yadgar, Uncle 'All, and Uncle Ibrahim (*Chapuk*, slashed-face) are named as being three of the eight brothers or half-brothers of Gul-rukhan, the mother

of Kamran; and Bega (*Haji*) Begam is the daughter of Uncle Yadgar.

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 Khwaja Muhammad 'All *taghai* as being Maham's brother.

He was associated with Khost, and it is on record that Humayun visited his maternal grandparents (*nanahd*) in Khost. The Begchiks do not seem to have been connected with Khost. Biibar speaks frequently of Khwaja Muhammad 'Ali as being employed in the government of Khost (925H.); as coming from Khost for orders, etc., and the *mtr-zadas* of Khost also are recorded as visiting the court. One of Maham's children was born in Khost.

Babar frequently mentions an 'Abdu-1-mahik *Khostl*, and he may be a connection of Maham. He, however, appears as *KhostT*, *Khwasti*, *Qasti*, *qurchi*, *Qurchin*, and without a more complete good Turki text no opinion can be formed as to his identity.

Gul-badan says that *Aka* (Maham) was related to the owners of the New Year's Garden in Kabul, and this was made by Ulugh Beg *Kabuli Miran-shahi*.

Abu'l-fazl says Maham was of a noble Khurasan family, related to Sultan Husain Mirza (*Bayqra*), and, like Hamlda-banu Begam, was of the line of Shaikh Ahmad *Jami* (*az dudman-i-a'yan wa ashraf-i-Khurasan and, wa ha Sultan Husain Mirzd nisbat-i-khwesh ddrand*). Perhaps *nisbat-i-khwesh* implies blood-relationship on the father's side.

Gul-badan speaks of Maham's Mughal servants, but a Chaghatal, a Begchik, a Quchin is also a Mughal, and Babar often sinks the divisional tribe-name in the general one, Mughal {e.g., Mems. 9 and 21}.

Some considerations suggest that Maham was a *Dughlat Mughal*, and of the family of 'Abdu-l-qadfis, but no valid opinion can be formed until a text as good as the Elphinstone is available for guidance.

Babar married Maham in Harat when he visited that city after Sultan Husain Mirza's death, and in 912H. (1506). Humayun was born on March 6, 1508 (Zu'l-qa'da 4th, 918H.). Four other children were born to her, and all died in infancy. They were Bar-bul, Mihr-jahan, Isan-daulat and Faruq.

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, 66, 1a, 86, 116, 136, 146, 16a, 166, 17a, 186,
 21 a and 6, 22a and 6, 23a and 6, 246.
Akbar-nama, Bib. Intl. ed., and H. Beveridge, s.n. Maham
 and Maham 'All Quli Khan.
 Turkistan, Schuyler, 95 ff..

CXVIII. Maham Kabuli. (No. 81.)

At Hindal's marriage feast.

Gul-badan, 26a.

CXIX. Maham Khanam Ghaghatal Mughal.

Second daughter of Sultan Ahmad Khan *Chaghatal* and full-sister of Mansur Khan. Their mother was Sahib-daulat *Dughlat*, sister of Mir Jabar *Bardi Dughlat*. Maham married Builash Khan *Uzbek Kazak*, son of *Awiq*.

Haidar Mirza names her as a hostage given, with her mother, by her brother Mansur to his half-brother Sa'Id at a time of their meeting in 1516. She had two other full-brothers, Babajak and Shah Shaikh Muhammad.

Tar. Bash., N. E. & R., 160, 344.

CXX. Mah Begam Qibchaq Mughal.

The moon princess ; Pers. *mah*, moon.

Daughter of Sultan Wais *Qibchaq Mughal* and sister of Haram Begam ; wife of Kamran Mirza.

Gul badan, 646.

CXXI. Mah-chaehaq Khalifa.

She is mentioned by Bayazid as interceding for him with Hamida-banu. She may be a servant (*khalifa*).

J. R. A. S., October, 1898, art. Bayazid *biyat*, H. Beveridge p. 16.

CXXII. Mah-chuchak Begam Aryhun, Haji Begam.

The word *chuchak* presents difficulties. Ilminsky writes *chuchug*; Bayazid, *chachaq*; Gul-badan, *chnchaJc* and *jujak*; the Memoirs, *chuchak*. Mr. Blochmann and Mr. Lowe transliterate, *jijjak*. There is a Turk! word *jujuq*, 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*, *chuchuk*, a lovely cheek, a mole.

Daughter of Mirza Muhammad Muqim Aryhun and of Bihl Zarif *Khatun*; wife (1) of Babar's *kukaltash* Qasim; (2) of Shah Hasan Aryhun of Sind (died 968H.); (8) of Isa *Tarkhan* Aryhun of Tatta and Sind.

By Qasim, she was mother of Nahid Begam and by Shah Hasan of his only child, Chuchak or Mah-chuchak, Kamran's wife.

She had an interesting story which Mr. Erskine tells at length. * (B. H., I. 348 *et seq.*)

On the death of 'Isa (975H.) his son and successor Muhammad Baqi *Tarkhan*, who was a madman, ill-treated Mah-chuchak and Nahid who was then visiting her. This led to a plot against him, but in the end Mah-chuchak was imprisoned by him and starved to death. (Cf. s.n. Nahid.)

Mems., 233.

B. & H., I. 348 *et seq.*

Tarikh-i-sind, Mir Ma'sum, in the account of Shah Hasan's family.

Ain-i-akbari Blochmann, 420.

Ilminsky, 273.

XXIII. Mah-chuchak Begam Arghun.

Daughter of Shah Hasan and Mah-chuchak *Arghun* and her father's only child ; wife of Kamran; married 953H. (1546). Her wifely fidelity is commemorated by the historians. She went with Kamran to Makka after his blinding, and attended him until his death, October 5th, 1557. She survived him seven months.

Tarihh-isind, Mir Ma'alra, in the account of Shah Hasan's family.

CXXIV. Mah-chfichak Begam.

Sister of Bairam *Oghldn* and of Farldun Khan *Kabull*.

She married Humayiin in 1546. She had two sons, Muhammad Hakim (born 960H.—1553) and Farrukhfal. Gul-badan says she had four daughters and then, with discrepancy frequently found in her writings, names three: Bakht-nisa', Sakina-bami, and Amlnabanu. The name of the best-known of her girls, Fakhru-n-nisa', is omitted.

Mah-ehuchak'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 Shah Abu'l-ma'alX in Kabul, in 1564.

Gul-badan, 71a, 716, 736, 786, 88a.

Jauhar, Mr. William Irvine's MS., Part I I . , Chapter I I . .

Bayazld, I.O. MS., 72a.

Nigamu-d-din Ahmad, 27th year of Akbar.

Badayuni, Lowe, 54 *et seq.*

Ain-i-akbart, Blochmann, s.n.,

CXXV. Makhduma agha. (No. 59.)

The Lady *agha*; Ar. *makhduma*, lady, mistress.

Wife of Hindu Beg.

Gul-badan, 26a.

CXXVI. Makhduma Begam (Qara-guz).

Wife of 'Umar Shaikh *Miran-shahi*; mother ci. 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, Manuchahr *Miran-shahi*.

Mems., 10, 14.

CXXVII. Makhduma-jahan.

The mistress of the world; Ar. *makhduma*, mistress, and Pers. *jahan*, world.

Mother of Sultan Bahadur *Gujrati*.

B. & H., II. 96.

CXXVIII. Makhduma Qdluchi.

A wife of Sa Id Khan *Chaghatdl*; a ' tribes-woman'; mother of Kashld; sister of Suqar *Bahadur Qaluchi*.

Tar. Rash., E. & R., 140, 187, 309.

CXXIX. Makhduma Khanam.

The Lady Khanam; Ar. *makhduma*, lady, mistress.

Daughter of Shir 'Ali Khan *Chaghatai Mughal*; sister of Wais Khan; wife of Amasanji Taishl *Qalmaq*; mother of Qadlr, Ibrahim, and Ilyas.

Her marriage was a ransom for her brother "Wais of whom it was commonly reported that he was routed sixty times by the Qalmaqs. On her marriage, Wain made Amasanji become a Musalman, and Makhduma continued the work of her husband's conversion and that of his tribe.

She named one of her daughters Karim *Bardi* in affection and respect for the Dughlat amir of this name.

Mems., 409.

Tar. Bash., E. & It., 67, 91.

CXXX. Makhduma-sultan Begam.

Daughter of Sultan Mahmud Mirza *Miran-shahl* and Zuhra Begi *agha Uzheg*; elder sister of Sultan 'All Mirza. 'She is now in Badakhshan.' (Mems., 300 The 'now' may be in the late twenties of 1500, and she may have been with Mirza Khan (Wais *Miran-shdhl*).

Mems., 30.

CXXXI. Makhfi.

Hid, concealed.

This is the poetical name (*takhallus*) of Salima-sultan Begam *Chaqaniani*, Nur-jahan Begam, and Zibu-n-nisa, a daughter of Aurang-zib.

CXXXII. Malika-jahan.

The world's queen; Ar. *maltha*, queen, and Pers. *jahan*, world.

Elliot and Dawson, V. 81, 87, 88.

CXXXIII. Ma'silma-sultan Begam *Miran-shahi*.

The very chaste princess; Ar. *ma'sum*, chaste, innocent, and *sultan*, sway, pre-eminence.

Fifth and youngest daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza *Miran-shahi*. Her mother was Hablba-sultan Begam *Arghun*. She married Babar (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 'Ayisha, Babar's first wife. She died in child-bed, and her infant received her name.

Gul-badan, 66.

Mems., 22, 208, 225, 231, 429 Supplement.

CXXXIV. Ma suma-sultan Begam *Miran-shahi*. (No. 43.)

Daughter of Babar and Ma suma; wife of Muhammad-zaman Mirza *Bayqra*.

Gul-badan, 6b, 23a, 25b, 29b.

Akbar-nama, s.n.

Mems., 22, 895, 429 Supplement.

CXXXV. Maywa-jan.

Fruit of life; Pers. *maywa*, fruit, and *jan*, life.

Daughter of Khazang *yasawal* and a servant of Gul-badan Begam; an inferior wife of Humayin.

Gul-badan, 216, 22a, 80a.

CXXXVI. Mihr-angez Begam. (No. 29.)

The princess who commands affection; Pers. *mihr*, affection, and *angez*, commanding, raising.

Daughter of Muzaffar Husain Mirza *Bayqrd*; granddaughter of Sultan Husain *Bayqrd* and Khadlja.

She was accomplished after the fashion of gentlemen-at-arms and she played polo.

She was married by 'Ubaidu-l-lah *Uzheg* when Harat was taken by Shaibam (913H., June, 1507).

She was at the Mystic Feast in 1531.

Gul-badan, 24b.

Habibu-s-siyar, 397 *et seq.*

CXXXVII. Mihr-banu Begam *Miranshdu*. (? No. 27.)

The beloved; Pers. *mihr*, affection, and *banu*, possessing.

Daughter of 'Umar Shaikh *Miran-shahi* and of Umid *Andijani*; full-sister of Nasir and Shahr-banu; born cir. 886H. (1481-82).

Gul-badan mentions a Mihr-liq Begam (No. 27.) who was a paternal aunt of Humayun, as being at the Mystic Feast. This may be Mihr-banu. No aunt named Mihr-liq is mentioned elsewhere, and *liq* and *banu* have the same sense.

Gul-badan, 25a.

Mems., 10.

CXXXVIII. Mihr-banu Khanam.

I think she is a relative of Babar, and she may be the daughter of 'Umar Shaikh and Umid, and thus Babar's half-sister. (See *infra*.) From her title of Khanam,

she is very possibly a Chaghatai on her mother's side (Umid was an AndijanI), or the style is due to her marriage with a khan. She appears to have married a man of high rank; perhaps Kuchum (*Quch-kunji*) Khan who was Khaqan of his tribe from 1510 to 1530, or his son and successor (ruled from 1530 to 1533)- She had a son Pulad whom Babar mentions as fighting with 'Quch-kunji' and his son Abu-sa'id *Uzbek* at Jam (1528).

The Qiich-kunji was the tribe of Isan-daulat.

Kuchum, Abu-sa'id, Mihr-banu, and Pulad sent ambassadors and messengers to Babar in the same year, and Babar mentions his return gifts with quaint particularity. The envoys were entertained at a feast by him on December 12th, 1528 (935H.).

Mems., 10, 890, 395, 897, 399.

Tar. Hash., E. & R., s.n. Kuchum and Sultan and 206 n..
Muhaminadan Dynasties, Stanley Lane-Poole, 273.

CXXXIX. Mihr-jahan or -jan Begam *Miran-shahi*.

Sun of the world or of life; Pers. *mihir*, sun, and *jahan*, world, or jan, life, soul.

Daughter of Babar and Maham; born at Khost; died an infant.

Gul-badan, 66.

CXL. Mihr-nigar Khanam *Chaghatai Mughal*.

The image of affection, or a very sun.

Eldest daughter of Yunas Khan *Chaghatai* and Isan-daulat (*Quchin, Kunji*); born *cir.* 860H. (1455-56); wife of Sultan Ahmad Mirza *Miran-shahi*; first cousin of Babar.

In 905H. (early in July, 1500) she was captured by ShaibanI and married by him. In 906H. (1500-1) she was divorced when he wished to marry Khan-zada, her niece. She then stayed awhile in Samarqand. In 907H. (1501-2) she went to Tashkand and joined

the large family party which assembled there. (Mems. 99.) In 911H. (middle of 1505) she came to Kabul with other kinsfolk, soon after the death of her grandmother (Isan) and of her father, and during the ceremonial mourning of Babar for his mother. 'Our grief broke out afresh,' he writes.

Mirza Haidar gives a pleasant account of the welcome she accorded her generous and kindly nephew Babar in 912H. (1506-7), when he put down Khan Mirza's (Wais) rebellion in Kabul: 'The Emperor leapt up and embraced his beloved aunt with every manifestation of affection. The khanam said to him: "Your children, wives, and household¹ are longing to see you. I give thanks that I have been permitted to see you again. Bise up and go to your family in the castle. I too am going thither."'

In 913H. (1507), When Khan Mirza set out for Badakhshan with his mother, Shah Begam, to try his fortunes in her father's ancient lands, Mihr-nigar also 'took a fancy to go. It would have been better and more becoming,' writes Babar, '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-nigar rued her self-will. She and Shah Begam were captured on their way to Qila' -zafar by one of Abu-bakr *Dughlat's* 'marauding bands,' and 'in the prisons of that wretched miscreant they departed from this perishable world.'

Mems., 12, 22, 99, 169, 232.

Tar. Rash., 86, 94, 117, 155, 196, 197, 200, 258.

CXII. Mingli-bi aghdcha Uzbeq.

A low-born wife (*ghuncha-chi*) of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra*. The *Habibu-s-siyar* calls her a Turk and a purchased slave (*mamluqa*) of Shahr-banu Begam

Miran-shahi who brought her when she herself married Sultan Husain, and presented her to him.

She was mother of three sons: Abu-turab, Muhammad Husain, and Farldun Husain; and of two daughters : Bairam (or Maryam) and Fatima.

Merns., 181, 182, 183.

Habibu-s-siyar (lith. ed.), 327 *et seq.*

CXLII. Ming-liq kukaltash.

She escaped from Samarqand with Babar's mother on its capture by Shaibanl in 907H. (1501).

Hems., 98.

CXLIII. Mubarika Blbi; *Afghani aghacha*. (No. 56.)

Ar. *mubarika*, blessed, fortunate.

She was a daughter of Shah Mansur Yusvfzai, and was married by Babar at Kehraj on January 30th, 1519 (Muharram 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 *Tarikh-i-hafiz-i-rahmat-klumi*, and Mr. Beveridge has translated it in full under the title 'An Afghan Legend,' so that it need not be reproduced here.

Gul-badan never gives the name Mubarika (Blessed Damozel) as that of the Afghan lady (*Afghani aghacha*) whom she so frequently and pleasantly mentions. Hafiz Muhammad (*I.e.*) says that Mubarika was much beloved by Babar, 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 Maham and Gul-badan in 1529.

She bore no child, and this misfortune Hafiz Muhammad 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 Jamal, accompanied Babar to Hindustan in 1525, and rose to high office under Humaytin and Akbar. Hindal had a favourite follower of this name who passed, on his death, into Akbar's service. He may well be the Yiisufzai.

Gul-badan, 8a, 25b, 30a, 35a, 38a, 73b.

Mems., 250, 250 n., 251.

Akbar-ndma, *Bib. Ind.* ed., I, 315.

Asiatic Quarterly Review, April, 1901, art. An Afghan Legend, H. Beveridge.

(Mughal Khanam, 'Ayisha, q.v.)

CXLIV. Muhibb-sultan.

The very loving khanam; Ar. *muhibb*, a lover, one who loves, and *sultan*, pre-eminence.

Daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra* and a 'handmaid' (*ghuncha-chi*).

Mems., 30.

CXLV. Muhibb-sultan Khanam *Chaghatai Murjhal* (No. 20.)

Third daughter of Sultan Ahmad Khan *Chaghatai*; wife of Mirza Haidar *Dughldt*.

Gul-badan, 11a, 24b.

Tar. Rash., E. & R., 161, 280,¹ 341.

CXLVI. Muhtarima Khanam *Chaghatai Mughal*.

The honoured khanam; Ar. *muhtarim*, respected, honoured.

Daughter of Shah Muhammad Sultan *Kashghari Chaghatai*, and Khadija Sultan *Chaghatai*; wife (1) of Kamran, (2) of Ibrahim *Miran-shahi*, the son of Sulaiman and Haram.

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 'Khanam.'

Gul-badan, 626.

Abbar-nama, s.n.

Ain-i-akbari) Blochmann, s.n.

Tar. Rash., E. & B., 451.

Cf. Introduction.

CXLVII. Munauwar Sultan Begam Baygrd.

The illuminated princess; Ar. *munauwar*, bright illuminated.

Daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra* and Bate *cighacha*; wife of Sayyid Mirza 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 *Hablbis'tS-siydr*. From this same work is derived the information that Sayyid Mirza is a name given to a son of Ulugh Beg Mirza *Miran-shahi*.

Mams., 182.

Habibu-s-siyar, 327 *et seq.*

CXLVIII. Nahld Begam. (No. 54.)

Pers. *Nahid*, the name of the mother of Alexander; a name for the planet Venus, etc..

Daughter of Mah-ehuchak *Arghun* by her marriage as a captive of Babar, with his foster-brother Qasim ; wife of Muhibb-'ali *Barlas*.

When her mother, resenting her position in a misalliance, ran away, Nahld, then eighteen months old, remained in Kabul.

When her mother was imprisoned in Sind by Muhammad Baqi *Tarkhan*, Nahld escaped to Bhakkar, and was protected, till her return to Akbar's court, by Sultan Mahmud *Bhakkarl* (975H.).

She was at Hindal's wedding feast. Much of her story is contained in the Introduction of this volume.

Gul-badan, 4a, 26a.

Tarikh-i-sind, Mir Ma'sum.

Badshah-nama s.n. (fully used by Blochmann).

Ain-i-akbari Blochmann., s.n.

B. & H., l. 348, 351, 352, 385.

CXLIX. Nar-gul aghdcha. (No. 58.)

(?) Red as a rose, pomegranate*red. For *ndr* see *infra*. Pers. *gul*, a rose.

She was perhaps one of two Circassian slaves, of whom Gul-nar may be the other and who were sent to Babar by Tahmasp in 1526.

Mems., 347.

Gul-badan, 25b, 35a, 38a.

CL. Nar-sultan agha. (No. 77.)

Presumably Pers. *nar*, a pomegranate ; but it might be Ar. *nar*, advice, counsel, or even fire, and *sultan*, pre-eminence, a high degree of what is expressed by the first word of the compound name.

Gul-badan, 26a.

CLI. Nigar agha. (No. 76.)

Pers. *nigar*, a mistress, a sweetheart.

Mother of Mughal Beg.

Gul-badan, 26a.

CLII. Nizhad-sultan Begam Bayqrd.

The princess of highly distinguished race; Pers. *nizhad*, family, high-born; Ar. *sultan*, pre-eminence.

Eldest daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra* and Baba *ayhacha*; wife of Sikandar Mirza, son of *Bayqrd* Mirza who was her father's elder brother.

Mems., 182.

Habihus-siy'lr, 387 *et seq.*

CLIII. Papa (? Baba) aghacha.

Mr. Erskine writes *Papa*, and Ilminsky, perhaps following him, *Papa*. *Baba*—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 Sultan Husain Mirza *Bdyqra* and foster-sister of Afaq Beganu. The mirza 'saw her and liked her/ and she became mother of seven of his children, i.e., four sons, Muhammad

Ma'sum, Farrukh Husain, Ibn Husain, Ibrahim Flusain; of three daughters, Nizhad-sultan, Saadat-bakht, and a third whose name Babar does not give.

Mems., 181, 182, 183.

CLIV. Pasha Begam Baharhl Turkoman of the Black Sheep.

(?) Turk! *Pasha*, a lord, or Pers. *peclia*, chief, before. The *Ma'dsir-i-rahimi* writes *pasha*.

Daughter of 'Ali-shakr Beg *Baharlu*; wife (1) of Muhammadi Mirza of the Black Sheep ; (2) in 873H. (1468-69) of Sultan Mahmud Mirza *Miran-shahi*; mother by Mahmud of three daughters and one son, Bayasanghar (born 882H.).

Babar 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 Muhammad Mirza *Miran-shdhi*. The *Ma'asir-i-rahimi* supplies the information that another was Salha-sultan Begam and that she had a daughter by Babar whose name was Gul-rukh; that Gul-rukh married Nuru-d-dln Muhammad *Chaqaniani*, and had by him Sallma-sultan Begam. Abu'l-fazl says that a daughter of Pasha by Sultan Mahmud Mirza was married to Khwaja Hasan *Khwaja-zada*, and that on account of this connection *Firdaus-makani* (Babar) married Mirza Nuru-d-din to his own daughter, Gul-barg Begam, and that Sallma-sultan Begam was the issue of this marriage.

(There are difficulties connected with the account here given of Salha which are set forth under the name of her daughter, Sallma-sultan.)

Pasha Begam was of the same family as Bairam Khan, (*Cf.* genealogical table *s.n.* Sallma-sultan.)

Mems., 29. SO, 31, 72.

Tar. Rash., E. & R., 93 n..

Ma'asir-i-rahimi, Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. in year 1024H..

CLV. Payanda-sultan Begam Miran-shahi

(?) Of fixed pre-eminence; Pers. *payanda*, firm, stable, and Ar. *sultan*, pre-eminence.

Daughter of Abu-sa'id Sultan Mirza *Miran-shahi*; paternal aunt of Babar; wife of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra*; sister of Shahr-banu whom Sultan Husain Mirza divorced; mother of Haidar Mirza *Bayqra*; of Aq, Kichak, Bega, and Agha Begams.

When the Uzbeks took Khurasan, 918H. (1507-8), she went to 'Iraq, where 'she died in distress.'

Mems., 30, 180, 181, 182, 204, 208 and a, 223.

Gul-badan, 25a (here a *Muhammad* is inserted after Payanda in the name).

CLVI. Qadir Khanam Qalmaq.

Daughter of Amasanji Taishi *Qalmaq* and Makh-duma Khanam *Chaghatai*.

Tar. Rash., E. & R., 91.

CLVII. Qara-guz Begam Bayqra.

The black-eyed princess. *Qara-guz* is a sobriquet, and I have not found her personal name.

Daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra* and Payanda-sultan Begam *Miran-shahi*; wife of Nasir Mirza, Babar's half-brother.

Mems., 181.

(*Qard-guz* Begam, Rabl'a, q.v.)

(*Qard-guz* Begam, Makhduma, q.v.)

CLVIII. Qutuq aghdcha and Begam.

Ilminsky writes *Qutuq*; Mems., *Katak*.

Foster-sister of *Terkhdn* Begam; wife of Sultan Ahmad Mirza *Miran-shahi*; mother of four daughters: (1) Babi'a (*Qard-guz*), (2) Saliqa (Aq), 'Ayisha (wife of Babar, (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. Qut-llq (Qntluq) Khanam Chaghatai Mughal.

(?) The image of happiness; from Turki *qutla*, happy, and *liq*, endowed with.

Daughter of Sultan Mahmud Khan *Chaghatai*; wife of Jam Beg Khan *Uzbek*.

Her marriage was a sequel of victory by Shaibam over her father. Cf. 'Ayisha (her sister).

Tar. Rash., E. & R., 160, 251.

CLX. Qut-liq-nigar Khanam Chaghatai Mughal.

Second daughter of Yunas Khan *Chaghatai* and Isan-daulat *Quchin*; chief wife of 'Umar shaikh *Miran-shah*; half-sister of Mahmud and Ahmad Khans; mother of Khan-zada and Babar.

She accompanied her son in most of his wars and expeditions, and lived to see him master of Kabul. She died in Muharram, 911H. (June, 1505).

Mems., 10, 11, 12, 80, 90, 94, 98, 99, 104, 105, 134, 169.
Gul-badan, 4a.

Tar. Bash., s.n..

Akbar-nama, s.n..

CLXI. Rabi' a-sultan Begam Bayqra and Bedka Begam Bayqra.

These two names may indicate the same person.

The Memoirs (176 and 177) say that Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra* had two full-sisters, Aka and Bedka, and that Bedka married Ahmad *Haji Tarkhan*, and had two sons who served Sultan Husain.

These statements are contained also in the Turki texts (B.M. Add. 26,824, 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 Turk! texts write : *Bedka Begam ham mirza ninak aika-chi si aidi*. P. de C. translates : *etait avssi l'ainee du mirza*. The Persian texts have: *Bedka Begam ki khwahar-i-khurd mirza bud*; and from this Mr. Erskine translates: . . . *the mirza's younger sister*.

The Turki, it should be observed, uses of Aka precisely the same word as of Bedka, *aika-chi si*.

It may be right to regard Bedka as the younger of the two sisters of the mirza, and not as the sister younger than the mirza.

To pass now to what has led me to make a tentative identification of Bedka with Rabl'a-sultan.

The Memoirs (181) mention Rabi'a-sultan as the younger sister of the mirza (Husain) and as having two sons, Babar and Murad who were given in marriage to two daughters of Husain.

The Turk! texts do not describe Rabl'a-sultan in any way, or say that she was Husain's sister. They simply mention the marriages.

The Persian texts say of Huaain's two daughters (Bega and Agha) : *ba pisardu-i-khwdhar-i-klmrd-i-khudra Rabi'a-sultan Begam, Babar Mirzd tea Sultan Murad Mirza, dada budaud*.

The Persian texts which state that Rabl'a-sultan was Husain'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 *Tuzuk-i-bdbarl* was made in a court circle and at a date when such additional statements were likely to be known to many living persons.

Husain may have had a younger and half-sister, but the words in the Persian texts which are used of Babi'a-sultan are those used of Bedka, and they are more applicable to a full than a half sister.

The Aka of the passage in which Bedka is mentioned has no personal name recorded. Bedka may be a word of the same class as *aka*, 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 Begara *Miran-shahi*, and thus doubly a Timurid. She was full-sister of Bayqra and Husain Mirzas and of Aka Begam. She married Ahmad Khan *Haji Tarhhan*, 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.

Ilininsky, 203, 204, 208.

B.M. Turk! Add. 26,234, f. 48a and b; 53.

Other texts under 911H..

CLXII. Rabi'a-sultan Begam (*Qara-guz*) *Miran-ahahi*.

Daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza *Miran-shahi* and Qutuq (Katak) *aghdcha* (Begam) ; wife (1) of Sultan Mahmud Khan *Chaghatai* and mother of Baba Sultan, and (2) of Jam Beg *Uzbek* who married her after the murder of her father and her son by his cousin Shaibanl in 914H. (1508).

Mems. 22.

Tar. Rasd., E. & R., 114, 116.

CLXIII. Rajab-sultan *Miran-shahi*.

Ar. *rajah*, fearing, worshipping. *Sultan* may here be a title.

Daughter of Sultan Mahmud Mirza and a concubine (*ghuncha-cli*).

Merns., 30.

CLXIV. Ruqaiya Begam *Miran-shahi*.

Buqaiya was the name of a daughter of Muhammad, and conveys the notion of bewitching or of being armed against spells.

Daughter of Hindal; first wife of Akbar; she died Jumada L 7th, 1035H. (January 19th, 1626), at the age of eighty-four. She had no children of her own, and she brought up Shah-jahan. Mihru-n-nisa (Nur-

jahan) lived ' unnoticed and rejected' with her after the death of Shir-afkan.

Ain-i-akbari, Blochmann, 309, 509.

CLXV. Buqaiya-sultan Begam *Mirari-shahi*.

Daughter of 'Urnar Shaikh *Miran-shahi* and Makh-duma-sultan Begam (*Qard-guz*). She was a posthumous child. She fell into the hands of Jam Beg *Uzbek*, 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).

Meins , 10.

CLXVI. Sa'adat-bakht (Begam Saltan) *Bayqrd*.

Of happy fortune ; Ar. *sa'ddal*, happy, and Pers. *bakht*, 'fortune.'

Daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra* and Papa (Baba) *dghacha*. She was married to Sultan Ma'sud after the loss of his eyesight.

Mems., 182.

Habibu's-siyar, 327 *et seq.*

CLXVII. Sahih-daulat Begam *Dughlat*.

The princess of good fortune; Ar. *sahib*, enjoying, and *daulat*, fortune.

Sister of Mir Jabar *Bardi Dughlat*; wife of Sultan Ahmad Khan *Chaghatai*; mother of Mansur, Babiljak, Shah Shaikh Muhammad and Maham.

Tar. Bash., E. & R., 125, 344.

CLXVIII. Sakina-banu Begam *Miran-shahi*.

The princess guardian of tranquillity; Ar. *sakina*, tranquillity of mind, and Pers. *band*, keeper.

Daughter of Humayun and Mah-chuchak; wife of Shah Ghazl Khan, son of Naqib Khan *Qazwini*, a personal friend of Akbar.

Gul-badan, 71a.

Blochmann, 435, 449.

CLXIX. Salha-sultan Begam *Miran-shahi*.

Cf. Sallma-sultan Chaqaniani.

CLXX. Salima-sultan Begam *Chaqanlani*.

Daughter of Mirza Nuru-d-din Muhammad *Chaqd-nlanl* and of a daughter of Babar, 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 Turkoman 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 *Ma'dsir-i-ralfml*, under 1024H., the following information is obtained. Pasha Begam *Baharlu Turkoman* married (873H., 1459) as her second husband, Sultan Mahmud Mirza *Miran-shahi*. By him she had three daughters and one son : Bayasanghar (b. 882H., 1477). One daughter whose name was Salha-sultan Begam, married Babar and bore him a daughter, Gul-rukh (*sic*). Gul-rukh married Nuru-d-din Muhammad *Chaqdnuinl*, and their daughter was Sallma-sultan Begam who married first, Bairam *Khan-i-khanan*, and secondly, the Emperor Akbar.

Abu'l-fazl (*Bib. Ind.* ed., II. 65) adds the particular that *Firdaus makani* gave his daughter Gul-barg (*sic*), to Nuru-d-din because a daughter of Mahmud and Pasha had been given to Nuru-d-din's grandfather Khwaja Hasan, known as Khwaja-zada *Chaqdndm*. He also states that Sallma-sultan Begam was the issue of Gul-barg's marriage.

In the Memoirs, as we have them, there is no mention of Salha-sultan nor of Nuru-d-din's marriage with a daughter of Babar. Yet Abu'l-fazl states that *Firdaus-makani* arranged Gul-barg's marriage. The first omission is the more remarkable because Babar (*Mems.*, 80) states that Pasha 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 Salha's half-sister Zainah and of her death. The omission is remarkable and appears to have no good ground, since he chronicles his other Timurid marriages. Of Pasha's daughters it may be noted here that one married Malik Muhammad *Miran-shahi*, another Khwaja Hasan *Chaqaniani*, and the third, Babar.

It appears to me tolerably clear that Babar's marriage with Salha-sultan 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 Kabul after the Mughal rebellion.

Not only does Babar omit Salha-sultan's name and his marriage with her (Mems., BO), but Gul-badan is also silent as to name, marriage and child of Salha-sultan. 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 Timurid wife cannot have escaped, and especially one whose child became the mother of Gul-badan's associate Sallma-sultan.

An explanation of Gul-badan's silence and also of a part of Babar's has suggested itself to me; it is conjectural merely and hypothetical. The absence of mention of Salha-sultan 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-dar Begam without undue wresting of known circumstantial witness.

The principal difficulty in the way of this identification is Abu'l-fazl's statement that Kuru-d-dln's marriage was made by *Firdaus-makani*, whereas Gul-badan states that her father arranged two Chaghatai marriages for her sisters.

If we might read *Jannat-dshydnJ* (Humayiin) for *Firdaus-makdni* much would fall into place; the

marriage with Nuru-d-din could be a re-marriage of Grul-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 Salima-sultan's life:

There is an entry in Hindal's guest-list which may indicate her presence.

She accompanied Hamida-banu and Gul-badan to Hindustan in 964H. (1557), and she was married at Jalindhar shortly after Safar 15th, 965H. (middle of December, 1557) to Bairam *Khan-i-khanari*. It is said that the marriage excited great interest at Court. It united two streams of descent from 'All-shukr Beg *BahadrlCi Turkoman*. Salima-sultan was a Timurid through Babar, one of her grandfathers, and through Mahmud, 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 Jahangir's statement that she died at the age of sixty in 1021H., and commented upon by the *Darbar-i-akbari*. If Jahangir gives her age correctly she must have been born in 961H., and this would make her a child of five when she married Bairam, and needs her betrothal by her father to Bairam to date from babyhood.

The *Darbar-i-akbari* says that it is clear from Jahangir's statement of her age at death that she was married to Bairam *retat.* 5, and that her memory is thus cleared from the reproach of two marriages!

Whatever is concealed in Jahangir's 'sixty,' nothing is said to indicate that he desired to bring Salima-sultan into the circle of Hindu propriety. He may have had the wish; he was a Hindu mother's son. The comment of the modern author of the *Darbar-i-*

akbarl witnesses to the Hinduizing action to which Moslim custom and thought have submitted. Adult remarriage was no reproach to Islam in Salim a's day.

It does not, however, seem correct to accept Jahanglr's statement that Salima-sultan 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 Muhammad custom of Humayun's day. Moreover, Jahangir himself speaks of her as married (*kad-khudd*) to Bairam. She is said by AbiVl-fazl to have been betrothed (*namzad*) by Humayun, and married (*sipurdan*) by Akbar to Bairam Khan.

Baddyuni's words indicate adult and not child marriage; *sabiqa dar habala-i-Bairam Khan Khan-i-klidndn bad, b'ad azan dakhli-i-harani-i-padshhi shad*.

After the murder of Bairam in 968H. Salima-sultan 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 *mukhji*, and as pleading with Akbar for Sallm's forgiveness.

Her death is chronicled by Jahanglr who heard of it on Zul-qa'da 2nd, 1021H. (December 15th, 1(512). 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.

Jahanglr 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-nama s.n..

Badayuni, Lowe, 13, 216, 389.

Tuzuk-i-jahangiri, Sayyid Ahmad, Aligarh, 113.

Khafi Khan, *Bib. Ind.* ed., I. 276.

Ain-i-akbarly Blochmann, s.n..

Darbdr-i-akbarl, 736.

The genealogical table on the next page illustrates Salima-sultan's descent, and the following dates bear also upon the topic:

Pasha married Mahmud	873H.--1469.
Bayasanghar born '	882H.—1477.
Mahmud died	900H.—Jan. 1495
Babar married Zainab, d. of Mahmud ...	910H.—1504.
Zainab died	913H.-914H.—1507-8.
Salha's child, the wife of Nuru-d-din, was not born in 911H.—1511, because she is not in the list of children who left Kabul with Babar in that year. (Gul-badan, <i>la.</i>)	

CLXXI. Salima Khanam Chaghatai Mughal.

Daughter of Khizr Khwaja, but whether also of Gul-badan is not recorded.

She went with Gul-badan to Makka in 988H. (1575).

Am-i-akban, Blochmann, 441.

CLXXII. Sallqa-sultan Begam (Aq Begam) Miranshahi.

(Ilminsky, 25, reads Salha.) The princess of excellent disposition ; Ar. *salika*, of good disposition, and *sultan*, pre-eminence.

Daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza *Miran-shahl* and Qufcuq (Katak) Begam; wife of her cousin Ma'siid. The marriage was announced to Babar in 900H. (1494) with gifts of gold and silver, almonds, and pistachios. She was captured by Abu-bakr *Dughlat* with Shah Begam and Mihr-nigar Khanam.

Mems., 22, 27.

CLXXIII. Samiha Begam Barlas.

The gentle princess ; Ar. *samih*, gentle.

Daughter of Muhibb 'Ali *Barias* (son of Nizamud-din 'Ali *Khalifa*), and presumably of Nahid Begam ; mother of Mujahid Khan.

Mujahid (who is named in the *Tabaqat-i-akbari* as commander of 1,000, but is not in the *Ain*) was a son

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF SALIMA-SULTAN *CHAQANIANI*.

Chaqanian.

Black Sheep *Turkomans.*

Khwaja 'Ala'u-d-din,
first successor of Khwaja
Naqshbandi.

'Ali-shukr Beg
Bahdrlu Turkoman.

Pir-'all Baharlu
Turkoman.

Khwaja Hasan 'attar.

Not named.

Sultan Mahmud
Mirza *Mirdn-shdhl*, = Pasha Begam.

Bir-bal Beg. 231
00

Khwaja Hasan,— d.
Khwdja-zdda Chaqanldnl.

d. = Malik Salha-sultan
Muham- Begam = Babar.
mad.

Saif-'ali.

Mirza 'Ala'u-d-din Muhammad.

Mirza Nuru-d-din Muhammmad.

Gul-rukh, or -barg, etc.

Salima-sultan Begam.

Bairam *Khdn-i-*
khanan.

of Musahib Khan, son of Khwaja Kilan (Babar's friend).

Ain-i-akbari, Blochmann, 421, 533.

CLXXIV. Sarv-qad and Sarv-i-sahl.

Straight as a cypress; Pers. *sarv*, a cypress, and *qad*, form, or *sahl*, erect.

Sarv-i-sahi, to use Gul-badan's word, was a singer and reciter. She belonged to the households both of Babar and Humayun, and was subsequently married, with full *nisbat*, to Mu'nim *Khan-i-khanan*.

She acted as go-between of Mu'niru and Khan-i-zaman (Ali Quli *Uzbek-i-Hkaibani*) during the rebellion of the latter—probably in the tenth year of Akbar, and Bayazid calls her a reliable woman and the *haram* of the *Khan-i-khanan*. She sang on the way to Lamghan by moonlight in 958H. (1551); she was with Mu'nim at the time of his death in Gaur (Safar, 983H., 1575), and in Bajab of the same year accompanied Gul-badan to Makka.

Gul-badan, 82a (inserted in the translation after 736).

Bayazid, I.O. MS., 1226, 1476.

Akbar-nama, Bib. Ind, ed., III. 145.

CLXXV. Shad Begam Baygra. (No. 28.)

Daughter of I.laidar *Baygra* and Bega *Miran-shdht*; wife of 'Adil Sultan.

Gul-badan, 25a.

Mems., 180.

CLXXV (a). Shad Bibi.

Wife of Humayun ; lost at Chausa.

Gul-badan, 336.

CLXXVI. Shaham agha.

(?) My queen; from Pers. *shah*, king, ruler.

Of the *haram* of Humayun. She went with Gul-badan Begam to Makka in 983H..

Ain-i-akbari, Blochmann, 441.

CLXXVII. Shah Begam Badakhshl.

The princess of royal blood.

She was one of six daughters of Shah Sultan Muhammad, King of Badakhshiin, 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 Sultan Sanjar *Barlas*.

She was given in marriage to Yunas Khan *Chaghatdi* and was the mother of Mahmud and Ahmad Khans and of Sultan-nigar and Daulat Khanams. She was widowed in 892H. (1487), and survived Yunas more than twenty years.

She dwelt in Mughalistan with her elder son, Mahmud, the then Khiiqan of the Mughals, from the time of Yunas' death until about 911H. (1505-6). Then ⁱ base advisers provoked a quarrel between the mother and son—a son so obedient that he had never wen mounted for a ride without her permission. . . . They [the base advisers] decided to send Shah Begam to Shahl Beg Khan to solicit a country for herself, because she found living in Mughalistan 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 Shahl Beg Khan while she was really enjoying in Samarqand the company of her children.' (*Tar. Rash,E.&ll.*, 180.)

Shahl Beg did not permit her to remain in Samarqand but banished her to Khurasan. From Khurasan .she went with other connections and relations to Babar in Kabul. They arrived early in 911H. (June, 1505), during the ceremonial mourning for Babar's mother, Shah Begam's stepdaughter. With Shah Begam was Haidar Mirza's father and also Babar's .aunt, Mihr-nigar, Haidar says that Babar gave the party a warm welcome and showed them all possible

honour; and that they spent some time in Kabul in the greatest ease and comfort.

Babar's kindness fell on ungrateful ground, since in the following year, 912H. (1506-7), Shah Begam fomented a rebellion against him in favour of her grandson, Mirza Khan. Haidar says that during Babar's absence in Harat her motherly love (it was grandmotherly) began to burn in her heart, and persuaded her that Babar was dead, and that room was thus made for Mirzai Khan. The story of Babar's magnanimity to her when he had put down the rising she had stirred, is well known and is detailed in the histories.

In 918H. (1507-8) she laid claim to Badakhshan, 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. Babar assented to her scheme, and she set off for Badakhshan, together with Mihr-nigar Khanam and Mirza Khan.

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 Kashghar, Aba-bakr *Dughlat*, and were by them conveyed to him in Kashghar. They were placed in confinement, and 'in the prison of that wicked miscreant they departed from this perishable world' (*cir.* 913H.).

Mems., 12, 13, 22, 32, 60, 74, 99, 104, 105, 106, 169, 216, 217, 231.

Tar. Rash., E. & R., s.n..

CLXXVIII. Shah Begam Termizi. (No. 24.)

Daughter of Fakhr-jahan Begam and of Mir Ala'u-1-mulk *Termizi*. She may be 'Kichak' Begam, and if not, is her sister.

She was the mother of Dil-shad Begam. If she be

Kichak, she was the wife of Sharafu-d-dln Husain.
(Cf. Kichak.)

She was at the Mystic Feast.

Gul-badan, 24b,

CLXXIX. Shah Khanam. (No. 17.)

Daughter of Badru-1-jamal Begam.

Gul-badan, 246.

CLXXX. Shahr-banu Begam Miran-shahi.

(?) Ar. *shakr*, the moon, the new moon.

Daughter of Sultan Abu-said Mirza *Miran-shahi* ,- wife of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayard*, and married to him before his accession in 873H. (March, 1469).

Babar gives an entertaining detail about her married life. Once at Chekman her husband was engaged in a battle with her brother Mahmud. All his ladies except herself alighted from their litters and mounted on horseback, presumably for rapid flight if the day went against Husain. Shahr-banu, however, 'relying on her brother,' remained in her litter. This being reported to her husband, he divorced her and married her younger sister, Payanda-sultan.

Of her subsequent history nothing seems recorded.
(Cf. Mingli-bi *aahdcha*.)

Mems., 182.

CLXXXI. Shahr-bami Begam Miran-shahi. (No. 7.)

Third daughter of Umar Shaikh Mirza *Miran-shahi* and Umid *Andijani*; half-sister of Babar and eight years his junior; born *cir.* 1491; full-sister of Nasir and Mihr-bami; wife of Junaid *Barlas* (brother of Nizamu-d-din 'All *Khalifa*); mother by him of Sanjar Mirza; widowed *cir.* 944H. (1537-38).

She seems to have gone to Sind with her nephew,

Yadgar-nasir Mirza, in 1540 and after the *debacle* in Hindustan, for when Yadgar-nasir had fled from Sind to Kamran in Qandahar (a traitor cast aside by his employer, Shah Ilusain *Arghun*), Kamran sent ambassadors to Shah Husain to request that the begam and her son might be returned to his charge. [Shahr-banu was Kamran's paternal (half)-aunt and full-aunt of Yadgar-nasir.]

She was at once started on her journey, but was insufficiently provided with necessities for traversing the difficult desert tract which stretches towards the western mountain barrier of Sind. Numbers of her party perished before reaching Shal (Quetta); and many died in that town from 'malignant fever/ Amongst its victims was Shahr-bami, at the age of about fifty-one years.

Gul-badan, 24b.

Mems, 10.

A *kbar-rriima*, s.n..

B. & H., I. 526 and II. 253. (Here occur errors of statement, i.e., that Shahr-banu was Yadgar-nasir's wife and Kamran's sister.)

CLXXXII. Shah Sultan Begam.

(?) Wife of Abu-sa'Id Mirza *Miran-shahl*; mother of 'Umar Shaikh Mirza.

The news of her death in Andijan reached Babar in 907H. (1501).

Mems., 20, 99.

CLXXXIII. Shah-zada Begam and Sultanam Khanam *Safawi*

The daughter of kings.

Sister of Shah Tahmasp of Persia, Her protection of the Emperor Humayun during his sojourn in Persia is named by many of the historians.

Gul-badan, 58a, 586.

CLXXXIV. Shah-zada Khanam *Miran-shahi*.

Daughter of Sulaiman Mirza *Miran-shdhi* and Haram Begam. She was betrothed to Humayun in 958H. (1551), but the affair went no further.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1898, art. Biiyazld biyat, H. Beveridge.

B, & H., II. 397.

Cf. appendix s.n. Haram and Fatima.

CLXXXV. Sultanam Begam *Baiiqrd*.

For meaning of *Sultanam*, cf. app. s.n. Maham.

Daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bayqra* and Chilli Begam *Azak*; her father's eldest girl and her mother's only child. She married, first, her cousin Wais, son of her father's elder brother Bayqra, and, secondly, 'Abdu-1-baqi Mirza *Miran-shahl*. By her first marriage she had a son, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, and a daughter who married Isan-qull *Shaibani*, younger brother of Ylli-bars Sultan. Through her son Muhammad she was ancestress of those numerous rebel Bayqras whom history knows as 'the mlrzas.'

When the Uzbegs took Harat in 1507 (918H.) she went to Khwarizm, and there her daughter was married. On April 12th, 1519 (Rabi' II. 12th, 925H.), Babar records her arrival with her daughter in Kabul. He gave her the Garden of Retirement (*Bagh-i-khilwat*) 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.

Sultanam started from Kabul 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 Kabul for burial.

There are curious discrepancies of the texts in the passage about Sultanam which occurs at Mems., 181.

The first point to note is contained in the words: 'Her elder brother gave her in marriage to Sultaa

Wais Mirza, the son of Miangi Bayqra Mirza.' (Mems., 181.)

Baradar kilanash ba pīsar miangi Bayqrd Mirza Sultan Wais Mirza dada bud. (Waqi at-i-bd̄barl, Persian text, B.M. Or. 16,623, 123b.)

Agha si Bayqra Mirza ninak ortalchl oghali Sultan Wais Mirzagha chiqarib aidi. (Tuzuk-i-babarl or Babar-nama, Turki text, B.M. Add. 26,324, i 526, and Ilminsky, 209.)

' Son frere aine l'avait donnee en mariage a Sultan Wais Mirza, fils cadet de Bayqra Mirza.' (Pavet de Courteille, I. 375.)

Both the English and French versions make the elder brother of Sultanam 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 Turk! text appears to yield something more probable, *i.e.*, 'His elder brother, Bayqra Mirza's middle son, Sultan Wais Mirza. . . .'

Mr. Erskine has read *miangi* as part of Bayqra's name. Comparison with the Turk! makes appear as the more probable reading ; 'the middle son'—*pīsar-i-midngi*.

M. Pavet de Courteille's's *cadet* lets slip the notion of *miyan*. Redhouse gives for the *ortalchl oghal* of the Turk! 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 : ' Sultanam Begam set out along with her grandson. . . .' Here the Persian words *ba hamm tarikh* (Turki, *ushbu tarikh*) 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.

Habibu-s-siyar, 327 et seq..

Also the places mentioned in the notice above.

CLXXXVI. Sultanam Begam Miran-shahh (No. 12.)

Daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza.

A Sultanam of this parentage is mentioned by Babar (Mems., 22), by Haidar (E. & R, s.n.), and by Gulbadan (246). 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 Qiituq (Katak) Begam. She married her cousin 'All, son of Mahmud Mirza. 'All was murdered by ShaibanI (cf. s.n. Zuhra) in 906H. (July, 1500), and his widow was taken to wife by ShaibanI's son, Muhammad Tlmur. A third marriage is mentioned by Babar, viz., to Mahdl Sultan. By this style the histories mention the Uzbek chief who was associated with Hamza (Khamza) Sultan. But this Mahdl was put to death by Babar in 1511, and Tlmur was living in 1512 (918H.). Either Sultanam was divorced, perhaps to make marriage with some other kinswoman and later captive legal; or Mahdl Sultan may be the father of Adil Sultan; or he may be Mahdl Muhammad Khwaja.

(2). Sultanam, daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza, married Muhammad Husain *Dughlat* in the autumn of 1503. She was given to her husband by Khusrau Shah who describes her as daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza *wa pdchhak-zada-i-man*, by which Mr. Boss has understood that she was of Khusrau's 'family.' There was a son, issue of this marriage and named "Abdu-l-lah.

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 Badakhshan. Babar mentions no marriage of a Sultanam with Muhammad Husain *Dughlat*. A surmise—it is nothing more—has occurred to me, namely: No. 2 was married to the *Dughlat* mirza shortly after the destruction of Tashkend; Babar's

wife 'Ayisha, third daughter of Sultan Ahmad *Miran-shaJa*, had left Babar shortly before that disaster. She might be Sultanam No, 2.

(3). Sultanam, or Sultani, daughter of Suljtan Ahmad Mirza, was at the Mystic Feast in 1531. She is said to be the mother of Kilan Khan 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 Qutuq's firstborn daughter, Kabila-sultan, because Babi'a married Sultan Mahmud Khan who was the Elder Khan (*kilan*) and also the Great Khan (*Khaqan*) of the Mughals. Shaibani murdered five of Mahmud'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* Maham.

Mems., 22.

Gul-badan, 24B.

Tar. Bash., E. & R, 104, 170, 193.

CLXXXVII. Sultanam. (No. 52.)

Wife of Nizamu-d-din 'All *Khalifa*.

Gul-badan, 14a, 146, 26ti, 50a.

CLXXXVIII. Sultan-nigar Khanam *Chaghatai Mughal*.

Daughter of Yunas Khan *Chaghatai* and Shah Begam *Badakhshi*; wife of Sultan Mahmud Mirza *Miran-shahl*; mother of Sultan Wais (Khan Mirza) ; widowed in 900H. (January, 1495).

On Mahmud'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 Awlq (Adik) Sultan *Juji*, the chief of the *Uzbek Qazdqs*. Her story is somewhat confused in the Memoirs (18 and 14) by a double mention of her

marriage to Awiq. Haidar Mlrza throws some light, and it seems that when Shaibani had murdered her brother, Mahmud Khan, Awiq left him and joined the Uzbeg Qazaqs, his own people, and Sultan-nigar followed him into Mughalistan.

She had two daughters by Awiq, one of whom married" 'Abdu-l-lah *Quchin* and died a young wife, and the other married Kashld Sultan *Chaghatal*.

On Awiq's death, Sultan-nigar was married to his brother Qasim, presumably in consonance with the Turk! custom of *yang-lik*.

With Qasim's death, the khanship of the *Qazdqs* devolved on Sultan-nigar's stepson (*i.e.*, Awiq's by a co-wife) named Tahir. 'He was,' says Haidar, '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-sultan showed her appreciation of Tahir'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, Sultan Sa'id Khan. For I am grown old, and I have no longer the strength to bear this wandering life *in* the deserts of Uzbegistan. 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 Khaqans against his foes. Tahir accordingly escorted her to the Mughalistan borders, and with her waited upon Said. 'The latter, from love of his aunt, rose, saying that although his rising to receive Tahir was contrary to the rules of Chinglz (their common ancestor), yet that he did it out of gratitude because Tahir had brought his aunt.'

Sultan-nigar died of a haemorrhage in the summer of 934H. (1528).

Mems., 13, 14, 30, 31, 99, 105.
Tar. Bash., E. & R., B.n.

CLXXXIX. Tarkhan Begam.

This is a title, and not a personal name.

In Babar's time, according to Mr. Erskine (Mems., 24 n.), the ancient title of *Tarkhan* had come to belong to a particular family or clan. This may be well seen by consulting Professor Blochmann's *Ain-i-akbari*, 361, where the genealogical table of the Arghiins of Tatta shows the title to have become hereditary in their branch of the Arghuns.¹

The Tarkhan Begam whose name stands above this notice was linked with these Tarkhan Arghuns in the way shown below. She married her first cousin, Ahmad *MIran-shahI*, and Qutuq Begam was her foster-sister.

Urda-bugha *Tarkhan Arghun*.

Daughter: :Abu-sa'id	Darvish	Daughter==	'Abdu-l-'ali	Muhammad
<i>Mir</i>	<i>an-</i>	Muham-	I	<i>Tarkhan</i>
<i>shahl.</i>	<i>mad</i>		<i>Arghun,</i>	<i>Mazid</i>
	<i>Tarkhan.</i>		d. <i>cir.</i>	<i>Tarkhan.</i>
			1490.	

Mahmud,	Ahmad,:	=Tarkhan Begam.	Baqi <i>Tarkhan</i> .
b. 1453.	b. 1451;		
	d. 1490.		

Mems, 22, 24.

Ain-i-akbari, Blochmann, 361.

B. & H., I. and II. s.n. Sind, Arghun, etc..

CXC. Tarkhan Begam and Bega.

Gul-badan, 756.

(Tarsun-sultan, Yun, q.v.)

¹ Professor Blochmann (*I.e.*) states that 'Abdu-l-'ali and five sons were murdered by ShaibanI, but Babar and the Sind historians give no support to the story. It looks as though by some clerical error the account of the murder of Sultan Mahmud Khan and his sons had crept in here. ShaibanI drove Baqi out of his late father's government of Bukhara.

CXCI. Ulugh Begun. (No. 10.)

Daughter of Zainab Sultan Begam ; grand-daughter
of Sultan Abu-sa'id ; first cousin of Babar.

Gul-badan, 246.

CXCII. Ulus (Anush and Ahish) agha Turkoman. (? No. 58.)

Turki, *ulus*, tribe. Clearly a title.

Daughter of Khwaja Husain Beg *Turkoman* of the White Sheep, an amir of 'Umar Shaikh *Miran-shalu* ; wife of ^fUmar 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 Hindiil's wedding-feast; whether she is Ulus *agha* promoted, I have no means of knowing.

Mems., 14.

Gul-badan, 26a.

CXOIII. Urnid aghacha Andijdl.

Pers. *umidy* hope.

An inferior wife of 'Urnar Shaikh Mirza *Mlran-shahl* whom she predeceased. She was the mother of Mihr-banu who was two years older than Babar and will have been born therefore in 1481; of Nasir who was born in 1487; and of Shahr-banu who was born in 1491.

Mems., 10, 14.

CXCIV. Umm-kulsum Begam Miran-shahi.

A surname of Fatima, daughter of Muhammad ; Ar. *umm*, mother, and *Imlmm*, plumpness.

Grand-daughter of Gul-badan Begam and a member of the Haj of 983H..

Akbar-nama, III. 145.

CXCV. Uzun-sultan Khanam Chaghatai Mughal.

(?) Pers. *auzun*, or *uzun*, ample, increase.

Daughter of Shir 'Ali Khan *Oghlan Chaghatai*; sister of Wais Khan and Makhduma Khanam; paternal aunt of Yunas Khan; wife of Amir Sayyid 'AH *Dughlat*; mother of Muhammad Haidar *Dughldt* and great-grandmother of Haidar Mirza, the historian.

She was widowed in 862H. (1457-58), and then, in conjunction with her son, received Kashghar and Yangi-hisar from her stepson, Saniz.

Tar. Rash., E. & R., 64, 87, 88.

CXCVL Yadgar-sultan Begam Mlrndn-shaht. (No. 8.)

Pers. *yadgar*', remembrance.

Daughter of 'Umar Shaikh *Mirdnshahl* and Agha Sultan *aghdcha*; half-sister of Babar, and brought up by his grandmother, Isan-daulat. She was a posthumous child, and, if one may draw an inference from her example and others similar, is for this reason called *Yadgfir* (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-latlf *Uzbek*, after the conquest of Andijan and Akhsi by Shaibanl, and in 916H. (1511) Babar's successes at Khutlan and Hisiir 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 Hindal's wedding festivities.

Mems., 10.

Gul-badan, 246, 266.

CXCVII. Yun (Tarsun)-sultan Mughal.

Ilminsky, 15, writes *Tarsun*.

Inferior wife of Umar Shaikh, and married at the end of his life.

Mems., 14.

CXCVIII. Zainab-sultan Begam Mlran-shato.

(?) From Ar. Mm, adorning.

Fifth daughter of Sultan Mahmud Mlrza and Khanzada Begam (6.) *Termizi*; first cousin and wife of Babar.

She was married at the instance of Qut-Hq-nigar, in the year of the capture of Kabul, *ie.*, 910H. (1504-5), perhaps at the time that Jahangir Mlrza, Babar's half-brother, married her half-sister, Aq Begam. The marriage was not happy. Two or three years later Zainab died of small-pox.

Mems., 30.

CXCIX. Zainab-sultan Khanam Chaf/hatal Mughal.

(No. 19.)

Daughter of Sultan Mahmud Khan *Cliaghatai Mughal*; favourite wife of Sultan Sa'd Khan *Kdshghari*, her first cousin; aunt of Shah Muhammad Sultan whom Muhammadi *Barlas* put to death; mother of Ibrahim who was born 930H. (1524), Sa'd's third son and favourite child, of Muhsin, and of Mahmud Yusuf.

On her husband's death in 939H. (July, 1533), she was banished by her stepson Rashid, and went with her children to Kabul where she met Haidar Mlrza and where she was under the protection of Kamran.

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.

Tar. Bash., E. & R., 146, 375, 383, 467.

Gul-badan, 11 a, 246.

CC. Zainab-sultan Begam Mlrdnshdhl.

Gul-badan describes her as the paternal aunt or great-aunt (*'ama*) of Humayun. Babar had no such sister, and no Zainab is mentioned by Gul-badan as a daughter of his grandfather Abu-sa'id. An Aq 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-sultan Begam.

There is a difficulty in identifying the begam of this name, whom Babar 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-sultan Begam, the granddaughter of Bikh Chicham.'

P. de C, II. 355. 'et la petite-fille de Yenga-Tchetcham, autrement dite Zeineb-sultan Begam.'

B. M. Or., 3714, Pers., p. 482. *dlgar nablra yanga chicham hi Zainab-sultan Beyam brishad.*

Bodleian, Elliot, 19, f. 180a. *dlgar nablra bega chicham hi Zainab-sultan Begam.*

Ilminsky, Turki text, 447. *yana, yanga chicham M Zainab-sultan Begam bulaghai nablra si kilib.*

It seems safer to take Zainab as the name of Babar's relation (i.e., the *yanga* of his *chicha*) than as that of the granddaughter (*nablra*).

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 *be gas* of this appendix. Until a good Turk! 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 Babar's application of the word *yanga*.

Mems., 387.

CCII Zobaida aghacha Jalair.

The marigold; Ar. *zubaida*.

Grand-daughter of Husain Shaikh Tlmur of the Shaiban Sultans. According to the *Habibu-s-siydr*, she was a *Jalair*.

She was an inferior wife of Sultan Husain Mlrza and the mother of 'Ayisha Begam. She predeceased her husband who died April, 1506.

CCHL Zuhra Begl and Agha Uzbek.

Ar. *zuhra*, beauty, a yellow flower, the star Venus.

An inferior wife of Sultan Mahmud Mlrza ; mother of Makhduma-sultan Begam and of Sultan All Mlrza.

She was married during the lifetime of Mahmud's father, and therefore before Rajab 873H. (January, 1469), and was widowed Rabi II., 900H. (January, 1495). In 905H. (1499-1500) she entered into an intrigue with ShaibanI, a fellow-tribesman, of which the ultimate aim was dominance in Samarqand for her son All. A part of her scheme and offer was her own remarriage with ShaibanI. 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 ShaibanI Khan mind her a bit, or value her even so much as his other handmaids, concubines, or women. Sultan AH 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.'

APPENDIX B.

Mahdl Khwaja.

Nizamu-d-din Ahmad has included in his *Tabaqat-i-akbari* a story which he heard from his father Muhammad Muqim *Harawi*, and of which the purport is that Biihar's *Khalifa* (Nizamu-d-dln 'All *Barkis*) had at one time thought of placing a certain Mahdl Khwaja on the throne in succession to Babar.

Two circumstances cast doubt on the story: (1) It was customary in Babar's family for a son to succeed his father; (2) Babar left four sons, the youngest of whom, Hindal, was eleven years old.

Moreover, there were Tlmurids both of the Bayqra and Mlran-shahl branches in India with Babar whose claims to a Timurid throne would be strongly enforced.

But Nizamu-d-dln Ahmad 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 Mahdl concerned, and also because in an important particular, *i.e.*, the relation of Mahdl to Babar, I am able, through Mr. Beveridge's study of the *Hablbit'S-siydr*, to give more accurate information than was at Mr. Erskine's

- disposal.

The story was old when Nizamu-d-din 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 Babar's sons by Mahdl Khwaja at the instance of Khalifa.

The question naturally arises, who was the man

concerning whom such intention could be attributed to the wise and experienced Khalifa?

Nizam d-din calls Mahdi Babar's *damad*, and Mr. Erskine, amongst other translators, has rendered this by son-in-law. It is unnecessary to consider why any Mahdi Khwaja known in history should have been preferred to those sons-in-law who were of Babar's own blood, because Gul-badan calls Mahdi Babar's *ijazna*. 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 *damad*. But the *Habib* settles the verbal question by a statement that Mahdi Khwaja was the husband of Khan-zada Begam, Babar's full sister.

It is not improbable that he had another close link with the Emperor, namely that of relationship to Maham Begam, but I am not yet able to assert this definitely.

Babar never mentions Mahdi Khwaja's parentage. This is learned from Khwand-amir who states that he was the son of Musa Khwaja and grandson of Murtaza Khwaja. He was a sayyid; and from the circumstance that his burial-place was chosen as that of Sayyid Abu'l-ma'all *Termizi*, it may be inferred that he belonged to the religious house of Termiz. If so, he had probably Timurid blood in his veins, since inter-marriage between the families was frequent.

Babar mentions a Khwaja Musa who is* perhaps Mahdi's father, in 914H., 1508. He immediately afterwards names Khwaja Muhammad 'All, Maham Begam's brother, in suggestive sequence.

Babar's first surviving record of Mahdi is made in 925H. (February, 1519) when 'Mir Muhammad Mahdi Khwaja' brings in a prisoner. It is in *cir.* 923H. (1517) that Khwand-amir speaks of the marriage of Mahdi and Khan-zada, but this is probably a good deal after the fact, because Khan-zada was returned to Babar in 917H. (1511).

Mahdl Khwaja, as Babar invariably calls him after his first appearance, went to Hindustan with Babar 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 Tlmurid or Chaghatal. He is sometimes given precedence of them, and is never named last in a list of officers. Chln-tlmur *Chaghatal*, Muhammad Sultan Mrza *Bdyqrd*, Sultan Mrza *Mran-shahl*, and 'Adil Sultan are constantly associated with him. It seems clear that he was a great noble and ranked amongst the highest. Khafil Khan calls him Sayyid Khwaja, and so does Khwand-amir. Whether the 'Khwaja' indicates anything as to his mother's marriage I am not able to say.

Khafil Khan (I. 42) has a passage which *may* relate to him: *Sultan Mirza wa Mahdi Sultan hint a'mamra* (of Babar) *ki asir-i-dri juma' badand khalas sakht*. The date of the occurrence is *cir.* 1511, the year in which another Mahdl, *i.e.*, *Uzbek*, was killed by Babar. Mr. Erskine appears to think that the two men, named here as released, were Hamza and Mahdl Sultans *Uzbek*, but the sources do not give the style of Mrza to either of these chiefs. They appear to have had marriage connections with Babar in an earlier generation, and a son of Mahdl seems to have been 'Adil Sultan (Mems., 363) who was father of 'Aqil Sultan *Uzbek* (*Akbar-ndma*, I. 221).

A Mahdi Khwaja who was undoubtedly of Babar's family, appears both in the *Tdrkh-i-rashldl* and in Gul-badan Begam's *Humdyun-nama*. He is the son of Aiman, and grandson of Sultan Ahmad Khan *Chaghatal*, Babar's mother's brother. But his age places him out of the question; he was about ten in 1580, and the hero of Nizamu-d-din's story stroked his beard, and was either a *damad* or a *yazna*. Mahdl

Chaghatal, moreover, reached India after Babar's death.¹

The *Tabaqat* states that Mahdi Khwaja had long been connected with Khalifa; the latter was himself a sayyid.

Nizamu-d-din calls Mahdi a *juwan* and Mr. Erskine has accentuated all the faults and characteristics of youth in his version of the story. But Gul-badan calls Hindal an uninjurious youth at thirty-three, and there seems good ground to read often in *juwan* the notion of vigour and strength rather than exclusively of fewness of years. In 1530 Mahdi had served Babar eleven known years.

Like many other such small problems, that of the family connections of Mahdi Khwaja 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.

Mems., 255, 303, 305-307, 338, 340-342, 344, 345, 349, 352, 363, 370, 371, 401, 426.²

Akbar-nama, s.n., 'Aqil Sultan and Mahdi.

Khafi Khan, *Bib. Ind.* ed., s.n..

Habibu's-siyar, Khwand-amir, under date *cir.* 923H..

Cf. Index to this volume, 8.n. Mahdi.

¹ The rough estimate of Mahdi *Chaghatai's* age is made as follows : Aiman was married to Ilaidar Mirza's cousin in 923H. (1517). (*Tar. Bash.*, E. and R., 144, 352.) He had five sons by this wife. (J. c. 144 and 401). Of these Ma'stid is named as the eldest. The rest are Khizr (Gul-badan's husband) Mahdi, Isan-daulat (Habiba's husband), and another. Khizr is inferentially the second son, but if Mahdi 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 Haidar Mirza.

² At p. 424 Mr. Erskine has an entry of a Sayyid Mahdi who arrives from Guallar in July, 1529. That this is a mis-reading for Mashhadl 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.

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بود و به افغانان مکر و فریب داده یکی شک و متفق شد میرزا هندال را گفت و اکثر چغتای از سبب میرزا نابود شد و اهل و عیال مردم به بند رفت و بی ناموس شد * دیگر حال نماند که عیال و اطفال مردم من بعد تاب بند و عذاب (82 b) ندارند و دیگرها بر جهنم جان و مال و اهل و عیال مایان همه تصدق بکثاری موی حضرت * ابن برادر نیست — ابن دشمن حضرت است * سخن مختصر که همه جمع شده به اتفاق بجحد شده بعضی رسانیدند که — رخنه گیر ملک سرافکنده به * و حضرت پادشاه در جواب فرمودند که اگرچه ابن سخنان شایان خاطر نشان من می کند اما دل من نمی شود * همه فریاد بر آوردند و گفتند که آنچه بعضی رسانید شده است عین مصلحت است * آخر الامر حضرت فرمودند که اگر مصلحت و رضامندی همه شایان درین است پس همه شایان جمع شوید و محضری نویسید * همه از زمین و بسار امریان جمع شده نوشته دادند بهمان مصراع را — رخنه گیر ملک سرافکنده به * بحضرت پادشاه هم ضرور شد * در نواحی رهناس که رسیدند به سید محمد حکم کردند که هر دو چشم میرزا کامران را میل کشند * در ساعت رفت و میل کشید * حضرت پادشاه بعد از میل کشیدن **

END OF THE MS.

* This line is quoted by Daulat Shah. Cf. Mr. E. G. Browne's ed. p. 537.

** The folio which follows in the MS. (83 a and 83 b) has been conjecturally placed after 73 b.

بر احوال میرزای سعید شهید گریه و فغان می کردند * و گلیهره یکم در خانه قراخان رفته بودند * وقتی که ایشان باز آمدند گویا قیامت شد قائم و از گریه و غم بسیار ایشان بیمار و جنونی شدند *

از بهادری میرزا کامران ظالم بی رحم میرزا هندال شهید شدند * از آن روز باز دیگر نشنیدیم که در کار و بار میرزا کامران رشدی شده باشد بلك روز بروز تنزل کرد و اینتر و ضایع شد و بنوعی رو بخرابی (81b) آورد که دیگر دولت میرزا کامران یار نشد و کامرانی نکرد و گویا حیات میرزا کامران بلك روشنائی چشم میرزا کامران میرزا هندال بود که از همان شکست که گریخته راست رفت در پیش سلیم شاه پسر شیرخان * او بک هزار روپیه داده و درین ضمن میرزا کامران عرض احوال نموده و کومک طلبید * سلیم شاه در جواب میرزا بظاهر چیزی نگفت اما در مخفی گفته است که کسی که برادر خود میرزا هندال را بکشد به آن کومک چنوع توان داد * بلك همچو کسی را نا بود کردن و معدوم ساختن بهتر است * میرزا کامران این کنگایش سلیم خان را شنید و ب مردم خود هم کنگایش نکرد و شبی فرار را بر خود قرار داده گریخت و مردم میرزا خبر هم نداشتند * اینها ماندند * سلیم خان که خبر شد اکثر مردم میرزا را در بندخانه حکم کرده و میرزا کامران تا به بهیرو و خوش آب رفته بود که در (82a) همان حدود آدم گهکهر بصد و حبله و مکر در قید آورده پیش حضرت پادشاه آورد * عاقبت الامر جمیع خوانان و سلطانین و وصیع و شریف و صغیر و کبیر و سپاهی و رعیت و غیره که از دست میرزا کامران داغها داشتند در آن مجلس متفق سک بعرض حضرت پادشاه رسانیدند که در پادشاهی و تحکیم رسم برادری منظور نمی باشد * اگر خاطر برادر میخواهد ترك پادشاهی بکنید و اگر پادشاهی میخواهد ترك برادری بکنید و این همان میرزا کامران است که از سبب او در دشت قبیاق پسر مبارک ایشان چه نوع زخم رسیده

نمیدانم که کدام ظالمی بی رحمی آن جوان کم آزار را به تیغ ظلم
بیجان کرده * کاشکی بدل و دبدبه من با بسعادت بار پیر من (80b) با
بخضر خواجه خان آن تیغ بی دریغ میرسید * آه صد آه افسوس و دریغ
هزار دریغ *

در ای دریغا ای دریغا ای دریغ * اتمام شد نهان در زیر تیغ —
غرض که میرزا هندال در خدمت و دلسوزی حضرت جان سپاری
کرد * مهر بابا دوست میرزا را برداشته در دولت خانه میرزا آورد و به هیچ
کس اظهار نکرد و یسا ولان آورده در دروازه نشاند و گفت — هر که بیاید
و پرسد بگوئید که زخم میرزا کاری است و حکیم حضرست که هیچکس
نه در آید *

و بعرض حضرت پادشاه آمده رسانید که میرزا هندال زخمی شده
اند * حضرت پادشاه اسپ طلبیدند که رفته میرزا را به بینم * مهر عبدالحی
گفته که زخم ایشان کاریست و رفتن حضرت مناسب نیست * حضرت
فهمید اند و هر چند که خود را حفظ کردند نتوانستند و بیطاقتی نمودند *
جوساهی جاگیر خضر خواجه خان بود * حضرت خضر خواجه خان را
طلبید فرمودند که میرزا هندال را در جوساهی برده امانت نگاه دارید *
خان مهار شتر را گرفته بفریاد و فغان و جزع و فزع کرده می رفت (81a)
که این خبر را حضرت پادشاه شنیدند بخضر خواجه گفته فرستادند که
صبر باید کرد — دل من از نویشتن می سوزد اما از ملاحظه آن غنیم خونخوار
ظالم بیطاقتی نمی کنم و حال آنکه او نزدیکست غیر از صبر چاره نیست *
بصد افسوس و بیچاره گی و درد برده در جوساهی امانت گذاشتند *

میرزا کامران ظالم برادرکش بیگانه پرور بی رحم اگر آن شب نمی آمد
این بالا از آسمان نازل نمی شد * حضرت پادشاه بکابل خطها نوشتند * بهر جد
رسیدن این خطها بخواهران گویا نمای کابل بامم سرا مانند شد و در دیوار

هندال در ملازمت حضرت را می‌شدند * وقتی که به تنگها بدولت و سعادت رفته نزول اجلال فرمودند (79b) و جاسوسان هر زمان هر ساعت خبر می‌آوردند که میرزا کابیران قرار داده است امشب شبنون باید ریخت * میرزا هندال آمده بعرض حضرت رسانیدند و کنگایش دادند که حضرت درین بلندی باشند و برادرم جلال الدین محمد اکبر پادشاه در ملازمت همراه باشند تا درین بلندی مردم با احتیاط چوکی بدهند — و خود مردم خود را طلبید بهر کلام علیحده علیحده دلداری و دلاسا کرده که — همه آن خدمتها بکطرف و خدمت امشب بکطرف انشا الله آنچه حسب المدعای شمایانست بهمون روش سرافراز خواهید شد * هه را جابجا نشانده و برای خود جیب جامه و طاقی و دلبغه طلبیدند * نوشکی بنجه را برداشته بود که شخصی عطسه زد * نوشکی بنجه را ساعتی نگاه داشت * چون معطل شد کسی را برای تأکید فرستادند * چون بتأکید تمام آوردند خود برسیدند که چرا معطل کردی؟ نوشکی عرض کرد که بنجه را برداشته بودم که شخصی عطسه زد — بنابر آن بنجه را باز ماندم و ازین (80a) سبب معطل شد * فرمودند که غلط کردی بگو انشا الله شهادت مبارک باشد — و باز گفتند — یاران هه گواه باشند که از جمیع چیزهای حرام و از افعال های ناشایسته توبه کردم * حاضران فاخته خواندند و مبارک باد گفتند * فرمودند — نیچه جامه جیب بیار * بوشیک در پیش خندق رفتند و سپاهیان مردانگی و نسلی دادند * درین اثنا طنبجی میرزا هندال آواز میرزارا که شنیدند فریاد برآورد که مرا به شمشیر گرفتند * میرزا بمعجزه شنیدن از اسب فروز آمده و بدو گفتند — یاران این از مردانگی دور است که طنبجی ما را در نه شمشیر بگیرند و ما کومک نکنیم * و خود در خندق فرود آمدند و سپاهیان همچو کلام از اسب فرود نه آمدند و میرزا دوبار از خندق برآمدند و حمله ها کردند * در همان نزد شد شدند *

و عایسه سلطان بیگم و دولت بخت آغاچه گریخته بجانب قندهار
مهرفتند که از تکیه حمار مردم پادشاهی گرفته آوردند (78 b) و میرزا کامران
به افغانان همراه شد در میان افغانان می بوده *

و حضرت پادشاه گاه گاهی بدیدن باغ نارنج میرفتند * در آن سال
نیز بدستور سابق بدیدن نارنج در تنگیها رفتند و میرزا هندال در ملازمت
بودند و از حرمان بیگه بیگم و حمید بانو بیگم و ماه چوچک بیگم و غیره
اکثر حرمان همراه بودند * و سر من سعادت یار در آن روزها بیمار بود
بنابر آن من نتوانستم رفت * روزی در نواحی تنگیها حضرت پادشاه در شکار
بودند و میرزا هندال در ملازمت بود * بسیار شکار خوب بود * طرفی که
میرزا شکار رفته بودند حضرت هم آن طرف آمدند * میرزا شکار بسیاری
کردند * میرزا بدستور چنگیز خان همه شکار خود را بحضرت پیشکش کردند
که در توره چنگیز خان رسم چنین است که خوردان به بزرگان خود چنین
پیش می آیند * غرض همه شکارهای خود را پیشکش حضرت کرده * بعد
از آن به خاطر میرزا رسید که حصه خواهران هم بماند (79 a) باز خواهران
گله نکنند * پاره دیگر شکار بکم که برای خواهران حصه ببرم * میرزا باز
بشکار مفید شد اند * بکپاره شکار کرده برگشته می آمدند که میرزا کامران
کمی را تعین کرده بودند آن کس سر راه را گرفته و میرزا ازین غافل
نبری زد و آن نیر به کنف مبارک ایشان رسید — از ملاحظه آنکه مبادا
خواهران من یا حرمان من شنید بیطافقی بکنند * فی الحال نوشته فرستادند
که — رسید بود بالائی ولی بنخیر گذشت * شمایان خاطرها خود را
جمع دارید که من بصحت و عافیت هستم * غرض هوا که گرم شد حضرت
برگشته بکابل آمدند و مدتی یکسال گذشت زخم نیر بهتر شد *

بعد از یکسال خبر آمد که میرزا کامران باز جمعیت کرده استعداد
جنگ دارد * حضرت نیز سامان جنگ نموده متوجه تنگیها شدند و میرزا

سلیمان و (77b) میرزا ابراهیم آمد حضرت را ملازمت کردند و حضرت بکابل رفتند و میرزایان در دولخواهی بکندل و بکجه شده در ملازمت بودند که میرزا کامران متوجه شدند * حضرت پادشاه بمرم بیکم گفته فرستادند که کلین را بگوئید که بزودی زود لشکر و مردم بدخشان را سامان نموده فرستید و یکم در اندک روز اندک فرصتی چند هزار کس را اسب و یراق دادند و اهتمام و سامان نموده و بهمراه خود تا کوتل آورده و از آنجا لشکر را پیش فرستادند — خود مراجعت نمودند و لشکر مذکور آمد بحضرت پادشاه ملحق شد * در چارکاران یا قرا باغ بمیرزا کامران جنگ شد لشکر حضرت غالب آمد و فتح کردند و میرزا کامران را شکست دادند * میرزا کامران گریخته به تنگیها و لغانات رفت *

و آق سلطان که داماد میرزا کامران بود گفته باشد که شما دایم بحضرت هایون پادشاه مخالفت پیش می آئید — چه معنی دارد؟ مناسب نیست — با اطاعت و فرمان برداری حضرت بکنید یا مرا (78a) رخصت بدهید که مردم از مایان می دانند * میرزا کامران به آق سلطان درشتی کرده گفت که کار من بجای رسیده که تو بمن نصیحت کنی * آق سلطان هم از روی درشتی گفت اگر من در پیش شما باشم حلال من حرام باشد * و آق سلطان همان زمان جدا شد در بکهر رفت و بکوچ خود همراه شد بود که فرمان میرزا کامران بشاه حسین میرزا رسید که آق سلطان مارا رنجانید رفته است * اگر در آنجا آمد باشد او را نگذراید که به زن خود همراه شود و کوچ او را ازو جدا سازید و او را بگوئید که هر جا میخواهی برو * بمجرد رسیدن فرمان شاه حسین میرزا حبیبه یکمرا از تصرف آق سلطان جدا ساخته و سلطان را بیکه معظمه رخصت کرده *

در همان جنگ چارکاران قراچه خان و اکثر مردم نائی میرزا کامران

کشته شدند *

بهتر ازین (78b) نیافتند که خود را بگوشه بکشند * ابوالقاسم میرزا پسر خود را پیش میرزا عسکری فرستادند و عایشه سلطان بیگم دختر خود را میرزا کامران همراه گرفته بجانب طالقان میرفت و خانم کوچ میرزا کامران بود * باو گفتند که شما و دختر شما از غیب بیائید * در هر جا که قرار خواهم گرفت شما را خواهم طلبید * اما تا آن زمان شما در خوست و اندراب رفته نشینید * خانم مذکور با خانان اوزبک قرابت داشت * در میان آن اوزبکان از خوشباز آن بوده به اوزبکان معلوم کرده و فهمانیده که اگر غرض او بچه است مال و داه و غلام دارم ببرید و ضعفا را گذارید که برادرزاده عایشه سلطان خانم اگر فردا شنود از شما البته خواهد رنجید * بصد مکر و حيله و بصد حیرانی و بی سامانی از بند اوزبک خلاص شد در خوست و اندراب رسید در آنجاها می بودند *

و میرزا کامران از شکستِ بلخ اطلاع یافته که حضرت در باره من چنانچه ملتفت بودند نیستند و از کولاب (77a) برآمد بهر طرف می گشت * در این اثنا حضرت از کابل برآمد بطرف دشت قبیچاق که رسیدند غافل در جائی پشت فرود آمد بودند که میرزا کامران از جای بلندی یکبار مسلح و مکمل شده بر سر دشمنان حضرت ریختند * چون خواست آلهی چنین بود يك کور باطن گردن شکسته ظالم ستمکار بد بخت نابکار بحضرت پادشاه زخم انداخت و بر سر مبارک ایشان رسید و تمام پیشانی و چشمهای مبارک ایشان بخون آلوده شده بود * بطریق که در جنگ مغولان بر سر مبارک حضرت فردوس مکانی بابر پادشاه مغولی زخم زده و طاقی و دستار بریده نشد اما بر سر مبارک ایشان مجروح شد — حضرت هایون پادشاه دایم تعجبها می نمودند و می گفتند که عجب سر است که طاقی و دستار بریده نشود و بر سر زخم رسد * غرض بر سر مبارک ایشان هم همان طور شد * حضرت بعد از شکست دشت قبیچاق به بدخشان رفتند و میرزا هندال و میرزا

خان خیر میرزا هندال را بحضرت آورد که بصحت و سلامت در قندوز رسیدند * این خبر را که حضرت شنیدند بسیار خوشحال شدند *

و میرزا سلیمان را بجای خود که قلعه ظفر باشد رخصت کردند و خود بکابل آمدند * میرزا کامران که در کولاب بودند نرخان بیگه نام عورتی عیار مکاره بود بهرزا کامران راه نموده که به حرم بیگم اظهار عاشقی بکنید که درین مصطنعهاست * میرزا کامران هم بگفته آن ناقص العقل خطی و رویاکی بدست ییگی آغا بجرم بیگم فرستادند * این عورت خط و رویا را برده پیش حرم بیگم نهاد و ملازمت میرزا کامران و اشتیاقی بسیار اظهار کرد * حرم بیگم گفت که حالا این خط و رویا را نگاه دارید هرگاه میرزایان از بیرون بیایند این خط و رویا را بیاورید * ییگی آغا در پی گریه و زاری و ملازمت که میرزا کامران این خط و رویا را بشما فرستاده و مدتهاست که برشا عاشق است و شما ازین بابت بی مروتی می کنید * حرم بیگم (768) بنیاد اعراض و شدت تمام نموده فی الحال میرزا سلیمان و میرزا ابراهیم را طلبید گفت که میرزا کامران نا مردی های شمایان را دانسته است که من همچو خطی نوشته واقع که من لایق این بودم که مرا چنین نویسد * میرزا کامران برادر کلان نوباشد و من بجای کلین ایشان باشم * مرا ازین بابت خطی فرستند * بگریید و این زنک را پاره پاره سازید تا بر دیگران عبرت شود و هیچکس بر اهل و عیال کسی بمچشم بدخیال فاسد نکند و از زن آدمی زاده چه مناسب که همچو چیزهای نالایق بیارد و از من و یسر من ترسد * و فی الحال ییگی آغا بیسی دولت خون گرفته را پاره پاره کردند و میرزا سلیمان و میرزا ابراهیم ازین جهت بهرزا کامران بد شدند بلکه دشمن شدند و بخدست حضرت نوشتند که قصد مخالفت دارد و مخالفت ازین صریح تر نمی باشد که در حین توجه بلخ در ملازمت همراه گرفته * بعد از آن میرزا کامران در کولاب از نوم هراسیدن هیچ علاجی

پیر محمد خان در بلخ بود و در همان روز اول مردم پیر محمد خان
برآمد جنگ صف کردند * لشکر پادشاهی غالب آمد و مردم پیر محمد
خان شکست خورده در شهر درآمدند * صباح آن پیر محمد خان قرار
داده بود که چغزای زور است — من نمی توانم جنگ کرد — بهتر است که
برآیم بروم — که امرایان پادشاهی یکی بعرض رسانید که یورت چرکین شده
است — اگر ازین منزل برخوایسته دشت منزل نمایند مناسب است *
حضرت حکم فرمودند چنین بکنند * بجهت که دست به بار و بارخانه نهادند
دیگر مردم تلانوف شدند و چند کس منادی کرد مردم کسی بس نیامد *
چون خواست آلهی چنین بود بی جهت غنیم و نفریب و بی واسطه مردم
راهی شدند * به اوزبک خبر رسید که لشکر پادشاهی کوچ کرد * اوزبک
در تعجب شد و بساوالان پادشاهی هر چند که سعی کردند به ریزه پایی نه
آمدند (75a) و منع کردن نشد * مردم راهی شدند * حضرت مدتی استادند *
آخر دیدند که کس نماند * ضرور شد حضرت هم روان شدند و میرزا
عسکری و میرزا هندال را خبر نبود که لشکر پادشاهی برهم خورده است *
اینها سوار شده آمدند — دیدند که در لشکرگاه کسی نماند و اوزبک
در پی برآمدن است * اینها نیز بطرف قندوز راهی شدند * حضرت اندک
راهی آمد بودند که استادند و گفتند که برادران نا حال نه آمدند * من
چطور پیش روم * به بعضی امرا و غیره که در ملازمت بودند فرمودند که
کسی باشد که از میرزایان خبر بیارد * هیچکس جواب نداد و نرفت *
بعد از آن از قندوز از مردم میرزا خبر آمد — عرض داشت کرده اند که
شنیده شد که شکست واقع شد — ندانسم که بکدام طرف رفتند * این
خط که بدست حضرت افتاد بسیار بی طاقی کردند * خضر خواجه بخان
گفته اگر حکم شود من خبر یارم * پادشاه فرمودند — رحمت باد — انشا
الله باشد که میرزا بقندوز رفته باشد * بعد از (75b) دو روز خضر خواجه

و خرگامی که بهمان خرگاه حمید بانو بیگم آمد نشستند * بعد از نماز
پیشین تا اسبان را آوردن میان دو نماز شد * درین طور وقت تشریف
بردند * در دامن کوه هر جا رواج برگ برآورده بود در آن درها گشت
و سیر میکردند که شام شد * در همان جا چادر و خرگاه برپا کرده آمد
نشستند * آن شب در آنجا نیز بعیش و عشرت بهم گذرانیدیم و مایان هم
در ملازمت آن قبله حقیقی بودیم * صباح وقت نماز بیرون تشریف بردند —
و از بیرون به بیگم و بیگم و حمید بانو بیگم و ماه چوچک بیگم و مین و بهمه
بیگمان علحق خط نوشتند که بگناه خود قایل شد عذرخواهی نوشید *
انشا الله در فرضه یا در استالیف خبریاد کرده متوجه لشکر خواهم شد
و اگر نه (74a) بخدا (؟) بچدا) سپردیم * آخر هم عذرخواهی نوشته بخدمت
افدس اشرف فرستادند * عاقبت الامر حضرت و هم بیگمان سوار شد از
لغمان به بهزادی آمدیم و شب هر کس بمنزل خود رفت و صباح آن طعام
نوش جان کردند و نماز پیشین سوار شد بفرضه آمدند *

حمید بانو بیگم بخانه مایان نه نه گوسپند فرستادند — و یک روز پیشتر
بیسی دولت بخت در فرضه آمد بود و خوردنی وافر و شیر و جفرا و
شیره و شربت و غیره طیار کرده بودند * آن شب بعیش گذرانید صباح بر
بالای فرضه نثر آب خوشت * آنرا (fault) استالیف رفته و سه روز
دیگر در استالیف بودند و بعد از آن کوچ کرده در ^{۹۵۸} سینه نهصد و پنجاه
هشت متوجه بلخ شدند *

و از کونل که گذشتند میرزا کامران و میرزا سلیمان و میرزا عسکری
فرمانهای طلب فرستادند که ما متوجه جنگ اوزبک شدیم وقتیکه
و برادر بست می باید که بسرعت تمام برسید * میرزا سلیمان و میرزا
عسکری آمد (74b) بحضور ملحق شدند * کوچ به کوچ متوجه شد به
بلخ رسیدند *

مہتاب بود* حرف و حکایات کردہ* (M.S. 83a) میرفتند و خانش
آغاچہ و ظریف گویند و سروسہی و شام آغا آہستہ آہستہ نقش** می گفتند*
تا کہ بلغان رسیدند خیمہ و خرگا و بارگاہ بادشاہی و چادرهای بیگان
ہنوز نیامد بود* در آنوقت چادرِ مہر آمیز آمد بود* حضرت و ہمہ
مایان و حمیہ بانو بیگم نیز در همان چادر در ملازمتِ حضرت تا دو پیر
و سہ گہری شب نشینتہ بودیم* آخر در چادر مذکور در ملازمتِ آن قبلہ
حقیقی خواب کردم — و صبح بخواستند کہ رفتہ در کوہ رواج را بہ بیند*
چون اسپان بیگان در دہہ بودند تا آمدنِ اسپان وقتِ سیر گذشت* حکم
کردند کہ در بیرون اسپِ ہر کس کہ باشد بیارید* اسپان را کہ آوردند
فرمودند سوار شوید*

بیگہ بیگم و ماہ چوچک بیگم ہنوز سروبا می پوشیدند* من بحضرت
عرض کردم کہ اگر حکم شود من رفتہ آنہارا بیارم* فرمودند — زودتر
برو و بیار* من بہ بیگم و ماہ چوچک بیگم و غیرہ حریمہای دیگر گفتم —
بندہ سیر حضرت شوم — چہ بالا انتظار میدہد* اینہارا بمحلی تمام
می آوردم (M.S. 83b) کہ حضرت از روبروی ما نشریف آوردند و
فرمودند — کلبدن حالا خود وقتِ سیر گذشت تا بہ آنجا رسیدن ہوا
گرم خواہد شد — انشا اللہ تعالی غارِ پشین را ادا کردہ خواہم رفت*

* (کردہ) 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 Laghmān (fol. 83) is appropriate here and is out-of-place in the story of Kamrān's blinding and of Humāyūn's subsequent movements.

It is possible that another page also is missing and that the quiet singing was not on the road.

* (نقشی) Ar. *naqs*, an air with its variations. (Pavet de Courteille.)

مردم عجب شوقی و خوشحالی روی داده بود — چرا که اکثر امرایان و نوکران هم خویش و برادر یکدیگر بودند از مر جُدای صاحبان خود آنها هم از یکدیگر جدا بلك نشسته خونِ یکدیگر بودند * الحال هم بجای خوشحالی تمام میگذرانیدند *

و از بدخشان که آمدند یکم سال در کابل بودند * بعد از آن عزم جزم بلخ نمودند و در باغ دلکشا منزل فرمودند و دولت خانه حضرت را در پایان باغ مذکور روبرو برپا کردند و بیگان در حویلی کلی ییگ چون نزدیک بود آنجا فرود آمدند * بحضرت باز عرض رسانیدند که ایا رواج چنوری برآمد باشد * حضرت فرمودند — چون که بشکر میروم براه کوه دامن روم نا شمایان برآمد رواج را به ببیند * نماز دیگری بود که حضرت سوار شد در باغ دلکشا آمدند و حویلی کلی ییگ که بیگان در آن بودند نزدیک بود و آنجا سرکوب بود *

حضرت آمد اسنادند * بیگان هم دیدند و برخاستند (78b) و کورنش کردند — و بجزد کورنش کردن بیگان حضرت بدست مبارک خود اشتهارت کردند که بیاید * فخر النساء ماما و افغانی آغاچه بيشترك مبرفتند — و در دامن کوه باغ دلکشا جوی بوده است * افغانی آغاچه از جوی مذکور توانست گذشت و افغانی آغاچه از اسب افتاد * از برای آن ساعتی معطل کردند * آخر الامر بعد از ساعتی ببلازمت اشرف اقدس مشرف گشتیم و ماه چوچک ییگ نا دانسته اسبش اندك بلند رفت * از برای آن حضرت بسیار اعراض کردند — باغ مذکور در بلندی بود و هنوز دیوارها نکرده بودند * درین اثنا در چهره مبارک حضرت کلفتی پدید آمد * فرمودند که شمایان بروید و من افیون خورده و این کلفت را تسکین داده خواهم آمد * مایان بفرموده حضرت اندك راهی رفته بودم که حضرت تشریف آوردند * در واقع کلفت بالکلیه بر طرف شد و خوشحال و فرخناك آمدند * شب

و قلعه ظفر را میرزا سلیمان دادند و قندهار را * میرزا هندال و طالقان را میرزا
عسکری عنایت فرمودند *

روزی در کشم خرگاه دوخته بودند و اجماع برادران شد — حضرت
هایون پادشاه و میرزا کامران و میرزا عسکری و میرزا هندال و میرزا
سلیمان *

چند نوره که در ملازمت حضرت پادشاه نشسته اند فرمودند که آفتابه
چلانچی بپارید که دست شسته همه بجای طعام بخوریم * حضرت پادشاه
دست شستند و میرزا کامران دست شستند * بسال نسبت میرزا عسکری و
میرزا هندال میرزا سلیمان کلان بودند * بجهت تعظیم آفتابه و چلانچی هر دو
برادران پیش میرزا سلیمان نهادند * و بعد از دست شستن میرزا سلیمان
ببینی خود را حرکتی بدی کرد * میرزا عسکری و میرزا هندال بسیار درشت
پیش آمدند (72b) و گفتند که این چه روستای کربست؟ اولاً ما یان چه
حد داریم که در حضور حضرت پادشاه دست بشویم — اما چون عنایت
فرمودند و حکم نمودند نتوانستیم تغییر حکم کرد — این اداهای بینی جنبانی چه
معنی دارد * آخر میرزا عسکری و میرزا هندال بیرون برآمد دست شسته
آمدن نشینند — و میرزا سلیمان بسیار شرمند شد — و همه در یک دستار خان
طعام خوردند * و حضرت درین مجلس ابن حقیر را یاد فرمودند و به برادران
خود گفته اند که در لاهور کلبدن بیگم گفته بودند که این آرزو دارم که
همه برادران را بجای به بینم و از صباح که نشسته ام همان سخن بخاطرم
میرسد انشا الله تعالی جمعیت ما را حق سبحانه تعالی در امان خود دارد *
بخدا روشن است که در ضمیر من این نیست که زبان مسلمان بطلم چه جای
آنکه زبان برادران را می طلبید باشم — انشا الله تعالی بهمه شمایان خدای
تعالی همین توفیق کرامت کند که موافق و یکجهت باشد (73a) و در میانه

* (قندهار را) So too Jauhar. Kunduz appears right.

خوشحالی قلم شب در یکرمان صباح شد. — ماه چوچک بیگم و خانش آغا و حرمان که در لشکر همراه حضرت آمده بودند دریافتیم *
 و وقتی که حضرت به بدخشان رفتند ماه چوچک بیگم دختر زائیدند *
 در همان شب حضرت در خواب دیدند که فخرالنسا مامان و دولت بخت هر دو از در درآمده اند و چیزی آوردند و پیش من گذاشتند * هر چند تفکر کردند فرمودند که تعمیر آن چه باشد * آخر در خاطر رسانیدند که چون دختر شده است از نام هر دو یکی نسا و از دیگری بخت بطریق اختصار بخت نسا بیگم نام نهادند *

ماه چوچک بیگم چهار دختر و دو پسر زائیدند. — بخت نسا بیگم و سکنه بانو بیگم و امنه بانو (71b) بیگم و محمد حکیم میرزا و فرخ فال میرزا. —
 و وقتی که حضرت متوجه هندوستان شدند ماه چوچک بیگم حامله بودند *
 در کابل پسر زائیدند. — فرخ فال میرزا نام نهادند * و بعد از چند گاه از خانش آغا پسر تولد شد. — ابراهیم سلطان میرزا نام نهادند * و مدت یکیم سال کامل بدولت و سعادت در کابل بعیش و عشرت گذرانیدند *

و میرزا کامران که از کابل فرار نمودند بجانب بدخشان رفتند و در طالقان می بودند. — و حضرت در آورته باغ می بودند * صباح که بنماز برخاستند خبر شد که اکثر امرای میرزا کامران که در ملازمت حضرت بودند گریخته رفتند. — از جمله قراچه خان و مصاحب خان و مبارز خان و بابوس و اکثر نامرادان شب گریخته به بدخشان رفتند و میرزا کامران ملحق شدند *
 حضرت در ساعت نیک متوجه بدخشان شدند و میرزا کامران را در طالقان محاصره کردند *

بعد از چند گاه میرزا کامران اطاعت و فرمان برداری قبول کرده و آمدند حضرت را (72a) ملازمت کرده * کولاب را حضرت بمیرزا کامران دادند

شیشه آب لیمون و هفت توقوز پارچه و چند نیمه دوخته فرستادند و نوشتند که از جهت ایشان نمی توانم قلعه زور آورد که مبادا بدشمنان ایشان بنوعی دیگر پیش آید*

و در آن ایام جهان سلطان بیگم دو ساله شده در همان قبل فوت شد و می نوشتند که اگر قلعه زور آورم زمانی میرزا محمد اکبر را پنهان خواهد کرد* غرض دایم در بالای حصار مردم از غارِ شام تا صبح حاضر باش و غوغا داشتند* شبی که میرزا کلرمان میگریزند غارِ شام گذشت بلکه خفتن شد که (70 b) هیچ غوغای ظاهر نشد — و کوتلی بود که از آنجا مردم پایان ببالا می برآمدند* در آن حین مردم شهر آرام و نسکین یافته بودند که بیکبار آواز جیب و جوشن وزره برآمد که بهمدیگر خبر کردیم که غلو می نماید* در پیش جلوخانه قریب هزار کس استاده باشند* مابان همه در وهم بودیم بیکبار بی خبر برآمدند و پسر فراچه خان بهادر خان آمد خبر کردند که میرزا فرار نموده و خواجه معظم را از راه دیوار ریسمان انداخته بر آوردند*

و مردم مابان و یگمان و غیره که در بیرون بودند و دری که بالای مابان برآورده بودند وا کردند* یکه یگم مبالغه کردند که بروم بخانه های خود* من گفتم که زمانی صبر کنید — از راه کوچی باید رفت و شاید که از پیش حضرت هم کسی آید — که درین ضمن عنبر ناظر آمد و گفت که حضرت فرموده اند که تا من نیام از آن خانه ها نه برآیند* زمانی گذشته بود که حضرت آمدند و به دلداریگم و بمن دریافتند بعد از آن به یکه یگم و بحمیمه بانو یگم دریافتند و فرمودند که زود ازین (71 a) خانه برآید که دوستان را خدا ازین تورخانه نگاه دارد و نصیب دشمنان شود* بناظر فرمودند که در یک طرف تو باش و در یک طرف تردی بیگ خان باشد و یگمان را بگذرانند* آخر همه آمدند و آن شب در ملازمت حضرت بودیم — و از

بست مردم پادشاهی اسیر شدند و دستگیر گشتند و آن حضرت بعضی را کشتند و بعضی را در بند کردند * از آن میان جوکی خان که از امرایان میرزا کامران بود او نیز بست افتاد *

حضرت پادشاه و میرزا هندال در ملازمت حضرت بقیع و فیروزی شادبانه نواختند و بکوبه و دبدبه در عقابین درآمدند — واز برای خود خیمه و خرگاه و بارگاه برپا کردند * و میرزا هندال را مورچال پلِ مستان تعیین نمودند و بامرایان هرجا هرجا مورچال تعیین کردند *

تا مدتِ هفت ماه محاصره داشتند * از قضا يك روزی (69 b) میرزا کامران از حویلی در دالان میرفتند که شخصی از عقابین تنگ انداخت و ایشان دوباره خود را در کناره گرفتند و اکبر پادشاه را گفتند که در روبرو بُرده نگاه دارید * آخر مردم بعرض اقدس اشرف رسانیدند که میرزا محمد اکبر را در روبرو نگاه داشته اند * حضرت فرمودند که تنگ نه اندازند * بعد ازین مردم پادشاهی در بالای حصار تنگ نی انداختند و از شهر کابل مردم میرزا کامران بعقابین در لشکر حضرت تنگ می انداختند — و مردم پادشاهی میرزا عسکری را در برابر روبرو ایستاده می کردند و سپاهیان پادشاهی شوخی مینمودند و مردم میرزا کامران هم از قلعه برآمد جنگ میکردند و از جانبین مردم کشته می گشتند * اکثر مردم حضرت غالب می آمدند — دیگر از قلعه دلیر نی برآمدند — و حضرت از ملاحظه عیال و اطفال و بیگان و مردم و حرمان و جماعه دیگر توپ و ضرب جنگ نی انداختند — و بخانهها (?) اب را (70 a) تنگ نی کردند *

چون محاصره بدور دراز انجامشد خواجه دوست خاوند مداربچه را در پیش حضرت فرستادند که از برای خدا میرزا کامران هرچه التماس می کند قبول فرمایند و بندهای خدا را از محنت خلاص بکنند *

حضرت از بیرون از برای ایشان نه گوسفند و هفت شیشه گلاب و يك

عسکری و میرزا هندال برادران من اند ایشان نیز برادر من اند که این وقت مدد است * من در جواب ایشان گفتم که خضر خواجه خان سواد ندارد که خط مرا شناسد و من هرگز خود نه نوشته ام * در بیرون از زبان فرزندانش می نویسند — هرچه بخاطر شما برسد بنویسد * آخر الامر مهدی سلطان را و شیرعلی را بطلب خان فرستادند و من در اوایل گفته بودم بخان که برادران تو پیش میرزا کامران می باشند — مبادا تو هم خیال آن کنی و پیش ایشان (88b) روی و به برادران خود ملحق شوی — زنهار الف زنهار که از حضرت جدای را خیال نکنی * باری شکر الحمد الله بنوعی که گفته بودم خان هم تجاوز نه نمود — و حضرت پادشاه که شنیدند که مهدی سلطان و شیرعلی را میرزا کامران باوردن خضر خواجه خان فرستاده حضرت نیز قنبر بیگ پدر میرزا حاجی را بطلب خضر خواجه خان فرستادند *

در آن اوان خان در جاگیر خود بود * گفته فرستادند — زنهار الف زنهار که میرزا کامران ملحق نشود — در ملازمت ما بیاید * آخر خضر خواجه خان بجهت شنیدن این خبر و پیغام فرح انجام متوجه درگاه فلک بارگاه گشت و در عقابین آمد ملازمت کرد *

آخر حضرت از منار که گذشتند درین اثنا شیر افکن پدر شیرویه را میرزا کامران ترتیب داده و ترتیب کرده تمام لشکر خود همراه کرده پیش فرستادند که رفته جنگ کند * مابان از بالا میدیدم که او نثار زده از پیش بابا دستی میکشست و مابان میگفتم که خدا نصیب نکند که (89a) تو رفته جنگ کنی و گریه می کردم *

آخر چون در برابر دیه افغانان که رسید و قراولان روبرو که شدند بجهت روبرو شدن قراولان حضرت پادشاه قراولان میرزائی را برداشتند و اکثر دستگیر کرده پیش حضرت آوردند * حضرت حکم کردند بمغولان که آنها را پاره پاره کردند و اکثر مردم میرزا کامران که به جنگ رفته بودند

حرم گذاشته بودند * میرزا کامران پرسیدند که بر بالای حصار کیست؟ یکی گفته باشد که نوکار است — و این خبر را نوکار شنید در همان ساعت لباس زنانه پوشید برآمد بود که مردم میرزا کامران دربانان حصار را گرفتند و پیش میرزا کامران بردند * ایشان فرمودند که دربند بکنید (67b) بعد ازین مردم میرزا کامران بالای حصار رفتند و اشیاء و اسباب بی شمار اهل حرم تالان و تاراج کرده در سرکار میرزا کامران ضبط و ربط نمودند و بیگمان کلان را در خانه میرزا عسکری نشانند * و در آن خانه را از خشت و گچ و ماس * مسدود ساختند — و از بالای چهار دیواری خانه مذکور بیگمان را آب و طعام می دادند * و در خانه که میرزا یادگار ناصر می بودند خواجه معظم را نشانند — و در محلی که حرمان حضرت و بیگمان دیگر بودند در آن محل اهل و عیال خود را فرمودند — و اهل و عیال و اطفال سپاهبانی که گریخته در ملازمت حضرت رفته بودند به آنها بسیار بد پیش آمدند — و خانه هر کدام آنها را تاراج و تالان کردند — و اهل و عیال هر کدام را یکی سبزدند * چون استماع نمودند که میرزا کامران از بکهر آمد چنین کارها کردند حضرت باز از قلعه ظفر و اندراب بدولت و سعادت متوجه کابل شدند و قلعه ظفر بمیرزا سلیمان عنایت فرمودند *

چون حضرت بنواحی کابل رسیدند میرزا (68a) کامران حضرت والد را و مرا از خانه طلبیدند و حضرت والد را حکم کردند که در خانه قوریکی باشد — و مرا گفتند که این هم خانه شماست — همین جا باشید * من گفتم که برای چه اینجا باشم — در جای که والد من خواهد بود من نیز آنجا خواهم بود * ایشان در جواب من گفتند که پس شما بمحض خواجه خان خطی نویسد که آمد با ملحق شوند و خاطر جمع دارند — بنوعی که میرزا

نفر و معرکه خوب گذرانیدند و بردمان خلعت‌های فاخر و سروپاهای
وافر عنایت فرمودند* و مردم رعیت و علما و صلحا و فقرا و غربا و شریف
و وضع و صغیر و کبیر در امنیت و رفا روز بعیش و شب بعشرت
میگذرانیدند*

و بعد از آن متوجه قلعه ظفر شدند و در قلعه مذکور میرزا سلیمان
بودند* برای جنگ برآمدند* چون مقابل شدند مقاومت نتوانستند کرد
و فرار را بر خود قرار دادند* و حضرت پادشاه بدولت و سعادت در
قلعه ظفر درآمدند* و در کشم پادشاه خود تشریف داشتند*

در آن زمان اندک نشویش در وجود مبارک ایشان غالب شد و صباح آن
روز خفت یافتند — و بهوش خود که آمدند فضایل ییگ برادرِ منم خان را
بکابل فرستادند که برو و مردم کابل را تسلی و دل‌داری داده بنوعی
دلجوئی ایشان بکن که برهم نخورند و بگو — رسیده بود بلائی ولی بخیر
گذشت*

بعد از رفتن فضیل ییگ (67a) بکابل یکروز بیشتر بکابل رفته
بودند و از کابل خبر دروغ در بکهر میرزا کامران رسید میرزا کامران در
ساعت از بکهر ابلاغ کرده متوجه کابل میشود و در* وقتی که زاهد بیک را
آمد کشتند و متوجه کابل شدند*

و در سحری بود که مردم کابل غافل بودند و دروازه‌ها را بدستور سابق
کشادند و مردم آب کش و علف کش و غیره می‌درآمدند و می‌برآمدند که
همراه هون مردم عام در قلعه درآمدند و محمد علی تفائی را که در حمام
بوده فی الحال کشتند — و در مدرسه ملا عبد الحنانی فروز آمدند*
وقتی که حضرت بجانب قلعه ظفر تشریف می‌بردند نوکار را بر در

در غزنین که آمده زاهد بیگرا — I propose to read here (در)*
which agrees with other sources.

و اکثر اوقات معرکه و مجلس بود و شبها تا صبح می نشستند و سازندها و گویندها دایم در نوازش بودند * و اکثر بساط نشاط بازی میکردند — از آن جمله — دوازده کس بودند بهر کس بیست ورق و بیست ورق و بیست شاهرخی میدادند و کسی که پای میداد همین بیست شاهرخی پای میداد که بخت مثالی باشد و اگر می برد هر چند که بازی میکردند زیاده می بردند *

و مردم که در جنگ چوسه و کتوج و بکهر و در آن فطرانها در توده حضرت کشته و خسته گشته بودند بیوها و بییمان و اهل و عیال آن جماعت را و طیفه و رانیه و آب و زمین و قلیها عنایت می فرمودند و مردم سپاهی و رعیت و غیره را بسیار اسودگی و فراغت در ایام دولت حضرت روی داد * همیشه بفرات میگذرانیدند و بجان درازی حضرت اکثر بفاتحه خیریت قیام و اقدام (66a) می نمودند *

بعد از چند روز بقندهار برای طلب حمید بانو بیگم کسان فرستادند * بعد از آمدن حمید بانو بیگم جلال الدین محمد اکبر پادشاه را ختنه سور کردند و اسباب طوی سنت را طیار میکردند * و بعد از نوروز هفت ده روزهایونی میکردند و لباسهای سبز می پوشیدند و قریب سی چهل دختر را حکم می شد که لباسهای سبز پوشند و بر کوهها برآیند — و در يك نوروز بر کوه هفت دادران برآمدند * اکثر در حضور و عیش و فراغت میگذرانیدند و وقتی که محمد اکبر پادشاه پنج ساله شدند در شهر کابل ختنه سور کردند و در همان دیوان خانه کلان طوی سنت را دادند — و تمام بازار را آئین بستند و میرزا هندال و میرزا یادگار ناصر و سلطانان و امرایان بجهت آئین بندی جاهاه خوب و مرغوب راست کرده بودند و در باغ بیگه بیگم بیگمان و ضعفا جاهای عجیب و غریب راست کرده بودند — و ساچق را هم میرزایان و امرایان در (66b) همان باغ دیوان خانه آوردند * بسیار طوی

کامران گریخته آمد بهابوسی حضرت پادشاه مشرف شدند — و بابوس که یکی از امرای نامی میرزا کامران بود وی نیز بجماعه خود گریخته بخدمت بوسی حضرت آمد مشرف گشت * میرزا کامران یکی و تنها ماندند و چون دیدند که در گرد و نواحي من کس نماند — منزل بابوس که امرای نامی ایشان بود نزديك بود — در و دیوار مشارالیه را انداخته ویران کرده و آهسته آهسته از بیش باغ نوروزی و گورخانه گلبرخ بیگم شد این دوازده هزار سوار خود طلاق داده رفتند * چون تاریک شد بهمان راه به بابا دشتی در بیش کول آمد ایستادند و دوستی کوکه و جوکی خان را فرستادند که حبیبه بیگم دختر کلان میرزا و ابراهیم سلطان میرزا پسر میرزا کامران و هزاره بیگم برادرزاده خضر خان و ماه بیگم (65a) خواهر حرم بیگم و مهر افروز * بیگم مادر حاجی بیگم و باقی کوکه که این جمله را بیارید * آخرین جماعه میرزا کامران همراه شدند و میرزا متوجه نهته و بکهر شدند *

در ولایت خضر خان که در سیر راه بکهر واقعست در آنجا که رفتند حبیبه بیگم را باقی سلطان نکاح بسته سپردند و خود بجانب بکهر و نهته شدند * حضرت پادشاه فتح کرده در شب دوازدهم پنج گهري شب گذشته بود که در بالای حصار نزول اجلال بدولت و سعادت و اقبال نزول فرمودند و مردم میرزا کامران که بخدمت مشرف شده بودند همه نفازه نواخته در خدمت حضرت در کابل درآمدند * و روز دوازدهم ماه مذکور حضرت والد دلداری بیگم و گلچهر بیگم و این خفیر حضرت را ملازمت کردیم * چون مدت پنج سال بود که از دولت ملازمت محروم و محجور بودیم و از محنت دوری و مشقت محجوری خلاص شده بدولت وصال آن ولی نعمت مشرف شدیم و بهجرت دیدن دل غمزه را حضوری (65b) و چشم رمد دین را نوری تازه حاصل گشت و از خوشحالی هر زمان سجدهات شکر بجا می آورد *

* Erroneously read as مهر افروز in translating. (مهر افروز)

پادشاه به آن روش صلح را قبول نکردند و حضرت پادشاه بیرم خان را برای
 یلچی گری فرستاده بودند * میرزا کامران سخنی بیرم خان را قبول نکردند و
 الحال پادشاه قندهار را به بیرم خان سپرده متوجه کابل شد اند * بیایند ما
 و شما شرط و عهد با یکدیگر کرده بمحله خود را بمحضرت پادشاه رسانیم *
 میرزا یادگار ناصر قبول کرد * این هر دو شرط و عهد کردند * میرزا
 هندال گفتند که شما فرار را بر خود قرار بدهید * میرزا کامران که
 می شنود البته مرا خواهد گفت (64a) که یادگار ناصر گریخته شما رفته دلاسا
 کرده بیارید * تا آمدن من شما آهسته آهسته بروید * بعد از آنی که من آمدم
 رسیدم همراه شده بسرعت تمام خودهارا بملازمت حضرت پادشاه خواهیم
 رسانید * همین را قرار داده میرزا یادگار ناصر گریخت * خبر بمیرزا کامران
 رفت * میرزا کامران فی الحال گشته بکابل آمدند و میرزا هندال را
 طلبید گفتند که شما بروید و میرزا یادگار ناصر را دلاسا کرده بیارید *
 ایشان فی الحال سوار شد بسرعت تمام آمد همراه شدند * دیگر از آنجا بلغار
 کرده در پنج شش روز آمد بملازمت حضرت مشرف شدند و بمحضرت عرض
 کردند که براه نیکه حمار * باید متوجه شد *

در سینه نهصد و پنجاه و یک نهم شهر رمضان المبارک در نیکه حمار^{۹۵۱}
 نزول اجلال فرمودند * همان روز بمیرزا کامران خبر رسید * میرزا کامران را
 اضطرابی عجیبی دست داد * در ساعت چادر برآورده در پیش گذرگاه
 فروز آمدند و حضرت (64b) پادشاه در یازدهم شهر رمضان در
 جلگه تپه^{**} نزول اجلال فرمودند و میرزا کامران هم آمد در برابر
 فروز آمدند بقصد جنگ * درین اثنا هم امرایان و سپاهیان میرزا

* خمار؟ (خمار) *

** 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. Abu'l-fazl (A, N. I. 243) gives Julga-i-durX as the meeting place.

بیش پادشاه قندهار برود و میان مایان صلح بکنید * و بعد از آمدن حضرت خانداده بیگم اکبر پادشاه را بمیرزا کامران سپردند و میرزا کامران بکوچ خود خانم سپردند و بسرعت تمام قندهار آمدند *

و حضرت پادشاه که قندهار آمدند چهل روز میرزا کامران و میرزا عسکری در قندهار قبل داشتند و بیرم خان را به بلچیگری بیش میرزا کامران فرستادند (63a) میرزا عسکری عاجز و زیبون شد گناه خود را درخواست نموده بیرون آمد حضرت پادشاه را ملازمت کرد — و حضرت پادشاه قندهار را گرفته فتح نمودند و به پسر شاه دادند * بعد از چند روز پسر شاه بیمار شد مُرد * حضرت پادشاه قندهار را بعد از آمدن بیرم خان بیرم خان سپردند *

و حمیده بانو بیگم را نیز در قندهار گذاشته منعاقب میرزا کامران متوجه شدند *

و آگه جانم خانداده بیگم که همراه بودند در مقام قتلحک که رسیدند تا سه روز تب کردند * هر چند که اطباء علاج کردند مفید نشد * روز چهارم در سینه نهضه و بنجاه و یک بر حمت حق پیوستند * در همان منزل قتلحک دفن کردند * بعد از سه ماه آورده در مقبره حضرت پادشاه بابام نگاه داشتند *

و میرزا کامران در آن چند سال که در کابل بودند هرگز بتاخت نرفته بودند * بیکبار آمدن حضرت پادشاه شنید در آن وقت (63b) ایشان را هوس ناخست شد بجانب هزاره بتاخت رفته بودند *

و درین اثنا میرزا هندال که گوشه درویشی را اختیار کرده بودند مراجعت حضرت پادشاه را از عراق و خراسان و فتح قندهار شنید فرصت را غنیمت داشته میرزا بادگار ناصر را طلبید گفتند که پادشاه قندهار را آمد فتح کردند و میرزا کامران خانداده بیگم را برای صلح فرستاده بودند *

میدانستم * باز هر دو پادشاه بکسل شدند و با یکدیگر خاطرها صاف کردند *
و آن هر دو حرام خور مردود هر (fault) پادشاه شدند * و آن هر دوزا
پادشاه به شاه سپردند *

آن لعل هارا بهر نوعی و قتی که دانست و توانست گرفت و آن هارا
فرمود که در قید نگاه دارند — و حضرت پادشاه تا در عراق بودند
خوشحالی گذرانیدند و شاه انواع خاطر خوشی مینمودند و هر روز تحفه و هدیه
عجیب و غریب (62a) بحضرت پادشاه میفرستادند * آخر الامر پسر
خود را با خاندان و سلطانان و امرایان بکومک همراه حضرت پادشاه کرده
با بران (?) خاطر خواه و خرگاه و بارگاه و چتر و طاق و شامیانهای پرکار
و گلمهای ابریشمی و زلیلههای کلابون دوزی از هر باب اسباب چنانچه
باید و شاید و از توشکخانه و خزینه خانه و از هر کارخانه و باور چخانه
و رکابخانه پادشاهان را طیار کرده بساعت نیک آن دو پادشاه عالمقدار
از یکدیگر رخصت شدند و از آنجا حضرت پادشاه متوجه قندهار شدند *
و حضرت پادشاه در آن وقت گناه آن هر دو بی وفارا از شاه طلبید
و بخشید همراه گرفته متوجه قندهار شدند *

میرزا عسکری که شنید که حضرت پادشاه از خراسان مراجعت نموده
بجانب قندهار می آیند جلال الدین محمد اکبر پادشاه را بکابل پیش میرزا
کامران فرستادند * میرزا کامران به آکه جانم که (62b) خانزاده بیگم عمه
ما اند سپردند — و در آن وقت جلال الدین محمد اکبر پادشاه دو نیم
ساله بودند که آکه جانم گرفته نگاه داشتند و بسیار دوست میداشتند
و دست و پای ایشان را می بوسیدند و می گفتند که بعینه گویا دست و پای
برادر من بابر پادشاه است و شباهت تمام دارد *

بعد از تحقیق شدن آمدن حضرت پادشاه بقندهار میرزا کامران بحضرت
خانزاده بیگم زاری و عجز بسیار و مبالغه بی شمار می کردند که شما بدولت

و ناری پری ندارد — يك طافی دارد که وقت خواب گاهی زبر سر خود و گاهی در بغل خود نگاه میدارد * خواجه معظم فهمید و در دل جرم و یقین کرد که آن لعلها در پیش خواجه غازی مست و در همان طافی نگاه داشته است * پیش حضرت آمد و عرض کرد که من نشان لعلها را در طافی خواجه غازی یافته ام * بیک روشی میخواهم ازو آن را ربام * اگر (81a) خواجه غازی پیش حضرت آمد از من استغاثه کند حضرت بن چیزی نگویند * حضرت شنید تبسم فرمودند * خواجه معظم از آن باز بخواجه غازی هزل و مطایبه و مزاق (?) میکرد * خواجه غازی آمد بعرض حضرت پادشاه رسانید که من مرد غریب و اسم و رسی دارم و در ولایت بیگانه خواجه معظم خورد سال این چه معنی دارد که بمن هزل و مطایبه و مزاق (?) بکند و بمن اهانت رساند * حضرت پادشاه فرمودند که با کی ندارد — خورد سال است باری بخاطرش رسید باشد و از دلگیری های ادبی کرده باشد * شما چیزی بخاطر نرسانید که او خورد سال است *

روز دیگر خواجه غازی آمد در دیوانخانه نشسته بود که خواجه معظم غافل ساخته يك بار طافی را از سرش ربود و لعل بی بدل از طافی برآورده پیش حضرت پادشاه و حمید بانو بیگم آورد و نهاد * حضرت تبسم کردند و حمید بانو بیگم خوشحال شدند و بخواجه معظم شاباش و رحمت (81b) باد گفتند * خواجه غازی و روشن کوکه از افعال های خود شرمسار شده هر دو پیش شاه رفته و سخنان مخفی بعرض شاه رسانیدند تا بجدی چیزی ها گفتند که خاطر شاه مکدر شد * حضرت پادشاه معلوم کردند که اخلاص و اعتقاد شاه به دستور سابق نیست * فی الحال از لعل و جواهر هر چه داشتند بشاه فرستادند * شاه بیادش گفت که گناه خواجه غازی و روشن کوکه است که ما را از شما بیگانه کرده بودند والا ما شمارا بیگانه

غنیمت دانسته است و پنج لعل را دزدیده و بخواجه غازی بیکجه شده و بخواجه غازی سپرده و برور ایام صرف میخواستند صرف نمایند *

حمید بانو بیگم که سر خود را نشسته آمدند حضرت پادشاه آن طومار را به بیگم دادند * بیگم از هوای دست فحال دریافتند که آن طومار سبک ظاهر میشود * بیگم به پادشاه گفتند * حضرت فرمودند این چه معنی دارد (60a) غیر ما و شما ثالثی اطلاع ندارد چه شده باشد و که گرفته باشد * حیران شدند * بیگم برادر خود خواجه معظم را گفتند که همچو امری واقع شده — اگر درین طور وقت برادری را بجا آرید و نفحص این بیک روشی که شور نشود بکشد گویا مرا از خجالت می برآید * والا تا زنده ام از روی پادشاه خجل خواهم بود *

خواجه معظم گفت — بیکری بخاطر من می رسد که مرا با وجود تقرب حضرت پادشاه قوت آن نیست که ناتوی لاغر توانم خرید بخلاف خواجه غازی و روشن کوکه که هر کدام اینها برای خودها اسپان پوچاق خریدند و هنوز زیر اسپان را نداده اند * این خرید اینها بی یک امیدواری نیست * بیگم گفتند — ای برادر وقت برادری است — البته نفحص این معامله باید کرد * خواجه معظم گفت — ماه چیم * شما بکمی نگوئید — انشا الله تعالی امیدوارم که حق (60b) بچندار برسد * از آنجا برآمد بخانه هون سوداگران پرسید که این اسپان را بچند فروختید؟ در بهای اسپان بشما زر کی وعده کرده اند و ادای این زرها را بچه روش خاطر نشان کرده اند؟ سوداگران گفتند که با این هر دو شخص وعده لعلها کرده اند و اسپان برده اند * خواجه معظم از آنجا پیش نر خواجه غازی آمد و گفت که بغچه سرو پای وناری و پری خواجه غازی در کجا می شد؟ و در چه جا نگاه میدارد * بتیم خواجه غازی جواب داد که خواجه ما بغچه

و عمة شاه و خواهران شاه و حرم های شاه و کوچ خانان و سلطانان و امرایان
همه قریب هزار زن حاضر بودند همه پر زینت آراسته *

در آن روز شاهزاده سلطانم پرسید از (59a) حمیده بانو بیگم که
در هندوستان همچو چتر و طاق بهم میرسد * بیگم در جواب گفتند که
خراسان را دو دانگ می گویند و هندوستان را چهار دانگ — هرگاه که در
دو دانگ بهم رسد در چهار دانگ خود بطریق اولی بهم خواهد رسد *
شاه سلطانم که خواهر شاه باشد نیز در جواب بعه خود مقوی سخن حمید بانو
بیگم گفت که عمه از شما عجب است که این سخن را گفتند دو دانگ
کجا و چهار دانگ کجا ظاهر است که بهتر و خوشتر بهم میرسیده باشد *
و غام روز معرکه و مجلس را خوب گذرانیدند * در وقت طعام همه زنان
امرا ایستاده خدمت میکردند * و حرمان شاه پیش شاهزاده سلطانم آش
می ماندند * دیگر از هر جنس پارچای زردوزی و غیره چندان که باید
و شاید به حمید بانو بیگم مهمانی کرده * شاه خود پیش رفته تا نماز خفتن
در خانه پادشاه بوده * بعد از آن شنید که حمید بانو بیگم بخانه خود آمدند
از پیش پادشاه (59b) برخاسته بخانه خود رفت * تا این حد رعایت
و خاطرجوی خوب میکرد *

در آن اثنا روشن کوکه با وجود وفاداری و خدمات سابقه در آن ملک
بیگانه و پر مخاطره بی وفائی کرد که چند پاره لعل قیمتی که در طومارهای
حضرت پادشاه می بود که حضرت خود با حمید بانو بیگم میدانستند و
ثالث را بان اطلاع نبود * اگر پادشاه بجائی شریف می بردند آن طومار را
به حمید بانو بیگم می سپردند * روزی بیگم بسر شستن رفتند * آن طومار را در
بغچه روپاک بچید بر بالای پلنگ پادشاهی نهادند * روشن کوکه فرصت را

بستقبال فرستاد * اینها همه آمدند دریافتند و به اعزاز و اکرام تمام حضرت را آوردند و چون نزدیک رسیدند برادران شاه بشاه خبر فرستادند * شاه نیز خود سوار شد باستقبال حضرت آمد * با یکدیگر دریافتند و آشنائی (58a) و یک جفتی آن دو پادشاه عالی مقام مانند دو مغز در یک پوست بآدم فرار یافت و اتحاد و اخلاص بحدی رسید بود که ایام چندی که حضرت آنجا تشریف داشتند اکثر اوقات شاه در منزل حضرت می آمدند و روزی که شاه نمی آمدند حضرت می رفتند *

در خراسان که بودند هر باغ و بوستان که بود عمارت عالی که سلطان حسین میرزا بنا کرده بودند و عمارت عالی سابق و غیره همه را سیر می نمودند و تا در عراق بودند هشت مرتبه بشکار رفته بودند و هرگاه که بشکار میرفتند هر مرتبه حضرت را هم تکلیف میکردند — و حمید بانو یکم در کجاوله با در محافه از دور تماشا می کردند — و شاهزاده سلطام خواهر شاه بر اسب سوار شد بعقب شاه می ایستاد * حضرت گفته بودند که در شکار عقب شاه ضعیفه بر اسب سوار بود — جلوش را مرد محاسن سفید گرفته ایستاده بود * مردم چنین می گفتند که شاهزاده سلطام (58b) خواهر شاه است * قصه مختصر شاه بحضرت بسیار مهربانی و مروت پیش می آمد و تکلیف کرده مهربانی و غمخواری مادرانه و خواهرانه می نمود *

روزی شاهزاده سلطام حمید بانو یکم را تکلیف مهمانی نموده بود * شاه بخواهر خود گفت که چون مهمانی می کنی در بیرون شهر معرکه سازید * از شهر دو کروه دور بیشتك خیمه و خرگاه و بارگاه در صحن میدان خوب برپا کردند * چتر و طاق نیز برپا کردند * در خراسان و در آن حدود سراپرده می گرفتند و در عقب نمی گرفتند و حضرت پادشاه سراپرده مدور می گرفتند مثل هندوانه * مردم شاه خرگاه و بارگاه چتر و طاق برپا کرده در گرداگرد چغهای رنگارنگ مدور گرفته بودند و تمامی خویشان و ندان شاه

زنهار که نخواهد گذاشت — گرفته پیش ما بیارید — مال و اسبان تعلق شما دارد و پادشاه را بقندهار برسانید * اول که من حضرت را ندیدم بودم خیالِ فاسد داشتم * الحال که حضرت را ملازمت کردم جان من و خاندان من (57a) بیخ شش فرزندان دارم همه صدقه سر حضرت بلك صدقه یکنار موی حضرت * حضرت هر کجا که میخواهند تشریف فرمایند پناه خدا میرزا عسکری مرا هر چه خواهد بکند * آخر يك پاره لعل و مروارید و چیزهای دیگر به آن بلوچ عنایت فرمودند و صباح کوچ کرده بجانب قلعه بابا حاجی تشریف فرمودند *

بعد از دو روز رسیدند * آن قلعه داخل ولایت گرم سیراست و در کنار دریا واقع شده است و جمعی از سادات در آنجا می باشند * آمد حضرت را ملازمت کردند و میزبانی بها آوردند * صباح او خواجه علاول الدین محمود از میرزا عسکری گریخته آمد و قطارِ اسر و اسب و شامیانه و غیره که داشت آورده بشکس حضرت کرد * دیگری دغدغه شدند *

روز دیگر حاجی محمد خان کوکی با سی چهل سوار آمد و قطارِ اسر بشکس نمود * آخر از ناموافق برادران و نا هم پای امر لا علاج شده مصطحت (57b) چنان دیدند که توکل بحضرت مسبب الاسباب کرده عزم جزم خراسان باید کرد * و بعد از قطع منازل و طی مراحل بنواحی خراسان رسیدند * باب هلمند که رسیدند شاه طهماسب از استماع این خبر در تحیر و تفکر فرو ماند که هابون پادشاه از گردش فلک غدار کج رفتار نا سازکار به این حدود رسیدند و حضرت واجب الوجود باینجاها رسانید *

جمع اهالی و موالی و اشراف و اکابر و وصیع و شریف و کبیر و صغیر را باستقبال حضرت پادشاه فرستادند * همه اینها تا آب هلمند پیشواز آمدند و بهرام میرزا و الفاس میرزا و سام میرزا که برادران شاه باشند — همه را

بود که راه نبود که بالای کوه روند و این دغدغه برداشتند که مبادا میرزا
عسکری بی انصاف از عقب رسد * و آخر راه را بافته بهر روش بالای کوه
رفتند و غام شب در میان برف بودند * در آن وقت هیزم هم بهم نرسید که
آتش کنند و برای خوردن هم چیزی نبود * گرسنگی بغایت تنگ کرد *
مردم بیطاقی شدند (56a) حضرت فرمودند که يك اسب بکشید * حالا
اسب را که کشتند دیگ فی که آتش بپختند * در دبلغه گوشت بپختند و کباب
کردند و چهار طرف آتش کردند و بدست مبارک خود کباب کرده نوش
کردند * بزبان مبارک خود می فرمودند که سر من از زمهریر هم سرد شد
بود * باری چون صبح شد کوه دیگر را نشان دادند که در آن کوه ابادانی
هست و جماعه بلوچان در آنجا می باشند در آنجا می باید رفت * راهی
شدند * در دو روز بدانجا رسیدند * خانه چندی دیدند * در آن خانه
چند بلوچ وحشی که عبارت که از غول بیابان آن مردم اند در دامن کوه
نشسته بودند * هراة حضرت فریب سی کس بودند * بلوچان که دیدند همه
جمع شده آمدند * حضرت در خرگاه بدولت نشسته بودند که از دور
در یافتند که حضرت نشسته اند با یکدیگر می گفتند که اگر ما این هارا
گرفته پیش میرزا عسکری ببریم البته براقی این هارا با (56b) می دهد بلکه
انعامات زیادی هم خواهد داد * حسن علی ایسک آغا زن بلوچی داشت *
او زبان بلوچی میدانست * او معلوم کرد که این غولهای بیابان خیال
فاسد دارند — و صباح خیال کوچ داشتند * بلوچان گفتند که بلوچی که
سردار ما است اینجا حاضر نیست * وقتی که او بیاید کوچ بکنید * چون
وقت هم یگانه شد بود غام شب با احتیاط غام بودند * پاره از شب گذشته
بود که آن بلوچ سردار آمد حضرت را ملازمت کرد و گفت که فرمان
میرزا کامران و میرزا عسکری با آمد است * در آن نوشته اند که شنید شد
که پادشاه در خانهای شما تشریف دارند — اگر در آنجا باشند زنهار هزار

حضرت در همان ساعت سوار شدند که غوغا افتاد و پادشاه روان شدند * دو تیر پرتاب (55a) راه رفته بودند که حضرت بادشاه خواجه معظم و بیرم خان را فرستادند که حمید بانو بیگم را بیارند * این ها آمد بیگم را سوار کردند و فرجه آن نشد جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه را هم همراه ببرند * همین که بیگم از اردو برآمد بودند که همراه پادشاه شوند که درین اثنا میرزا عسکری با دو هزار سوار رسید و شور شد * بهجرت رسیدن بدر اردو آمد و گفت که پادشاه نجا اند * مردم گفتند دیر است که بشکار رفته اند و دانست که برآمد رفته اند * آخر جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه را گرفته و همه مردم پادشاهی را کوشانید در قندهار برو (or برد) و محمد اکبر پادشاه را بسطانم بیگم کوچ خود سپرد * سلطانم بیگم کوچ میرزا عسکری بود * بسیار مهربانی و غمخواری میکرد *

و پادشاه که سوار شدند رو بجانب کوه نهادند تا چهار کوه رفتند و بعد از آن بسرعت تمام روان شدند * و در آن وقت این جماعت در ملازمت بودند — بیرم خان و خواجه معظم و خواجه نیازی (55b) و ندیم کوکه و روشن کوکه و حاجی محمد خان و بابا دوست بخشی و میرزا قلی بیگ چولی و حیدر محمد آخته بیگی و شیخ یوسف چولی و ابراهیم ابشک آغا و حسن علی ابشک آغا و یعقوب قورچی و عنبر ناظر و ملک مختار و سنبل میر هزار * و خواجه کپسک * خواجه غازی میگوید که من هم در ملازمت بودم * این جماعت همراه حضرت روان شدند — و حمید بانو بیگم میگویند که با سی کس بودند * و از ضعفنا کوچ حسن علی ابشک آغا هم بوده *

نماز ختن گذشته بود که در پای کوه رسیدند و کوه را آنبوع برف گرفته

بگوشه پرتابید * گرفته خواند و او را نسپرده در ساعت الله دوست و بابا جوك را بدرون قلعه برد و انواع درشتی کرده * اینها سوگند خوردند که ما را از آمدن این خبر نیست و این (54a) پیش من سبق خواند است و خواجه غازی جهت با داشت و پیش کامران میرزا بود — باین سبب کتابت نوشته است * محمود قرار داد که کیسک را با جمعی همراه پیش شاه حمین فرستد * میر الله دوست و بابا جوجوك تمام شب پیش محمود بودند و ملائمت کرده او را درخواست نموده از بند خلاص کردند و سیصد انار و صد بهی میر الله دوست برای حضرت فرستاد و عریضه از ترش نه نوشت که مباده بدست کسی افتد — اما زبانی گفته فرستاد که اگر عرضه داشت میرزا عسکری یا امرا آمد باشد رفتن کابل بد نیست و اگر نه مصلحت در رفتن کابل نیست که حضرت بادشاه را بخواهد دید و حضرت کس کم دارند آخر تا چه روی دهد * کیسک آمد بعرض رسانید *

حضرت مخبر و متفکر شدند که چه باید کرد و بجای باید رفت * کنگاش کردند * نردی محمد خان و بیرم خان کنگاش دادند (54b) که غیر از شمالیان و شالستان که سرحد قندهار است بجای دیگر عزم جزم کردن ممکن نیست — چرا که در آن حدود افغان بسیار اند بجانب خود خواهیم کشید و امرا و ملازمان میرزا عسکری نیز گریخته پیش ما خواهند آمد * آخر چنین قرار با یکدیگر داده فاعه خواندند و کوچ بکوچ متوجه قندهار شدند * چون نزدیک شالستان رسیدند و در موضع رلی نام موضعی فروز آمدند و چون برف و باران بارید بود و هوا بغایت خنک بود و فرار داد چنین بود که ازین منزل بشالستان خواهم رفت * وقت نماز عصر بود که جوانی اوزبك بریابوی قله رهوار کیسک (?) رسید و نعره زد که حضرت سوار شوند که در راه مخفی عرض خواهم کرد که وقت تنگ است و الحال وقت سخن گفتن نیست *

سوار بودند و آنچه نتمه باقی مانده بود برای بار نمین فرمودند * و هر که سوار می شد بجهرد سوار شدن سوار را بزمین میزدند (58a) و راه جنگل میگرفتند و از شران بارخانه هر کدام که بار میکردند بجهرد شنیدن اواز سیم اسپ جسته جسته بار را بر زمین انداخته خود بجهگل در آمد میرفتند — و بر هر کدام شتر که بار را محکم بسته می شد هر چند می جست بار نمی افتاد مع بار راه جنگل پیش گرفته میگریخت * بدین نوع بجانب قندهار می رفتند تا قریب دویست شتر گریخته باشد و چون نزدیک سیوی رسیدند محمود ساربان باشی ملازم شاه حسین میرزا در سیوی بود — قلعه را منصوب کرده متحصن شد * حضرت درشش گروهی سیوی فروز آمدند * درین اثنا خبر آمد که میر الله دوست و بابا جوجوك از کابل دو روز است که سیوی آمد اند و پیش شاه حسین میرزا میروند * سرویا و اسپان و پوجاق و میوه بسیار میرزا کامران برای شاه حسین میرزا فرستاده و دختر اورا برای خود طلب نموده اند * خود حضرت بمخواجه غازی فرمودند که چون در میانه تو و الله دوست نسبت پدر و فرزندی (58b) است کتابی نوشته فرست که میرزا کامران بچه طریق با پیش می آید و اگر ما بدانجا روم چون سلوك بکند * و حضرت بادشاه خواجه کیسک را فرمودند که بجانب سیوی رفته به میر الله دوست بگو که اگر آمد ما را به بیند * خوبست * خواجه کیسک مذکور بجانب سیوی روان شد * حضرت فرمودند که تا آمدن تو ما کوچ نخواهم کرد * او چون نزدیک سیوی رسید بود که محمود ساربان باشی گرفته پرسید که بچه کار آمدی؟ او گفت بمجهر اسپ و شتر خریدن * گفت دست در بغل اندازید و تاج اورا بپالید که مبادا به الله دوست و بابا جوجوك فرمان استمال آورده باشد *

چون تخلص کردند کتابت از بغل او برآمد * فرصت نیافت که کتابت را

وفندهار را بهرزا عسکری (52a) دادند و غزنین را وعد کردند بهرزا هندال * حالا که بغزنین آمدند لغانات و تنگیهار را بهرزا هندال دادند * این طور وعدهای دروغ * میرزا هندال بدخشان رفته در خوست و اندراب نشستند * میرزا کامران بدلدار بیگم گفتند که شما رفته بیارید * حضرت دلدار بیگم که رفتند میرزا جواب دادند که من خود را از دغدغه سپای گری گذرانم ام و خوست هم گوشه ایست * نشسته ام * بیگم گفتند اگر غرض درویشی و گوشه نشینی باشد هم کابل گوشه ایست با اهل و عیال و فرزندان یکجا باشید — بهتر است * آخر بیگم میرزا را بزور آوردند و در کابل مدت ها بوضع درویشی می بودند *

در اینجا میرزا شاه حسین پش حضرت پادشاه کس فرستاد که لایق دولت آنست که از اینجا کوچ کرده بجانب قندهار برود — بهتر است * حضرت راضی شدند و جواب فرستادند که در اردوی ما اسپ و شتر کم مانند است — شما اسپ و شتر با بدهید تا ما بقندهار برویم * شاه حسین میرزا قبول (52b) کرد و گفت که هرگاه شما از آب گذرید هزار شتر آن روی آب هست — همون را شما خواهم فرستاد *

اگر (؟ اکثر) سخنان که در راه بکهر و سند از خواجه کیسک خویش خواجه غازی مذکور بود نقل از نوشته خواجه کیسک مذکور است * آخر حضرت به اهل و عیال لشکر و غیره برکنی ها سوار شدند * تا سه روز بهر را طی کردند * از سرحد ولایت او گذشته نواسی نام موضعی بود آنجا فروز آمدند و سلطان قلی نام ساریان با شری را فرستادند تا شتران را بیارد * سلطان قلی مذکور رفته هزار شتر آورد * حضرت هم شتران را به امرا یان و سپاهی و غیره مردم لشکر دادند و قسمت فرمودند * آن شتران بنوع بودند که گویا هفت پشت با که هفتاد پشت آن شتران مذکور شهر و ادم و بار را ندیدند بودند * چون در لشکر قحط الفرس بود اکثر مردم شتر

نزدیک شمایان است — درین طور وقت که بر ما و شمایان است در میان خودها با اتفاق باشید بهتر است و کتابه‌ها که من میرزا کامران نوشته‌ام اگر قبول کند و بعمل آرد هرچه خاطر او خواهد مام همان نوع می‌کنم *

بعد از رسیدن حضرت بیگم بقندهار بعد از چهار روز میرزا کامران هم رسیدند و هر روز مبالغه‌ها می‌کردند که خطبه بنام من بخوانید * میرزا هندال می‌گفتند که تغیر دادن خطبه چه معنی دارد؟ حضرت فردوس مکانی در حیات خود پادشاهی را به هایون پادشاه داده‌اند و ولی عهد خود گردانیده‌اند و مایان هم قبول کرده و خطبه بنام ایشان تا این مدت خوانده‌ام — الحال تغیر دادن خطبه صورت ندارد * میرزا کامران بحضرت دلداری بیگم خطی نوشتند که ما از کابل شمارا یاد کرده آمدیم عجب است که يك زمان آمد ما را ندیدید — (51b) چنانچه والده میرزا هندال اید بهمون طور والده ما اید * آخر الامر دلداری بیگم بدیدن ایشان آمدند * میرزا کامران گفتند الحال شمارا نمی‌گذارم تا میرزا هندال را تطهیر * دلداری بیگم گفتند که خاتزاده بیگم ولی نعمت شما اند و کلان و بزرگ هم شمایان اند * حقیقت خطبه را از ایشان برسید * آخر به آکه گفتند * حضرت خاتزاده بیگم جواب دادند — اگر از من می‌پرسید بطریقی که حضرت فردوس مکانی قرار داده‌اند و پادشاهی خود را به هایون پادشاه داده‌اند و شمایان هم خطبه را تا حال بنام ایشان خوانده‌اند — الحال هم کلان خود دانسته فرمان بردار ایشان باشید * غرض تا چهار ماه میرزا کامران قندهار را قبل کرده و مبالغه خطبه می‌نمودند * آخر قرار دادند — خوب — الحال پادشاه دور اند — خطبه را بنام من بخوانید — هرگاه پادشاه بپایند بنام ایشان خواهد خواند * چون قبل بدور و دراز کشید بود و مردم تنگ آمد آمد بودند ضرور شد خطبه را خواندند *

یادگار و میرزا یایند محمد و محمد ولی و ندیم کوکه و روشن کوکه و خدنگ ایشک آغاچی* و جمعی دیگر در ملازمت حضرت بودند که خبر آمد که بیرم خان از جانب گجرات می آید و برگشته جاجکله رسیده است* حضرت خوشحال شدند و کدنگ ایشک آغاچی را بجمعی حکم کردند که باستقبال بیرم خان روند*

درین اثنا شاه حسین شنید که بیرم خان می آید* چند کس را فرستاده که بیرم خان را بگیرند* غافل در جای فروز (50b) آمد بود که آمد ریحند* خدنگ ایشک آغا کشته شد و بیرم خان با چندی خلاص شد در ملازمت حضرت آمد مشرف شد*

درین اثنا عرضه داشتند که قراچه خان آمد بحضرت پادشاه (و) میرزا هندال که مدتیست که در نواحی بکهر نشسته اید* درین مدت از شاه حسین میرزا اثر دولخواهی ظاهر نشد بلکه بد پیش آمد* دیگر بعنایت الهی کار آسان خواهد شد اگر پادشاه بدولت و سعادت بیایند بهتر و عین مصلحت است و اگر حضرت نیایند شما البته بیایند* چون حضرت توقف کرده بودند و میرزا هندال (؟) به استقبال برآمد و قندهار را پیشکش بمیرزا هندال کرده بود*

میرزا عسکری در غزنین بودند* میرزا کامران عرضه داشت کردند که قراچه خان قندهار را بمیرزا هندال داد— فکر قندهار را باید کرد* میرزا کامران در صدد این شدند که قندهار را از میرزا هندال بگیرند*

درین صحن حضرت این خبرها را شنیده پیش عه خود خائزاده بیگم آمد مبالغه بسیار (51a) نمودند که مرا سرافراز کرده بقتلدار بروید و میرزا هندال را و میرزا کامران را نصیحت کنید که اوزبک و ترکان

و شیخ علی بیگ که مرد مردانه بود حضرت اورا همراه مظفر بیگ
ترکان بجانب جاجکا برگشته کلان بود فرستاده بودند * میرزا شاه حسین
جمعی را بر سر او فرستاد (49b) در میان هر دو لشکر جنگ عظیم شد *
آخر الامر مظفر بیگ منهزم شده گریخته و شیخ علی بیگ جمعی کشته
شد ضیاع شد *

و در میان خالد بیگ و لوش بیگ برادر شاه خان جلابر گفت
و گوی شد * آخر جمعی رعایت لوش بیگ کردند * ازین سبب خالد بیگ
با جمعی گریخته پیش میرزا شاه حسین رفت * حضرت پادشاه والده اورا
که سلطانم نام داشت بندی خانه فرمودند * ازین واسطه گلبرگ بیگم
رنجید بودند * آخر گناه اورا بخشیدند و همراه گلبرگ بیگم رخصت مکه
معظمه کردند * بعد از چند گاه لوش بیگ هم گریخت و حضرت اورا
بدعای بد یاد کردند که ما برای خاطر او خالد بیگ را درشتی کردم *
با وجود آن از دایره حلال نمکی برآمد بدایره حرام نمکی در آمد * جوانه
مرگ خواهد شد * آخر همون طور شد که بعد از پانزده روز در کشتی
خواب کرده بود که غلامش بکار دزدیده کشت — و حضرت بعد از شنیدن
بسیار متالم و متفکر شدند (50a) شاه حسین کشتی هارا نزدیک چون
بدریا آورده بود و در خشکی * هم اکثر اوقات مردم حضرت مردم شاه
حسین جنگ می کردند و از جانین مردم کشته می شدند — و اکثر مردم
پادشاهی هر روز گریخته بطرف شاه حسین می رفتند * از جمله ملا
تاج الدین که در علم و بر آن عنایت کلی داشتند در آن جنگ
کشته شد *

و در میان تردی محمد خان و منم خان گفت و گوی شد * منم خان
هم گریخت * امرای معدودی مانند * از جمله تردی محمد خان و میرزا

بکهر شدند و بی و اهل و عیال را (48b) در عمرکوت گذاشتند — و خواجه
مُعظم را نیز گذاشتند که از حرم خبردار باشد * حمید بانو یکم حامله بودند *
بعد از متوجه شدن حضرت سه روز گذشته بود که بتاریخ چهارم شهر رجب
المرجب سنه ۹۴۹ نهصد و چهل و نه وقتِ صبح روز یکشنبه بود که تولّد
حضرت بادشاه عالم پناه عالم گیر جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی شد *
قمر در برج اسد بود * تولّد در برج ثابت شد بغایت خوبست و منجمان
گفتند فرزندی که درین ساعت شود صاحب اقبال و دراز عمر می شود *
حضرت در پانزده کروی بودند که نردی محمد خان خبر رسانید *
حضرت بسیار بسیار خوشحال شدند — و از مژده و بشارت این خبر
تفسیرات مانندیم نردی محمد خان معاف کردند *

و آن خواب که در لاهور دیده بودند هون نام جلال الدین محمد اکبر
بادشاه نام نهادند * و از آنجا کوچ کرده متوجه بکهر شدند — و از مردم
رعنا و اطراف و سودمه و سمیخه تا ده هزار کس جمع شدند — در برگه
چون رسیدند (49a) یک غلام شاه حسین میرزا با چند سوار در چون
بود — گریخته رفت * در آنجا باغ آبه بسیار خوب بصفا بود * در آن باغ
حضرت فروز آمدند و مواضع آن را مردم جاگیر تعین فرمودند * از
جون نهته شش روزه راه بود * تا شش ماه حضرت در آنجا بودند و
بعمرکوت کس فرستادند اهل حرم و بی تمام مردم را طلبیدند * در آن
وقت جلال الدین اکبر بادشاه شش ماه بودند که در چون آوردند *

و جماعه که از اطراف و جانب همراه اهل حرم آمدند متفرق شدند
و رعنا را از جهه گفت و گوی که به نردی محمد خان واقع شد بود شکر
رنگی در میان نردی بیگت و او بود * نیم شبی بود که کوچ کرده بجانب
ولایت خود رفت و جماعه سودمه و سمیخه نیز بدو موافقت کرده رفتند *
حضرت بهمان جمعیت خود ماندند *

و هر دلولی که از چاه بیرون می آمد چون نزدیک می رسید مردم خود را در میان دلو می انداختند و ریمان گسته می شد و پنج شش کس همراه دلو در چاه می افتادند * مردم بسیار از تشنگی مردند و هلاک می شدند * حضرت دیدند که مردم از تشنگی خود را در چاه می اندازند — از کروی خاصه خود بهمه مردم آب میخوراندند — آخر مردم را سیراب کرده نماز پیشین بود که کوچ کردند و یک شبانه روز راه رفتند * در سرای رسیدند * تالابی کلانی بود * اسپان و شتران که درون تالاب در آمدند چندان آب خوردند که اکثر مردند * اسپ کم مانده بود — اسیر و شتر بودند * از آن باز (48) هر روز آب پیدا می شد تا به عمر کوت رسیدند که جای خوست و تالاب بسیار دارد * رعنا * پیشوازی حضرت آمد و درون قلعه برد و منزل خوب داد و مردم امرارا بیرون قلعه جا داد *

اکثر چیز در کمال ارزانی بود — یک رویه را چهار بز میدادند * از بز غاله و غیره رعنا پیشکش بسیار آورد و چندین خدمات شایسته بجا آورد که بکدام زبان تقریر توان کرد؟ و چند روزی در آنجا بجزیر و خوبی گذرانیدند *

و بعد از آنی که خزینه تمام شد تدری یکگ خان زر بسیار داشت حضرت بطریق قرض از او مبلغی طلبیدند * او بحساب ده دو هشتاد هزار اشرفی قرض داد * حضرت گرفته حصه رسد تمام لشکر بخش کردند * و کمر خنجرها و سروپاها به رعنا و فرزندان او عنایت فرمودند * و بعضی مردم اسپان تازه خریدند *

و پدر رعنا را میرزا شاه حسین گشته بود * بوجود آن هم دوسه هزار سوار جرار بهم رسانید در ملازمت حضرت همراه کرد * باز حضرت متوجه

برادرِ مهرولی و جمعی دیگر را رخصت کردند و فاتحه خواندند که رفته با کافران جنگ کید — و یقین حضرت شد که ایشان تیمور سلطان و منم خان و میرزا یادگار را با جمعی که گذاشته بودیم کشته شدند با بدست کافران افتادند که این جماعت آنها را کشته بر سر ما آمدند * حضرت باز خود سوار شده همراه چند کس اردو را گذاشته پیش رفتند * و آن جماعت که حضرت فاتحه خواند به جنگ فرستاده بودند شیخ علی بیگ سردار (47a) آن راجپوتان را به نیرزده از اسب انداخت و چند کس دیگر را مردم دیگر به نیرزدند * کافران رو بگریز نهادند و فتح شد * چند کس را زندم گرفته آوردند * اردو آهسته آهسته میرفت * اما حضرت پادشاه دور رفته بودند * این مردم فتح کرده به اردو آمد رسیدند *

بهیود نام چویداری بود * اورا از عصب حضرت دواند فرستادند که حضرت آهسته روند که بعنایت الهی فتح شد و کافران گریختند * بهیود خود را بحضرت رسانید و خبر خوش برد * حضرت فرود آمدند — و اندک آبی هم می پیدا شد * اما در فکر امرا بودند که آنها را چه واقع شد؟ که از دور چند سوار پیدا شدند * باز دغدغه شد که مبادا مالدیو باشد * کس فرستادند که خبر بیارد — دویک آمد که ایشان تیمور سلطان و میرزا یادگار و منم خان همه بصحت و سلامت می آیند * راه گم کرده بودند * بعد از رسیدن آنها حضرت خوشحال شدند و شکر حق بجا آوردند *

و صبح کوچ کردند — سه روز دیگر آب نیافتند (47b) بعد از سه روز بر سر چاهها رسیدند و چاهای مذکور بسیار عمیق بودند * بر سر آن چاهها مقام کردند * آب آن چاه بغایت سُرخ بود — بر سر يك چاه حضرت فرود آمدند — بر سر يك چاه دیگر نردی یک خان — و بر سر يك چاه میرزا یادگار و منم خان و ندیم کوکه — و بر سر يك چاه ایسان تیمور سلطان و خواجه غازی و روشن کوکه *

و آن دیگری خبری از میان یکی کشید رو بجانب مردم کرده * چند کس را زخمی کرده و اسب سواری حضرت کشته * غرض تلاش بسیار کردند تا آنکه آن هر دورا کشند (46a) و درین صحن غوغا شد که مالدیو رسید * حضرت بادشاه اسب سواری نداشتند که لایق سواری حمیده بانو بیگم باشد * برای سواری بیگم از نردی ییگ اسب طلبید باشند * غالباً نردی بیگم اسب نداده * حضرت فرمودند — برای من شتر جواهر * افتابچی را طیار بکنند — من بشتر سوار خواهم شد و بیگم به اسب من سوار شوند * ظاهراً ندیم ییگ شنید است که حضرت بادشاه اسب سواری خود را بسواری بیگم تعیین کرده اند و خود خیال دارند که بشتر سوار شوند * او والدۀ خود را بر شتر سوار کرده اسب سواری والدۀ خود بمحضرت پادشاه پیشکش کرده *

حضرت سوار شد متوجه عمرکوت شدند * از جای رهبر گرفتند که راه را سر کنند * هوا بغایت گرم بود و اسب و چاروا تا زانو در دریا فرو میرفت و در عقب لشکر مالدیو نزدیک رسید * باز کوچ کردند و نشه و گرسنه روان شدند * اکثر از زن و مرد پیاده بودند * چون لشکر (46b) مالدیو نزدیک رسید حضرت ایشان تیمور سلطان و منم خان و جمعی دیگر را فرمودند که شایان آهسته بیائید و غنیم را نگاه دارید تا ما چند گروه بر آیم و رویم * ایشان ماندند و شب شد — راه گم کردند * حضرت تمام شب راه رفتند * چون صبح شد سه روز بود که اسپان آب نیافته بودند که جای آب یافتند * حضرت فرود آمدند که کس دویۀ آمد که هندوان بسیار اسب سوار و شتر سوار رسیدند *

حضرت شیخ علی ییگ و روشن کوکه و ندیم کوکه و میر پائیک محمد

* (جواهر) The M.S. writes the name of this jewel of chroniclers in the plural.

جیسلمیر شدند * بعد از چند روز بقلعه دلاور رسیدند که سرحد ولایت
 راجه مالدیو است (45a) دو روز آنجا بودند — دانه و گاه پیدا نشد —
 و از آنجا بجانب جیسلمیر روان شدند * چون نزدیک جیسلمیر رسیدند راجه
 جیسلمیر جمعی را فرستاد و سر راه گرفت و جنگ شد — و حضرت باچندی از
 راه کنار میرفتند * درین جنگ چند کسی زخمی شدند — (۱) لوش بیگ برادر
 شام خان جلابر و پیر محمد آخته و روشنگ نوشکی و چند دیگر زخمی
 شدند * آخر فتح کردند * کافران گریخته بقلعه درآمدند — و حضرت آن
 روز تا شصت گروه راه رفتند و در سر تالابی منزل واقع شد * بعد از آن
 بمالطیر رسیدند * آن مردم آن روز تشویش دادند تا آنکه در بلودی نام
 پرگنه که تعلق به مالدیو داشت رسیدند * راجه مالدیو در جودهور بود —
 يك جیه و يك شتر بار اشرفی بخدمت حضرت فرستادند و دلاساتی بسیار
 نمود که خوش آمدید — بیکانیر را بشما میدهم * حضرت با دل جمع
 نشسته بودند و آنکه خان را پیش مالدیو فرستادند که چه جواب میدهد
 ملا سرخ کتابدار در آن شکست و ویرانی هند بجانب (45b) ولایت مالدیو
 رفته ملازم شده بود * او عریضه فرستاد که زنهار هزار زنهار حضرت
 پیش نیابند و در هر جا که منزل دارند در ساعت کوچ کنند که مالدیو
 در صدد گرفتن شما است و اعتماد بر قول او نکنید که ایلمچی شیر خان
 آمده و شیر خان نوشته فرستاده که هر نوعی که دانید و توانید آن
 حضرت را بگیری — اگر این کار کردید ناگور و الور و هر جایی که
 خواهید بشما میدهم * و آنکه خان هم آمده گفت که وقت استادن نیست *
 نماز دیگر بود که حضرت کوچ کردند و در وقت سواری حضرت دو
 جاسوس را گرفته آوردند * هر دورا بسته نزدیک آورده سخن میپرسیدند که
 دستهای خود را فی الحال خلاص کرده شمشیر از کمر محمود کرد باز
 کشیده اول محمود را زده — بعد از آن باقی گوالیاری را زخمی کرده —

و غله قیست بوده است و اکثر مردم گریختن گرفتند * مدت شش هفت ماه در آنجا بودند و میرزا شاه حسین حرام نمکی کرده مردم لشکر را از هر طرف گرفته مردم خود می سپرد که برده در دریای شور اندازید * سیصد چهار صد کس را بجا کرده در کشتی انداخته به دریای شور می انداختند تا ده هزار کس را در دریای شور انداخت *

بعد از آنی که در پیش حضرت هم کس کم ماند چند کشتی پر نوب و تنگ کرده خود از تنه بر سر حضرت آمده * سیاهوان نزدیک بدریا واقع شده است * آمد کشتی های حضرت پادشاه را همراه اسباب برد و کس فرستاد که حق نمک نگاه میدارم زود کوچ بکنید * حضرت لاعلاج شدند و باز برگشته متوجه بکهر شدند *

چون نزدیک بکهر شدند میرزا حسین سمندر پیش از آن که حضرت در بکهر (44b) برسند کس پیش میرزا یادگار ناصر فرستاده بود که اگر حضرت برگشته بجانب بکهر می آیند آمدن نگذارند که بکهر تعلق بشما دارد * من از شما ام و دختر خود را بشما میدهم * میرزا یادگار ناصر سخن او را باور کرده حضرت پادشاه را در بکهر آمدن نگذاشت و میخواست که بچله یا بچنگ پیش آید *

حضرت کس فرستادند که بابا شما بجای فرزندان ما آید و بجای خود شما نشانده رفتن که اگر بما واقع بیس آید شما کومک ما باشید — و الحال از بدرائی نوکران شما با چنین سلوک می کنید * این نوکران حرام نمک بشما هم وفا نخواهند کرد * هر چند حضرت نصیحت کرده فرستادند فایده نکرد * آخر حضرت فرمود که خوب ما بجانب راجه مال دیو میروم و این ولایت را بشما دادم * اما شاه حسین شما را از اینجا نخواهد گذاشت * سخن ما را یاد خواهید کرد *

میرزا یادگار ناصر این سخن را گفته کوچ کرده متوجه مال دیو شدند و برآه

آیم * سبجان قلی که از یکم این حرف شنید آمد بعرض رسانید * حضرت فرمودند اگر نا محرم اند محرم می سازیم *

غرض که تا چهل روز از جهة حمید بانو یکم مبالغه و مناقشه بود و یکم راضی نشدند * آخر حضرة والهام دلداری بیگم نصیحت کردند که آخر خود بکسی خواهی رسید — بهتر از پادشاه که خواهد بود — یکم گفتند که آری بکسی خواهم رسید که دست من بگیرد و او برسد — نه آنکه بکسی برسم که دست من میدانم بدانم او نرسد * آخر باز (48b) والهام نصیحت بسیار کردند *

غرض که بعد از چهل روز در ماه جمید الاول ^{۹۴۸} سنه نهصد و چهل و هشت در مقام پاتر روز دوشنبه نیم روز بود که استرلاب را حضرة پادشاه بدست مبارك خود گرفته اند و ساعت سعد را اختیار کرده میر ابو البقار طلیع حکم فرمودند که نکاح بستند * مبلغ دو لك نکاحانه میر ابو البقا دادند * بعد از عقد سه روز دیگر آنجا بودند — بعد از آن کوچ کرده در کشتی نشستند و متوجه بکهر شدند *

و بیکاه در بکهر بودند * میر ابو البقار در پیش سلطان بکهری فرستادند * آنجا نشویش شد برحمت حق پیوستند *

آخر میرزا هندال را رخصت قندهار کردند * میرزا یادگار ناصر را بجای خود در لری گذاشتند و حضرت خود متوجه سیاهوان شدند که از سیاهوان تا تنه شش هفت روزه راهست * سیاهوان قلعه مضبوط دارد و میرعلیکه ملازم حضرت پادشاه در آن قلعه بود و نوپچی چندی بود که هیچ کس را محال نزدیک قلعه رفتن نبود * چند کس از مردم حضرت پادشاه مورچال (44a) کرده نزدیک رسیدند و او را نصیحت کردند که حرام نمکی درین طور وقت خوب نیست * میرعلیکه قبول نکرد * آخر نقب کردند و يك برج قلعه را انداختند * اما قلعه را نتواند گرفت

کردند * حمید بانو بیگم را پرسیدند که این چه کس است؟ گفتند که دختر میر بابا دوست * خواجه معظم روبروی حضرت استاده بود * گفتند — این پسر بما خویش میشود * حمید بانو بیگم را گفتند که این هم خویش ما است *

در آن ایام حمید بانو بیگم (42b) اکثر در محل میرزا می بود * روز دیگر باز حضرت بدین حضرت والد دلدار بیگم آمدند * فرمودند — میر بابا دوست خویشاوند ما است — مناسب آنست که دخترِ او را بما نسبت بکنید * میرزا هندال عذرهای گفتند که این دختر را من مثل خواهر و فرزند خود میدانم — حضرت پادشاه اند — ما با معاش نیک نشود تا باعث کلفت شود * حضرت پادشاه خشم کرده برخاسته رفتند *

بعد از آن حضرت والد خطی نوشته فرستادند که مادرِ دختر ازین هم بیشتر ناز میکند — عجیبت که به اندک سخن رنجید رفتند * حضرت پادشاه در جواب نوشته فرستادند که این حکایت شما بما بسیار خوش آمد هر نازی که می کنید بسر و چشم قبول دارم * دیگر از جهة معاش که نوشته اند انشا الله — حسب المَدعا خواهد شد — چشم انتظار در راه است * حضرت والد رفته حضرت پادشاه را آوردند * آن روز مجلس دادند * بعد از مجلس بمنزل خود تشریف بردند * روز دیگر حضرت پیش والد آمد آمدند و گفتند که کس (43a) فرستید حمید بانو بیگم را طلبید بیمار و حضرت والد که کس فرستادند حمید بانو بیگم نه آمدند — گفتند — اگر غرض ملازمت است خود آن روز بملازمت مشرف شد ام — دیگر برای چه پیام؟ مرتبه دیگر حضرت سبحان قلی را فرستادند که میرزا هندال را رفته بگو که بیگم را بفرستید * میرزا گفتند — هر چند من گفتم نمیرود — نو خود رفته بگو * سبحان قلی که رفته گفت — بیگم جواب دادند که بدین پادشاهان يك مرتبه جایز است — در مرتبه دیگر ما محرومست — من نمی

آخر میر سمندرا* پیش شاه حسین میرزا فرستادند که از ضرورت
 ولایت تو آمد ام و ولایت تو بنو مبارک باشد — ما دخل نخواهیم کرد —
 باری تو خود آمد ما را ملازمت بکن و خدمت که لازمه باشد بجا یار — که
 ما داعیه گجرات داریم و ولایت ترا بنو میگذاریم * آخر شاه حسین مذکور
 بمکر و حيله تا پنج ماه حضرت را در سمندر نگاه داشت و بعد از آن کس
 بخدمت حضرت فرستاد که سامان طوئی دختر خود را کرده بخدمت
 حضرت میفرستم و خود نیز بملازمت خواهم آمد *

حضرت سخن او را باور کردند — سه ماه دیگر انتظار کشیدند * غله
 گاهی پیدا میشود و گاهی پیدا نمی شود * مردم سپاه اسپان و شتران خود را
 کشته میخوردند * باز حضرت شیخ عبد الغفور را فرستادند — تا کی
 انتظار میدهی — مانع (42a) آمدن کیست و باعث توقف چیست؟ این
 مرتبه داشت که کار تنگ شده است و مردم بسیار گریخته می روند * جواب
 فرستاد که دختر من نامزد میرزا کامران است و بدین من هم امر محال
 است — شما را ملازمت کرده نمی توانم *

درین اثنا محمد هندال میرزا از آب گذشتند که بعضی مردم میگفتند
 که متوجه قندهار میشوند * حضرت پادشاه که شنیدند از عقب میرزا
 چند کس فرستادند که رفته ترسید (؟ پرسید) که شنید شد که قصد
 قندهار دارند * چون از میرزا پرسیدند میرزا گفتند که غلط بعرض
 رسانید اند * حضرت پادشاه این خبر را شنید بدین حضرت والد
 آمدند *

حرمهای میرزا و همه مردم میرزا حضرت پادشاه را درین مجلس ملازمت

* آخر میرزا شاه حسد. سمندر. Text. (سمندر، ۱۱). This is clearly the scribe's error. Mir Samandar was a confidential servant of Humayun and is named in the histories as the envoy. Cf. note to translation,

بلکه فرزندان طمع کابل نکنند — چرا که همه فرزندان را خدای تعالی بن در کابل داده و اکثر فتح‌ها از نشستن کابل شد بلکه در واقعه نامه فردوس مکانی هم متشهد این معنی بسیار مذکور است * چه شد که من از روی مهربانی و برادری میرزا انسانیت کردم — میرزا الحال چنین میگوید *

هر چند حضرت دلاسا و بکانگی میفرمودند — میرزا بیشتر از پیشتر مبالغه مینمودند * چون حضرت دیدند که همراه میرزا جمعیت بسیار است و بهیچ وجه رفتن کابل میرزا راضی نیست لا علاج شد ضرور شد بطرف بکهر و ملتان متوجه شدند * در ملتان يك روز منزل (41a) نمودند * غله كمتر ك پیدا شد و اندك غله که در قلعه پیدا شد بود ب مردم قسمت کرده کوچ کردند و بر سر دریای که هفت دریا یکجا شده است رسیدند * حیران ماندند * کشتی بهم نمیرسد و آردوی عظیم همراه * درین اثنا خبر آمد که خواص خان با چند امرا از عقب می آید * بخشونام بلوچی بود که جاهاى منمکن داشت و کسی (? کشتی) بسیار هم داشت * حضرة کسی را پیش او فرستادند و علم و نظاره واسپ و سروپا نیز فرستادند و طلب کشتی نمودند و غله هم طلب نمودند * آخر الامر بخشو بلوچ قریب يك صد کشتی نمودند بر غله هم بهلازم حضرت فرستادند * ازین خدمت شایسته حضرت بسیار خوشحالی کردند و کشتی غله مذکور را ب مردم لشکر قسمت کردند و سعادت و سلامت از آب گذشتند * رحمت باد بر بخشو مذکور که خدمت شایسته بجا آورد *

و آخر الامر بعد از طی مسافت به بکهر رسیدند — و قلعه بکهر در میان دریا واقع شد و قلعه مضبوط دارد — و پادشاه قلعه مذکور که سلطان محمود (41b) باشد متخصن شده بود و حضرت به پهلوی قلعه سعادت و سلامت فرود آمد بودند — و نزدیک قلعه باغی بود که میرزا شاه حسین سندر راست کرده بود *

و در آن ایام یی گونور حامله بود* همه میگفتند که پسر تولد خواهد شد* در همان باغ دوست منشی از یی گونور در ماه جمید الاول دختر تولد شد بهشتی بانو بیگم نام کردند*

و در آن روزها میرزا حیدر را بگرفتن کشمیر تعیین نموده اند* درین اثنا خبر آمد که شیرخان رسیده* عجب اضطراری دست داد* قرار دادند که صباح کوچ کنند* (40a)

درین مدّت که برادران در لاهور بودند هر روز مصیحت و مشورت و کنگاش میکردند* اصلاً يك چیز قرار نمی دادند* آخر الامر خبر آمد که شیرخان آمد* دیگری علاج شک بکهر روز بود که کوچ کردند و حضرت داعیه کشمیر داشتند — و میرزا حیدر کاشغریا فرستاده بودند* اما هنوز خبر فتح کشمیر نیامده بود* کنگاش دادند که اگر حضرة متوجه کشمیر شوند و کشمیر فی الحال میسر نشود و شیرخان در لاهور باشد — آن زمان بسیار مشکل میشود*

خواجه کلان بیگ در سیال کوت بود — متوجه ملازمت حضرت شد* مؤید بیگ همراه خواجه بود* بحضرت عرضه داشت کرد — خواجه دغدغه ملازمت دارد و می آید اما ملاحظه میرزا کامران دارد — اگر حضرت بسرعت بپایند ملازمت خواجه بحضرت با حسن وجه میسر می شود* حضرت از شنیدن این خبر فی الحال جیب پوشیدن مسلح و مکمل شد متوجه خواجه شدند و خواجه را همراه گرفته آوردند*

و حضرت فرمودند که باتفاق برادران به بدخشان روم و کابل (40b) تعلق ببریز کامران داشته باشد* اما میرزا کامران برفتن کابل راضی نشدند و گفتند که کابل را حضرت فردوس مکانی در حیات خود بوالده من داده اند — رفتن کابل لایق نیست* حضرت فرمودند که در باب کابل اکثر حضرت فردوس مکانی میفرمودند که کابل را من بهیچ کس نخواهم داد —

سرهفتد باشد * آن بی انصاف (39a) خدا نا نرس قبول نکرده و گفت که کابل را بشما گذاشتم — در آنجا باید رفت *

مظفر یک در ساعت کوچ کرد و بیشتر کس فرستاد که کوچ می باید کرد * همین که خبر رسید حضرت کوچ کردند گویا روز قیامت بود که جای هارا آرسته همراه اسباب همان نوع گذاشتند * مگر نند آنچه بود همون را توانستند گرفت * شکر خدا درین بود که از آب لاهور گذر یافتند * همه مردم پای آب گذاشتند — و چند روز در کنار درباری منزل کردند که ایلچی شیرخان آمد * قرار دادند که صباح به پیوند که میرزا کامران التماس نمودند که فردا معرکه خواهد بود و ایلچی شیرخان خواهد آمد * اگر در نوك زلجه حضرت نشینم تا فرقی میان من و برادران باشد باعث سرافرازی من خواهد شد *

همین بانو یکم میگویند میرزا ابن رباعی را پادشاه نوشته فرستادند و من شنیدم بوم که در جواب شیرخان بدست ایلچی نوشته فرستادند * رباعی ابن است —

در اینه گرچه خود نمائی باشد — پیوسته زخویشتن جدائی باشد — (39b) خود را بمثالی غیر دیدن عجب است — ابن بوالعجبی کار خدای باشد * ایلچی شیرخان که آمد ملازمت کرد *

خاطر مبارک ایشان ملول شد * دلگیر شد در خواب شدند و در خواب دیدند که عزیزی آمد از سرنا یا لباس سبز پوشید و عصای در دست * گفت مردانه باش و غم مخور و عصای خود را بدست مبارک حضرت داده اند و گفته اند خدای تعالی بتو فرزندی خواهد داد — نامش جلال الدین محمد اکبر بمائی * حضرت پرسیدند که اسم شریف شما چیست؟ فرموده اند که ژنده فیل احمد جام — و فرموده اند آن فرزند از نسل من خواهد شد *

است * آخر میرزا هندال عرض کردند که قتل کردن مادر و خواهر
بحضرت روشن است * تا جان دارم در خدمت آنها تردد میکنم و امیدوارم
از حضرت خن سبانه که در قدم حضرت والد و همیره این حقیر جان
خود را تار کنم *

آخر حضرت بادشاه با میرزا عسکری و بادگار ناصر میرزا و امزای که
از جنگ گاه سلامت بر آمد بودند متوجه فتح پور شدند *

و میرزا هندال حضرة والده خود را که دلدار بیگم باشند و همیره که
گلچهره بیگم باشند و افغانی آغه چه و گلنار آغه چه و نارگل آغه چه و اهل
و عیال امرا و غیره را در پیش انداخته می بردند که گواران بسیار بر ایشان
ناخندند * از سپاهیان ایشان چند کس اسب انداخته اند و گواران را (88 b)
شکست دادند — و بك تیره اسب مبارك ایشان رسید * جنگ و جدل
بسیار کردند * ضعفا را از اسیرئ گواران خلاص کرده حضرت والد و
همیره خود را و بی امرا و غیره مردم را در پیش انداخته به الور آمده
رسیدند *

چادر و خیمه و غیره بعضی اسباب که در کار بود گرفته متوجه لاهور
شدند * میرزایان و امرا یان را آنچه در کار بود همراه گرفته در اندك روز
آمد بلاهور رسیدند *

حضرت در باغ خواجه غازی نزدیک یبی حاج تاج فرود آمدند *
هر روز غیر شیر خان میرسید * مدت سه ماه در لاهور بودند و روز
بروز خبر می آمد که شیر خان دو گروه سه گروه می آید — تا آنکه خبر
رسید که نزدیک سرهند رسید *

و حضرة مظفر بیگ نام امرا (sic) داشتند * ترکان بود * او را همراه
قاضی عبد الله پیش شیر خان فرستادند که چه انصافست — تمام ملك
هندوستان را بنو گذاشتم * بك لاهور مانده میان ما و شما حد همین

خود را فرستادند که اگر همراه نیرود تا يك منزل خود بیاید * آخر در آن منزل که آمد شد دیگر بنیاد سوگند خوردن کردند که من ترا نخواهم گذاشت *

آخر صد گریه و زاری و فغان از والدها و از والده خود و از همسرها و از مردم پدر و برادران که از خوردی يك جا کلان شده بودم — از همه جدا کرده بزجر و زور بردند * دیدم که فرمان پادشاهی هم درین باب هست * لا علاج شدم و بحضرت عرضه داشت (87b) نوشتم که از حضرت چشم داشت آن نداشتم که این حقیرا از ملازمت خود جدا سازند و به میرزا کامران به بخشند * آخر در جواب عریضه حقیر حضرت پادشاه سلام نامه نوشته فرستادند به این مضمون که من دل نداشتم که ترا از خود جدا کنم — اما چون میرزا بسیار مبالغه کرد و عجز و الحاح نمود ضرور شد که ترا به میرزا سپردم چرا که الحال ما هم بر سر مهم ام — انشاء الله تعالی هرگاه که این مهم صورت پذیرد اول ترا خواهم طلبید *

چون میرزا متوجه لاهور شدند اکثر مردم از امرا و سوداگران و غیره هرکس را استعداد بود * گرابه * کرده و اهل و عیال خودهارا همراه میرزا کامران کوچانید بلاهور بردند *

بعد از آمدن بلاهور خبر رسید که براب آب گنگ جنگ شد و شکست بر لشکر حضرت افتاد * باری این قدر شد که حضرت با برادران و خویشان از آن ورطه بصحت و سلامت برآمدند *

دیگر خویشاوند که در آگره بودند براه الور شد متوجه لاهور شدند * در آن اثنا حضرت میرزا هندال (88a) فرمودند که در آن فترت اول عقیقه ببی غایب شدند * آخر بسیار پشیمان شدم که چرا بحضور خود نکشتم * الحال هم عورات را درین طور وقت همراه بجای رسانیدن مشکل

درین وقت که شیر خان نزدیک رسیده این چه کار است که حضرت میکند *

در آن روزها میرزا کامران بیماری عجیب زور کرده * چنان ضعیف و لاغر شدند و از بس که لاغر شده بودند اصلاً چهره برجا نبود و امید زیستن نبود * بعنایت (88b) آلهی بهتر شدند — و میرزا کامران را گمان آن شد که بمصلحت حضرت پادشاه والدها به ایشان زهر دادند * حضرت پادشاه این سخن را شنیدند * بکمتر به بدیدن میرزا کامران آمدند و سوگند خوردند که هرگز در خیال ما نگذاشته و بعکس فرموده ام * با وجود سوگند خاطر میرزا کامران صاف نشد و بیماری میرزا باز روز بروز بدتر شد چنانچه قوت سخن کردن نداشتند *

تا آنکه خبر رسید که شیر خان از لکهنو گذشت حضرت کوچ کردند و متوجه کنوج شدند و میرزا کامران را بجای خود در آگره ماندند * بعد از چند روز میرزا کامران شنیدند که حضرت پادشاه پل بسته از آب گنگ گذشتند * میرزا کامران شنیدند — از آگره کوچ کردند *

بطرف لاهور نشسته بودیم که میرزا کامران فرمان پادشاهی را فرستادند که شمارا حکم است که همراه من به لاهور بروید * از جهت من میرزا کامران بحضرت پادشاه گفته باشند که بیماری من بسیار قوی است و بسیار غریب و بیکیس و بی غمخوارم (87a) اگر گلبدن بیگم را حکم شود که بمن همراه بلاهور برود عین عنایت و کرم خواهد بود * حضرت بروی ایشان گفته باشند که برو * چون پادشاه بدولت و سعادت جانب لکهنو دوسه مترل رفتند میرزا فرمان پادشاهی را نمودند و محصل شدند که البته شما همراه من بیائید * والده من درین اثنا گفته باشند که هرگز از مایان جدا سفر نکرده است * ایشان فرمودند اگر تنها سفر نکرده است شما نیز همراه بروید * تا بانج صد از سپاهی و مہتران هم و هر دو آنکه و کوکۃ

میگوید * و باز فرمودند که گلبدن چه شود (85b) که برادر خود محمد هندال میرزا را نو رفته بیماری ؟ حضرت والد ام گفتند که این دخترک خورد سال است — هرگز صفر نکرده است * اگر حکم شود من بروم * آنحضرت فرمودند که من بشما این تصدیقات چون دهم این خود ظاهر است که غنوار فرزندتان بر مادر و پدر لازم است * اگر تشریف ببرید غنوار بست که بر مایان میکند *

آخر امیر ابو البقار با همراهی حضرت والد ام بطلب میرزا هندال فرستادند — و محمد هندال میرزا بهرگز شنیدن این خبر تشریف آوردند و حضرت والد خوشحالی ها کردند و پیشواز آمدند و همراه حضرت والد میرزا هندال از الور آمدند و حضرت پادشاه را ملازمت کردند و قصه شیخ بهول مذکور گفتند که جبه و حکیم و اسباب شاه یگری را بشیر خان میفرستاد * چون بتحقیق رسید شیخ مذکور را بنا بر آن کشتم *

غرض بعد از چند روز خبر رسید که شیر خان نزدیک لکهنو رسید * درین اثنا حضرت پادشاه يك غلام سقا داشتند * از جهة آنکه پادشاه در آب چوسه از اسپ جدا شده بودند (86a) و غلام سقا خود را رسانید و به مدد او از گرداب سعادت و سلامت برآمدند — آخر حضرت سقای مذکور را بر تخت نشاندند — و نام آن غلام مشخص نشنیدم * بعضی نظام میگفتند و بعضی سنبُل میگفتند * غرض آن غلام سقا را بر تخت نشاندند و حکم فرمودند که همه امرایان کورنش بغلام سقا بکنند و غلام بهرکس هرچه خواهد بخشد و منصب بدهد * تا دو روز به آن غلام پادشاهی دادند * میرزا هندال در آن مجلس حاضر نه بودند * رخصت شده باز بالور رفته بودند از برای براق کردن — و میرزا کامران نیز در آن مجلس نیامدند * بیماری داشتند و بمحضرت گفته فرستادند که غلام را بخشیش و رعایت های دیگر بایست کرد — چه لازم بود که بر تخت نشیند *

آمدند و فردوس مکانی را زیارت کرده والد و همسرهارا دیدند در باغ گل افشان منزل کردند *

درین اثنا نور بیگ آمد و خبر آورد که حضرة پادشاه می آیند * چون از جهة کشتن شیخ بهلول میرزا هندال محبوب بودند خود را بجانب الور کشیدند *

و میرزا کامران حضرت پادشاه را ملازمت کردند * بعد از چند روز از باغ گل افشان آمده حضرت پادشاه را ملازمت میکردند * همان روز که حضرت آمدند شب بود که رفته ملازمت کردم * این خبر را دیدند فرمودند که اول ترا نشناختم از برای آنکه وقتی که لشکر ظفران را به گور بنگاله کشید بودم — طافی پوش بودی * الحال که لچک فضا به دیدم نشناختم — و گلبدین من ترا بسیار یاد میکردم و گاهی پشیمان شدم می گفتم که کاشکی همراه می آوردم — اما وقتی که فطرات شد (85a) شکر میکردم و میگفتم الحمد لله که گلبدین را نیاوردم — با وجودی که عقیقه خورد بود صد هزار غم و افسوس میخوردم که چرا بلشکر آوردم *

و بعد از چند روز حضرت پادشاه بدیدن والد آمد بودند * آن حضرت هیکل مصحف همراه داشتند * فرمودند که ساعتی مردم کناره شوند * مردم برخاستند * خلوت شد * آخر حضرة به آجم و این خبر و افغانی آغه چه و گلنار آغه چه و نارگل آغه چه و انگه من گفتند که هندال قول و قنات من است بنوعی که مارا روشنائی چشم مطلوبت قوت بازو من مطلوب و مرغوبست * روا باشد — بجهت قضیه شیخ بهلول من میرزا محمد هندال چه خواهم گفتم — آنچه نفدیر الهی بود شدند * الحال من هیچ غبار خاطری به هندال ندارم — و اگر باور نکند — مصحف را برداشته بودند که حضرت والد و دلدار بیگم و این خبر مصحف را از دست ایشان گرفتم و هم گفتند — روا باشد — چرا چنین

چهل عایشه سلطان بیگم دختر سلطان حسین میرزا و بیچکا که خلیفه پادشاه
بابام بود و بیگم جان کوکه و غنیمه بیگم و چاند بیبی که هفت ماهه شک
داشت و شادی بیبی که این هر سه حرمان پادشاه بودند * ازین چند کس
اصلاً و قطعاً خبر هم نیافتند که در آب رفتند یا چه شدند * هر چند تقصص
و تردد کردند اصلاً معلوم نشد که چه شدند *

و تشویش ایشان تا چهل روز کشید * بعد از آن صحت یافتند *
درین صمن خسرو بیگ و دیوانه بیگ و زاهد بیگ و سید امیر از
پیش حضرة پادشاه که آمدند از طرف میرزایان محمد سلطان میرزا
و پسرانش باز خبر رسید که کنوج آمده اند *

و میرزا هندال بعد از (84a) قتل شیخ بهلول بدلی رفتند * میر فقر علی
و دولتمخواهان دیگر را همراه گرفته تا دفع و رفع محمد سلطان میرزا
و پسرانش بکنند * میرزایان از آن طرف گریخته بطرف کنوج آمدند *
میر فقر علی میرزا یادگار ناصر را در دهلی در آورد * چون در میان میرزا
هندال و میرزا یادگار ناصر اتحاد و اخلاص نبود — میر فقر علی که این
طور حرکتی کرد میرزا هندال از قهر دهلی را قبل کرده نشستند *

میرزا کامران که این خبرها شنیدند — در ایشان هم داعیه پادشاهی پیدا
شد * با دوازده هزار سوار مسلح متوجه دهلی را شدند * بدلی که رسیدند
میر فقر علی و میرزا یادگار ناصر دروازه دهلی بستند — و بعد از دوسه روز
میر فقر علی قول و قرار گرفته آمد میرزا کامران را دید — و عرض کرد که
خبرهای حضرت پادشاه و شیر خان را باین روش شنید میشود — و میرزا
یادگار ناصر از ملاحظه خود شمارا ملازمت نمی کند — مناسب دولت آنست
که درین طور وقت شما میرزا هندال را گرفته متوجه آگره شوید و خیال
نشستن (84b) دهلی نکنید * میرزا کامران سخن میر فقر علی را پسندید
و سروا داده بدلی رخصت کردند — و خود میرزا هندال را گرفته به آگره

منگیر شدند و اکثر مردم اهل و عیال خود را در کشتی بالا رویه آب می‌کنشیدند تا بجای پور پته رسیدند *

در حین رفتن قاسم سلطان در آنجا ماندند * درین اثنا خبر آمد که شیرخان آمد — و هر بار که جنگ میکردند مردم حضرت غالب می‌آمدند * و درین اثنا بابا بیگ از جونپور آمد و میرک بیگ از چناده آمد و مغل بیگ از (38a) اوده آمد این سه امرا که همراه شدند غله قیمت شد * آخر خواست خدا چنین بود — غافل نشسته بودند که شیرخان آمد ریخت * لشکر شکست یافت و اکثر اهل و مردم در اسیری ماندند — و بدست مبارک حضره زخم رسید * سه روز در چناده بودند * بعد از آن به اریل آمدند و چون بر سر دریا آمدن در گذشتن حیران ماندند که بی کشتی چطور در گذرند * درین اثنا راجه با پنج شش سوار آمده ایشان را از پای آب گذراند * مدت چهار پنج روز مردم بی طعام و شراب بودند * عاقبت الامر راجه بازار برپا کرد تا مردم لشکر چند روز بعیش و عشرت گذرانیدند و اسبان نیز آسوده شدند — و هر که پیاده بوده اسب نازه خرید * غرض راجه خدمات شبانه و بایسته بجا آورد — و روز دیگر راجه را رخصت فرمودند و خود بسعادت و سلامت غاز پیشین بر لب آب حنه آمدند * بک جا گذر یافته مردم لشکر از آب گذشتند — و بعد از چند روز دیگر به کره آمدند * در آنجا دانه و گاه وافر بود (38b) از برای آنکه ولایت خود بود * مردم لشکر آسوده شد بکالی رسیدند — و از کالی کوچ کرده متوجه آگره شدند * قبل از آمدن آگره خبر شنیدند که شیرخان طرف چوسه می‌آید * مردم را طرفه اضطرابی دست داد * از بعضی ها در آن فطرات اصلاً و قطعاً نام و نشان یافته نشد * از آن

Clearly an error. Humayun was marching up
آگره Text (کره) *

the Duab from the junction of the Jamna and Ganges, towards Agra.

خان غلام او در گور بودند * خواص خان (82a) و پسر خود را فرستاد که بروید و گری را مضبوط کنید * ایشانان آمدند و گری را گرفتند — و آنحضرت جهانگیر بیگ را پیش نوشته بودند که يك منزل پیشتر می رفت * بر سر گری رسید * جنگ شد * جهانگیر بیگ زخمی شد و کس بسیار کشته شد *

آخر حضرة در کهل گانو سه چهار روز بودند و مصلحت چنان شد که کوچ کرده پیشتر بروند و نزدیک گری فرود آیند * چون کوچ کرده پیشتر رفته نزدیک گری فرود آمدند شب شیر خان و خواص خان گریختند * فردا آنحضرت به گری در آمدند و از گری گذشته به گور بنگاله رفتند و گور را گرفتند *

تا نه ماه در ولایت گور بودند — و گور را جنت آباد نام کردند باز بدولت در گور بودند که خبر رسید امرا گریخته بهیرزا هندال ملحق شدند *

خسرو بیگ و زاهد بیگ و سید امیر میرزا ملازمت کرده بعرض رسانیدند که پادشاه بدولت دور رفته اند — و میرزایان که محمد سلطان میرزا و پسرانش اولغ میرزا و شاه میرزا باز سر بر آورده اند — و هر زمان در یکجا نشان میدهند (82b) و مشیخت پناهی بندگی شیخ بهلول درین وقت جیب و کجیم و اسباب سپاهگری در نخته پنهان کرده و در اربابا بار کرده بشیر خان و میرزایان میفرستند * میرزا هندال باور نمی کردند * آخر بجهت نقض این امر میرزا نور الدین محمد را فرستادند * جیب و کجیم هارا یافتند * بندگی شیخ بهلول را بقتل رسانیدند * این خبر که به پادشاه رسید متوجه آگره شدند و آن روی آب گنگ را گرفته می آمدند *

برابر منگیر که رسیدند امرا بعرض رسانیدند که شما پادشاه کلان اید — بهمان راهی که آمد بودید بهمان راه متوجه شوید — تا شیر خان نگوید که راه آمدن خود را مانده براه دیگر رفتند * باز آنحضرت متوجه

و چهاردهم شهر شعبان از باغ زرافشان کوچ کرده متوجه گجرات شدند و بر سر سلطان بهادر رفتند و در محصور مقابل شدند و جنگ کرده سلطان بهادر را بشکست او گریخته بجانب چنایر رفت * آخر حضرت خود مفید شد تعاقب کردند چنایر را گذاشته بطرف احمدآباد رفت * حضرة ولایت احمدآباد را هم گرفتند و بمردم تمام گجرات را تقسیم کردند و احمدآباد را میرزا عسکری عنایت فرمودند — و بهروج را بقام حسین سلطان دادند — و پسر را به یادگار ناصر میرزا دادند — و حضرة خود از چنایر بمردم اندک بطریق سیر به کنمایت رفتند * بعد از چند روز يك عورتی خبر آورد که — چه نشسته اید — مردم کنمایت جمع شده سر شا خواهد ریخت — یا حضرت سوار شوند * امرا یاز حضرت رسر آنجماعت ناخفتند و آنها (81b) گیر کردند و پاره را قتل کردند — بعد از آن به برود آمدند * از آنجا بطرف چنایر رفتند *

نشسته بودیم که فترات شد و مردم میرزا عسکری احمدآباد را مانده پیش پادشاه آمدند — و بعرض رسانیدند که میرزا عسکری و یادگار ناصر میرزا متفق شده اند و به آگره میخواهند بروند * چون حضرت شنیدند ضرورت متوجه آگره شدند — و بهم و معامله گجرات نپرداختند — گجرات را راقه کوچ کرده بجانب آگره آمدند * تا یکسال در آگره بودند *

بعد از آن بجانب چناده رفتند و چناده را و بنارس را گرفتند * شیرخان بر پرکنده بود و بمخدمت حضرت عرضه داشت کرد که بنک پیر غلام ما است — یکجارا سرحدی سد بسته بدهند — که در آنجا نشسته باشم *

درین فکر بودند که پادشاه گور بنگاله زخمی شده گریخته بهس حضرت آمد و بدان حضرة مفید نشدند — و کوچ کرده متوجه گور بنگاله شدند * شیرخان دانست که پادشاه بگور بنگاله رفتند * خود هم جریک ایلغار کرده بگور رفت و همراه پسر خود یکجا شد * پسر او و خواص

بیاد گله کردند که چند روز است که درین باغ تشریف آورده اید — يك روز بخانه ما نه آمدید * در راه خانه ما خوشار نکاشته اند — امیدوارم که در خانه ما نیز تشریف بیارید و معرکه و مجلس سازید * تا کی اینهمه بی التفاتها در بابۀ این بیچاره روا خواهید داشت * ما هم دلی داریم — در جایهای دیگر سه مرتبه تشریف بردید و شب و روز در آنجاها بعیش و عشرت گذرانیدید * آخر (80b) پادشاه هیچ نگفتند و بنواز رفتند — و يك پھر روز برآمد بود که همشیرها و بیگان و دلدار بیگم و افغانی آغچه و گلنار آغچه و میوه جان و آغچه جان و اینگه هارا (81c) طلیدند — و حالا که همه رفیق پادشاه هیچ نگفتند و همه دانستند که پادشاه در قهر اند * بعد از آن گفتند — بعد از زمانی — که بیسی سحر چه بلا از من گله کردی — و — آن همچو جای نبود که گله بایست کرد * شما میدانید که در خانه ولی نعمتان شمایان بوده ام * بن ضرورت است خاطر جوئی ایشانان کردن و با * خود آن از روی ایشان شرمند ام که دیری ینم — و دایم در خاطر م بود که از شمایان * بجلی طلبم * خوب شد که شما خود بزبان آوردید — من اقبونی — اگر در آمد و رفت من دیرتر واقع شود از من نرنجید — و گرنه خطی نوشته بدهید که رضائی شما خواه بیائید خواه نپائید که ما راضی و شاکرام از شما * گلبرگ بیگم فی الحال بهمین مضمون نوشته دادند و به گلبرگ بیگم دریافتند و بیگه بیگم یاره مبالغه کردند که عذر بدتر از گناهش (81e) نگرید — غرض ما از اظهار گله آن بود که مارا از التفات خود سرافراز سازند — ایشان کار را تا اینجا رسانیدند — ما چه چاره داریم — پادشاه اند * خطی نوشته دادند * حضرت پادشاه هم دریافتند *

* (ب) Read as *ba wujud-i-an*.

* (بجلی) Read in translating for سجلی; an attested writing.

شکست (29b) دادند * وبعد از چند گاه حضرت پادشاه خود متوجه گجرات بسلامت شدند * بتاریخ پانزدهم شهر رجب المرجب سنه ۹۴ نهصد و چهل و یک عزم جزم گجرات نمودند — و پیشخانه در باغ زرافشان برپا کردند — و خود در باغ مذکور تا جمع شدن لشکرها بیکاه بودند *

روزهای دیوان که بکشنه و سه شنبه باشد — آنروی آب می رفتند و تا در باغ بودند اکثر روزها آجیم و همشیرها و حرمان در ملازمت حضرت می بودیم * و از سه بالا چادر معصومه سلطان بیگم — بعد از آن چادر گلرنگ بیگم و چادر آجیم بیکجا بود * بعد از آن چادر مادرم * گلبرگ بیگم و بیگه بیگم و غیره بیگمان *

و کارخانها برپا کردند و طیار نمودند * مرتبه اول که خیمه و خرگاه و بارگاه در باغ برپا کردند بجهت دبین بورت و ترتیب فروز آمد بیگمان و همشیرها تشریف آوردند * چون معصومه سلطان بیگم نزدیکتر فروز آمد بودند بخانه ایشان تشریف آوردند * همه بیگمان و همشیرها در ملازمت حضرت بودیم * بخانه هر بیگمی و همشیره (80a) که تشریف می بردند همه بیگمان و همه همشیرها همراه می رفتند — و فرداش در خانه ابن خفیر تشریف فرمودند * تا سه بهر شب مجلس بود و اکثر بیگمان و همشیرها و بیگه ها و آغاها و آنچیه ها و سازندها و گویندها بودند * بعد از سه بهر حضرت آسایش فرمودند * همشیرها و بیگمان همه در ملازمت حضرت نکیه کردند *

و بیگه بیگم بیدار کردند که وقت نماز است * حضرت فرمودند که آب وضو را در همان خانه طیار سازند * بیگم دانستند که پادشاه بیدار شدند *

* [ملازم] Of. n. to trs.

** (فروز) occurs elsewhere where فروز might be looked for.

کوشکه وادسفه و بېخ نوشك و بېخ بستوق و بك نكهة كلان و دو
نكهة گلوله و قوشفه و نقاب مع خرگاه جالغ (۹) مع سه نوشك هم
زردوزی و سروپاهای میرزا چارقب و تاج زردوزی و فوطه و رويك
و رومال زردوزی و قوریوش زردوزی *

و سلطانم بیگم نه نبشته نكهة دار جواهر — بكي از لعل و بكي از یاقوت
و بكي از زمرد و بكي از فیروزه و بكي از زبرجد و بكي از عين الهرة *
دیگر (۱) ز نقره گهرنه (۹) — و بك چارقب و چارقربیچي نكهة دار —
و بك جفت حلقه لعل و بك جفت حلقه در — سه بخره و بك چترشاهی
يكدرخت و دو خطب و دیگر اسباب و اسيا و رخت و رخوت و كارخانه
از هم (20a) جنس كه آنچه خاتزاده بیگم جمع کرده بودند — هم را
دادند و بنوعی طوی کردند كه مثل آن طوی فرزندان پادشاه بابام را دیگر
مُسَر نشد * هم مهبأ کرده سبردند — و نه اسپ نهوچاق مع زین و مجام
مرصع كاری و زردوزی و طلا آلات و نقره آلات و غلامان ترك و چركس
و اروس و حبشی و از هر کدام نفوز نفوز پیشکش *

و آنچه بزنه بابام میرزا پیشکش کرده بودند — بك نفوز اسپ نهوچاق
مع زین و مجام مرصع و زردوزی و طلا آلات رنقره آلات — و دو نفوز
دیكر اسپان بارگیر مع زین و مجام همل و زربفت و سفلات پرنگالی و
غلامان ترك و حبشی و هندی — همگی سه نفوز و سه زنجیر فیل *

و بعد از آنكه از طوی فارغ شدند — خبر آمد كه وزیر سلطان
بهادر — خراسان خان نام — به بیانه ناخست آورده است * حضرت پادشاه
میرزا عسكری را با چند امرای دیگر كه فخر علی بیگ و میر نردی بیگ
و غیره را فرستادند * اینها در بیانه رفته جنگ کردند * خراسان خان را

* ? of neck —jewels nine. Nahr is the part of the neck on
which the necklace rests, might also be read as zingir but I
have found no help to this reading in dictionaries.

و حضرت بادشاه فرمودند که آکه جام اگر حکم شود در حوض آب بماند * آکه جام گفتند بسیار خوب * خود آمد بر سر زینه نشستند و مردم غافل که بیکبارگی شراس زده آب آمد — جوانان را طرفه احترازی دست داده (28a) حضرت بادشاه فرمودند دخل ندارد — هر کدام شایان که يك گلوله شیت * و يك پارچه معجون بخورید و از اینجا بدر روید — و در آن میان هر که معجون خورد زود برآمد و آب نا شتالنگ رسیده بود * المحصل هم معجون رسا خوردند و برآمدند * و آتش طوی کشیدند و سروپاها مردم نهادند و انعامها و سروپاها مردم معجون خورده و غیره دادند * در لب حوض تالاری بود و در تالار دریچه ها ابهرک گرفته بودند که جوانان در آن تالار نشستند و بازی گران بازی می کردند * بازار زنانه نیز کرده بودند و کیشی هارا آئین بسته بودند * و در يك کشتی مثل شش کی و شش کچ بسته بودند و در کشتی بالاخانه ساخته بودند و پایان باغی ساخته بودند از قسم قلفه و تاج خروس و نافرمان و لاله کاشته بودند و در يك جا هشت کشتی کرده بودند که هشت پرچه میشد * غرض که خدای تعالی ازین قسم اختراعات در دل مبارک ایشان عطا کرده بود — هر که میدید متعجب و منحصر می ماند *

دیگر شرح (28b) طوی میرزا هندال آنکه * سلطانم بیگم خواهر مهدی خواجه بودند *

یزنه بابام غیر جعفر خواجه فرزند دیگر نداشتند و فرزند نمی شد * آکه جام سلطانم را بفرزندی نگاه داشته بودند و دو ساله بود که خانزاده بیگم نگاه کرده بودند و عجایب دوست می داشتند و به برادرزاده خود داند و طوی را در کمال لطافت و خوبی کردند *

* (شیت) This word has only the *yā* points and might yield also *shē*, apple. Anise seems the safer remedy against chill.

** (آنکه) Translated as *ān ust ki*.

تصویرهای و خطهای خوش نهاده بودند* و خانه سوم که آنرا خانه مراد می گفتند در آن خانه خیمه‌کرت از مرصع و ظرفی از صندل انداخته و نوشکای خیال انداخته و در پایان نیز نهالجهای خاصی انداخته در پیش نهالجهاء دسترخانهای انداخته همه از زربفت خیال بود و میوه‌های الوان و شرشهای گوناگون — و همه اسباب عیش و طرب تنعم می‌ها ساخته بودند*

و روزی که طوی خانه طلسم شد حکم فرمودند که تمام میرزایان و بیگان و اربابان همه ساجی سازند* بفرموده ایشان همه آوردند — حکم فرمودند که این ساجی را سه نوده بکنند — سه خوان اشرفی شد و شش خوان شاهرخ — بکخوان اشرفی و دو خوان شاهرخ را به هندو بیگت دادند که این حصّه دولت است — میرزایان و اربابان و وزرا و سپاهی‌ها بخش بکن — و بکخوان اشرفی و دو خوان شاهرخ را (27b) بلازست مولا محمد فرغری دادند که این حصّه سعادت است — این را به اکابران و اشراف و علما و صلحا و زهاد و مشایخ و درویش و عبّاد و فقرا و مساکین بخش بکنند — و بکخوان اشرفی و دو خوان شاهرخ را فرمودند که این حصّه مراد است — از ما است — پیش بیارید* آوردند — فرمودند که شمردن چه حاجت است* اوّل خود دست مبارک رسانیدند و فرمودند که اوّل در بکخوانچه اشرفی و در بکخوانچه شاهرخ پیش بیگان به برند* هرکس مشت مشت خود را بگیرد و باقی دو خوان شاهرخ — و همه اشرفی را قریب دو هزار بود — و شاهرخ قریب ده هزار باشد* همه را پاشیدند و تثار کردند اوّل پیش ولی نعمان و ذکر (دیگر) بمحاضران مجلس از صد و صد پنجاه کم هیچکس نیافته بود — بخصص جماعه که در حوض بودند — بسیار یافتند*

کوک و شرف نشا کوک و فتح کوک و رابعه سلطان کوک و ماء لقا کوک و انگهای ما و کوکهای ما و مردم بیگان و کوچ اربابان و مردم که در دست راست بودند — سلیمه بیگ و بیبی نیک و خاتم آغه دختر خواجه عبدالله مروارید و نگار آغه مادر مغل بیگ و نار سلطان آغه و آغه کوک کوچ منم خان و دختر میرشاه حسین (?) عیسی بیگ و کسک مام و کابی مام و بیگی آغه و خاتم آغه و سعادت سلطان آغه و بیبی دولت بخت و نصیب آغه و عیسی کابی و دیگر بیگها و آغها کوچ اربابان بدین طرف نشستند (26b) و ه در آن مجلس طوی حاضر بودند *

و طرح خانه طلسم بدین تفصیل — خانه کلان مشمن که در آن جا طوی دادند — خانه خورد دیگر برابر آن هم مشمن بود — و در هر دو مشمن انواع تکلف و آرایش نموده بودند — و در مشمن کلان که طوی خانه باشد — تخت مرصع نهاده — در بالا و پایین تخت ادستهای زردوزی انداخته و شدهای مروارید او بخته بمقدار یک نیم گز درازی — هر لری دو کره آینه در پایان فریب سی چهل لری ها ساخته و آویخته — و در مشمن خورد چهارکت^{*} (sic) مرصع نهاده و یاندان و صراحی و مشرب مرصع و طلا آلات و نفره آلات ساده در طاق ها نهاده و بجانب دیوانخانه قبله روبه و دیگری بجانب باغ مشرق روبه و در سوم بجانب مشمن کلان جنوب روبه و در چهارم بجانب مشمن خورد شمال روبه — در بالای این سه خانه مذکور سه بالاخانه بود که یکی را خانه دولت میگفتند — و در آن خانه نه اسباب سپاه گیری می بود — مثل شمشیر مرصع و فور مرصع و کر خنجر مرصع و جمدهر و کپیوه مرصع و ترکش — ه مرصع و فور بوش (27a) زردوزی انداخته — و خانه دوم که آن خانه سعادت میگفتند در آن خانه جای نماز و کتابها و قلمدانهای مرصع و جزدانهای خوش و مرقهای لطیف مع

* Several Hindustani words occur in the M.S..

و بیکم بیگم و شاه بیگم مادر دلشاد بیگم دختر فخرجهان بیگم عمه پادشاه و بیکم بیگم و آباق بیگم دختر سلطان بخت بیگم و مهرلیق بیگم عمه پادشاه و شاد بیگم نواسه سلطان حسین میرزا از جانب مادری عمه پادشاه — و مهرانگیر بیگم دختر مظفر میرزا نواسه سلطان حسین میرزا — بسیار دوست میداشتند (25b) و لباس مردانه می پوشیدند و بانواع هنرها آراسته همچو زهگیری* تراشی و چوگان بازی و تیراندازی و آکترسازها می نواختند — و گل بیگم و فوق بیگم و جان سلطان بیگم و افروزبانو بیگم و آغه بیگم و فیروزه بیگم و برلاس بیگم*

و یگمان دیگر هم بسیار بودند که بتفصیل نود و شش بیگم — همه علوفه دار بودند — و چندان دیگر هم بودند*

بعد از طوئی طلسم طوئی میرزا هندال شد — از یگمان مذکور بعضی بولایت رفتند و بعضی که در آن مجلس حاضر بودند اکثر در دست راست نشسته بودند* از یگمان مایان — آغه سلطان و آغاچه مادر یادگار سلطان بیگم — و آتون ماما و سلیمه و سکنه و یببی حبیبه و حنیفه بیگه*

و مردم دیگر که بدست چپ پادشاه نشسته بودند بر نوشک زردوزی — معصومه سلطان بیگم و گلرنگ بیگم و گلچهره و ابن حفر شکسته گلبدن و غنیمه سلطان بیگم و آیم والدۀ ما که دلدار بیگم باشند — و گلبرگ بیگم و بیگه بیگم (26a) و نیجه مام و سلطانم کوچ امیر خلیفه والوش بیگم و ناهید بیگم و خورشید کوکه و کوکه زادهای پادشاه بابام — افغانی آغاچه و گلنار آغه و نازگل آغه چه و کوچ هندو بیگم و آغه و فاطیمه سلطان انکه مادر روشن کوکه — فخرنساء انکه مادر ندیم کوکه کوچ میرزا فلی کوکه — کوچ محمدی کوکه — کوچ مؤید بیگم و کوکههای پادشاه — خورشید

* (زهگیری) I read wa before tarashi.

شرح نوی خانه که در لبِ دریا راست کرده بودند — و نام آنرا طلسم نهاده بودند *

اول خانه کلانِ مشمن بود و در میانه خانه حوض (24b) مشمن و باز در میانه حوض صُفّه مشمن و بالای آن گلیمهای ولایتی انداخته — و اکثر جوانان و صاحب حسن دختران و زنانِ صاحب جمال و سازندها و گوبندها، خوش آوازا حکم کردند که در حوض بنشینند و در پیشگاه خانه تخت مرصّع که آکام در نوی عنایت کرده بودند نهاده و نوشك زردوزی در پیش انداخته بودند *

حضرت پادشاه و آکه جانم در پیش تخت در يك نوشك نشستند * و در دست راست آکه جانم عمهای ایشان دختران سلطان ابو سعید میرزا فخر جهان بیگم و بدیع الجمال بیگم و آق بیگم و سلطان بخت بیگم و گوهر شاد بیگم و خدیجه سلطان بیگم نشستند *

و در نوشك دیگر عمهای ما که خواهران حضرت فردوس مکانی باشند — شهربانو بیگم و یادگار سلطان بیگم و عایشه سلطان بیگم دختر سلطان حسین میرزا والوغ بیگم دختر زینب سلطان بیگم عمه حضرت پادشاه و عایشه سلطان بیگم و سلطانی بیگم دختر سلطان احمد میرزا عموی پادشاه (25a) و مادر کلان خان بیگم و بیگه سلطان بیگم دختر سلطان خلیل میرزا عموی پادشاه و مام بیگم و بیگی بیگم دختر الغ بیگم میرزا کابلی عموی پادشاه — و خانزاده بیگم دختر سلطان مسعود میرزا از جانب مادری نواسه پابنده محمد (sic) سلطان بیگم عمه پادشاه و شاه خانم دختر بدیع الجمال بیگم — و خانم بیگم دختر آق بیگم و زینب سلطان خانم دختر سلطان محمود خان طغائی کلان پادشاه — و ثجه سلطان خانم دختر سلطان احمد خان که به الاجه خان مشهور بودند طغائی خورد پادشاه کلان و خاننش خواهر میرزا حیدر دختر خاله پادشاه و بیگه کلان بیگم

طلسم که اینها هم گوالبار را به بینند * نوکار و خواجه کیر را فرستادند که
 بیگه بیگم و عقیقه سلطان بیگم را از آگره آوردند — و دو ماه در گوالبار با
 یکدیگر بهم گذرانیدند * بعد از آن متوجه آگره شدند — و در ماه شعبان
 در آگره آمدند *

و در ماه شوال به آکام تشویش شکم شد * در سیزدهم شهر مذکور ^{۹۴۰} ^{سنه}
 نهصد و چهل از عالم فانی بعالم جاودانی خرامیدند — و فرزندان حضرة
 بادشاه بابا مرا داغ تبیی تازه شد — بتخصیص بن که ایسان خود مرا پرورش
 فرموده بودند * مرا طرفه حالی و بیطافتی و مصیبت صعب دست داده
 بود * شب و روز گریه و فغان و زاری میکردم * حضرت بادشاه چند مرتبه
 آمده دلداریها و غمخواریها و مهربانیها کردند * دو ساله بودم که
 حضرة آکام مرا در منزل (24a) خود بردند و پرورش کردند و ده ساله
 شدم که ایشان از عالم رحلت نمودند * تا يك سال دیگر هم در منزل
 آکام بودم *

وقتی که حضرت بسیر دهلپور رفتند — در سال یازدهم همراه آجم شدم
 و پیش از آنکه بگوالبار روند و عارات را بنا کرده رفتند *

و بعد از آتش چله آکام بادشاه بدلی تشریف بردند و بنای قلعه دین پناه
 نهادند و به آگره آمدند — و آکه جانم * بحضرت بادشاه گفتند که نوی میرزا
 هندال کی می کید؟ حضرت گفتند بسم الله — و در آن اثنا آکام حیات
 بودند که میرزا هندال نکاح کردند — اما موقوف باسباب نوی بودند که
 سپارند — فرمودند که اسباب نوی طلسم هم طیار است — اول نوی طلسم
 بدم * بعد از آن نوی میرزا هندال بکم * حضرت بادشاه به آکه جانم
 گفتند که حضرة عمه چه میفرمایند؟ ایشان گفتند خدا مبارك و خیر
 کرداند *

و هفت هزار کس خلعتِ خاص پوشانیدند و چند روز شادیاها کردند *

و درین اثنا شنیدند که محمد زمان میرزا پدر حاجی محمد خان کوکی را کشت (23a) و خیال باغی شدن دارد * حضرت بادشاه برای طالب آنها کس فرستادند و آنها را گرفته در پیانه بند کرده پیادگار طغای سپردند — و مردم یادگار طغای یکی شد محمد زمان میرزا گریزانیدند * درین اثنا سلطان محمد میرزا و نخب سلطان میرزا را حکم شد که بچشم هر دو میل کنند * در میل کشیدن نخب کور شد و بمحمد سلطان میرزا کسی که میل کشید چشم مشارالیه اسیب نرساید * بعد از چند روز محمد زمان میرزا و محمد سلطان میرزا و پسرانش والوغ میرزا و شاه میرزا گریختند — و درین چند سال که در هند بودیم همیشه غوغای آنها بود *

و حضرت بادشاه که از لشکر بین و بایزید آمدند قریب یکسال در آگره بودند * به آکام عرض کردند که درین روزها دلگیرم * اگر حکم شود در ملازمت شما بسیر گوالیار بروم * حضرت آکام و آج و هشیرها معصومه سلطان بیگم را که ماه چیمه میگفتم و گلرنگ بیگم را گل چیمه میگفتم در ملازمت ولی نعمتان در گوالیار بودیم *

و گلچهره بیگم در اوده بودند چرا که شوهر ایشان توخته بوغا سلطان برحمت حق پیوستند (23b) و مردم که در ملازمت بیگم بودند — از اوده بحضرت عرضه داشت کردند که توخته بوغا سلطان فوت شدند — بیگم را چه حکم میشود؟ حضرت بادشاه میرزاچرا حکم فرمودند که رفته بیگم را در آگره یارد — ما نیز در آگره می آئیم *

درین اثنا حضرت آکام گفتند که اگر حکم شود بیگه بیگم و عقیقه را

* (گریزانیدند) The rebellious Mirzas were of the house of Bayqra with which Msham Begam had relationship.

وبادشاه که بجانب چنانده رفته بودند بدولت و سعادت آمدند*
آگام که مام بیگم باشند — نوئی کلان دادند و بازارها را (22b) آیین
بستند — و بیش ازین آیین بندی مردم بازار میکردند آخر ایشان مردم
آدمی و سپاهی را هم حکم کردند تا جایهای خوب و مکانهای مرغوب راست
بکنند* از آن پس آیین بندی در هند شایع شد*

ونخت مرصع که بپهار زینه می برآمدند بالای او ادسفه* زردوزی
و نوشک و نیکه زردوزی انداختند و پوشش خرگاهها و بارگاه اندرون
زربفت فرنگی و بیرون از سفلات برنگالی* چوبهای خرگاه و بارگاه بطلا
ملع کرده بودند* آن بسیار بزیب شده بود و معرلی** خرگاه از زرکش
گجراتی و کنت و سرکنت و آفتابه جلابجن*** و شمع دان ها و مشربها و گلاب
چاشما هم از طلا و مرصه راست کرده بودند — و از همه اسباب مرتب
ساختمه نوئی خوبی و مرغوبی دادند* و دوازده قطار شتر و دوازده
قطار خنجر و هفتاد راس اسب نهوجاق و صد راس اسب بارگیر —

* (ادسفه) This word occurs thrice in the M.S. i.e., at 22b (here), at 26 b—in the plural—, and at 28 b. 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 'alaqaha' 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 Turk! *asqi* "tout qui est suspendu pour ornemen" Zenker 58b.

** (معرلی) *توغورلوق* There are no points. Mr. A. G. Ellis has kindly helped me with the suggestion I have accepted. The meaning of *توغورلوق* is "*feutre qui recouvre la tente*". (P. de C. Turki Diet. 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*.

*** (جلابجن) I suggest *جلابجن* on the analogy of *کلابجن*. One looks for *bason* after *ewer* but the word following *آفتابه* cannot be read as *chilumchi* or any other equivalent for *bason* which I can find. *Chilumchi*, i. e. *childnchi* occur at 72 a and does not resemble the doubtful word here rendered *juldbjan*.

ماه از طرف گور رسیدند * بجزد استماع این خبر حضرت پادشاه از آگوه
منوجه آنها شدند و بین و بایزید را شکست داده به چنده آمدند — و چنده را
نیز گرفته به آگوه آمدند *

و آکم که مام بیگ باشند بسیار در طلب و آرزو بودند که فرزند هایون را
به بینم — و هر جا که دختر صاحب حسن و جمال می بود — در خدمت
حضرت پادشاه می آوردند * و میوه جان که دختر خدنگک بساؤل بود
در خدمت من بود * (بعد) از قضا حضرت فردوس مکانی روزی در حیات
خود فرمودند — هایون — میوه جان بد نیست — چرا در خدمت خود نمی
گیری؟ — آخر بیگفته ایشان هایون (22a) پادشاه همان شب عقد بسته میوه
جان را گرفتند — و بعد از سه روز بیگه بیگم از کابل آمدند و حامله شدند *
بعد از يك سال دختر تولد شد و نامش را عقیقه بیگم نهادند * و آکه مام
بیگم را میوه جان میگفت که من نیز حامله ام * آخر آکام دو طریق * براق
طیار کردند و می گفتند — هر کدام که از شما بان پسر بزاید براق نیک را بان
میدم — و براق بسته و بدام و چار مغز از طلا و نقره راست کرده بودند —
و براق * بانان نیز راست کرده بودند و خوشحال بودند که شاید یکی از
این ها پسر زاید — و چشم انتظار داشتند که بیگه بیگم عقیقه بیگم را
زائیدند * الحال چشم برا میوه جان داشتند که ده ماه شد و یازدهم ماه نیز
گذشت * میوه جان میگفت که خاله من حرم میرزا الغ میگت بودند * در
دوازده ماه پسر زائیدند * من هم شاید که بدان مانند شده باشم * و خرگاه
دوخته و نوشك ها بر کرده * آخر هم معلوم شد که هویك *** بوده *

* The text has no points to the *yd* of my reading. If the prop were absent the word could be read *Ẓj+i taraq* ply, fold i. e. sets. The sense of the two passages is, I think, that Maham got together two sets of arms of which one included of those a Mughal Commander.

Yalqan (yardq-i-ilkhan.

*** (هه بیگ) an ambitious little person or a little mad-woman.

کردند. — و شصت حافظ خوشخوان و خوشالخان قاری را مقرر فرمودند که پنج وقت نماز بجماعت بخوانند و ختم قرآن بکنند و فاتحه بارواح حضرت فردوس مکانی بخوانند باشند* و سبکری که الحال (21a) فتح پور مشهور است درو بست و مع زیادتی پنج لک از بیانه وقف مزار حضرت کردند که برای خرج علما و حفاظ و غیره که تعلقی مزار دارند صرف می شد باشد* دو وقت آش آکام تعین فرمودند. — صباح يك گاو و دو گوسفند و پنج بز. — و نماز دیگر پنج بز* تا دو نیم سال که آکام در قید حیات بودند این طعام دو هفته از سرکار ایشان بر سر مزار بخش میکردند*

و تا زمانی که آکام حیات بودند در دولتخانه آکام حضرت بادشاه را میدیدم* وقتی که آکام بد حال شدند بن گفتند که بسیار مشکل میباشد که بعد از فوت من دختران بادشاه برادر خود را در خانه کلبرگ ببینی به بینند* گویا که سخن حضرت آکام در دل و هوش حضرت بادشاه بود. — تا در هندوستان بودند. — دایم در خانه ما آمدن مایان را میدیدند و مهربانی و عنایت و شفقت بجمد میکردند. — و بمصومه سلطان بیگم و گلرنگ بیگم و گلچهره بیگم و غیره. — همه بیگان که کد خدا شده بودند. — حضرة بادشاه در خانه این حفیر می آمدند. — و همه بیگان در خانه این حفیر آمدن ملازمت حضرت بادشاه میکردند (21b) غرض که حضرت بادشاه حاضرجوی این شکسته را بعد از وفات پادشاه بابام و آکام به چنین عنایت میکردند و شفقت بجمد در باره این بیچاره میفرمودند که بتنبی وی سری خود را ندانم*

مدّة ده سال که بعد از وفات حضرت فردوس مکانی — حضرت جنت آشیانی در هند بودند همه مردم در رفاهیت و امنیت و فرمانبرداری و اطاعت بودند* بعد از واقعه فردوس مکانی بن* و بایزد بعد از شش

* (ببین) Text has *tashdid*.

برای دیدن می آیند * همه برخاستند همه بیگمان را و مادران مرا بخانه کلان بردند * و فرزندان و خویشان و غیره مردم را روز سیاه افتاد و طرفه زاری و فریاد و فغان و بیطاعتی کردن گرفتند — و هرکس بگوشه پنهانی این روز سیاه داشتند *

و واقعه ایشان را پنهان میکردند * آخر الامر آرایش خان نام یکی امرای هند بود — او عرضه داشت که پنهان کردن این امر خوب نیست از برای آنکه در هندوستان رسم است که اگر پادشاهان را واقعه چنین دست میدهد — مردم بازاری ناراج میکنند * مباده مغلان نا دانسته در خانهای و در حوطلهای در آمد ناراج بکنند * مناسب آنست که بیک کسی جامه سرخ پوشانند و بر فیل سوار بکنند و از بالای فیل منادی بکند که حضرت بابر پادشاه درویش شدند و پادشاهی خود را بهایون پادشاه دادند * و حضرت هایون پادشاه حکم فرمودند که چنین بکنید * بجز منادی کردن مردم را خیلی تسلی شد (20b) و همه مردم دعای دولت ایشان میکردند * بتاریخ نهم شهر مذکور روز جمع حضرت هایون پادشاه بخت نشستند — و پادشاهی ایشان را همه عالم مبارک باد گفتند *

بعد از آن بدیدن مادران و خواهران و مردم خود آمده — برش و دلداری داده نوازش و غم خوارها فرمودند — و حکم فرمودند هرکس هر منصبی و خدمتی و جاگیری و جای که داشت — همه بجال خود باشد و بخدمت خود بدستور سابق قیام نماید *

و در روز مذکور میرزا هندال از کابل آمد حضرت پادشاه را ملازمت کرد * برو مهربانی ها کردند و بسیار خوشحال شدند * از خزاین که از پدر مانده بود چیز بسیار بمیرزا هندال عنایت فرمودند *

بعد از وفات حضرت پادشاه بابام برات و ایام منبرکه اول معرکه بر سر مزار حضرت پادشاه بابام می شد و محمد علی عیسی را متولی مزار حضرت

بدست احمد چاشنی گیر بد و بگو که هر طور کرده در آتش خاصه بادشاهی اندازد و باو وعده بسیار کرده بود * با وجود آنکه حضرت بادشاهی آن ید بدبخت را مادر می گفتند و جا و جاگیر نعین کرده رعایت کلی فرموده بودند — و فرموده بودند که مرا بجای سلطان ابراهیم خود بدان * اما از آنجا که چهل در آن قوم غالب است رعایتها را منظور نداشت * مشهور است — باز گردد باصل خود همه چیز * قصه مختصر آن زهر که با آن باورچی آورده داده بود باورچی را الله تعالی کور و کر ساخته بود که زهر را بالا نانی پاشیده بود کمتر تناول کرده بودند * اما اصل بیماری از اثر همان بود که روز بروز ضعیف و نحیف میشدند و هر روز نشویش (19b) ایشان در تریاید بود و چهره مبارک ایشان در تغیر که فرداش همه امرایان را طلبد فرمودند که سالهای بود که در دل داشتم که بادشاهی خود را بهمایون میرزا بدم و خود در باغ زرافشان بگوشه نشینم * از کرم آلهی همه چیز میسر شد اما آن نشد که در تندرستی خود این امر را بکنم * الحال این نشویش مرا زبون کرده وصیت میکنم که همه ایشان همایون را بجای من دانند — و در دولت خواهی او تفصیر نکنید و به او موافق و یکجهت باشید * از حق سبحانه امیدوارم که همایون هم مردم خوب پیش خواهد آمد * دیگر همایون ترا و برادران ترا و همه خویشان و مردم خود را و ترا بخدا می سپارم و این هارا بتوی سپارم * از این سخنان حاضران و ناظران را گریه و زاری دست داد و خود هم چشمان مبارک بر آب کردند *

این واقعه را اهل حرم و مردم درون شنیدند * طرفه حالی و بیطاعتی و گریه و زاری دست داد * بعد از سه روز از عالم فانی به عالم جاودانی خرامیدند * بتاریخ پنجم ماه جمیع الاول روز دوشنبه ^{۹۳۷} سه نهصد و سی و هفت بود که شفق شدند *

عمه مارا و مادران مارا (20a) به بهانه برآوردند که طبیبان و حکیمان

و در حین بیماری حکم کردند باکام که گلرنگ بیگم و گلچهره بیگم را که خدا باید کرد (18b) و هرگاه که حضرت عمه جو* شریف ارزانی فرماید معلوم ایشان بکنید که پادشاه میگوید بخاطر من میرسد که گلرنگ را به ایسن نیمور سلطان و گلچهره را به نوخته بوغا سلطان نسبت بکم* آکا جانم نیم کتان آمدند* به ایشان گفتند که حضرت پادشاه این قسم می فرماید که بخاطر من چنین رسید— باقی آنچه رصای ایشان باشد— همان طور بکنند* حضرت آکا جانم نیز گفتند که خدا مبارک و سازکاری کند— بسیار خوب بخاطر ایشان رسید* جیم** خود و بدج اجمال بیگم و آقا بیگم هر دو عمه بردالان بردند* صفا*** داده و بساطها انداخته ساعت را ملاحظه کرده نچه مام هر دو سلطانان را زانوزانیده به دامادی سرافراز بکنند*

درین ضمن نشویش سکم ایشان پیشتر شد* حضرة هابون پادشاه که احوال پدر خراب تر دیدند— باز بیطاقت شدند* اطبا و حکما را طلبیده گفتند نیک ملاحظه کرده علاج نشویش حضرت نماید* اطبا و حکما (19a) جمع شدند گفتند که کم طالعی مایان است که داروی کارگرانی شود* امیدوارم از حضرت حق سبحانه که از خزانه غیب شفای عاجل عطا کند* درین حین چون نبض آنحضرت دیدند— اطبا بعرض رسانیدند که علامت همان زهر است که والد سلطان ابراهیم داده بود— و آنچنانست که یک بد بخت بدست داده خود یک توپچه زهر داده بود که برده

* (جیو) By this term of endearment IJamlda-bgnfl, Akbar's mother addressed the dying Gul-badan.

** (جیجیم) I believe this should be جیجیم. A similar omission of the *alif* is not infrequent in the M.S. Cf. مامها for مامها (Ub.). So also of the points of the *ya* and the *che*.

*** (صفا) As in this M.S. *alif* is several times written for *ha'i* *hautvazy* I translate صفا, estrade, raised seat and not صفا.

قریب دو سه ماه صاحب فراش بودند و میرزا هایون بجانب کالج رفتہ بودند * چون تشویش حضرت بادشاہ پیشتر شد — بطلب حضرت هایون بادشاہ کس فرستادند * ایشان بایلغار رسیدند * چون حضورا ملازمت کردند — ایشان را بسیار ضعیف دیدند * حضرت هایون بادشاہ رفت تمام نموده — ببطافتی کردن گرفتند و بخدمتگاران می گفتند کہ بکارگی چرا ازین قسم زارنزار گشته اند — واطبا و حکما را طلبیدند و گفتند کہ من ایشان را ندرست گذاشته رفتم بودم — بکارگی چه شد؟ حکما واطبا چیزهای گفتند *

و حضرت بادشاہ بابام هر زمان و هر ساعت می پرسیدند کہ هایون * کجا است؟ و چه کاری کند؟ درین اثنا یکی آمد گفت کہ پسر میر خورد بیگ میر بردی بیگ کورنش میرساند * فی الحال حضرت بادشاہ (18a) بابام با اضطراب تمام طلبید پرسیدند کہ ہندال کجا است؟ کی خواهد آمد؟ چه ہلا انتظار داد * میر بردی گفت کہ شاہزادہ کامگار بدہلی رسیدہ اند — امروز فردا بخدمت خواهند رسید * درین اثنا حضرت بادشاہ بابام بہ میر بردی بیگ گفتند کہ مردک بدبخت — شنیدہ ام کہ خواہر ترا در کابل کدخدا کردند و ترا در لاهور کدخدا کردند — برای این طوہای پسر مرا زودتری ** آوردی — کہ انتظار از حد گذشت — و می پرسیدند کہ ہندال میرزا چه مقدار شدہ است و بہ کہ مانند است؟ چون میر بردی بیگ جامہ میرزا پوشیدہ بود نمود کہ این جامہ شاہزادہ است کہ بہ بند عنایت فرمودہ اند * حضرت پیشتر طلبیدند کہ بہ ہنم قد قامت ہندال چه مقدار شدہ است — و هر زمان هر ساعت می گفتند کہ ہزار دریغ کہ ہندال را ندیدم * هر کس کہ می آمد می پرسیدند کہ ہندال کی خواهد آمد؟

* (هایون) This is probably a clerical error for Hindal.

** (نمی) The text has no negative but it is required by the context.

خویش دیدند— و از آنجا هر دو— مادر و پسر— مانند عیسی و مریم متوجه آگوه شدند *

و در حینی که باگوه در رسیدند— این خفیر همراه همشیرها ملازمت آن حضرت فرستۀ خصال رفته کردم— چون ضعیف ایشان بیشتر از پیشتر بود در این وقت هرگاه که آن حضرت بهوش خویش می آمدند از زبان درافشان خویش پرسش می فرمودند که خواهران خوش آمدید— بیایید تا یکدیگر را دریابیم که شمارا در نیافته ام * قریب سه مرتبه سرافراز کرده از زبان گوهرافشان خود باین عبارت سرافراز فرمودند * و چون حضرت آمدند و دریافتند— بجزد دیدن آن چهرۀ نورافشان در کلفت و رقت شد و ایشان بیشتر از پیشتر اظهار بیدلی کردن گرفتند * درین اثنا حضرت (17a) آگام گفتند که شما از فرزند من غافلید— و پادشاه ابد چه غم دارید— و فرزندان دیگر نیز دارید * مرا غم است که فرزند یگانه دارم * حضرت جواب دادند که ما هم اگرچه فرزندان دیگر دارم— اما هیچ فرزندی برابر همیون تو دوست نی دارم— از برای آنکه سلطنت و پادشاهی و دنیای روشن از برای یگانه جهان و نادرۀ دوران کامگار برخوردار فرزند دلبد همیون میخوام— نه برای دیگران *

وقتی که ایشان بیمار بودند حضرت رونق حضرت مرتضی علی کرم الله وجهه نگاه داشتند— و آن رونق را از روز چهار شنبه نگاه میدارند * ایشان از اضطراب و بیطاعتی از روز سه شنبه نگاه داشتند * هوا بغایت گرم بود * دل و جگر ایشان تنید— و در رونق مذکور دعا خواستند که خدا یا— اگر بعوض جان جان مبدل شود— من که بابر ام— عمر و جان خود را بهایون بخشیدم— و در همان روز حضرت فردوس مکانی را تشویش شد (17b) و همیون پادشاه بر سر خود آب ریختند و بیرون آمد بار دادند و حضرت پادشاه بابام را از جهت تشویش درون بردند *

سجدهات شکر بجا آوردند و متوجه آگره شدند. و بیهه بیگمان حویلیها عنایت فرمودند و بعد از چند روز بسیر باغ زر افشان رفتند *

و در باغ مذکور وضوخانه بود * آنرا که دیدند فرمودند — دل من از سلطنت و پادشاهی گرفته در باغ زر افشان بگوشه بنشینم — و از برای خدمتگاری طاهر آفتابچی بن بسیار است. و پادشاهی را به هایون بدم * درین اثنا حضرت آکام و هه فرزندان گریه و بیطافتی کرده گفتند که خدای تعالی شمارا در مپسند پادشاهی سالهای بسیار و فرنهای یشمار در امان خود نگاه دارد و هه فرزندان (16a) در قدم شما بکمال پیری برسند *

بعد از چند روز آلور میرزا بیمار شدند و بیماری ایشان بدرد شکم کشید که هر چند حکیم ها و اطبا علاج کردند — بیماری ایشان پیشتر از پیشتر شد * آخر بهمان بیماری از عالم فانی بعالم جادوانی خرامیدند * حضرت پادشاه بسیار نأسف و غم خوردند * والدۀ میرزا آلور که دلدار بیگم باشند — از غم و غصه آن فرزند — که نادر جهان و بیگانه عصر بود — سودا پیدا کردند * چون دلگیری از حد گذشت حضرت پادشاه باکام و بیگمان گفتند — بیائید — بسیر دهلپور بروم — و خود در کشتی نشسته بسعدت و سلامت از آب گذشتند و بدهلپور مذکور رفتند * بیگمان نیز میخواستند که در کشتی نشسته از آب بگذرند *

که در این اثنا عرضه داشت مولانا محمد فرغری * از دهلی آمد * نوشته بود که هایون میرزا بیمار اند و حالی عجبی دارند بشنیدن این خبر حضرت بیگم زودی زود متوجه دهلی می باید شوند که میرزا (16b) بسیار بیطافتی میکنند * بهرزد شنیدن این خبر حضرت آکام بیطافتی کرده * مانند نشئه که مهور آب باشد — بجانب دهلی متوجه شدند * در منهره رسیدند چنانچه شنیده بودند از آن ده چند مضعوف و مجهول بچشم جهان بین

* (فرغری) Sic. Parghall is the usual form.

و دریای افتادم و حضرت پرش بسیار نمودند * زمانی در بغل نشاند و این
خبر را در آن اثنا آنقدر خوشحالی روی نمود که مزیدی بر آن متصور
نباشد *

بعد از آمدن آگره سه ماه گذشته بود که حضرت بادشاه متوجه دهولپور
شدند و حضرت ماهم بیگم و این خبر به سیر دهولپور رفت * در دهولپور
حوضی ده درده راست کرده بودند از يك پرچه * از آنجا بسیکری رفتند *
صفه کلانی در میانه کول حکم کردند که راست بکنند * وقتی که آن
راست شد در کشتی نشسته آنجا میرفتند و سیر می کردند و می نشستند —
که تا حال هم آن صفه مذکور هست * و در سیکری در باغ چوکندی هم
راست کرده بودند * حضرت بادشاه بابام در آن چوکندی * تورخانه برپا
کرده در آن نشسته مصحف می نوشتند *

و من و افغانی آغاچه در پیش در پایان نشسته بودیم که آگام بنماز
رفتند * من با افغانی آغاچه گفتم که دست مرا بکشید * افغانی آغاچه دست
مرا کشیدند * دست من برآمد و من (16b) بیطاقی و گریه کردن گرفتم *
آخر کمان گرا آورده دست مرا بسته متوجه آگره شدند *

و در آگره رسید بودند که خبر آوردند که بیگمان از کابل می آیند *
حضرت بادشاه بابام پیشواز آگه جانم که عمه کلان من و خواهر کلان
حضرت بادشاه بابام بودند تا نوگرام پیشواز رفتند و همه بیگمان در ملازمت
آگه جانم در منزل ایشان ملازمت کردند * خوشحالیها نمودند و

* 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 *tur-khana*. 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.

وقتی که آکام پیش بادشاه بابام می آمدند مرا حکم کردند که در روز روشن آمدن حضرت را ملازمت کنید *

* نه رکیب و دو توقور اسپ و دو محافه کونل که بادشاه بابام فرستاده بودند و یک محافه که از کابل آورده بودند — قریب صد مغلانی خدمتگاران آکام بر اسپان پوجاق سوار پر زیب و وزینت *

و خلیفه بابام با سلطانم کوچ خود تا نوگرام پیشواز آمدند و من در محافه بودم * ماهای من در باغچه مرا فرود آورده بودند و زلجه (sic) انداخته بالای زلجه مرا نشانند و بمن اموختند که وقتی خلیفه بابام بیایند شما استاده شده در یابید * چون خلیفه بابام آمد من استاده دریافتم * درین ضمن سلطانم (14b) کوچ ایشان هم آمد * من نادانسته میخواستم که برخیزم که خلیفه بابام بنیاد مبالغه پیش نهادند که این پیر داه شما است — باین برخاستن حاجت نیست * پدر شما این پیر غلام خود را سرافراز کرده اند که در باب او اینچنین حکم فرموده اند * روا باشد بندها را چه مجال است ؟

پیشکش خلیفه بابام پنج هزار شاهرخ و پنج اسپ گرفتم و سلطانم کوچ ایشان سه هزار شاهرخ و سه اسپ پیشکش کرد و گفت — ما حاضری طیار است اگر نوش جان کنند سرافرازی ببندها خواهد بود * قبول کردم — در جای خوب صفت کلان راست کرده و چادر سفرلات سرخ اندرون زربفت گجراتی و شش شامیانه سفرلات و زربفت — هر کدام یک رنگ و چهار چوقه سرایرده سفرلات و چوبهای سرایرده هم رنگ بود * در منزل خلیفه بابام نشستم — ما حاضری کشید تا قریب بجاه (sic) گوسفند بریان و نان و شربت و میوه بسیار * عاقبت الامر طعام خورده در محافه در آمدن در ملازمت حضرت بادشاه بابام آمدن ملازمت (15a) کردم

* (15a) What follows appears to be an incomplete and perhaps misplaced description of Akam's cortege.

مذاحمت بجال آمد و رفت سوداگر و غیره نرساند و گذارند تا مرفه
الحال و فارغ البال آمد و رفت نمایند *

روزی که به رعنا سنگا جنگ خواهد شد در شب آن قاسم حسین
سلطان نواسه دختری سلطان حسین میرزا که پسر عایشه سلطان بیگم
باشد— در شب مذکور خبر آمد که قاسم حسین میرزا از خراسان
آمد در ده کروهی رسید * (13b) حضرت را از استماع این خبر خوش
حالی کلی روی نمود * فرمودند که چه مقدار کس همراه دارد ؟ چون
تحقیق نمودند سی چهل سوار بود فی الحال هزار سوار مسلح و مکمل نیم
شب فرستادند که همان شب همراه شد آمدند— تا مردم غنیم و بیگانه
دانند که کومک آمد رسید و بوقت آمد * هر که این رای و تدبیر را شنید
بسیار پسندید *

و صباح آن که ماه جمید الاول^{۹۳۳} سه نهصد و سی و سه بود در دامن
کوه سیکری که الحال فتح پور بر بالای آن کوه آبادان شد— به رعنا سنگا
جنگ صف شد بعنایت الهی فتح کردند و غازی شدند *

بعد از فتح رعنا سنگا بعد يك سال آکام که ماه یکم باشد از کابل
به هندوستان آمدند و ابن حقیر هم همراه ایشان بیشتر از همسرهای آمد
حضرت بادشاه بابام را ملازمت کردم و آکام در کول رسیدند که
حضرت بادشاه دو محافه سه رکیب فرستادند * از کول باگره ایلغار
کرده رفتند و حضرت بادشاه خیال داشتند که تا کوجلالی پیشواز
(14a) روند * نازشام یکی آمد گفت که حضرت را در دو کروهی
گذاشته آمدم * حضرت بادشاه بابام تا اسپ آوردن تحمل نکردند
و پیاده روان شدند و در پیشخانه نجه ماه در خوردند * آکام میخواستند
که پیاده شوند * بادشاه بابام نمادند و خود در جلوی آکام تا خانه خود
پیاده آمدند *

شدند و اظهار بی دلی نمودند و (12b) مردم لشکرا چون باین حالت دیدند ملاحظه کلی نمودند* چون غنیم نزدیک رسید تدبیری که بخاطر مبارك ایشان رسید این بود که جمیع امرا و خوانین و سلاطین و وضع و شریف و صغیر و کبیر که از گریخته گان و باغی آنچه مانده بودند باقی را حکم فرمودند که همه جمع شوند* هر يك جمع شد آمدند* فرمودند که هیچ میدانند که میانه ما و وطن و شهر مالوف ما چند ماهه* راه است* خدا از آن روز نگهدارد که اگر مردم شکست خورند—نعوذ بالله—ما کجا و وطن و شهر ما کجا که کار بمردم اجنبی و بگانه می افتد* پس همان بهتر که خود را باین دو شق قرار باید داد که اگر غنیم را می گشیم—غازی می شوم و اگر کشته می شوم—شهید می شوم* بهر دو تقدیر بهبود ما است و درجه عظمی و مرتبه علیاست*

همه يك دل شد قبول کردند* بزن طلاق و مصحف سوگند خوردند و فاتحه خواندند و گفتند—پادشاه انشاء الله تعالی تا رمقی در جان و در بدن خواهد بود—در جان سپاری و جان شاری خود را معاف (18a) نپذیریم* و قبل از جنگ رعنا سنگا به دو روز پیشتر حضرت پادشاه از شراب نوبه کرده بودند—بلک از جمیع مناهی نوبه کردند—و بجهت موافقت و متابعت چهار صد جوان نامی که دعوی مردانگی و یکدلی و يك جهتی می نمودند—در آن مجلس بطویل حضرت پادشاه آنها نیز نوبه کردند و جمیع آلات مناهی و طلا آلات و نقره آلات از پیاله و صراحی و غیره همه را شکسته بفرا و مساکین بخش کردند*

و فرمانها باطراف و جوانب بناکند تمام فرستادند که از باج و تمغا و زکاة حیوانات و تکلیفات نا مشروع همه را معاف کردم—که هیچ احدی و فردی

پاره سنگ حوض ده در دهی فرموده بودند وی گفتند که هرگاه این
حوض طیار شود بشراب پر خواهم کرد* چون قبل از جنگ رعنا* سنگا
که از شراب توبه کرده بودند بشریت لیسون پر کردند*
بعد از فتح سلطان ابراهیم بعد از یکسال رعنا از طرف مندو**
(or هندو) پیدا شد بلشکریی حد*

از امرا و راجها و رانا هر کدام که آمد حضرت بادشاه را ملازمت کرده
بودند. هر سه باغی شد برعنا رفته پیوستند تا کول جلالی و سنهیل
و راپری همه پرگنهای راجها و افغانان باغی شدند* قریب دو لک
سوار جمع شد*

درین ولا محمد شریف منجم با مردم لشکر گفته که مناسب دولت آنست
که حضرت بادشاه جنگ نکنند. که ستاره شکر*** یلدوز در برابر
است* لشکر بادشاهی را عجب هیرانی دست داد و بسیار متفکر و متألم

* Perhaps a sarcasm is intended by changing the title *rand* into the epithet *rd'na*—a foolish admirer of himself. Sanga is always so stigmatized, but so too are other and friendly *Rands*. Cf. 48 b.

** Text uncertain. The enemy came from the side which from a military stand-point, was emphatically Hindu and also may be said colloquially to have come from the direction of Mandu.

*** (Xw) I am indebted to Mr. Beveridge for the interesting information in the following jriote. The (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 Shaibani at Khwaja Kardzin in 1501 and the battle of Khanwa in 1527. Babar's statement about KhSnwa is that Sharif gave warning that Mars was in the west and that whoever should come from the east, would be defeated.

Babar has a characteristic story of his having precipitated the fight at KSrdzin (1501) because the Eight Stars were exactly between the opposing armies and if he had delayed, they would have favoured Shaibani 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. Diet. 689; Vullers II. 310 a; Mem. 92, 353, 368.

ما گردد* حق سبحانه مالک هندوستان را با عطا کرده بیاید تا دولت را بهم بینیم*

واز دختر سلطان ابو سعید میرزا هفت بیگم آمد بودند — گوهر شاد بیگم و فخر جهان بیگم و خدیجه سلطان بیگم و بدیع الجمال بیگم و آق بیگم و سلطان بخت — وزیرب سلطان خانم دختر تغای پادشاه سلطان محمود خان و محب سلطان خانم دختر الاجه خان تغای خورد حضرت پادشاه بودند* قصه مختصر همه بیگمان و خانمان نود و شش (11b) کس بودند* بهمه آنها جای و جاگیر و انعامات خاطرخواه تعین کردند*

و مدت چهار سال که در آگره بودند هر روز جمعه بدیدن عهای خود میرفتند* يك روز هوا بغایت گرم بود و حضرت آکم گفتند که هوا بغایت گرم است — اگر يك جمعه نروید چه شود؟ بیگمان ازین سخن نخواهند رنجید* پادشاه با آکم* گفتند — ما هم از تو عجب است که این سخنان بگوئی* دختران حضرت ابو سعید سلطان میرزا که از پدر و برادران خود جدا شده اند — من اگر خاطر جوی ایشان نکم چون شود؟

بنخواجه فاسم معمار حکم کردند — خدمتی خوبت میفرماید و آن آنست که عهای ما هرکاری و با مهمی در دربخانه داشته باشد — بجان و دل خود خدمات دربخانه ولی نعمتان را بنفهم رسانی*

و در آگره آنروی آب عمارتها فرمودند و خانه سنگین که خلوتخانه ایشان میانه حرم و باغ و در دیوانخانه هم خانه سنگین راست کرده بودند — و در میانه خانه حوضی و چهار حجره در چهار برج خانه — و در کنار دریا (12a) چوکندی راست کرده بودند — و در دهوپور هم از يك

* (آکم) Up to this point this alternative name of Maham has been written اکم. Now (as elsewhere in some other words) the orthography of the writer improves and the correct spelling is given ام اکم — اکم = my Lady.

ویگمان و آغه‌ها و انگها و کوکها و آغه‌چه‌ها و همه دعاء گویان از جراؤ^{*} و اشرفی (10b) و شاهرخ و یارچه جدا جدا بدهند^{*} از روی مفصل بدین ترتیب دادند^{*} تا سه روز در باغ و دیوانخانه مذکور خوشحالی و معرکه داشتند^{*} سرافرز گشتند و بدعا و دولت حضرت فائحه خواندند — و خوشحال شد سجدهات شکر بجا آوردند^{*}

و بدست خواجه کلان بیگ بعموی عیس^{**} يك اشرفی کلان بوزن سه سیر بادشاهی که پانزده سیر هند باشد و بخواجه گفته بودند — اگر عیس از شما پرسد که حضرت بادشاه بمن چه فرستاده است — خواهید گفت که يك اشرفی — و چون فی الحقیقه یکی بوده تعجب کرده تا سه روز کاهید^{*} حکم بود که اشرفی را سوراخ کرده و چشمش را بسته و در گردنش انداخته درون حرم فرستید^{*} بجزرگی که اشرفی سوراخ کرده در گردنش انداخته از گرانی طرفه بیطاقی و اضطراب و خوشحالی میکرد و به دو دست اشرافی را گرفته طرفگیها میکرد که کسی اشرفی مرا نگیرد — و از یگمان هم هر کدام ده دوازده اشرفی دادند تا قریب هفتاد و (11a) هشتاد اشرفی شد^{*}

و بعد از آمدن خواجه کلان بیگ بکابل — در آگره هایون بادشاه و همه میرزایان و سلطانان و امرا از خزانها بخش کردند — و باطراف و جوانب و ولایتها فرمانهای بتاکید فرستادند که هر کس که در ملازمت ما بیاید رعایتهای کلی خواهیم کرد^{*} علی الخصوص آنهایی که پدر و ابا و اجداد ما را خدمت کرده اند — اگر بیایند در فراخور انعامات خواهند یافت — و از نسل صاحب قران یا چنگیز خانی هر که باشد متوجه درگاه

* جواهر Sic; but presumably (جراؤ).

** عیس For remarks on this passage cf. note to translation.

ابراهيم بك لك و هشتاد هزار سوار داشت و تا هزار بخصد زنجیر فیل
مست (9b) و لشکر حضرت بادشاه خود مع سوداگر و نیک و بدر دوازده
هزار کس بوده و سپاهی کار آمدنی نهایتش شش هفت هزار کس بود *
و خزانه پنج بادشاه بدست ایشان افتاد و همه را بخش کردند * درین
اثناء امرای هندستان عرض کردند که در هندستان عیب است خزینة
پادشاهان ماضی را خرج کردن بلك خزینة را اضافه نموده نموده جمع کند
و حضرت بر عکس آن کردند که تمامی خزینة هارا بخش کردند *

و خواجه کلان بیگ چند مرتبه رخصت کابل طلبیدند که مزاج من
بهوای هند موافق نیست * اگر رخصت شود چند گاه در کابل آنجا باشم —
و حضرت بجدای خواجه اصلاً اصلاً و قطعاً راضی نبودند * آخر چون
دیدند که خواجه بسیار مبالغه دارند رخصت دادند و فرمودند که چون
میرود نغمة و هدیه هند را که از فتح سلطان ابراهیم بدست افتاده بولی نعمتین
(sic) و همشیرها و اهل حرم میخواهم فرستیم (sic) — همراه برید و مفصل نوشته
میدهم * از روی مفصل (10a) تقسیم نمائید و بگوئید که در باغ و دیوانخانه
هر کدام بیگان سواردها و چادرها علاحد بزنند — و معرکه خوبی کرده
و بعد شکر حق سبحانه به جا آورند که فتنی کلی روی نموده و بهر یگی بدین
تفصیل رسانند — بك پاتر خاصه از پاتران سلطان ابراهیم با بك رکیبی طلا
بر جواهر و لعل و مروارید و یاقوت و الماس و زمرد و فیروزه و زبرجد
و عین الھر — و در خوانچه صدفی پر اشرفی و در دو خوان دیگر
شاهرخ و هر جنسی پارچهای توقوز توقوز که چهار خوان و بك رکیبی
و بك پاتر و بك رکیبی جواهر و هر بك خوان از هر جنس اشرفی
و شاهرخ که حکم کرده بود و رکیبی جواهر و همان پاتر را که به ولی نعمتان
خود پیشکش کرده ام برده گذرانند و دیگر پیشکش کرده ام آنها را در
عقب آن گذرانند — و خواهران و فرزندان و حرمان و خویشانندان

و بدخشان را بهایون پادشاه دادند — و هایون پادشاه متوجه آنصوبه گشتند *

حضرت پادشاه و آکم هم منعاقب بدخشان رفتند و چند روزی با یکدیگر بهم گذرانند * حضرت هایون پادشاه آنجا ماندند و پادشاه بابام و آکم بکابل آمدند *

و بعد چند گاه متوجه فلات و قندهار شدند و در ساعت که فلات رسیدند فتح کرده متوجه قندهار شدند — و مردم قندهار تا یکیم سال در قلعه بندی بودند * بعد یکیم سال بجهنگ و جدل بسیار قندهار را بعنایت الهی فتح نمودند و زر بسیار بدست افتاده و بسپاهی و مردم لشکر زرها و شترها بخش کردند — و قندهار را بیرزا کامران دادند — و خود متوجه کابل شدند *

روز جمعه غره صفر سنه نهصد و سی و دو که آفتاب در برج قوس بود — پیش خانه بر آورده از پشته يك لنگه گذشته (۹۵) در جلگه دبه بغروب نزول اجلال فرمودند * دیگر از آنجا مقام کردند و روز دیگر کوچ بکوچ متوجه هندستان شدند *

و از سنه نهصد و سی و پنج درین هفت هشت سال چند مرتبه لشکر بجانب هندوستان (sic) که کرده اند در هر مرتبه ولایتی ویرگه نغیری نموده اند — مثل بهیرو و بجمور و سیالکوٹ و دیپالپور و لاهور و غیره تا آنکه مرتبه پنجم روز جمعه غره صفر سنه نهصد و سی و دو از دبه بغروب نزول اجلال کوچ بکوچ متوجه هندستان شدند و لاهور و سرهند و هر ولایت که در سر راه بود فتح کردند — بتاریخ هشتم ماه رجب روز جمعه سنه در یانی پت بسطان ابراهیم بن سلطان سکندر بن یهلول لودی جنگ صف کرده — بعنایت الهی غالب آمدند — و سلطان ابراهیم در آن جنگ کشته گشته — و این فتح محض از عنایت الهی بود — از برای آنکه سلطان

دایم درین هوس بودند که در هندستان (sic) در آیند و از سیست رانی
امرا و ناموافی برادران میسر و مسخرنی شد * آخر الوقت که برادران
رفتند و از امرایان همچو کسی نماد که خلاف مقصود ایشان توانند حکایتی
کرد— در سینه نهصد و بیست و پنج بجزوررا بجهنگ در دوسه گری
گرفتند— و مردم بجزوررا قتل عام کردند *

و در روز مذکور ملك منصور یوسفزی که پدر افغانی آغاچه باشد—
آمد حضرت را ملازمت (8a) کرد * حضرت بادشاه دخترش افغانی
آغاچه را گرفته در عقد خود در آوردند و ملك منصوررا رخصه دادند—
واسپ و سروپای پادشاهانه * عنایت فرمودند که رفته مردم و رعایا و
غیرهرا آورده بوطن های خود آبادان سازد *

و قاسم بیگ که در کابل بود عرضه داشت فرستاد که شاه زاده نو تولد
شد * بشگون فتح هند و تخت املش گستاخی کرده نوشته ام * دیگر بادشاه
صاحب اند— هرچه رضای ایشان * بادشاه در ساعت میرزا هندال نام
نهادند *

و بعد فتح بجزور بجانب بهیره روان شدند و در بهیره آمدند و تالان نکرده
الامان داده چهار لك شاهرخی گرفته ب مردم لشکر بعدد نوکر تقسیم کرده
متوجه کابل شدند *

درین اثنا از مردم بدخشان عرضه داشت آمد که میرزا خان فوت
شد— میرزا سلیمان خورد سال و اوزبک نزدیک— فکر این ولایت بکنبد
که مباد بدخشان از دست برود * تا فکر بدخشان کردن والدۀ میرزا
سلیمان میرزای (8b) مذکوررا گرفته آورده بود * حضرت بادشاه حسب
المدعا و خاطر خواه ایشان جای نشیبت و جاگیر پدر تعیین نمودند

* پادشاه و بادشاه The M.S. writes indifferently (پادشاهانه)
With equal caprice it inserts gamma, hamza, under-dotted sin, &c..

واز دلدار بیگ گلرنگ بیگ و گلچهره بیگ و هندال میرزا و گلبدن بیگ
و آلور میرزا *

غرض که گرفتن کابل را شگون گرفته بودند که همه فرزندان در کابل
شدند غیر دو بیگ که در خوست شده اند مهرجان (sic) (7a) بیگ از
ماه بیگ و گلرنگ بیگ از دلدار بیگ *

تولد حضرت هایون پادشاه که پسر کلان حضرت فردوس مکانی اند —
ولادت مبارک ایشان در شب سه شنبه چهارم ذی قعدة سنه ۹۱۳ نهصد
و سیزده — در ارك کابل در وقت که آفتاب در برج حوت بود — تولد
شدند — و در همان سال حضرت فردوس مکانی خود را فرمودند به امرا
و سایر الناس که مرا بابر پادشاه گوئید والا اوایل قبل از تولد حضرت
هایون پادشاه میرزا بابر موسوم و مرسوم بودند بلك هه پادشاه زادهای را
میرزا می گفتند و در سال تولد ایشان خود را بابر پادشاه گویندند * تاریخ
تولد حضرت جنت آشیانی سلطان هایون خان یافته اند — و دیگر شاه فیروز
قدر یافته اند *

و بعد از تولد فرزندان خبر آمد که شاهی بیگ خان را شاه اسماعیل
کشت *

حضرت پادشاه کابل را بناصر میرزا داده خود اهل و عیال و فرزندان
که هایون پادشاه و مهرجهان بیگ (7b) و بابرول میرزا و معصومه سلطان
بیگ و میرزا کامران باشند — همراه گرفته متوجه سمرقند شدند — و بامداد
شاه اسماعیل فتح سمرقند کردند — و تا هشت ماه تمامی ماورالنهر در تحت
تصرف ایشان بود — و از ناموافقی برادران و مخالفت اهل مغل در کول
ملك از عید الله خان شکست یافتند و نتوانستند در آن ولایت بود * پس
جانب بدخشان و کابل متوجه شدند — و دیگر خیال ماورالنهر از سر بدر
کردند — و در سنه نهصد و ده ولایت کابل میسر شد بود *

در بالای (8a) کوه بیبی ماه روی آتش خواهم انداخت و شما هم در بالای خزانۀ خانه آتش اندازید تا دانیم که از آمدن ما خبردار شده اید * وقت صبح از آنجانب شما و از این جانب ما مقابلۀ غنیمت خواهیم شد * اما تا آمدن مردم قلعۀ حضرت جنگ کرده و فتح کرده بودند *

میرزا خان در خانۀ والدۀ خود که خانۀ پادشاه بودند — پنهان شدند * آخر خانم پسر خود را آورده — گناه طلبیدند — و میرزا محمد حسین در خانۀ کوچ خود که خانۀ خورد پادشاه بود — از هم جان خود را در مفرش انداخته خدمتکاری را گفت که بر بند * عاقبت الامر مردم پادشاهی خبردار شده — میرزا محمد حسین را از مفرش بر آورده پیش پادشاه آوردند * عاقبت الامر حضرت بخاطر خالهای خود گناه میرزا محمد حسین را بخشیدند — و بخانۀ خالی خالهای خود بدستور سابق آمد و رفت هر روزه و رعایت خاطر بیشتر از بیشتر میکردند تا غبار خاطر کلفت بخاطر خالهای نشینید و در ساحت جا و جاگیر تعین نمودند *

و کابل را (8b) از قبل میرزا خان خلاص ساخته خدای تعالی بایشان ارزانی داشت — و در آنوقت بیست و سه ساله بودند و هیچ فرزندی نداشتند و در آرزوی فرزند بسیار بودند — و در هفتمده سالگی از عایسه سلطان بیگم دختر سلطان احمد میرزا — دختری نوآلوده بود و در سر ماهیگی فوت شد — و گرفتن کابل خدای تعالی مبارک کرده که هشت فرزند شد *

اوّل از آنکه که مام بیگم باشند — حضرت همایون پادشاه و بابرول میرزا و مهر جهان بیگم و ایشان دولت بیگم و فاروق میرزا *
دبگر معصومه سلطان بیگم دختر سلطان احمد میرزا — در حین زائیدن فوت شد * نام مادر را بدختر ماندند *

و از گلرخ بیگم کامران میرزا و عیسکری میرزا و شاهرخ میرزا و سلطان احمد میرزا و گلغندار بیگم *

دریابند * بدیع الزمان میرزا از جهة تعظیم پادشاه پیش آمد دریابند * در این اثنا پادشاه از در در آمدند * میرزا غافل بودند که قاسم بیگ فوطه حضرت پادشاه را گرفته کشید با برزئوق بیگ و ذوالنون بیگ گفت که قرار چنین داده بودند که میرزا پیش در آمد دریابند * درین اثنا میرزا با اضطراب تمام پیش در آمد حضرت پادشاه را دریافتند *

و چند روزی که در خراسان بودند میرزایان هر کدام تکلیف میزمانی می نمودند و جشنهای میکردند و تمامی باغات و محلات را سیر مینمودند * میرزایان تکلیف زمستان نمودند که توقف نمایند که بعد از زمستان باور بیگ جنگ میکند * اما اصلاً و قطعاً نتوانستند بجنگ قرار داد * مدت هشتاد سال خراسان را سلطان حسین میرزا آبادان و معمور ساخته بود — اما میرزایان تا شش ماه نتوانستند که جای پدر را نگاه دارند *

و چون پادشاه ایشان را بی پروا دیدند بجهت خرج و مخارج ایشان (b) جاها تعیین نموده بودند و بیخانه دیدن آنها را بجانب کابل روان شدند * و در آن سال برف بسیار بارید بود * راهها غلط کردند * حضرت و قاسم بیگ از برای نزدیکی راه — این راه را اختیار نموده بودند و الا امرای دیگر کنگایش داده بودند * چون که گفته امرا را نکردند — اینها هر يك نفاق کردند — میرفتند * حضرت و قاسم بیگ مع پسران خود تا سه چهار روز برف دور کرده راه را طیار میکردند و مردم لشکر از عقب میگشتند * باین روش تا بغور بند رسیدند و در آنجا از هزارهای باغی بحضرت و ر خورده جنگ کردند * از گاو و گوسفند بسیار و اشیای بیشمار از مردم هزارها بدست مردم پادشاهی افتاد و باولجه بیحد متوجه کابل شدند *

در پای منار که رسیدند — شنیدند که میرزا خان و میرزا محمد حسین کورکان باغی شده اند و کابل را قبل دارند * مردم کابل حضرت پادشاه فرمانهای دلداری و دلاسی نوشته فرستادند که مردانه باشید — ما هم آمدم *

خانمرا مانندند * صاحبانِ باغ که مردم وصل ** آنکه *** باشند — بکهار
تنکه مشغالی داده گذاشتند *

درین اثنا فرمانهای سلطان حسین میرزا بتاکید آمدند که ما (4b)
خیال جنگ باوزبک † داریم * اگر شما هم بیائید بسیار خوست * حضرت
آغی را از خدا میطلبیدند * عاقبت الامر بسوی ایشان روانه
گشتند * در اننای طی طریق خبر آمد که سلطان حسین میرزا شنار شدند *
امرای حضرت بادشاه بعرض رسانیدند که چون سلطان حسین میرزا شنار
شدند — مناسب آنست که برگشته بکابل باید رفت * حضرت فرمودند که
چون اینمقدار راه آمد اہم میرزا عزایمی نموده بریردم * عاقبت الامر
متوجه خراسان شدند * چون از تشریف آوردن بادشاه که میرزایان شنیدند
هر همه باستقبال روان شدند — غیر بدیع الزمان میرزا که برنتوق †† پیگ
وذو النون پیگ که امراض سلطان حسین میرزا بودند — چنین گفتند که
چون بادشاه از بدیع الزمان میرزا خوردند پانزده ساله — مناسب چنان
است که بادشاه زانوزده دریابند * درین اثنا قاسم پیگ گفته که بسال
خوردند اما بتوره کلانند — از برای آنکه چند مرتبه بضرب شمشیر فتح
سرفند کرده اند * آخر چنین قرار دادند (5a) که یکمرتبه بادشاه زانوزده

* Used transitively. So too at 59a &c.. (ماندند)

** Text . نصا . (وصلا .)

*** (انعم) This word may be *atka* or *anaga* and is to be explained by the known ownership of the garden which was made by Babar's paternal uncle, Ulugh Beg. But for the undotted "prop", it might have been read as and as referring to Khan-zada Begam or Msham, Bsbār's wife, both of whom, as will be noticed, are styled *aka* (*jandni*) and *aka* respectively. Cf. a use of انعم p. 28b.

† (باوزبک) Vambery's derivation of this multiform word, "Ozbeg, 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 *Uzbek*.

†† (برنتوق) Text, sic for برنتوق.

لاریک جویاق — باین طور حال بی یراق نوگل بحضرت حق سبحانه کرده
متوجه بدخشانان و کابل شد *

در قندز و بدخشانان لشکر و مردم خسرو شاه بودند * آمدن حضرت
بادشاه بابام را ملازمت کرده * با وجود گناهان که بد کرده — مانند بایسنفر
میرزا را شهید کرده و سلطان مسعود میرزا را میل کشین بودند و این هردو
میرزا عمو زاده بادشاه بابام بوده اند — و قبل از آن که عبور آن حضرت
در ایام قزاقیها بولایت او افتاده بود — از ضرورت رفته بودند — بمحصلیها
و درستیها آنحضرت را از ولایت خود بدر کرده بود * و حضرت
بادشاه که مفهوم مردی و مروّت بوده اند — اصلاً و قطعاً در مقام
انتقام آن نشدند و فرموده اند که از جواهر و طلا آلات هر چند که دلش
خواهد بردارد — و بجنش قطار شتر و بجنش (4۵) استر بار همراه برده
بصحت و سلامت رخصت یافته بخراسان رفته و حضرت بادشاه متوجه
کابل شدند *

در آن وقت فتح کابل محمد منیم — پسر ذوالنون ارغون که پدر
کلان ناهید بیگم بود — داشت * کابل را بعد از وفات الخ بیگ میرزا —
از عبد الرزاق میرزا گرفته و از (؟ آن) میرزا عبد الرزاق مذکور عمو زاده
بادشاه بوده *

بادشاه بدولت بکابل آمدند * دوسه روز قلعلگی شد و بعد از چند روز
بعهد و قول کابل را به بندگان حضرت بادشاه سپرده با مال و اسباب
خود بقندهار پیش پدر خود رفت *

و فتح کابل در اواخر ماه ربیع الثانی سنه ۹۱۰ نهصد و ده بوده * بعد از میر
شدن کابل به بنگش رفتند و یکباره الحجه کرده بکابل آمدند *

و حضرت خانم که والدۀ حضرت بادشاه باشند — در شش روز نب
کرده — از عالم فانی بدار البقا رحلت نمودند * و در باغ نوروزی حضرت

و بمحمل که بانحضرت معارك* و مهلك روی نموده — از کم پادشاهی منقول است* دو نوبت بضرب شمشیر فتح سرفروند کرده* مرتبه اول حضرت پادشاه بابام دوازده ساله بوده اند و مرتبه دوم نوزده ساله بوده اند و مرتبه سوم بیست و دو ساله بوده اند — و شش ماهه قبل شده اند و مثل سلطان حسین میرزا باقرا عموی ایشان در خراسان بوده اند — بایشان کومک نفرستادند و سلطان محمود خان در کاشغر بودند که طغائی ایشان باشند — ایشان نیز کومک نفرستادند* چون مدد و معاونت از هیچ جا نرسید — مایوس شدند* درین طور وقت شاهی بیگ خان گفته فرستاد که اگر (3b) خانزاده بیگ خواهر خود را بن نسبت کنید میان ما و شما صلح شود و رابطه اتحاد برپا باشد* آخر ضرورت شد خانزاده بیگ را بخان مذکور نسبت کرده خود بر آمدند* با دوست کس پیاده و در کنف چنان** و در پای آنها چاروق — ایلک***

* Comparing this passage with A. F.'s parallel passage (*Bib. Ind.* I. 67), we find a curious resemblance, e. g. *آنقدر مشقت* و *و ترسد که* — آنحضرت را پیش آمده کم پادشاهی را رونموده باشد — و آنقدر دلیری — و بمحمل که آنحضرت — در معارك — —

** Pavet de Courteille and Steingass render *chapān* by *haillons* and "tattered garments", Erskine (127 and n.) by "long frocks". Vambéry gives no *chapān* but *chāpān*, which he translates *Oberrock* and *pardessus*. Steingass has no *chāpān*.

*** (چاروق) The words of the next phrase present difficulty. The sense is "with clubs in their hands", and that this is so, is shown by the parallel passages from the Turkī and Persian texts of Bābar's Memoirs. (Turkī) اکثر یایاق و ایلک لاریدا تایاق و ایاق لاریدا چاروق و ایکیمن (Persian) در دستهای ایشان چوبها و در پاهای ایشان چاروق و بر *کتفها*، *انشار*، *حاجاد*. The difficult words may be a Turkī interpolation in Gul-badan's text. The word which follows *چاروق* may be read *المسک* leathern, but *چاروق* includes the notion of leathern and neither the Turkī nor the Persian text uses any such qualifying word. I propose to read the words as a Turkī phrase — *ایلک لاریدا*، *جویاق*. 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

حکم شد بود که آنچه از واقعه فردوس مکانی و حضرت جنت
آشیانی می دانسته باشید بنویسید * وقتی که حضرت فردوس مکانی از دار
الفنا بدار البقا خرامیدند - این خبر هشت ساله بود و بیان * واقع شاید
کنیزك بخاطر مانده بود * بنابر حکم پادشاهی آنچه شنید و بخاطر بود نوشته
میشود *

در اول این جزو از واقعه حضرت بادشاه بابام نوشته میشود -
اگرچه در واقعه نامه حضرت بادشاه بابام این سخنان مذکور است - بنابر
تیمنا و تیرگا نوشته میشود *

از زمان حضرت صاحب قرانی تا زمان حضرت فردوس مکانی از
سلاطین ماضیه هیچکس برابر ایشان ترددات نکرده * در دوازده سالگی
بادشاه شدند و بتاریخ بیجم شهر رمضان المبارک سنه نهصد و نه در
خطه ** اندجان (sa) که پای تخت ولایت فرغانه است - خطبه خواند *
مدت یازده ساله کمال در الکه ماور النهر با سلاطین جغتیه و نیموریه
و اوزبکیه جنگها و ترددات نموده اند که زبان قلم از شرح تعداد آن عاجز
و قاصر است * و آنقدر محنت و مهالك که در باب جهانگیری بحضرت
ما روی نموده - کم کس را روی نموده باشد * و آن قدر دلبری و مردانگی

* به این Misread in translating as (بیان)
خطه دلکشای A.F. (Bib. Ind. 87) has (خطه) **

احوال همایون بادشاه
جمع کرده گلبدن بیگم بنتِ بابر بادشاه عهدهٔ اکبر بادشا

Copied from the British Museum Persian M.S. (Or. 166),
by Annette S. Beveridge.

* (بادشاه) This title stands on the first page of the M.S. and on paper like that of the M. Sf.. 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 BM.. 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).

همایون نامہ

تصنیف گلبدن بیگم بنتِ بابر بادشاہ *

* (Note to بادشاہ) This title is inscribed on the first fly-leaf of y volume containing the M.S. It is upon paper of colour and kir differing from that of the M.S. and identical with four blank pap bound up at the end of the volume, possibly with the intention writing up the missing terminal portion of the work.

