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THE HISTORY OF HUMĀYŪN  
(HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA).



WORLD  
COUNCIL  
ON TOURS  
AND TRAVEL



طوی میرزا هندال آنکه سلطانم پیکم خواهر مهدی خواجه بودند  
 بابام غیر حیف خواجه فرزند دیگرند اشتند و فرزند نمی شد  
 که جانم سلطانم را بفرزندی نگاه داشته بودند و دوسا  
 که فائزاده پیکم نگاه کرده بودند و عیال دوست می داشتند  
 و به برادرزاده خود داند و طوی را در کمال لطافت و جوانی  
 کردند گوشک و ادستقه و پنج توشک و پنج لیستوق و یک  
 تکیه کلان و دو تکیه کلوله و توشقه و لعاب مع فرگاه جلیغ  
 مع سه توشک همه زرد دوزی و سرو پای های میرزا اچار  
 و تاج زرد دوزی و فوطه و روپاک و رومال زرد دوزی و  
 قور پوش زرد دوزی و سلطانم پیکم نه نیمه تکه دار جواهر  
 یکی از لعل و یکی از یاقوت و یکی از زعفران و یکی از فیروزه و  
 یکی از زبرجد و یکی از عین الهرة دیگر زهر کور و یک  
 بقرق و چار قرچی تکه دار و یک صفت خلقة لعل و  
 یک صفت حلقه در سه پنجه و یک خیرشامی یک صفت و دو صفت  
 و دیگر اسباب و اشیا و رخت و رخت و کار خانها از همه

*ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.*

NEW SERIES.

I.

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THE  
HISTORY OF HUMĀYŪN

(HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA).

BY

GUL-BADAN BEGĀM (PRINCESS ROSE-BODY).

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

BY

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

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1:

To

MY HUSBAND,

WHO SET MY FEET UPON THE PERSIAN WAY,

AND HAS STREWED IT

WITH OPEN-HEARTED LARGESSE OF HELP AND COUNSEL.

A. S. B.

*November, 1901.*

433256





## 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 Ḥarīrī* to Chenery, and to hope he may be glad of the fulfilment of this piece of his work.

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

Princess Rose-body has rendered one essential service to history, by giving precise details of relationship in her own and some contemporary families. Up till now, however, no use has been made of her information, and her book has remained, both in India and Europe, a literary *parda-nīshīn*.

The Biographical Appendix, which I have modelled in admiration of Professor Blochmann's in his *Aīn-i-akbarī*, will, I hope, be of use to future writers. It is the outcome of the notes of several years, but it is incomplete and over brief. Nevertheless, it discloses the elements of many a romantic story.

One of an author's most agreeable final touches is the expression of thanks to those who have helped his book on its way. My obligation to my husband is too great to be told. I am much indebted to Mr. A. G. Ellis for his 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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 ان تاخیر شایسته بر کمال احوال حضرت صاحبقران  
 کبری کاشان و اولاد و احوال حضرت دیوانه کلام  
 حضرت علی شریف اماره الله بر ما زینال  
 بیست و دوم در عهد دولت شاه ایما تصوف  
 عزیز شاه جهان پادشاه جهان شاه جهان

AUTOGRAPH NOTE OF SHĀH-JAHĀN.

[To face p. xlii.]





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I am indebted for these pictures, first to Mr. Beveridge who, when he examined this *Tārīkh* in 1899, thought of my book, and, secondly, to Mr. Bourdillon, the then Commissioner of Patna, who most kindly photographed them for us.

---

### TRANSLATION OF SHĀH-JAHĀN'S NOTE.

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

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

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

# INTRODUCTION.



## PART I.

### *BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCESS AND HER FAMILY.*<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION I.—UNDER BĀBAR.

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

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

---

<sup>1</sup> 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 *pādshāh*, however, as is often done, by the word *emperor* would give a wrong impression of Bābar's status amongst rulers at this height of his rising fortunes. Nevertheless, Gul-badan was born the child of a strong and stable chief, and of one who was better followed in war than his nominal domains would allow, because his army was drawn for the most part from tribes not under his government, and was not territorial and of Kābul but personal and inherited.

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

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

Her mother was Dil-dār Begam—the Heart-holding Princess—of whose descent, it is noticeable to observe, neither her husband nor her daughter gives any information. This peculiarity of omission she shares with Māham, the wife of Bābar's affection and the mother of his heir; and with Gul-rukḥ, the mother of Kāmran and 'Askari. All three ladies are spoken of by our begam with the style befitting the wives of a king; all were mothers of children, and for this reason, if for no other, it seems natural that something should be said of their birth. Bābar frequently mentions Māham, and calls her by this name *tout court*. Dil-dār's name occurs in the Tūrki 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 Bābar. 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 Tīmūrids had been Bābar's wives in childhood and youth. These were: 'Āyisha, who left him before 1504 and who was betrothed to him when he was five; Zainab, who died in 1506 or 1507; and Ma'sūma, whom he married in 1507 and who died at the birth of her first child. Māham was married in Khurāsān, and therefore in 1506; Dil-dār and Gul-rukh probably considerably later, and after the three royal ladies had passed away from the household. The next recorded marriage of Bābar is one of 1519, when a Yusufzāi chief brought him his daughter, Bībī Mubārīka, as the seal of submission. She had no children, and was an altogether charming person in the eyes of those who have written of her.

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

Princess Gul-badan was born some two years before Bābar set out on his last expedition across the Indus, so her baby eyes may have seen his troops leave Kābul in November, 1525, for the rallying-place at Jacob's Village (*Dih-i-ya'qūb*). It is not mere word-painting to picture her as looking down from the citadel at what went on below, for she tells of later watching from this 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 Hindūs, with its heats, its rains, strange beasts, and hated and dreaded pagans.

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

Bābar left few fighting men in Kābul, but there remained a great company of women and children, all under the nominal command and charge of Prince Kāmran, who was himself a child. His exact age I am not able to set down, for Bābar does not chronicle his birth, an omission which appears due to its falling in one of the gaps of the Memoirs. Bābar left the city on November 17th, and was joined on December 3rd by Humāyūn at the Garden of Fidelity (*Bagh-i-wafā*). He had to wait for the boy, and was much displeased, and reprimanded him severely.



Humāyūn was then seventeen years old, and since 1520 had been governor of Badakhshān. He had now brought over his army to reinforce his father, and it may well be that Māham had something to do with his delayed march from Kābul. She could have seen him only at long intervals since she had accompanied Bābar, in 1520, to console and settle her child of twelve in his distant and undesired post of authority.

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

Not long after January 8th, 1526, a messenger would reach Kābul who took more than news, for Bābar had found manuscripts in the captured fort of Milwat, and now sent some for Kāmran, while he gave others to Humāyūn. 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 *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*, and the very stuff of the *Tūzūk* was in the living and making.

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

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

---

<sup>1</sup> There is a point of great interest about this note of Humāyūn and Mr. Erskine's translation of it. I venture to refer readers who take interest in the Memoirs, as a book, to my article on the Tūrki text of the Memoirs (*Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, July, 1899), which contains information gathered from some sources which were not at Mr. Erskine's disposition, and which suggest that another reading is allowable to the concluding words (not mentioned in this text) of Humāyūn's interpolation.





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This and all the begam's stories are left for her to tell, as she does later in this volume.

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

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

When Gul-badan was about two years old, and therefore shortly before her father left Kābul, she was adopted by Māham Begam to rear and educate. Māham was the chief lady of the royal household and mother of Bābar's eldest



son; she was supreme, and had well-defined rights over other inmates. Perhaps this position justified her in taking from Dil-dār two of her children, Hindāl and Gul-badan, as she did in 1519 and 1525. Before 1519 Māham had lost four children younger than Humāyūn; they were three girls and a boy, and all died in infancy. So it may have been heart-hunger that led to the adoptions she made, or they might be the outcome of affection for Bābar (it is said she was to him what 'Āyisha was to Muḥammad), which determined her, if she could not rear her children for him, at least to give him his children with the stamp of her love upon them. In some cases which are mentioned by Bābar, adoptions were made by a childless wife of high degree from a slave or servant, but no such reason seems behind those from Dil-dār. 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 Hindāl's adoption is briefly this: In 1519 Bābar was away from Kābul on the expedition which gave him Bajaur and Swat, and which brought into the royal household Bībī Mubārīka *Yusufzāi*. On January 25th he received a letter from Māham, who was in Kābul, about a topic which had been discussed earlier between them—namely, the adoption by her of a child of which Dil-dār expected the birth. Now she repeated her wishes and, moreover, asked Bābar to take the fates and declare whether it would be a boy or girl. Whether he performed the divination rite himself, or had it done by some of the women who were in camp with the army, (he speaks of it as believed in by women,) it was done, and the result was announced to Māham as promising a boy. The rite is simple: Two pieces of paper are inscribed, one with a boy's name and one with a girl's, and are enwrapped in clay and set in water. The name first disclosed, as the clay opens out in the moisture, reveals the secret. On the 26th Bābar wrote, giving over the child to Māham and communicating the prophecy. On March 4th a boy was born, to whom



was given the name of Abū'n-nāṣir with the sobriquet of Hindāl by which he is known in history and which is perhaps to be read as meaning 'of the dynasty of Hind.'<sup>1</sup> Three days after birth he was taken, whether she would or no, from Dil-dār to be made over to Māham.

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> The account of the adoption of Hindāl is given in much abbreviated form both by the Persian and English versions of the Memoirs. The latter has, indeed, an error which is not borne out by the Persian; *i.e.*, it states that several children had been born in 1519. The correct statement is that several had been borne by Māham younger than Humāyūn. The Tūrki text of Kehr and Ilminsky has a longer account, with curious details which may have been omitted on revision of the Memoirs by Bābar himself in later copies, or may have been omitted by the Persian translator. The former is the more probable suggestion, because if the full passage had occurred in the Elphinstone Tūrki 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 Tūrki texts. It makes for the opinion that Kehr's source was one of the early copies of the Memoirs, since the passage is one which from its domestic nature would be less likely to be added to, than omitted from a revised version.



*Lodī Afghān.* How Bābar conveyed the news of this to his people at home can be seen, because he has inserted the letter he wrote to allay anxiety, as soon as recovered strength permitted. Gul-badan has given the main points of the crime. She observes that Bābar had called the 'ill-fated demon,' mother, and had shown her kindness, a sectional view which leaves out the Afghān mourner, Buw'ā Begam, whose son had been defeated and killed, his dynasty overthrown, and herself pitied by the man on whom she tried to avenge herself. Her fate is worth commemorating. She was first put under contribution—*i.e.*, made over for the exploitation of her fortune to two of Bābar's officers—and then placed in the custody of a trusty man for conveyance to Kābul. Perhaps she dreaded her reception there, for she contrived to elude her guards in crossing the Indus, threw herself into the water, and was drowned.

The letter above-mentioned is full of what one likes in Bābar. He quotes, 'Whoever comes to the gates of death knows the value of life,' and says, with thanks to Heaven, that he did not know before how sweet a thing life is. Here, too, he shows that he felt the tie which bound him to the Power in whose hands are the issues of life and death. He, his daughter, and his cousin and literary compeer, Haidar Mīrzā *Dughlāt*, frequently express religious sentiment; and here Bābar exhibits the human graces of kind thought and solicitude to lessen the anxieties of his distant household and people. He forced himself to live again, in words, the horrible experiences of which he wrote while still in retirement, and four days<sup>1</sup> only after their occurrence.

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

All the letters share another ground of interest, which is that, having



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

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

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been composed in Tūrki, they have been preserved in Tūrki in the Persian translation. This may be an act of pious deference. The Memoirs were certainly altogether in Tūrki, 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 (Ibrāhīm), and achieved the conquest of numerous provinces and kingdoms which we at present held. And now, what force compels, what hardship obliges us, without visible cause, after having worn out our life in accomplishing the desired achievement, to abandon and fly from our conquests, and to retreat to Kābul with every symptom of disappointment and discomfiture? Let anyone who calls himself my friend never henceforward make such a proposal ; but if there is any among you who cannot bring himself to stay, or to give up his purpose of return, let him depart. Having made this fair and reasonable proposal, the discontented were of necessity compelled, however unwillingly, to renounce their seditious purpose.’

After the Rājput defeat the time came for the promised leave, but there is no mention in the Memoirs of a general exodus. Humāyūn went with his Badakhshīs, and also, as he seemed ‘uncomfortable,’ Mahdī<sup>1</sup> Khwāja, Khānzāda’s husband. He, but not only he, had been through one hot season in the plains and another was approaching,—a discomposing fact, and one to wing the fancy and the feet to Kābul. He, however, left his son Ja’far in his government of Etāwa, and returned to India himself in 1528.

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

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<sup>1</sup> There are difficulties in tracing the descent of this man, which are discussed in the Appendix. Cf. Index, *s.n.* Muḥammad Mahdī.



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

Together with the news of Al-amān's birth came that of a marriage of Kāmran with a daughter of Sultān 'Alī *Begchik*. Bābar sent congratulatory gifts to both sons in response; and he has included his covering letter to Humāyūn in his text. It is frank, fault-finding, and affectionate. It objects to the name given to the child; it urges action: 'The world is his who exerts himself'; it objects to Humāyūn's complaints of the remoteness of Badakhshān, and tells him that no bondage is like the bondage of kings, and that it ill becomes him to complain. It attacks Humāyūn's spelling and composition, and ends this topic with words good to quote: 'You certainly do not excel in letter-writing; and you fail chiefly because you have too great a desire to show off your acquirements. For the future, write unaffectedly, clearly, and in plain





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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 Humāyūn's help in 1544.

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

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

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

In 1528 an order was issued which brought about an event of extreme importance to the ladies in Kābul,—namely, that they should migrate to Hindūstān. There was delay in the execution of the royal command ; and



having regard to the number of ladies, the difference of opinion as to the advisability of going at all, discussion as to the details of the journey, and also remembering that (as the facts about the migration come out in the Memoirs,) there would be many who thought their family interest might be better served by remaining in Kābul, it is not remarkable that there was delay in starting the cavalcade.

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

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

'You take notice of the unsettled state of Kābul. I have considered the matter very attentively and with the best of my judgment, and have made up my mind that in a country where there are seven or eight chiefs, nothing regular or settled is to be looked for. I have therefore sent for my sisters and the ladies of my family into Hindūstān, and, having resolved on making Kābul and all the neighbouring countries and districts part of the imperial domain, I have written fully on the subject to Humāyūn and Kāmran. . . . Immediately on receiving this letter you will, without loss of time, attend my sisters and the



ladies of my family as far as the Nīl-āb (Indus); so that, whatever impediments there may be to their leaving Kābul, they must, at all events, start out within a week after this arrives; for as a detachment has left Hindūstān and is waiting for them, any delay will expose it to difficulty, and the country, too, will suffer.'

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> Of the two others who are the complement in girls of his family, it is safe to say that they were absent. Mihr-bānū was the apparently contented wife of an Uzbek Sultān, and Ruqaiya, who, like Mihr-bānū, had been spoil of battle and an Uzbek wife, was recently dead. Bābar says she died just when he was making the entries about her parentage at the beginning of the *Memoirs*. This can hardly have been before 1528, because an appointment mentioned on the same page is recorded on its occurrence as made in 1528.



all of whom were in India, and all of whom were men of high pretension. They were,—Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, the arch-rebel of the future; Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān Mīrzā, son of an Uzbek father; and Muḥammad-zāman Mīrzā, son of Ḥusain's son, Badī'u-z-zāman. There were in Kābul the people of Yādgar-nāṣir also, Bābar's half-nephew. These instances will suffice to show the reality of the elements of unrest which conflicting family interests and jealousies might and did foment in Kābul; they do not include the many others furnished by Bābar's personal circle, and by his numerous and influential aunts.

Two Tīmūrid ladies, Fakhr-jahān and Khadīja, both paternal aunts of the Emperor, had gone to Hindūstān so early as November, 1527. With whom they went or why they went is not recorded. The first was the wife of a Tīrmīzī 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, Khadīja, has no man mentioned as her husband, an omission by Bābar and Gul-badan which surprises, and which the chance word of another writer may easily fill up. Perhaps these aunts joined their nephew in response to his invitation of April, 1526, that kinsfolk and friends would come and see prosperity with him. They brought their children, and were met outside the city by Bābar on November 23rd, and by him conducted in a lucky hour to their assigned palace<sup>1</sup> in Āgra.

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

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<sup>1</sup> Readers who are interested in the Tūrki and Persian texts of the Memoirs, will like to have attention drawn to the fact of there being a record of this episode in one of the fragments attached to Kehr's MS., and that this varies in detail from his text and from the Persian source of the Memoirs.



occupation of Hindūstān, on his elder kinswomen. On the 17th three sisters of Fakhr-jahān and Khadīja arrived in the suburbs and were welcomed. From all these Bābar could hear the news and gossip of Kābul, and thus add to the impressions which led to his order for the begams to join him in India.

Apropos of the aunts of frequent mention, it may be said that both Bābar and 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 *Tūzūk* and the *Tārīkh* indicate distinct deference to women of an elder generation.

A good deal about the exodus of the ladies can be gleaned from Bābar and from our princess, who now comes on the scene in her small person of five or six. The order for it was given at latest in 1528; this is clear from the royal letter to the khwāja and from the fact that Māham started in January, 1529. Bābar heard on March 22nd that all had really left Kābul, which news, taken with the arrival of the main cavalcade three months after her, suggests that Māham started first and travelled quickly, as being of a small company, and that the rest set off in detachments, as they and their transport were ready. The whole party would get off between January 21st and the end of February; this can be surmised, because the letter of March 22nd would be about a month in reaching Bābar. Most of the journey would be made by horse-litter, and some perhaps by palki with bearers. Men frequently dropped down the Kābul River on rafts, being thus able to do in twelve hours what ten marches covered; but one cannot suppose the ladies would make this adventurous journey, which was attended by risk even when people did not fall off the raft after potations, as some of Bābar's companions had done. Probably the road taken was that by But-khāk (Dust of Idols) and Jagdalik, and by Jalālābād



and the Khaibar ; but there is no certainty, because there is no information.

Gul-badan travelled with Māham 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 Māham's sad thoughts from the loss of Fārūq, her youngest born. Unfortunately, she sets down nothing about the journey until near its end. Letters between the Emperor and the travellers were frequent. One of the couriers, named Shīrak (Little Lion), who was despatched by him on March 5th, carried not only letters to Māham, but was entrusted with a copy of the Memoirs which had been made to send to Samarqand.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

Gul-badan gives amusing particulars of her own arrival, all of which she shall be left to tell. She followed Māham into Āgra 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

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<sup>1</sup> This is the earliest recorded copying of the Tūrki text. This Samarqand MS. and its descendants (if any) may have been written up subsequently; but the points of this early transmission to Central Asia of a copy and the variations of the Russian texts from those found in India, are worth consideration. There is an unexplored MS. in Bukhārā of high reputation.



child needed to fear him, and she soon experienced 'happiness such that greater could not be imagined.' Happy child! and happy father, too! who recovered such a clever and attractive little daughter. It is not only her book that lets us know she had a lively mind, but the fact of its composition at an age when wits are apt to be rusted by domestic peace. Only a light that was strong in childhood would have burned so long to guide her unaccustomed pen after half a century of life, and only a youth of happy thoughts and quick perceptions have buoyed her, still gay and vivacious, across the worries and troubles of Humāyūn's time.

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

Dholpūr and Sīkrī had much to show of work done by the orders of the Emperor,—'my royal father,' as Gulbadan generally calls him, using the home word *bābā* invariably. At Sīkrī, amongst other buildings, was that in which she says he used to sit and write his book, *i.e.*, the *Tūzūk*. There, too, the great battle which had been fought in 1527 will not have been ignored to ears so sympathetic as Māham's. Perhaps here the little girl first learnt dimly what it was to be a Ghāzī, and to fight on the side of Heaven. She says that when these excursions had been made, and three months after her own arrival had sped by, the begams, with Khānzāda 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





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

The fate of Badakhshān was decided by its bestowal on its hereditary chief, Sulaimān Mīrzā, *Mīrān-shāhī*, now a boy of sixteen, while Humāyūn's youthful *locum tenens* was ordered to come to India. Humāyūn betook himself to the idle enjoyments of his *jāgīr* of Sambhal, and was there, in a few months, attacked by illness which threatened life and which led to the remarkable episode of Bābar'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 Bābar.

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 Bābar'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. Humāyūn was restored and Bābar died,—a return from the gate of death and an entry there which might have occurred without Bābar'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 amīrs were addressed; Humāyūn was counselled and named to the succession. Bābar 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 Khalīfa's wish to supersede Humāyūn is of great interest. It is written of by Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, in the *Ṭabaqāt*, who had the story he retails from his father, Muqīm, an old retainer of the Court. Abū'l-faḥl repeats the main statement, which is that Khalīfa had had



thoughts of superseding Humāyūn by Muḥammad Mahdī Khwāja, the husband of Khānzāda Begam.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Neither of the sources thus describes Mahdī, but a somewhat full consideration of the several Mahdīs of the time allows no other than the husband of Khānzāda to be understood by the name Mahdī Khwāja of the two sources. Cf. Appendix, s.n. Muḥammad Mahdī.

<sup>2</sup> This omission, and perhaps some others, are straws pointing to the existence, at some time, of material which would fill the gaps.



military rank, Mahdī was a man who, without outrage, might be raised still higher. There are hints which make it seem probable that he was a Tirmīzī sayyid and the son of a Tīmūrid mother. The suggestion of Tirmīzī parentage is supported by the burial of Abū'l-ma'ālī *Tirmīzī* in the place of interment of Mahdī and Khānzāda.<sup>1</sup>

It has suggested itself to me as possible that Khalīfa's plan of superseding Humāyūn was meant to apply only to Hindūstān, or at least to a part of Bābar's dominions. Abū-sa'id had partitioned his lands amongst his sons; provinces so varied as Bābar's seem to demand division even more than his grandfather's had done. We look back to Bābar across Akbar's Indian Empire, and may not give sufficient weight to the fact that Dihlī and Āgra were not the centre or the desired heart of Bābar's. He wanted Farghāna 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. Kābul was the true centre of his desired empire, and to force the Uzbegs back in widening circle was his persistent wish.

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

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<sup>1</sup> It is singular that both Khalīfa and Mahdī disappear from prominent place with the death of Bābar. From Gul-badan it is known that the latter was living at the time of Hindāl's marriage with his sister Sultānam in 1537, because she names his gifts to the bridegroom. A good deal of search has failed to disclose other particulars of action or death of either man after Humāyūn's accession. Khalīfa's brother, Junaid (like Mahdī, a brother-in-law of Bābar), fought faithfully for Humāyūn till his recorded death. Khalīfa was older than Junaid, and the impression given by the early part of the Memoirs is that he was older than Bābar. The difficulty of the obvious interpretation of the silence about Khalīfa's later life is, that he withdrew support from Mahdī's promotion, and it is distinctly said of Humāyūn by Badayunī that he was made emperor by the concurrence of Khalīfa. So there would be no ground for a conspiracy of courtly silence about him. He was probably dead before the exile of the Tīmūrids from India in 1540, because his wife Sultānam was with the royal household, and made her pilgrimage shortly after the exodus to Sind.



ruined Humāyūn, or have taken from him the lands most coveted by Bābar. All Bābar's plans and orders were such as to keep Humāyūn beyond the Hindū-kush, and to take him across the Oxus. The dislike of the royal army to Hindūstān was a large factor in the question of centralizing government there, and so too would be the temptations to indolence afforded by its climate and customs, to which it was easy to foresee from Humāyūn's life in Sambhal that he would readily succumb.

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

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

Following the death came the forty days of mourning, and of good works and gifts at the tomb in the Garden of Rest at Āgra. Sīkrī furnished a part of the endowment for its readers and reciters, and Māham sent them food twice daily from her own estate. The tomb was put under



the guardianship of a man whom our begam calls Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī 'asas (night-guard), and who may be he that 'never killed a sparrow,' and may be Māham's brother. If so, he will be heard of again under other and widely different circumstances in 1547. As is well known, Bābar's body was conveyed to Kābul, and there laid to rest in the spot chosen by himself.

## SECTION II.—UNDER HUMĀYŪN.

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

In order to realize how fully the fate of the ladies was involved in that of the Emperor, it must be remembered that his occupation of Hindūstān was unrooted, military and the sport of war. When we in Britain have to lament a reverse of arms, we do it in safe homes and we brace ourselves to what will come next, in the familiar surroundings of the daily tradesman, the usual postman, and the trivial comforts of the hearth. Even Colonials had a refuge under the flag at measurable distance from their outraged homes in 1899-1900. But when the Tīmūrīds were defeated in 1539-40, and driven from Āgra and Dihlī and Lāhōr, there was no refuge open to all. Their head, Humāyūn, had none; a brother took his last. Like the Israelites, he and his followers then wandered in deserts and hungered and thirsted; dwelt in strange lands,



pursued and attacked, exiled and humiliated. The course of events was less historic than biographical, was individual and not national. There were no nations behind Bābar and Humāyūn; there were only ruling families who came and went as they could or could not get the upper hand of other houses; and there was the dumb mass whom the earth nourished, and labour of whom fed, in luxury of life and strength of alien arms, whatever dynasty had just struck hardest.

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

Māham was spared the worst of these misfortunes; she died before Hindāl's marriage, which Jauhar places in 1537. Her son had certainly addicted himself to drugs before her death, but his worst lapses into sloth followed it, and it was after 1537 that the pace of his descent became rapid. Much can be learned from our princess of the reaction of outside events on the inner circle, and she gives details which could only be gathered in that circle. This is particularly so as to Hindāl's rebellion and the



home conference about it, and about the murder in his name, but not by his act, of Humāyūn's favourite, Shaikh Bahlūl. Gul-badan, like the good sister she was, makes excuses for her brother, and those who have not her bias of affection, can add others and stronger. Hindāl was nineteen, a good and successful young general; he was supported by men of rank and age, some of whom had come from Gaur, and had seen Humāyūn's army perishing in that sink of fever and corruption, and Humāyūn buried within its walls. There was no ruler in Hindūstān; Shīr Shāh was between Humāyūn and the capital. The 'mīrzās' were lifting up their heads again, and a chief was needed. Hindāl was perhaps always the best of Bābar's sons in character, and certainly so when Humāyūn had become the changeling of opium. He had the Friday prayer (*khuṭba*) read in his own name; and on his behalf, Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad, a son-in-law of Bābar and grandson of Sultān Husain *Bāyqra*, murdered Shaikh Bahlūl. The motive of the crime appears to have been desire to place the death as an impassable barrier between the royal brothers.

The news of Hindāl's rebellion stirred Humāyūn to move from Gaur. His march to Āgra was broken off tragically by the rout at Chausa, where he lost 8,000 of his best Tūrki troops by sword or river. Here Ma'sūma was widowed, and here a terrible blank was made in the royal household by the loss of several women. Bega's (Hājī Begam) capture is known to all the histories, and so, too, is her return to Humāyūn. Shīr Shāh promised safety to all women found in the camp, and there is no reason to doubt that he did his best for them. But there had been fighting round their tents before his guards arrived, and some of Humāyūn's amīrs had perished in trying to defend them. It came about that there were losses of women and of children as to whose fate no word was ever heard again. Amongst them was 'Āyisha *Bāyqra*, the wife of Qāsim Husain Sultān Mīrzā. The next name in our begam's list takes us far back. It is that of Bachaka, a head-woman servant (*khalīfa*), and one such and so





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his escort went an immense convoy of women and helpless people, and he wished to take Gul-badan also. She was extremely unwilling to go and only partially resigned herself when she saw that it was Humāyūn's will. She bewailed herself as parting from those with whom she had grown up, and no uninitiated reader could guess that she was going with her father's son. She was a clever and attractive girl whose society was welcome to all her brothers, but in Kāmran'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, Yasīn-daulat and Mahdī, and perhaps the third, Mas'ūd, 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 Kāmran's strong force, she was spared a terrible journey which her mother and the rest of the royal party made under care of Hindāl, with foes in front and behind, and at great peril.

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

Here was a mighty gathering of Tīmūrids and their



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

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

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

The depression and gloom of the men who were the responsible leaders of the fugitive mob must have been



deep and painful; but what was in the minds of their dependents,—the ordinary troopers, the helpless women, the comfortless children, and the camp-followers?

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

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



Humāyūn, after the latter had returned from his Persian exile (1545).

Khizr is not mentioned as with Humāyūn in the desert wanderings, but he was in Qandahār with 'Askari in 1545. On the occasion of her reunion with Humāyūn in Kābul, in 1545, Gul-badan says that there had been a 'toil and moil of separation' lasting five years. The lustrum points to a farewell said at the Jhelam. One thing makes for her having gone with the royal party, and this is her lively account of what befell it; but she is equally lively about Persia; where she certainly did not go. She had excellent opportunity of hearing what went on in Sind because she met her mother again in 1543, after she had come to Kābul from Qandahār. 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 Khwāja Kīsik 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 Kāmran's protection from 1540, the date of her unwilling departure from Āgra, till 1545, when Humāyūn took Kābul.

During the lustrum in which she did not see Humāyūn, his adventures were too many and too remarkable for abbreviation in these pages. Mr. Erskine has told them with evident enjoyment, and Gul-badan supplements his narrative with some material he did not use; it may be interjected here that he had no knowledge of her book. For most of the period of the exile in Sind and Persia, Hamida was a good authority, and more than once Gul-badan has prefaced a statement with 'Hamida-bānū Begam says.' She was one in the cruel desert march to Umarnkot; it will have been from her that the princess heard that



Akbar's birthplace was a beautiful spot where food was very cheap; she was one of the little band which fled from Quetta; she shared the qualified hospitality of the Persian king, and, it should be said, reproduced only a sense of good treatment by him; and she came back to Qandahār with his auxiliary army.

In Kābul Gul-badan did not want for old friends and kinswomen. She had her own home occupations and her children to look after; of these, though she names one only, Sa'ādat-yār, she may have had several; but there is no definite statement as to which of Khizr's children were also hers. She was not unkindly treated by Kāmran, 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 Hindāl who, after losing Qandahār to Kāmran, came as a prisoner upon parole to Kābul and his mother's house. The movements of Humāyūn were made known from Sind to Kābul with speed and completeness, and the news was acted on to Humāyūn's great detriment. There were domestic reasons why Shāh Husain *Arghūn* should not be well disposed to Humāyūn, besides the substantial one of the latter's entry and long occupation of his country. Of the more intimate causes of ill-will one was inherited; Bābar had dispossessed the Arghūns from both Kābul and Qandahār, and not only so, but had given in marriage to his foster-brother Qāsim an Arghūn girl, Māh-chūchak, daughter of Muqīm Mīrzā. This was a great offence, because it was a misalliance in Arghūn eyes and because it was enforced and the bride was spoil of battle. The story of her anger and of her rebellion at her fate is delightfully told by Mr. Erskine, and to his pages readers may be safely referred for the sequel of my brief allusion to it.

When Qāsim *kūka* died, Māh-chūchak married her cousin, Shāh Husain, and she was with him during Humāyūn's miserable stay in Sind.



Another cause of friction lay in the presence of a former wife of Husain with Humāyūn's household. In 1524 Husain had allied himself with Khalīfa's family by marrying his daughter Gul-barg. As the fact adds to the domestic complication, it may be mentioned that at the same time Husain's stepdaughter, Nāhīd, the child of Qāsim and Māh-chūchak, married Khalīfa's son, Muḥibb-'alī. Husain and Gul-barg (Rose-leaf) did not get on well, and she left him after what Mīr Ma'sūm calls two years of wedded life. She then, says the same author, went to India with *Jannat-āshyānī* (Humāyūn) 'previous to the *fitrat*.' This last word is frequently used of the rout at Chausa in 1539, but the next nearest catastrophe to which it would apply after 1524 is the death of Bābar, because Gul-barg is named by Gul-badan in Humāyūn's household shortly after his accession. She was with him in Sind in 1541 onwards, and so, too, was Sultānam,<sup>1</sup> who was perhaps her mother, and both were unlikely to make the best of Shāh Husain to Humāyūn.

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

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<sup>1</sup> The presence of Sultānam here, and a royal permission allowed to her to go to Makka and take her daughter also, gives the impression that Khalīfa is dead.



three years old.<sup>1</sup> 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 Maḥdī no child; she adopted his sister Sultānam at the age of two, and reared her to become the wife of Hindāl.

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

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> The date of her return by Shāh Isma'īl to Bābar in 1511 falls in one of the long gaps (eleven years) of the Memoirs. This covers also, it is probable, Bābar's first association with Maḥdī and the latter's marriage with Khānzāda.





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

Humāyūn took 'Askarī with him as a precautionary measure. Of the ladies, Māh-chūchak went, and in attendance, Bībī Fāṭima, the chief armed woman of his *ḥaram* and mother of Zuhra, whom Ḥamīda's brother was to marry and murder. Near Khishm Humāyūn 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 Māh-chūchak 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 Kāmraṅ, reinforced by his father-in-law, Ḥusain, hurried up and seized Kābul. Winter was at its depth on the passes, and the amīrs 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 Kābul, where they found all their anticipations and dread justified. It does not seem right to stigmatize their leaving Humāyūn as traitorous; they had their own people to save, and this might be done by slight show of submission to Kāmraṅ. No one can consider Humāyūn a man who had claim to fidelity when the lives and honour of wives and children were in the balance. Indeed, to have left Kābul under the charge of Muḥammad 'Alī 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 amīrs was justified. On his northward march Kāmraṅ passed through Ghaznī, where Zahīd Beg was governor. He it was who when offered a Bengal appointment in 1538, had asked Humāyūn if he could not find another place to kill him in. He had not waited for a reply, but had left Bengal, and helped Hindāl to rebel in Āgra. Kāmraṅ now answered his question in Ghaznī, and after this murder hurried off towards Kābul. 'It was



morning, and the Kābulis were off their guard, and grass-cutters and water-carriers were going in and out as usual. Mīrzā Kāmran went in with all these common people.' So speaks the princess. The gentle-hearted governor was at the *ḥamām*, and was brought before Kāmran, without time given to dress, and there and then sabred. The list of other cruelties and murders is too terrible reading for these pages, and the ensuing siege was full of barbarous acts. Humāyūn crossed the passes as soon as it was practicable, and sat down to take the city. When Kāmran saw at length that he could not hold it, he escaped through a hole fashioned in the wall, got through the trenches and away to the mountains. Some say Hindāl let him pass the royal lines; others that Hājī Muḥammad Khān *kūka* overtook him later (so destitute that he was being carried by a man), and that Kāmran appealed to their milk-brotherhood and was allowed to go free. He then joined his hereditary foes, the Uzbegs.

In 1548 Humāyūn entered upon a campaign in Badakhshān which yielded interesting personal matters, such as this rivulet of the great stream of affairs can convey. He left Kābul on June 12th, and Ḥamīda bore him company with Akbar as far as Gul-bihār. As governor this time a soldier, and a man enraged against Kāmran, was left in charge of Kābul. The campaign culminated in the capture of Tāliqān, which was made over on August 17th by Kāmran, who was allowed to go to the refuge of all whose presence was undesired at home, Makka. Piety had no part in Kāmran's intention to betake himself to the holy city, and when he had heard, with incredulous ears, that Humāyūn was meting out mercy without justice to the revolted amīrs he had captured, he took heart and himself asked forgiveness. It is almost incredible, and would be quite so if one did not know Humāyūn, that he was received with kettle-drums, trumpets, tears and pardon. Certainly Humāyūn never deprived himself of the luxury of tears and the loose rein on his feelings. So wonderful was the following scene that Mr. Erskine's words shall tell



it: 'When Kāmṛān approached the Emperor, who was sitting in state in the pavilion of public audience, he took a whip from the girdle of Mu'nim Khān, who stood by, and passing it round his neck, presented himself as a criminal. "Alas, alas!" exclaimed the Emperor, "there is no need of this; throw it away." The mīrzā made three obeisances, according to the usual etiquette of the Court, after which the Emperor gave him the formal embrace and commanded him to be seated. Kāmṛān began to make excuses for his past conduct and to express his regret. "What is past is past," said the Emperor. "Thus far we have conformed to ceremony; let us now meet as brothers." They then rose and clasped each other to their breasts in the most affectionate manner, and both burst into tears, sobbing aloud, so as to affect all present. Humāyūn, on resuming his seat, desired his brother to sit next to him on the left, the place of honour, adding kindly in Tūrki, the language of the family, "Sit close to me." A cup of sherbet was brought, of which the Emperor, having drunk one half, handed it to his brother, who drank the other. A grand entertainment followed, at which the four brothers (also Sulaimān), who now met for the first time after a long separation, sat on the same carpet and dined, or, to use the words of the historian, ate salt together. The festival was prolonged for two days in the midst of universal rejoicing. As Kāmṛān, 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 'Askarī's going to stay with him.'

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

To tears and professions were added lands and freedom. Kāmṛān received Kūlāb, where Haram Begam's father had



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

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

To return to the Balkh campaign: spring was waited for and there was delay for men. Spring came, and the minds of the ladies turned to thoughts of excursions out of town. They remarked more than once to Humāyūn that the *riwāj* would be coming up in the hills. This is a plant of subacid flavour which some say is like sorrel and some like rhubarb. It was, at least, a plant that people made excursions to eat, much as others go blackberrying. To these hints for change, the royal reply was that the army was going out; that it would pass by the Koh-i-dāman (which is renowned for its *riwāj*); and that the ladies should go too. Gul-badan must not be deprived of



her story of the picnic, which illuminates the domestic ways of the court. The ladies went so far as to see the waterfall at Farza, and perhaps even to Istālif, twenty miles north of Kābul, 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. Kāmran broke his promise to come to Humāyūn'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 Kāmran was not there, he was oppressing Kābul. Humāyūn 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 Kābul was reached, there had been no sign of Kāmran.

It was the expected that Kāmran should not keep his word, but perhaps the unexpected was behind his conduct on the occasion of the Balkh campaign. Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm were with Humāyūn, 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 Kāmran was in Kūlāb—*i.e.*, his last holding,—someone, who from her name of Tarkhān 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 Kāmran 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 Sulaimān, saying that it was clear he was thought a coward, and further observed that Kāmran feared neither *her* nor her son. Much was packed in the pronoun here; there



was ground to fear the energetic and resolute woman who had the army of Badakhshān at her disposal. She was a forceful person and had the go-between torn to pieces. Kāmran 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 : ' Mīrzā Kāmran wandered about the country with bad intentions.' In his course he surprised Humāyūn in the Qibchāq defile, and an engagement took place which was attended by great loss of life. It was witnessed by Kāmran's wives and daughters from a commanding height. Bāyazīd mentions that the ladies wore turbans (*dastār-bastī*), a detail which may have been suggested by the great heat of the weather. Why the women were on the scene is perhaps explained by a similar record in the Memoirs which concerns a wife of Sultān Husain Bāyqarā. Shahr-bānū, a daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'id Mīrzā, was, with Husain's other wives, present at a battle between her husband and her brother, Maḥmūd Mīrzā. She did not, as the other ladies did, leave her litter and mount a horse, so as to be ready for flight if necessary, but trusting to her brother, in the case of her husband's defeat, remained comfortably in her litter while the fight went on. This dispassionate composure so much offended Husain that he divorced her. Perhaps Kāmran'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 Humāyūn was badly wounded. Gulbadan was able to hear the details of the misadventure, because Khizr Khwāja was with her brother and, it may be said, fighting against his own, Yasīn-daulat. Khizr and Mīr Sayyid Bīrka *Tīrmīzī* helped to hold the wounded man up on an ambling pony when he could not sit his horse, and so they led him out of the fray, sustaining his courage as they went by tales of other princes who had come through plights as bad. The wound was on the head,



and was like one of Bābar's in that it was given through a covering turban and this was uninjured. The pain was great and caused faintness. Humāyūn took off his quilted coat and gave it to a servant. The man finding its weight an encumbrance, left it lying; it was taken to Kāmran, who posted off with it to Kābul, showed it as evidence of death, and once more took possession of the unfortunate city.

Jauhar has quaint stories of the destitution in which Humāyūn now was, with his camp equipage lost and deprived of all necessaries. He was helped along through the night, cold and weakened, and in the morning was placed in safety by the arrival of a body of reliable troopers under Hāji Muḥammad *kūka*. 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, Sultān Muḥammad *qarāwāl*, performed again for him the rite his father had observed, and expressed his willingness to die for him. Humāyūn spoke reassuring words and comforted his faithful sacrifice.

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

With Kābul Akbar came again into his uncle's hands.





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men in the field. It was she, says our princess, who did it all, took thought, and overlooked everything. Then she led the men to 'the pass,'—amongst so many possible, one cannot fix on which,—and having done her work, went home. It seems probable that Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm were already with Humāyūn, and that Hāram despatched a supplementary force. The battle in which it was to engage was that important fight at Ushtur-grām which Humāyūn tried hard to prevent by previous mediation, and which was forced on by Kāmran's chief officer, Qarācha Khān.

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

A pleasant chance befell Humāyūn on the stricken field, for when he had claimed, as his share of booty, two driverless camels, he found in their loads his own books which he had lost at the Qibchāq defile. Many would be MSS. of the Persian poets; Bābar knew these well and often quotes the *Gulistān*; and Humāyūn 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 Kāmran is drawing to a close. He made a night attack, by which Hindāl lost his life, on the royal forces on November 20th, 1551; sued for help in vain from Sālim Shāh, the Emperor of Hindūstān; from Adam Ghakkar, and was surrendered by him to Humāyūn; was blinded by the insistence of the



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

To end the story of the faithful brothers;—'Askarī too received leave to go to Makka from Badakshān in 1551; he died between that city and Damascus in 1558. Both he and Kāmran 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 'Askarī one clear characteristic only comes out: he was true to the blood-tie with his mother's son and own senior, Kāmran.

A little return must now be made, in order to bring up the tale of home events to the date of those military. In 1551 the first marriage of the younger generation was arranged by the betrothal of Bakhshi-bānū to Ibrāhīm, son



of Haram. The Badakhshī trio had certainly deserved well of Humāyūn 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 Humāyūn had passed a short time of repose in Kābul after his victory of Ushtur-grām, he sent to Haram to ask Shāhzāda Khānam, 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 Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, *mīr sāmān*,<sup>1</sup> who, on Akbar's accession, was made commander of 2,500; and the other was Bibī Fāṭima, whom we know as having helped to nurse Humāyūn in his illness of 1546.

Haram, the dominant partner in the command of Badakhshān, mother of a girl in whose veins was reputed to flow the blood of Alexander and of Tīmūr, daughter of a tribal chief, and conscious of intrinsic claim to deference, inquired of the two lowly messengers why no begam or lady (*āghācha*) had come to prefer the royal request. She must have known that Humāyūn 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 Sulaimān 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 Ibrāhīm's, there was a betrothal of Muḥammad Hakīm 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

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



Kāmrān's wives was Muhtarīma Khānam *Chaghatai*, and on his death Sulaimān wished to marry her. Of her as co-wife, Haram would not hear, and contrived to make her a daughter-in-law by marrying her to Ibrāhīm.

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

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

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

Set free from the burden of his brothers, Humāyūn



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

A little-known episode of the time is the visit to India and the court of Sīdī 'Alī *Reis*, a Turkish admiral of Sulaimān the Great, who by the exigencies of war and weather found himself obliged to travel with a few officers and fifty sailors from Sūrat to Lāhōr and thence across all the wide intervening lands to Turkey.<sup>1</sup> He was welcomed by Musalmāns for his master's sake, and he was offered appointments in India, all of which he refused. He was received with great honour by Shāh Husain *Arghūn*, of whom he says that he had then reigned forty years, and had become so invalided during the last five that he could not sit his horse and used only boats for travel. Elsewhere it is said of Shāh 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 Māh-chūchak (wife of Husain), whom he calls Hāji Begam, as prisoner of 'Īsā *Tarkhān*, 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

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<sup>1</sup> 'Travels and Adventures of Sīdī 'Alī Reis'; Vambéry; Luzac and Co., 1899.



where Sīdī 'Alī's route brought him into contact with Humāyūn's people, *i.e.*, Lāhōr. 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 amīr would endeavour to forward everyone who could tell a tale for the entertainment of the court. Humāyūn sent for the admiral, and had him received, in the first half of October,<sup>1</sup> outside Dihlī by Bairām *Khān-i-khānān*, other great amīrs, 1,000 men, and 400 elephants. He dined with the *Khān-i-khānān*, and was then introduced to the presence.

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

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<sup>1</sup> M. Vambéry makes the Emperor urge, as a reason for keeping the admiral, that they were 'now close upon' the rains. But it was October, and, moreover, Humāyūn pointed out that the rivers were in flood and roads impassable. Perhaps this is a mistake of the admiral's, but still he saw the rivers, to his cost, in going to Dihlī. Those who may read the interesting little book, for which thanks are due to M. Vambéry, need to accept it in other places also with some caution—*e.g.*, p. 38, Sultān Mahmūd *Bhakkārī* is called Ḥusain *Arghūn's* adopted brother, and, p. 40, his father. He was a *kūka*. 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.*



Sultān Maḥmūd *Bhakkārī*. An official paper was drawn up, to which Humāyūn, literally, set his fist, for he dipped his clenched hand in saffron and laid it on the deed. Maḥmūd was much pleased, and both he and his vizier wrote their thanks to the mediator. This incident, and others too, gave occasion for other Tūrki ghazels and higher praise. Sīdī 'Alī was constantly in the royal circle, and there were contests in verse-making and dilettante amusements which reveal the true and newly-risen Huma once more at ease in untranquillized India. The traveller had not much to coax court favour with in the way of gifts, and this plumed his poetic flights; when he was wearied by his detention, he carried two ghazels to the royal seal-bearer and let them plead for his departure. They were heard, and he got 'leave to go,' with gifts and passport.

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

The Shīr Mandal is a two-storied building with flat roof in the middle of which rises a small cupola which looks like a shade from the sun. The roof is reached by two discontinuous, steep, and narrow flights of high and shallow granite steps, which are enclosed in walls and the upper one of which emerges through the roof. The Emperor on that Friday evening of January 24th, 1556, had started down the upper flight and was on its second step, when the *mu'azzin* raised the cry for prayer from the neighbouring mosque. Sīdī





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Adam Ghakkar who had made over Kāmran to Humāyūn ; that they saw two rhinoceroses, an event which makes one wonder whether there still remained a part of the ancient lake of the plain of Peshāwar to serve as habitat for the huge and now vanished beasts ; and that they crossed the many-memored Khaibar.

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

Sīdī 'Alī found Kābul 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 Khān in the city, and being told by him that he could not cross the passes, observed that men had overcome mountains, and under the care of a local guide whose home was on the road, accomplished the feat with labour and safety. He took the road to Tāliqān and there saw our well-known friends, Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm, but he is silent as to Hāram. Here, too, he wrote and offered his ghazel, and was both welcomed and speeded. In Tāliqān we must leave him who has been a welcome new figure amongst familiar actors.

### SECTION III.—UNDER AKBAR.

Protected by the capable men who upheld Akbar, the royal ladies had not again to flee before foes or to suffer violent change of fortune. Humāyūn had planned their journey from Kābul to India. Akbar more than once in his first year of rule had to cancel the orders he had given to effect it. Three military affairs disturbed the plan,—the suppression of the revolt of Abū'l-ma'ālī, the operations



against Sikandar *Afghan*, and the encounter with Hīmū at Pānīpat. At length amīrs were named to escort the ladies from Kābul. The officers set out, but on their march received orders to act first against Sulaimān Mīrzā, who, on hearing of Humāyūn's death, had come over from Badakhshān to besiege Kābul. 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 Tīmūr after Humāyūn. 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 Kābul, 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 Mānkot, in the western Sewāliks. The Emperor came a stage from it to meet them, and was 'much comforted by the reunion.' With Ḥamīda-bānū Begam, to whom, as Empress-mother, the chief place must be assigned, were Gul-badan, Gul-chihra, Ḥājī, and Salīma Begams. There was also a large company of officers' wives.

Perhaps the ladies remained near the camp until it broke up and went to Lāhōr. It left that city on its march for Dihlī on December 7th, 1557; at Jalindhar it halted, and here, with pomp and amidst general interest, Bairām *Khān-i-khānān* married Salīma Sultān Begam, a granddaughter of Bābar. She was a half-niece of Humāyūn, and she had with Akbar cousinship of the 'four-anna' degree. Bābar was their common ancestor, and their differing grandmothers diluted the cousinly relation.

This alliance had been arranged by Humāyūn, and the use of *sipurdan* by Abū'l-faḍl 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 Salīma'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 Bairām for Humāyūn, the newest being those of the Restoration. Bairām was a man to whom seems due the largesse



of the hand of a king's daughter ; he out-topped his contemporaries by his full stature in capacity, culture, faithfulness, and character. Salīma,<sup>1</sup> though much his junior, was in other respects a fit wife for him. She was an educated woman ; ranks amongst verse-makers so completely as to have a pen-name (*takhallas*), and stands out gently, by birth, character, and attainments.

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> The histories have a definite statement about her descent which yet presents difficulties when looked into. Its points are considered in the Appendix, s.n. Salīma.



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

Many comments have been made upon Māham *anaga*, both by the Persian writers and by their European commentators. Abū'l-fazl calls her a cupola of chastity, and it is now possible to wipe from her reputation the stain suggested by Professor Blochmann when writing of the parentage of Adham. She was wife of Nadīm Khān *kūka*, a faithful servant of Humāyūn. This fragment of useful information was brought to light by Mr. Beveridge, who found it in a MS. of Colonel Hanna, which may yield other valuable matter on quasi-domestic points. Māham *anaga* may be granted the praise she deserves as a nurse who earned the affection of Akbar to the end of her life; she is entitled to such praise as belongs to a mother who screens a son's every fault and pushes his fortunes with all her influence. She must take the dispraise of not pushing her elder son's as she did Adham's. Bāyazīd *bīyāt* 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 Aḥmad *Jāmī*. Amongst these was Ḥājī



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

In the year following Bairām's death, Adham Khān, who, says the *Ṭabaqāt*, held a place higher than the other courtiers because he was his mother's son, was on duty in Mālwa against Bāz Bahādur *Sūr*. Incidents resulted which emphasize regret that for such as the actors in them Bairām had had to make way. Māham *anaga* was *de facto* prime minister; Mu'nim Khān had been made *Khān-i-khānān*, and it was looked for by his friend the *anaga* that he should become prime minister *de jure*. Bāz Bahādur was defeated and fled from Sārangpūr. Aping the Hindūs, he had ordered his servants to kill the women of his household in the event of his defeat. Several had been so killed, many had been wounded, when the sacrifice was interrupted by the imperialists under Adham. Badāyunī says that there followed slaughter by Adham and his colleague, Pīr Muḥammad Khān, of terrible extent, and his own eyes saw that these two regarded God's creation in mankind as leeks, cucumbers, and 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 Bāz Bahādur's household had issued from a Rājput heart, there would have been no need for executioners while he was in flight. The victims were, however, not Rājputnīs, and they suffered only to gratify the vanity of a Moslim. Amongst those wounded was Rūp-matī, a dancing-girl renowned throughout Hindūstān for beauty, singing, and poetic gifts. Her name seems that of a Hindū. Her wounds, inflicted by Bāz Bahādur's order, were severe and she wished to die. Adham let her know that, if she would care for herself, he would send her to her master when she could travel. She took his promise as true, had her wounds dressed and recovered. When she claimed fulfilment of Adham's word, she was told to consider herself as his slave. He entered her room, raised her veil, and saw her dead by her own act.



Perhaps the point of deepest social degradation in this story is that Rūp-matī was, by men's decree, born to sin without blame, and yet she died because she loved one man. Her heart was single, and yet she was only the most charming, clever and beautiful of a crowd of dancing-girls, purchased slaves, to whom no man's loyalty and no mercy were thought due.

Adham Khān took much booty from Bāz Bahādur, and he disregarded the rule which required the choicest part to be sent to the Emperor; he also comported himself more like an independent ruler than a king's lieutenant. This angered Akbar, and he hurried off to Sārangpūr, out-distanced a messenger of Māham *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 Māham *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-dīn Aḥmad *Ghaznavī* and gave him the post. Shamsu-d-dīn was an unlettered man, but he was staunch and had sons who were true to Jī-Jī *anaga's* nursling.

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



for Adham murdered Shamsu-d-dīn, bursting in upon him as he sat in business audience and unsuspecting. It was done on the night of May 16th, 1562. The incident is well known, how the murderer rushed to the *ḥaram* 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> 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 Nadīm *kūka*, and with the terms of respect employed towards the *anaga* by the Persian writer who uses the degrading epithet.





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the discussion between them of his wish to take Muhtarīma to wife, which Ḥaram had frustrated by marrying the khanām to Sulaimān's son instead of to himself, but she had been angered extremely by the murder of one of her brothers by her husband and her son. She took the resolution of deserting Sulaimān and went over to Kābul, where then Mu'nim Khān was governor, and she had meant to carry on her complaints to Akbar. Mu'nim, however, who had been begged to mediate by Sulaimān, gave her good advice and pacified her, so that at last she consented to return to Badakhshān. He rode out to bid her farewell; she bade her camel kneel and dismounted; he got off his horse, and there was exchange of friendly greeting. She told him she regarded him as a brother and that for his sake she would never bring the army of Badakhshān against Kābul. It came several times later and with her approval, but Ḥaram could swear and break even 'awful oaths.' Bāyazīd *bīyat* accompanied her to the Ghurband and was charmed by her suavity and agreeableness.

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

In 1566 he and Ḥaram and their girls were again before the coveted Kābul, and on this occasion Ḥaram tried to supplement their failing military action by treachery. She got Sulaimān to lay an ambush for Muḥammad Hakīm, whom, with 'awful oaths' of amity, she had persuaded to have a meeting with her under profession of desire to adopt him now that her son Ibrāhīm was dead. The end of this affair was, in net result to the Badakhshīs, nothing; Ḥaram went home and Sulaimān followed. With them went the unfailing daughters, of whom Ḥaram seems to have had many, or who were betrothed and not



‘entrusted,’ so many recorded times. They had been near capture by the Kābulīs in the Four-walled Garden, but the commandant of the city recalled his men and let the girls go free, because he did not think it seemly to capture women.

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

The ill-behaviour of Ḥamīda-bānū’s brother, Khwāja Mu’azzam, must have been a frequent annoyance to the inner circle of the elder ladies at court. From boyhood he had been fantastic and mischievous, and perhaps carried always the germ of the madness which overtook his last years. Bairām, the sensible, had exiled him, then had given him some countenance; on Bairām’s fall he had received a fief, and, so far, had been favoured. But Akbar did not like him, and the murders he had committed were sufficient to warrant dislike. He was a true *parvenu*, assertive and relying on his sister to excuse his faults. Ḥamīda had been conscious before her marriage that her lowly birth was a point against her wedding with Humāyūn. The disparity in her case, as in other misalliances of the time, had raised unworthy people to power. Now, in 1564, Bibī Fāṭima lamented to Akbar that Khwāja Mu’azzam had threatened to kill his wife Zuhra, who was



her daughter. The Emperor consequently sent the khwāja word that he was coming to his house, and followed the message closely. As he entered, the khwāja stabbed Zuhra and then flung his knife, like a challenge, amongst the royal followers. Abū'l-faḥr says that for punishment the murderer was flung into the river, but 'would not drown.' The more sensible Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad says he was beaten and then soused in the river. He died insane, in prison, at Guāliār. All the shortcomings and crimes of the man notwithstanding, Ḥamīda 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 Nāhīd Begam, in whom our princess must have maintained interest for the sake of her father Qāsim, Bābar's foster-brother. Nāhīd, as has been said earlier, was the daughter of Qāsim and of Māh-chūchak *Arghūn*, who must not be confounded with Kāmran's wife of the same name, one common amongst the Arghūn women of the time. She had married Muḥibb-'alī, son of Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Alī *Khalīfa Barlās*, and who had risen to high military rank but now lived remote from soldiering and in reposeful retirement. Nāhīd's mother was now in her (third) widowhood for 'Īsā *Tarkhān Arghūn*, and she was not well regarded by her last husband's son, Muḥammad Bāqī *Tarkhān Arghūn*, the ruler of Tatta. Nāhīd, in 1571, went to see her mother, and perhaps conveyed to Bāqī the impression that her visit was something more than filial. He put Māh-chūchak in prison, and so behaved to Nāhīd that she hurried off to court and made bitter complaint of her own wrongs and of the rudeness shown to the royal attendants who had been with her in Sind. She told Akbar, too, that she had talked with Sulṭān Maḥmūd *Bhakkārī*, that old retainer of Shāh Ḥusain who had kept the island-fort against Humāyūn in the forties, and for whom Sīdī 'Alī *Reis* had negotiated terms in 1555. Maḥmūd had suggested an attack on Tatta, and, supported by him,



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

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

Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad is somewhat more sober of diction than his fellow-penmen and so, when he says that the Gujrāt 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 Sīkrī the City of Victory (Fath-pūr). Round one incident of the war womanly interest,—and surely compassion also,—will have centred. The veil of historic silence lifts for a brief moment, and shows Gul-rukh, Kāmran's daughter, in flight with her son.

Gul-badan's long span of unchronicled life was probably spent in the peaceful occupation of a wife and mother, with variety from books, verse-making, festivities, and outside news. She must have found much to exercise her lively mind in Hindūstān. That she went about with the royal camp is shown by the record of the place assigned to her tent in the encampments. It was pitched next to Ḥamīda's, well within the great enclosure, and not far from the Emperor's own. Since she was a woman, she must have found food for observation in the doings and position of her sex under the conditions of their life in Hindūstān. How did *satī* look to her? What did she think of the *jūhar*? Both these Hindū customs were far different from those of



her traditions in similar crises. She came of a tribe which boasts of the fidelity of its wives to the marriage tie. All the women of her house must have heard of the defiant act of Aīs-daulat, Bābar's grandmother, who had ordered her maids to stab a man to whom her captor had given her, and who then, for sole excuse, had observed that she was the wife of Yūnas Khān. Gul-badan had also in her own family history plenty of examples of the fate of captured girls, for many of her kinswomen had married foes of their tribe; and many too had become contented wives, well treated, and remaining in their foreign homes apparently without constraint.<sup>1</sup>

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

How, one would like to know, did the Musalmānī regard the willing death by fire of the Hindū widow, in that 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 Rājput wives from charming the Musalmānī ladies by recital of the legends of their race. These Hindūs can never have been welcome inmates of the

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<sup>1</sup> 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 Muḥammadan 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 Muḥammadans. There was certainly diversity of action and of degree of mercy and chivalry.



palace to any of the Moslems; 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 Hindū 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 Āgra, dressed in the seamless wrapper of the Arabian ceremonies. Though debarred from leaving Hindūstān 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. Sultān Khwāja, Gul-badan's cicerone, took, amongst other presents, 12,000 dresses of honour. He did not bring her home again; this duty fell to Khwāja Yaḥyā (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.

Abū'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 Salīma Sultān Begam, widow of Bairām and wife of Akbar. It was not usual for a wife to make the pilgrimage, but Muḥammadan law stipulates that permission shall be granted to such wives as strongly desire to do so, and Salīma's seems a case in point. Next comes a woman whose presence reveals pleasant things. She was Sultānam, widow of Akbar's uncle, 'Askarī, 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 Kāmran,—Hājī and Gul-'izār Begams. I do not know which child of his is veiled under the title of Hājī. She seems to be making her second *haj*, and may well have gone on her first when her father was in Arabia. To these two the pilgrimage would have humanly pious significance, as a visitation to their father's tomb and to that of Māh-chūchak *Arghūn*, whom all his children must have held in reverence. Next comes a grand-daughter of Gul-badan herself, named Um-kūlsum (Mother of Plumpness), presumably after the daughter of her Prophet. Whether she was the child of Sa'adat-yār is not said, nor whether the last name on the list, Salīma Khānam, is that of a child of Gul-badan, as well as of Khizr Khwāja Khān. Here some of the inconveniences of polygamy show themselves to the seeker after family facts.

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

Fathpūr-sīkrī seems to have been the rallying-point of the caravan and October 15th, 1575, the day of departure from it. It started earlier than was usual, perhaps because the ladies could not travel fast. Caravans generally left Āgra in the tenth month—this left in the seventh—of the





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pilgrims who were to sail in the royal ship, the *Ilāhī*. The real ground appears to have been want of a pass. The Portuguese were then masters of the Indian waters, and no ship might dare to put to sea without toll paid and pass obtained. Alarm about the Portuguese was natural, for there were stories that the very pass was sometimes a letter of Bellerophon enjoining capture and death. Abū'l-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, Badāyunī makes the difficulty clear by saying that Khwāja Sultān's ships lay idle from want of the pass. He also, it may be added, quotes a legal opinion that at this time it was not lawful to make the *haj* from India because, of the two practicable routes, one lay through the Shiah country of 'Irāq, and the other obliged a pass which bore the idolatrous stamp of the heads of the Virgin Mary and of Jesus Christ ('on whom be peace').

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

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

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



religious meaning which devout women attach to the rites commanded on the pilgrimage.

The visitation duties are set down in Hughes' 'Dictionary of Islām,' 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 (*iḥrām*); 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 (*Ṣafā*), and prayer and confession of faith upon it; the race seven times repeated from its summit to that of the Mount of Marwa; the common worship in the Great Mosque, and the sermon preached to the assemblage of common believers; the various pilgrimages and prayers of the eighth and ninth days; and on the tenth the extraordinary pelting of devils, which is symbolized by the patriarchal rite of the stoning of the pillars of Mina. Later in the same day occurs the final act of the *ḥaj*, an animal sacrifice. Whether the ladies could pay a substitute to perform this is not said.

During these ten busy days the seamless wrapper is worn; after the sacrifice it is laid aside, and attention may be paid to the neglected toilette. The pilgrim stays three days longer in Makka—days of the 'drying of the blood of sacrifice,' 'three well-earned days of rest after the peripatetic performance of the last four.' Still, all is not finished; there should be more circuits of the *ka'ba*, another stoning at Mina, and a draught drunk from the sacred well. Our princess would certainly do everything



which was due, and probably would go to Medina, and she would also make visitation to the tombs of many pious persons buried in the desirable soil of Arabia.

In 1579 Khwāja Yahyā was *mīr haj*, a friend of Badāyunī, 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,<sup>1</sup> who may perhaps have been wanted for the Arab *saraī*, established near the mausoleum of Humāyūn, outside Dihlī.

The return journey was both adventurous and perilous. They were shipwrecked off Aden, and had to stay, some say seven, others twelve, months in that desolate spot, far less habitable then than now, with condensed water, a tide from the Suez Canal, occasional rain, and the British *rāj*. The governor did not behave well, and quitted the path of good manners, misconduct for which he was punished by his master, Sultān Murād of Turkey. One pleasant incident broke the gloom of the long delay. On a day of April, 1580, the rock-bound travellers saw a ship coming up from the south with the wind, and, wishing to know whose it was, sent a boat out to make inquiry. By a pleasant chance Bāyazīd<sup>2</sup> *bīyat* with his wife and children were on board, and he shortened sail, though the wind was favourable, and gave and took news. Bāyazīd says that the persons who sent out the boat to him were Gul-badan Begam, Gul-izār Begam, and Khwāja Yahyā. Perhaps

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

<sup>2</sup> 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 Sūrāt. Here they again waited long, and this delay is attributed partly to the rains and partly to the royal absence in Kābul. It was March, 1582, when they reached Fathpūr-sīkrī.

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> 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 *Humāyūn-nāma*. 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-nāma*. This was not her only composition, for she followed the fashion of her day and wrote verses. Mīr Mahdī Shīrāzī has preserved in his *Tazkiratu-l-khwaṭīn* two lines of hers, in which her thought seems to be, 'No love, no fruit of life.'

“*Har parī ki au bā 'ashaq khud yār nīst,*  
*Tū yaqīn mīdān ki hech az 'umr bar-khur-dār nīst.*”

Nine copies were made of Bāyazīd's *Humāyūn-nāma*, 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 Sālīm, Murād, and Danyal; one to our begam; two to Abū'l-faḥl; and one perhaps was kept by the author. This allotment brings out the little point that Gul-badan collected books. Badāyūnī has a curious passage about himself which also discloses something 'bookish' of Salīma: 'On account of the book *Khīrad-afza*, which had disappeared from the library, and concerning Salīma Sulṭān 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 Abū'l-faḥl did not lay his refutation before the Emperor, and he does not clear up the awkward doubt as to what he had done with Salīma's desired book.

The remaining records of Gul-badan Begam's life are few and scanty. When she was seventy, her name is mentioned with that of Muḥammad-yār, a son of her daughter, who left the court in disgrace; again, she and Salīma join in intercession to Akbar for Prince Sālīm; again, with Ḥamīda, 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. Hamīda was with her to the end, and it may be that Ruqaiya, Hindāl's daughter, would also watch her last hours. As she lay with closed eyes, Hamīda-bānū spoke to her by the long-used name of affection, 'Jiu!' (elder sister). There was no response. Then, 'Gul-badan!' The dying woman unclosed her eyes, quoted the verse, 'I die,—may you live!' and passed away.

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

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

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## PART II.

### *GUL-BADAN BEGAM'S BOOK, THE 'HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA.'*

It is not generally known to English students of the (so-called) Mughal period of Indian history that Gul-badan Begam wrote a book. It was not known to Mr. Erskine, or he would have given fuller and more accurate accounts of the families of Bābar and Humāyūn. It escaped even Professor Blochmann's wider opportunities of acquaintance with Persian MSS. Until the begam's *Humāyūn-nāma* was catalogued by Dr. Rieu, it was a literary *parda-nishān*, and since that time has been little better. Abū-'l-faḍl, for



whose information it was written, does not mention it, but the *Akbar-nāma* is not without indication of its use.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> A passage about Bābar (*Bib. Ind.*, edit. I. 87) closely resembles the begam's on the same topic; and a divergence, noted by Mr. Erskine (*Mems.*, 218 n.) as made from Bābar's narrative by Abū'l-fazl, is made also by the begam.





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1875



**TRANSLATION**

**OF THE**

**HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA OF GUL-BADAN BEGAM.**



## NOTE ON THE PERSIAN TITLES.

Of these there are two :

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

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





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From his Majesty *Ṣāhib-qirānī*<sup>1</sup> down to my royal father there was not one of the bygone princes who laboured as he did. He became king in his twelfth<sup>2</sup> year, and the *khutba*<sup>3</sup> was read in his name on June 10th, 1494,<sup>4</sup> in Andijān, the capital of Farghāna. (3a)

For eleven full years his wars and struggles against the Chaghatāi and Tīmūrid and Uzbek princes<sup>5</sup> in Māwarā'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.<sup>6</sup> For six months he was besieged<sup>7</sup> (in Samarqand), and neither Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqrā*, his paternal uncle,<sup>8</sup> who

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

<sup>1</sup> *Lord of the fortunate conjunction*, i.e., of Jupiter and Venus, a posthumous title of Tīmūr (1336-1405), from whom Bābar was fifth in descent.

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

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

<sup>4</sup> Ramzān 5th, 899H. [Text, 909H.].

<sup>5</sup> The first and second of this triad of foes were near and elder kinsmen; the third was the Shaibānī of the histories.

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

<sup>7</sup> By Shaibānī, after the second occupation.

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





AMĪR TĪMŪR (SĀHĪB-QIRĀN).

[To face p. 84.]



W W W  
A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z





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

His Majesty now set out for Kābul, which was occupied by Muḥammad Muqīm, a son of Zū'l-nūn Arghūn, and grandfather of Nāhīd Begam.<sup>2</sup> He had captured it after Ulugh Beg Mīrzā's<sup>3</sup> death from Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-razzāq, son of his Majesty's paternal uncle (Ulugh Beg).

His Majesty reached Kābul in safety. Muḥammad Muqīm 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 Qandahār. This was in the last ten days of Rabī II., 910H.<sup>4</sup> Being now master of Kābul, his Majesty went to Bangash, took it at a blow, and returned to Kābul.

Her Highness, the khānam,<sup>5</sup> 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 *misqāl* to his kinsmen, the owners of the garden, and laid her there.

At this time urgent letters arrived from Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā, saying: (4b) 'I am planning a war against the Uzbegs. 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.

<sup>1</sup> The begam's brevity makes Bābar'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.): 'Bābar, 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 (Mīrzā Ḥaidar), the King had only one horse suitable for a person of his rank, and that was used by his mother.'

<sup>2</sup> Through his daughter Māh Chūchak.

<sup>3</sup> A son of Abū-sa'id, known as *Kābulī*. He died 1502.

<sup>4</sup> October, 1504. Bābar was now twenty-three, and had acquired more territory than his lost Farghāna.

<sup>5</sup> Qutluq-nigār. She died June, 1505.



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

When the princes<sup>2</sup> heard of the royal visit, they one and all set out to give him honourable meeting, except Badī'uz-zamān Mīrzā, who did not go because Barandūq Beg and Zū'l-nūn Beg—amīrs of Sultān Husain Mīrzā—said, in effect, that as his Majesty was fifteen years younger than Badī'uz-zamān Mīrzā, it was right that he should be the first to bow, and that they should then embrace one another. Qāsim Beg<sup>3</sup> rejoined: 'Younger he is by years, but by the *tūra*,<sup>4</sup> 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 Badī'uz-zamān should then advance to show him honour, and they should embrace. The mīrzā was not attending when his Majesty came in at the door; Qāsim Beg clutched my royal father's girdle and pulled it, and said to Barandūq Beg and Zū'l-nūn Beg: 'The agreement was that the mīrzā should come forward and that then they should embrace one another.' The prince then advanced in great agitation and they embraced.

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Badī'uz-zamān and Muḥammad Muẓaffar Husain, sons of Sultān Husain Mīrzā. The meeting was on November 6th, 1506 (Jumāda II. 8th, 912H.).

<sup>3</sup> Bābar's Prime Minister and (I believe) relation. He was of the Qūchīn tribe to which Bābar's grandmother, Aīs-daulat, belonged.

<sup>4</sup> The Rules of Chingīz Khān. These are referred to again on points of etiquette.



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

At the skirts of Minār Hill they heard that Mīrzā Khān<sup>4</sup> and Mīrzā Muḥammad Husain *Gūrkān*<sup>5</sup> had rebelled and

<sup>1</sup> A well-rounded number. Sultān Husain was born 842H. (1488), and died 911H. (1506). Bābar calls the joint-kingship of his sons a strange arrangement and one never heard of, and quotes Sa'dī's well-known couplet as applicable—'Ten darvishes can sleep on one rug, but one climate cannot hold two kings.'

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

It was during this absence from Kābul that he married Māham, Humāyūn's mother.

<sup>3</sup> Through the Aimāq and Hazāra country, and south of his route to Herāt.

<sup>4</sup> Sultān Wais, a son of Bābar's paternal uncle, Maḥmūd, and his maternal aunt (*i.e.*, his mother's half-sister), Sultān Nigār Khānam.

<sup>5</sup> Father of Haidar Mīrzā *Dughlāt*, author of the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*. He married Khūb-nigār, full-sister of Bābar's mother.





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Humāyūn, and Bārbūl Mīrzā, and Mihr-jān (jahān) Begam, and Ishān-daulat Begam, and Fārūq Mīrzā.<sup>1</sup>

(2.) Ma'sūma Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā, died in childbed. The mother's name they gave to the daughter.

(3.) Of Gul-rukḥ Begam were born Kāmran Mīrzā, and 'Askarī Mīrzā, and Shāh-rukḥ Mīrzā, and Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā, and Gul-'izār Begam.

(4.) Of Dil-dār Begam were born Gul-rang Begam, and Gul-chihra Begam, and Hindāl Mīrzā, and Gul-badan Begam, and Alwar Mīrzā.<sup>2</sup>

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

The blessed birth of the Emperor Humāyūn, the first-born son of his Majesty *Firdaus-makānī*, occurred in the night of Tuesday, Zū'l-qa'da 4th, 913H. (March 6th, 1508), in the citadel of Kābul, and when the sun was in the sign Pisces.

That same year his Majesty was pleased to order the amīrs and the rest of the world to style him emperor (*bādshāh*). For before the birth of the Emperor Humāyūn he had been named and styled Mīrzā Bābar. All kings' sons were called mīrzās. In the year of his Majesty Humāyūn's birth he styled himself *bādshāh*.

They found<sup>3</sup> the date of the birth in *Sultān Humāyūn Khān*, and also in *Shāh-(i)-fīroz-qadr*.<sup>4</sup>

After children had been born to him, news came that Shāh Ismā'īl had killed Shāhī Beg Khān.<sup>5</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> Born 1525; died 1527. His father never saw him.

<sup>2</sup> Gul-badan or her copyist does not balance accounts. She says eighteen, and names sixteen children. This may be a clerical error only.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.*, by *abjad*. Cf. Steingass' Persian Dictionary, *s.v.* *abjad*.

<sup>4</sup> 'The king, victorious in might.'

<sup>5</sup> At Merv, December 2nd, 1510. Cf. B. & H., I. 302. On the removal of this formidable foe, Bābar again tried to regain his ancestral lands, but was still outmatched by the Uzbeks. Defeat by them led him to take a road of less resistance through Bajaur to Hindūstān.



His Majesty at this time entrusted Kābul to Nāṣir<sup>1</sup> Mīrzā, and set out<sup>2</sup> for Samarqand, taking with him his people and wives and children, who were Humāyūn Mīrzā, and Mihr-jahān Begam, and Bārbūl Mīrzā, and Ma'ṣūma Begam, and Kāmrān Mīrzā. (7b)

With help from Shāh Ismā'il, he took Samarqand (October, 1511), and for eight (lunar) months the whole of Māwarā'u-n-nahr (Transoxiana) was in his power. Owing to want of co-operation in his brothers and to the opposition of the Mughals,<sup>3</sup> he was defeated at Kūl Malik by 'Ubaidu-l-lāh Khān. As he could not remain in those parts, he set out for Badakhshān and Kābul, and put out of his head further thought of Māwarā'u-n-nahr.

He had become master of Kābul in 910H. (1504). He had always desired to go into Hindūstān, and had not carried out his wish because of the feeble counsels of his amīrs and the non-agreement of his brothers. When at length these were gone,<sup>4</sup> and there remained no amīr such as could argue against it, he accomplished his desire.

Bajaur<sup>5</sup> he took in two or three hours and ordered a general massacre.

On the same day the father of Afghānī *āghācha*,<sup>6</sup> Malik Manṣūr Yūsufzai, came in and paid his respects. (3a) 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

<sup>1</sup> Bābar's half-brother, son of Umīd, an Andijānī.

<sup>2</sup> January, 1511 (Shawwāl, 916H.).

<sup>3</sup> For a more interesting cause of defeat, cf. B. & H., I. 821, *et seq.* 'Ubaidu-l-lāh was Shaibānī's nephew. Kūl (Lake) Malik is in Bokhārā. Bābar was again defeated by the Uzbegs in this same year (1511).

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.*, dead. Jahāngīr died in 1507 and Nāṣir in 1515, both from drinking. This passage resembles Bābar's own words. (Mems. 809.)

<sup>5</sup> 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 Islām' and addicted to infidel customs. (Mems. 246 *et seq.*)

<sup>6</sup> The Afghān Lady. It is thus that Gul-badan always speaks of Bībī (Lady) Mubārīka, the Yūsufzai wife of Bābar. Pavet de Courteille defines *āghācha* thus: 'Se dit des femmes par opposition à begam et khānam; dame.' I do not in Gul-badan's work trace any disrespect attaching to '*āghācha*,' such as is indicated by '*concubine*,' as which it is sometimes translated.



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

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

Having subdued Bajaur, his Majesty went towards the Bhīra country, and on his arrival made peace without plundering. He took four *laks* of *shāhrukhīs*<sup>3</sup> and gave to his army, dividing them according to the number of his followers. He then set out for Kābul.<sup>4</sup>

Just now came a letter from Badakhshān saying : 'Mīrzā Khān is dead ;<sup>5</sup> Mīrzā Sulaimān is young ; the Uzbegs are near ; take thought for this kingdom lest (which God forbid) Badakhshān should be lost.' (8b) Until there should be thought taken, Mīrzā Sulaimān's mother<sup>6</sup> had brought him (to the Emperor). Agreeably to this petition and their wish, the Emperor assigned to Mīrzā Sulaimān the lands and inheritance which had been his father's, and he gave Badakhshān to Mīrzā Humāyūn.

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

<sup>1</sup> Qāsim Beg *Qūchīn*, an ancient Beg of Andijān, and one of Bābar's best followers.

<sup>2</sup> Qy., as to the child's name. His true name was Muḥ. Nāṣir, but he is only known as Hindāl. He was Gul-badan's full brother, and was given, before birth, to Māham Begam, who had lost all her children younger than Humāyūn. Cf. 24a n.

<sup>3</sup> Estimated by Mr. Erskine at about £20,000 sterling.

<sup>4</sup> End of February, 1519. In his winning fashion Bābar relates that he forbade the news of his return to be taken to Kābul, and that there was therefore no time to put his boys, Humāyūn and Kāmran, 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.

<sup>5</sup> *Cir.* 926H. (1520). Cf. *Mems.* 286 n., and *Tār. Rash.*, Ney Elias and Ross, 373 n.

<sup>6</sup> Sultān Nigār Khānam.





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arrayed battle at Pānīpat<sup>1</sup> against Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of Sultān Sikandar, son of Bahlūl *Lodī*. By God's grace he was victorious, and Sultān Ibrāhīm was killed in the fight.

His victory was won purely by the Divine grace, for Sultān Ibrāhīm 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 amīrs of Hind represented that in Hindūstān 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.<sup>2</sup>

Khwāja<sup>3</sup> Kilān<sup>4</sup> Beg asked leave several times to go to Kābul. He said: 'My constitution is not fitted for the climate of Hindūstān. If leave were given, I should tarry awhile in Kābul.' 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

<sup>1</sup> '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 Bābar against Ibrāhīm and the Lodīs, 1526; (2) by Akbar against the Indian Afghāns in 1556; and (3) by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī against the Marāthās in 1761.

<sup>2</sup> Bābar distributed the treasure on the 11th or 12th of May, 1526, and left himself so little that he was dubbed *qalandar*.

<sup>3</sup> M. Garçin de Tassy says, in his 'Mémoire sur la Religion Musalmane' (46 n.) that khwāja, like sayyid, is a title for a descendant of Muhammad. Shaw's *Türkī Dictionary* states that khwāja 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.

<sup>4</sup> One of Bābar's most admirable followers and friends, and perhaps a relation. He was one of seven brothers, sons of Maulānā Muḥammad *Ṣadru-d-dīn*, who spent their lives in Bābar's service.



Sultān Ibrāhīm, to my elder relations<sup>1</sup> and sisters and each person of the *ḥaram*. 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,<sup>2</sup> and when a pleasant meeting-place has been arranged, the begams are to make the prostration of thanks for the complete victory which has been brought about.

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

<sup>1</sup> *walāyu-n-ni’matān*, lords of beneficence. Gul-badan’s application of it is to ‘benevolent ladies,’ i.e., the numerous aunts. It is a title of respect for seniors.

<sup>2</sup> I think each begam was to encamp with her own establishment and within her own enclosure (*sarāparda*), and not in hasty camp fashion of community of quarters. This would exalt the assembly.

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

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

<sup>4</sup> Qy., for the elder relations.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably of his kinsmen and of officers whose families were with Bābar’s own in Kābul.

<sup>6</sup> This word seems to describe women who were heads of household departments and not merely the guardians of *ḥarams*.



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 *fātiḥa*<sup>1</sup> for the benediction and prosperity of his Majesty, and joyfully made the prostration of thanks.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

<sup>1</sup> The first chapter of the Qurān.

<sup>2</sup> In this prostration the forehead touches the ground.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps from the Lodī treasury. (Cf. J.A.S.B. Proceedings, 1888; Thomas, 423; Richardson's Ar. & Per. Dict., s.v. *sikka*; Memoirs of the Mughal Empire, Jonathan Scott, 3 and 3 n.)

<sup>4</sup> Lit. a night-guard. The words preceding 'Asas offer much difficulty. They may be read *ba 'ammū*,—to the paternal uncle of 'Asas. But the story is of 'Asas, the night-guard and not of his uncle. Perhaps *'ammū* is a clerical error for *'amah*, bewilderment, misleading, and this would suit the story well. Mr. Beveridge has suggested to me to read *'Umarī*, i.e., an old servant of 'Umar Shaikh. This, too, would be appropriate, for the victim of the hoax is clearly an old man.

The title 'Asas is applied several times by Bābar. One 'Asas was a boon companion and partook of Bābar's vow before the battle of Khānwa. (Mems. 283 and 354; Firishta, Pers. Text, Briggs I. 449.) Gul-badan names one (20b) as entrusted with the care of Bābar's tomb,—Muh. 'Alī 'Asas. I think he was brother to Māham Begam, and the governor of Kābul whom Kāmran murdered in 1547.





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

He commanded buildings to be put up in Āgra on the other side of the river,<sup>1</sup> and a stone palace to be built for himself between the *ḥaram* 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 *chaukandī*<sup>2</sup> built. (12a)

He ordered a tank made in Dholpūr, ten by ten,<sup>3</sup> out of a single mass of rock, and used to say, 'When it is finished, I will fill it with wine.' But as he had given up wine before the fight with Rānā Sangā, he filled it with lemonade.

A year after Sultān Ibrāhīm's death, the rānā<sup>4</sup> appeared from the Mandū (or Hindū) side with a countless host. Amīrs and rājas and rānās, every one of those who had come earlier and paid duty to his Majesty, now became an enemy and went and joined the rānā, until Kūl-jalālī and Sambhal and Rāpri—every *pargana*,—and rā'is and rājas and Afghāns became hostile. Nearly two *laks* of cavalry assembled.

At this time, Muḥammad Sharīf, the astrologer, said to the royal soldiers, 'It would be best for the Emperor not to fight, for the constellation *Sakkiz Yildoz* (Eight Stars) is opposite.' Amazing perturbation fell upon the royal army. They became exceedingly anxious and troubled,<sup>5</sup> and showed signs of cowardice. (12b) When his Majesty saw his army

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, opposite the fort.

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

<sup>3</sup> About 20 feet by 20 feet. (Mems. 398 n.)

<sup>4</sup> This decisive battle was fought on March 16th, 1527, on the skirts of the hill of Sīkrī, at Khānwa. Akbar's *prænomen* of Fathipūr—the City of Victory—was given to Sīkrī in 1573 to commemorate the Gujrāt campaign.

<sup>5</sup> When the fight had been won, Bābar soundly rated Muḥammad Sharīf, gave him money, and dismissed him to the place from which he had emerged, apparently only to cause trouble. He had come to India with a royal kinsman from Kābul, and to Kābul in 1519 from Khost (Māham's home).



in this state, he thought over the whole position. As the enemy was close at hand, this device occurred to his blessed mind; he ordered the remnant of what remained over and above deserters and enemies, to gather together. One and all came—amīrs and khāns and sultāns; plebeian and noble, low and high. Then he addressed them, and said: ‘Do you not know that there lies a journey of some months between us and the land of our birth and our familiar city? If our side is defeated, (God preserve us from that day! God forbid it!) where are we? where is our birthplace? where our city? We have to do with strangers and foreigners. It is in every way best for each man to set resolutely before himself the two alternatives: if we win, we are avengers of the cause of God; if we lose, we die martyrs. In either fate is our salvation; each is a step and upward stage in greatness.’

To this they all agreed. They swore by the divorce of their wives and on the Holy Book; they recited the *fātiḥa*, 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.’<sup>1</sup> (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 *firmāns* 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

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Erskine thus gives Bābar'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, Bābar touched also the thought of home, and this would be recorded by the woman.



other, may be hampered in his comings and goings, but all may move unmolested and free from interference.'

In the night<sup>1</sup> before the battle word was brought that Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān,—a grandson of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā through a daughter, 'Āyisha Sultān Begam,—had come to within ten *kōs* (of the royal camp) on his way from Khurāsān. (13*b*)

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

Next morning, which was March 16th, 1527 (Jumāda II. [13th], 933H.), his Majesty arrayed battle against Rānā Sangā on the skirts of the hill of Sīkrī, where now Fathpūr has been built<sup>2</sup> and peopled. By the Divine grace he was victorious and became an avenger of the cause of God.<sup>3</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> Bābar says that Qāsim had come earlier and with 500 men. Muḥ. Sharīf, the 'rascally fellow' and 'evil-minded wretch,' was with him. (Mems., 352.)

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> *Ghāsi*. Bābar now assumed this title, because he had vanquished non-Muḥammadans.





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too. (14b) I, not knowing, wished to get up, but Khalīfa raised objections, and said: 'She is your old serving-woman. There is no need to rise for her. Your father has exalted this old servant (? himself) by giving such an order<sup>1</sup> about him. So be it! what power have slaves?'

From Khalīfa I accepted 6,000 *shāhrukhīs* and five horses, and Sultānam gave me 3,000 and three horses. Then she said: 'A hasty meal (*mā ḥazarī*) is ready. If you will eat you will honour your servants.' I consented. There was a raised platform in a pleasant spot, and a pavilion of red cloth with lining of Gujrātī brocade, and six canopies of cloth and brocade, each of a (differing) colour, and a square enclosure<sup>2</sup> of cloth with painted poles.

I sat in Khalīfa's quarters. The meal drew out to almost fifty roast sheep,<sup>3</sup> and bread and sherbet and much fruit. Having at length eaten my breakfast, I got into my litter and went and paid my duty to my royal father. (15a)

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> (?) as that she should rise to greet him.

<sup>2</sup> Text, *chahār chūqa-i-sarāparda*. Cf. *Notices et Extraits*, Quatre-mère, XIV. 498.

<sup>3</sup> The 'fifty' sheep will not reduce by any reading I can suggest. Cf. *anglice* 'heaps of,' 'hundreds of,' etc. Perhaps the flock is a product of childish weariness recalled half a century later. Possibly one should read *panj āhār*, five foods, *i.e.*, courses, dishes. Gul-badan is now between five and six. Her doubt as to the reception due to Sultānam rings true, and Khalīfa'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 *tūr-khāna*,<sup>1</sup> where he used to sit and write his book.<sup>2</sup>

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

After his arrival, word was brought that the begams were on the way from Kābul. My royal father went as far as Naugrām to give honourable reception to my dearest lady (*aka-jānam*),<sup>3</sup> 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 Āgra. The Emperor gave houses to all the begams.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> "Perhaps a space enclosed by a low railing." (Mems., 202 n.) Possibly and suitably, a mosquito-room (*ṭaur*, net). Cf. Khwānd-amīr, B.M. Or. 1,762, and Add. 30,774, ff. 25-114.

<sup>2</sup> The *Tūzūk-i-bābarī*.

<sup>3</sup> Khānzāda Begam.



rarity of the world and unique of the age. As her lamentation passed due bounds, his Majesty said to my lady and the begams: 'Come, let us make an excursion to Dholpūr.' He himself went comfortably and pleasantly by water, and the begams also begged to go by boat.

Just then there came a letter from Maulānā Muḥammad Farghārī (Parghālī) in Dihlī, saying: 'Humāyūn Mirzā is ill and in an extraordinary state. Her Highness the begam should come at once to Dihlī, for the mirzā is much prostrated.'<sup>1</sup> (16*b*)

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

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

When his Majesty came and saw how it was, his light-revealing countenance at once became sad and pitiful, and he began more and more to show signs of dread. (17*a*) 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.'<sup>2</sup> His Majesty rejoined: 'Māham! although I have other sons, I love none as I love your Humāyūn. I crave that this

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Bābar-nāma*, Ilminsky, 502 *et seq.*, and P. de Courteille, II. 457 *et seq.*, where is one of the supplementary fragments included in Kehr's *Bābar-nāma* (*Tūzūk*) and possibly taken from the Bukhārā MS. (Cf. Notes on the Tūrki texts of the *Bābar-nāma*, A. S. Beveridge. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1900.)

<sup>2</sup> All Māham's other children died in childhood.





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BĀBAR IN PRAYER, DEVOTING HIMSELF FOR HIS SON.



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

During Humāyūn's illness<sup>1</sup> his Majesty walked round him and turned his face (in intercession) to his Reverence, Murtaza 'Alī Karīmu-l-lāh. 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 Bābar, I give my life and my being for Humāyūn.'<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> The account of Bābar'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.

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

Faith in the rite of circumambulation still prevails in Persia. Bābar, it is clear, believed his devotion to have borne fruit. (Cf. Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, s.v. Intercession. For Karīmu-l-lāh, see Badāyūnī, *Bib. Ind. Text*, III. 191.).



The whole time my royal father kept repeating: 'Where is Hindāl? What is he doing?' Just at this time some-one came in and said: 'Mīr Bardī Beg, the son of Mīr Khurd Beg,<sup>1</sup> conveys his obeisance.' My royal father, full of agitation, sent for him at once and asked: 'Where is Hindāl? When will he come? What trouble waiting gives!' (18a) Mīr Bardī said: 'The fortunate prince has reached Dihlī; he will wait on you to-day or to-morrow.' On this my royal father said to Mīr Bardī Beg: 'Ill-fated little fellow! I have heard that they married your sister in Kābul, and you in Lāhōr.<sup>2</sup> It is because of the wedding festivities that you have (not)<sup>3</sup> sooner brought my son, and so my weary waiting has been very long.' He asked: 'How tall has Hindāl Mīrzā grown?' and 'What is he like?' As Mīr Bardī was wearing one of the mīrzā'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 Hindāl has grown.'<sup>4</sup> He kept repeating, 'Alas! a thousand times alas! that I do not see Hindāl,' and asking everyone who came in: 'When will Hindāl 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,<sup>5</sup> honours me with a visit, tell her that I say it has occurred to me to give Gul-rang to Isān-tīmūr Sultān and Gul-chihra to Tūkhta-būghā Sultān.'<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hindāl's guardian from birth (1519-1530). He had previously been Bābar's *bakāwal* (house-steward). One of his sons, Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad, served under Humāyūn and Akbar, and was *mīr farāghaṭ* (master of comfort). He may be the Mīr Bardī (qy. a child's sobriquet, Master Full-of-fun) of this episode. Ṭāhir's son, Bāqī, was a sewer, *i.e.*, table-decker (*sufra-chī*).

<sup>2</sup> Hindāl, with whom doubtless Mīr Bardī and his father were travelling, was on his way from Badakhshān to the court.

<sup>3</sup> The text has no negative.

<sup>4</sup> Hindāl was now about eleven years old, so Mīr Bardī must also have been a boy.

<sup>5</sup> Khānzāda Begam—*aka-jānam*—dearest lady.

<sup>6</sup> Isān (Ishān, or Yussun) was the ninth, and Tūkhta-būghā the tenth, son of Aḥmad Khān, Bābar's maternal uncle. They were uncles of Gul-badan's own husband, Khizr Khwāja.





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luck, for our remedies are of no avail. We hope that God, the most Holy, will soon give one from His invisible treasures.'

When they felt his Majesty's pulse, they came to the opinion that there were symptoms of the same poison as that given him by Sultān Ibrāhīm's mother. It was in this way: that ill-fated demon (the mother) gave a *tōla* of poison to one of her maids, and said: 'Take this and give it to 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 Sultān Ibrāhīm.'<sup>1</sup> 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).'<sup>2</sup>

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 day<sup>3</sup> he called his chiefs together and spoke after this wise: 'For years it has been in my heart to make over my throne to Humāyūn Mīrzā and to retire to the Gold-scattering Garden. By the Divine grace I have obtained all things but the fulfilment of this wish in health of body. Now, when illness has laid me low, I charge you all to acknowledge Humāyūn in my stead. Fail not in loyalty

<sup>1</sup> Her son, who died fighting Bābar at Pānīpat.

<sup>2</sup> Pers. and Hind. Proverbs, T. Roebuck, Calcutta, 1824, p. 124, and Mems., 18.

<sup>3</sup> (?) after Humāyūn's arrival.



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

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

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

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

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

They brought out our paternal aunt<sup>1</sup> and our mothers<sup>2</sup> on the pretence that the doctors were coming to look. All rose. They took all the begams and my mothers to the Great House.<sup>3</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup> Khānzāda Begam.

<sup>2</sup> Bābar’s wives.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps ‘palace,’ and the sense may be that they did not go to their separate residences but remained nearer to the dead.



his welfare. On Friday, December 29th, 1530 (Jumāda I. 9th, 937H.), the Emperor Humāyūn mounted the throne, and everyone said: 'May all the world be blessed under his rule.' (20b)

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

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

After my royal father's death, there were the good works and consecrated days of the first assembly<sup>1</sup> at his tomb.<sup>2</sup> His Majesty named Muḥammad 'Alī 'asas<sup>3</sup> its guardian, and ordered the appointment of sixty good reciters of the whole Qurān and readers with good voices, so that the congregational prayers might be said five times daily and the whole Qurān recited, and prayer offered for the soul of the royal dweller in Paradise (*Firdaus-makānī*). (21a) The whole of Sīkrī—now known as Fathpūr—together with five *laks* charged on Bayāna, was given as an endowment to the

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

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

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.*, of the night-guard. I believe he was the brother of Māham Begam.





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*makānī*, Biban<sup>1</sup> and Bāyazīd advanced from the direction of Gaur. On the news of this, his Majesty at once left Āgra and moved to meet them. He defeated them, and then went to Chanāda (Chunār),<sup>2</sup> took it, and thence returned to Āgra.

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

Three days later Bega Begam<sup>5</sup> came from Kābul. She became in the family way. In due time<sup>6</sup> she had a daughter, whom they named 'Aqīqa. Maywa-jān said to Lady (*Aka*) Māham Begam, 'I am in the family way, too.' Then my lady got ready two sets of weapons, and said: 'Whichever of you bears a son, I will give him good arms.' Then she packed up the arms, and got ready gold and silver walnuts. She procured also the (special) arms of a Mughal commander, and was very happy, and

<sup>1</sup> Text, Bibban. Biban and Bāyazīd were two distinguished Afghān chiefs and supporters of the fallen Lodī dynasty. The defeat named here occurred at Daura, on the Gumtī, 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 Humāyūn.

<sup>2</sup> 1532 (938H.). Taken from Shīr Shāh late in 1532 (939H.).

<sup>3</sup> An attendant on a man of rank, who carries a gold or silver staff (Johnson, Pers. Dict., s.v.); chamberlain in the service of Khāns of Tūrkištān (Zenker, s.v.) Gul-badan's use of the word (81b) would allow a more extended sense.

<sup>4</sup> Text has also *dar hayāt khud*. This is not the only instance of a similar redundant expression.

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

<sup>6</sup> Text, *b'ad az yak sāl*, which, read literally, spoils the story.



kept saying: 'Perhaps one of them will have a son.' She kept watch till Bega Begam's 'Aqīqa was born. Then she kept an eye on Maywa-jān. Ten months went by. The eleventh also passed. Maywa-jān said: 'My maternal aunt was in Mīrzā Ulugh Beg's<sup>1</sup> *ḥaram*. She had a son in the twelfth month; perhaps I am like her.' So they sewed tents and filled pillows.<sup>2</sup> But in the end everyone knew she was a fraud.

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

My lady who was Māham Begam, gave a great feast. (22b) They lit up the bāzārs.<sup>3</sup> Before that time people used to illuminate the bāzārs (only). Then she gave orders to the better class and to the soldiers also to decorate their places and make their quarters beautiful, and after this illumination became general in India.

. . . a jewelled throne,<sup>4</sup> 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*<sup>5</sup> and *sar-i-kannat* of Gujrātī 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.

<sup>1</sup> This will be Bābar's paternal uncle, known as *Kābutī*.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, made all preparations. Perhaps *khirgāhā dokhta* is not 'sewed tents,' but 'pitched tents.' Cf. *zamīn-doz*.

<sup>3</sup> I am very doubtful as to the meaning of the following paragraph. It can hardly be true that India waited for Māham to instruct it in the art of illumination or decoration. I have conjecturally read that, whereas formerly only *bāzārs* were made to look festive, she had other houses adorned.

<sup>4</sup> Here follows a list of arrangements, plenishing and gifts for the feast. There are here and at p. 123 ff. many difficult words in it.

<sup>5</sup> Ar., a pent over a doorway, a veil, an umbrella. Perhaps *qanāt*, a screen, an enclosure for tents, the tent walls.



. . . twelve strings of camels, and twelve of mules, and seventy *tipūchāq* horses, and one hundred baggage horses. She gave special robes of honour to 7,000 persons. The festivities lasted several days.<sup>1</sup>

At this time came news that Muḥammad-zamān Mīrzā<sup>2</sup> had killed the father of Hājī Muḥammad Khān *kūkū*,<sup>3</sup> and was meditating rebellion. (23a) His Majesty sent to summon them<sup>4</sup> to the presence, and having laid hands on them, imprisoned them in Bayāna, in charge of Uncle Yādgar. Uncle Yādgar's men sided with Muḥammad-zamān Mīrzā, and let him escape (1533—940H.). At this time it was ordered that Sultān Muḥammad Mīrzā<sup>5</sup> and Nai<sup>6</sup> (Walī) Khūb Sultān Mīrzā should both be blinded. Nai Khūb Sultān lost his sight, but the man who had the blinding of Muḥammad Sultān did not injure his eyes.<sup>7</sup> Muḥammad-zamān Mīrzā and Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā,

<sup>1</sup> The feast here credited to Māham Begam may be that of the first anniversary of Humāyūn'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 Niẓāmu-d-dīn 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.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Badī'u-z-zamān Mīrzā, and grandson of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Būyqrā*, and husband of Ma'sūma, a daughter of Bābar. He was drowned in the Ganges at the rout of Chausa.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. B. & H., II., *s.n.*

<sup>4</sup> *Sic*; apparently the names of his fellow-rebels are omitted. They occur below.

<sup>5</sup> Grandson, through a daughter, of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Būyqrā*, and thus, a cousin of Muḥammad-zamān.

<sup>6</sup> Called both Nai and Walī in the histories.

<sup>7</sup> See Mr. Erskine's interesting note on blinding. (B. & H., II. 14 n.)





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They let two months slip by in one another's company in Guālīār, and then set out for Āgra, which they reached in February, 1534 (Sha'bān, 940 H.).<sup>1</sup>

In April (Shawwāl) my lady was attacked by a disorder of the bowels. On the 27th of the same month (13th Shawwāl) 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.<sup>2</sup> When I was eleven, and his Majesty went to Dholpūr, I

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

<sup>2</sup> Māham had also adopted Hindāl. Bābar details the circumstances, but the abbreviation, as it seems, of the Persian text, has led to an error. (Mems., 250.) Those children of Bābar who died young, were not born in 'this year' (925H.), as will be seen in the fuller rendering of Ilminsky, 281, and of P. de C., II. 44: 'Après Humāyūn (b. 918H.) j'eus encore plusieurs enfants, nés de la même mère que lui, mais qui ne vécuront pas.'

We know from Gul-badan that these were Bārbūl, Mihr-jahān, and Ishān-daulat.

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

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

'Pour bien comprendre tout ce qui a été dit plus haut, il faut savoir que jusqu'à cette époque, de tout les enfants nés de la même mère



accompanied my mother.<sup>1</sup> This will have been before he went to Guālīār and began to build.<sup>2</sup>

At the end of the mourning for my lady, his Majesty went to Dihlī<sup>3</sup> and began to build the fort of Dīn-panā.<sup>4</sup> He then returned to Āgra.

Dearest lady<sup>5</sup> (Khānzāda Begam) said to his Majesty : ‘ When will you make Mīrzā Hindāl’s marriage feast ?’ His

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

‘ Précisément à cette époque Dil-dār *ūghācha* se trouvait enceinte. Je ne cessais de répéter, “ Plût à Dieu que l’enfant qui va naître, sortit du même sein que Humāyūn ! ” A quoi ma mère [*sic*. Tūrki text, Ilminsky, 271, *ḥazrat wālida*] me répondait, “ Si Dil-dār *ūghācha* met au monde un fils, ne pourrais-je pas le prendre et m’en charger ? ” “ Rien de mieux, ” faisais-je à mon tour.

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

The words *ḥazrat wālida* cannot mean the mother of Bābar. She had been dead some fourteen years. They may be equivalent to *Sultān-wālida*—*i.e.*, the mother of the heir-apparent. Certainly it was Māham who adopted Hindāl. This initial misconception as to the identity of *Ḥazrat wālida* runs through the whole translation of this most interesting passage. According to Gul-badan, Fārūq (born in 982H.) was Māham’s son. Bābar names the birth. (Mems., 848.)

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, returned to her own mother’s charge *i.e.*, Dil-dār’s.

<sup>2</sup> An obscure passage. Humāyūn was building about this time. (Elliot, V. 126.)

<sup>3</sup> Beginning of Zū’l-hijja, 989H. (June—July, 1588).

<sup>4</sup> *Humāyūn-nāma*, Khwānd-amīr. (Elliot, V. 125.)

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 15b n..



Majesty replied: '*B'ismu-l-lāh.*' When Mīrzā Hindāl was married, my lady (Māham) was living, but there was delay in arranging the feast. (Khānzāda Begam) said: 'The things for the Mystic Feast are also ready. Let us first celebrate this, and afterwards Mīrzā Hindāl's.' His Majesty said: 'Let whatever my royal aunt wishes be done.' She replied: 'May God bless it and make it good.'

DESCRIPTION OF THE HOUSE OF FEASTING WHICH WAS SET UP ON THE RIVER'S BANK, AND WHICH WAS CALLED THE MYSTIC<sup>1</sup> 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 (*wilāyatī*) carpets. (24b) Young men and pretty girls and elegant women and musicians and sweet-voiced reciters were ordered to sit in the tank.<sup>2</sup>

The jewelled throne which my lady had given for the feast was placed in the fore-court of the house, and a gold-embroidered divan<sup>3</sup> was laid in front of it, (on which) his Majesty and dearest lady sat together.

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

- 1.<sup>4</sup> Fakhr-jahān Begam.
2. Badī'u-l-jamāl Begam.
3. Āq<sup>5</sup> Begam.
4. Sultān Bakht Begam.

<sup>1</sup> *Tilism*; Greek, *τέλεσμα*, talisman. Perhaps an epithet drifted from astrological phraseology. This feast commemorated the accession of Humāyūn. Cf. *Humāyūn-nāma*, trs. Sada-sūkh La'l (B.M. Add. 80,774, p. 76.): 'talismatic palace,' which may be the building named by Gul-badan. Cf. 'samite, mystic,' of Tennyson. Khwānd-amīr speaks at length of this feast in his *Humāyūn-nāma*, and calls the building in which it was held '*imārat-i-tilism*.'

<sup>2</sup> The sequel to this order follows later.

<sup>3</sup> *tūshak*, (?) *anglice*, squab.

<sup>4</sup> Translator's numbering. For details as to each woman cf. Appendix s.n..

<sup>5</sup> This epithet,—the Fair,—is given to several persons, not all women; and in some instances the true name is also known—e.g., Yasīn-daulat Sultān, Kāmran's son-in-law, and Salīqa, daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā.





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

22. Bega Kilān Begam.<sup>1</sup>

23. Kīchak Begam.

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

25. Kīchakna Begam.

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

27. Mihr-liq (? Mihr-bānū) Begam, paternal aunt of his Majesty.

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

29. Mihr-angez Begam, daughter of Muzaffar (Husain) Mīrzā, and grandchild of Sultān Husain Mīrzā. (25b) They had great friendship for one another (? Shād and Mihr-angez), and they used to wear men's clothes and were adorned by varied accomplishments, such as the making of thumb-rings<sup>2</sup> and arrows, playing polo, and shooting

<sup>1</sup> Probably the daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā and mother of Shād Begam (No. 28.) by a son, Haidar, of Sultān Husain Mīrzā.

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

I suggest to take *tārashī* (a word not used by Bābar or Haidar) as equivalent to the fletchery (*auq*), or the 'making arrow-heads' (*paikān*), of Bābar.

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

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



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

30. Gul Begam.
31. Fauq Begam.
32. Khān (? Jān) Begam.
33. Āfroz-bānū Begam.
34. Āgha Begam.
35. Fīroza Begam.
36. Barlās Begam.

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

After the Mystic Feast (938 H.) came Mīrzā Hindāl's wedding-feast (Jauhar, 944 H.). Some of the begams already named went away,<sup>1</sup> and (of those) some had sat at the right hand in that assembly (*i.e.*, the Mystic Feast).<sup>2</sup>

Of our begams :

37. Āgha (*Āghā*,—*passim*, *āgha*), Sultān *āghācha*, mother of Yādgar Sultān Begam.
38. *Ātūn māma*.
39. Salīma.
40. Sakīna.
41. Bibī Habība.

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-gīr*. The arrow is released by straightening the thumb, and the string then flies over the hard surface of the ring. The *zih-gīr* 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 zihgīr shāh-i-shāhān Nādir ṣūhib-gīrān bar taskhīr-i-hind as jawāhar-khāna intikhāb shud*' ('Selected for a thumb-ring for the king of kings and lord of happy conjunction Nādir, 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-gīr*, *safn*. *Safn* is the rough skin of a fish or lizard which is used to smooth the arrow-shafts. (*Cf.* Lane's Ar. Dict..)

<sup>1</sup> *Ba wilāyatī*. (?) to Kabul and other outside places.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this is an explanation of the paucity of right-hand wedding-guests.



42. Ḥanīfa Bega.

And the others who had sat<sup>1</sup> at the Emperor's left on embroidered divans.

43. Ma'ṣūma Sultān Begam.

44. Gul-rang Begam.

45. Gul-chihra Begam.

46. This insignificant one, the broken Gul-badan.

47. 'Aqīqa Sultān Begam.

48. Ājam, our mother, who was Dil-dār Begam.<sup>2</sup>

49. Gul-barg Begam.

50. Bega Begam. (28a)

51. Māham's *nanacha*.

52. Sultānam, the wife of Amīr (Nizāmu-d-dīn) *Khalīfa*.

53. Alūsh Begam.

54. Nāhīd Begam.

55. Khurshīd *kūka*, and the children of my royal father's foster-brothers.

56. Afghānī *aghācha*.

57.<sup>3</sup> Gul-nār *aghācha*.

58. Nāz-gul *aghācha*.

59. Makhdūma *āgha*, the wife of Hindū Beg.

60. Faṭīma Sultān *anaga*, the mother of Raushan *kūka*.

61. Fakhru-n-nisā' *anaga*, the mother of Nadīm *kūka*.

62. The wife of Muḥammadī *kūka*.

63. The wife of Mu'yid Beg.

64. The *kūkas* of his Majesty : Khurshīd *kūka*.

65. Sharīfu-n-nisā' *kūka*.

66. Fath *kūka*.

67. Rabī'a Sultān *kūka*.

<sup>1</sup> (?) 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 Humāyūn, and who were at both feasts.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 28b n..

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





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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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> (27a)

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

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,<sup>6</sup> and before these table-cloths, all of gold brocade. Various fruits and beverages had been got ready, and everything for merriment and comfort and pleasure.

On the feast-day of the Mystic House, his Majesty ordered all the mīrzās and begams to bring gifts,<sup>7</sup> and everyone did so. He said : ' Divide the gifts into three heaps.' They made three trays of *ashrafīs* and six of *shāhrukhīs*. One of *ashrafīs* and two of *shāhrukhīs* he

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

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

<sup>3</sup> *qalam-dān*. Several such are to be seen at the S. K. M. They are boxes damascened or painted with pictures, about 10 inches by 8 inches, and contain writing implements. 'Gilded' does not seem an appropriate epithet. Perhaps the dictionaries define imperfectly.

<sup>4</sup> *juz-dān*. Perhaps the beautiful book-covers of the day. Those having flaps might be called portfolios.

<sup>5</sup> *muraqqa'*.

<sup>6</sup> *nihālcha*. Placed, I presume, over carpets.

<sup>7</sup> *sāchaq*. This word appears to have a special meaning of wedding-gifts, but Gul-badan uses it elsewhere more widely.



gave to Hindū Beg and said: 'This is the share of Dominion; give it to the mīrzās and chiefs and vazīrs and soldiers.' (27b)

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

Concerning one tray of *ashrafīs* and two of *shāhrukhīs* he said: 'This is the portion of Pleasure. This is mine. Bring it forward.' They did so. He said: 'What need is there to count?' First he himself vouchsafed his blessed hand and said: 'Let them take to the begams on one small tray *ashrafīs* and on another *shāhrukhīs*. Let each person take her hands full.' What was left, that is two trays of *shāhrukhīs*,—which may have been 10,000,—and all the *ashrafīs*,—about 2,000—he gave in largesse, and scattered<sup>1</sup> first before the *walī 'u-n-ni'matān* (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 anise<sup>2</sup> and a bit of comfit<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *niṣār*. Again a word which, like *sāchaq*, would seem to fit the marriage feast better than the accession.

<sup>2</sup> *shīt*. The text has no points and would yield *seb*, apple; but anise is the better remedy against cold.

<sup>3</sup> *ma'jūn*, any medical confection, but commonly an intoxicant. Here it may be some preventive of chill.



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

On the margin of the tank was a room (*tālār*)<sup>2</sup> fitted with talc windows, and young people sat in the room and players made music. Also a woman's bāzār<sup>3</sup> had been arranged, and boats had been decorated. In one boat was made (?) the semblance of six people (*kasī*) and six alcoves (*kanj*); in (another) an upper room, and below it a garden with amaranthus and cockscombs and larkspurs<sup>4</sup> and tulips. In one place there were eight boats, so that there were eight pieces.<sup>5</sup>

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 MĪRZĀ HINDĀL'S (MARRIAGE) FEAST IS  
AS FOLLOWS :<sup>6</sup>

Sultānam Begam (*i.e.*, the bride) was a sister of Mahdī Khwāja.<sup>7</sup> My father's brother-in law (*yazna*) had no child except Ja'far Khwāja, and there was no child (?) of Khānzāda Begam).<sup>8</sup> Dearest lady had taken care of Sultānam

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Āin*, Blochmann, 276; *Khushros*, or Day of Fancy Bāzārs.

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

<sup>5</sup> *parcha*. Perhaps flower-gardens; perhaps Fr. *pièce*. Cf. *Un appartement de deux, trois pièces*.

<sup>6</sup> Jauhar's date for this is 944H. (1537).

<sup>7</sup> Many difficulties gather round this name. Cf. Appendix s.n. Mahdī Khwāja.

<sup>8</sup> The copyist has perhaps omitted one *ūka-janām*.





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one of emerald, one of turquoise, one of topaz, and one of cat's-eye.

Again: of necklaces, nine; and one embroidered collar and bordering, and four short jackets<sup>1</sup> with ball-trimming (*tukma-dār*), and one pair of ruby earrings and another of pearls, three fans,<sup>2</sup> and one royal umbrella.

One *dirakht*<sup>3</sup> and two *khutb*<sup>3</sup> and other furniture and effects, and household goods and chattels and workshops<sup>4</sup> of all sorts. (29a) Khānzāda 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 *tipūchāq* horses, with jewelled and gold-embroidered saddles and bridles; and gold and silver vessels and slaves,<sup>5</sup> Türkī and Circassian and Arūs (? Rūs) and Abyssinian,—of each (race) a royal gift of nine.

What my royal father's brother-in-law<sup>6</sup> (Mahdī Khwāja) gave to the mīrzā was a set of nine *tipūchāq* horses, with jewelled and gold-embroidered saddles and bridles; and

<sup>1</sup> *chār qartījī*; a suggested rendering only. Johnson gives *kartī* (*qartī*) as a short bodice reaching to the hips, and the *qar* recurs in other words, having the sense of a body garment; e.g., *qarṭaq*, a short-sleeved jacket; *qarza*, a woman's vest.

<sup>2</sup> *pankha*.

<sup>3</sup> 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 *Quṭb* pillar outside Dihlī. 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.

<sup>4</sup> *kār-khānahā*. These may be the kitchen and its plenishing; the goldsmith's, with his tools, furnaces, and appliances; the perfumer's, etc.. Cf. *Aīn*, Blochmann, and *Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 470.

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

<sup>6</sup> *yazna*, which is explained by Vambéry and Steingass as 'husband of the king's sister.' Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad styles Mahdī Khwāja *damād*, 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 Mahdī's relation to Bābar made by Bāyazīd *bīyāt*. Cf. Appendix, s.n. Khānzāda.



gold and silver vessels, and two other sets of nine horses, baggage animals, with velvet saddles and bridles; and brocade and Portuguese cloth, and Tūrki and Ḥabshī and Hindī slaves,—in all, three sets of nine; and three head of elephants.

In his Majesty's leisure after the feast came news that the vazīr of Sultān Bahādur, Khurāsān Khān by name, had attacked Bayāna. His Majesty despatched Mīrzā 'Askarī, with several amīrs, Mīr Faqr-'ali Beg and Mīr Tardī Beg, etc.. These went to Bayāna and fought and defeated Khurāsān Khān.<sup>1</sup> (29b) The Emperor set out for Gujrāt shortly afterwards, in prosperity and safety. It was on the 15th of the revered Rajab 941H.<sup>2</sup> that he quite decided to go himself to Gujrāt. He set up his advance camp in the Gold-scattering Garden, and there spent a month while the forces were gathering in.

On court days, which were Sundays and Tuesdays, he used to go to the other side of the river. During his stay in the garden, *ājam* (Dil-dār Begam) and my sisters and the ladies (*ḥaramān*) were often in his company. Of all the tents, Ma'sūma Sultān Begam's was at the top of the row. Next came Gul-rang Begam's, and *ājam*'s was in the same place. Then the tent of my mother,<sup>3</sup> Gul-barg Begam and of Bega Begam<sup>4</sup> and the others.

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

<sup>1</sup> Mīrzā Muqīm, Khurāsān Khān.

<sup>2</sup> January 29th, 1535. Abū'l-faḍl gives Jumāda I., 941H. (November, 1534) as the time for collecting the troops. Perhaps the begam's date is that of departure, a day liable to postponement when Humāyūn was in pleasant quarters.

<sup>3</sup> It may be that the copyist has transferred the words 'my mother' from a quite usual place,—preceding or following the *ājam* of the previous sentence. They are inappropriate to Gul-barg Begam; at least, I have never seen them used to describe a brother's wife, and such I believe this Gul-barg to be. We know of a 'Bībī Gul-barg,' mentioned somewhat condescendingly (21a) by Māham Begam; I incline to take Gul-barg there and here as Khalīfa's daughter, and the former wife of Mīr Shāh Ḥusain *Arghūn*. Cf. Appendix, s.n. Gul-barg.

<sup>4</sup> This is, I think, Humāyūn's wife and the mother of 'Aqīqa. The object of Gul-badan's enumeration of the tents seems to be desire to show that Bābar's daughters and widow had places of honour higher than Humāyūn's family.



order. When they had put up the pavilions (*khaima*) and tents (*khar-gāh*) and the audience tent (*bār-gāh*), the Emperor came to see the camp and the splendid set-out, and visited the begams and his sisters. As he had dismounted somewhat near Ma'sūma Sultān 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 tent<sup>1</sup> of this lowly person, and the entertainment lasted till the third watch<sup>2</sup> of the night. Many begams were there, and his sisters, and ladies of rank (*begahā*) and of position (*āghahā*), and other ladies (*āghāchahā*), and musicians and reciters. After the third watch his Majesty was pleased to command repose. His sisters and the begams made resting-places (*takīa*) in his presence.<sup>3</sup>

Bega Begam woke (us) up, and said: 'It is time for prayers.'<sup>4</sup> His Majesty ordered water for ablution<sup>5</sup> 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 our<sup>6</sup> house. Thorns have not been planted in the way to it. We hope you will deign to visit our quarters also, and to have a party and a sociable gathering there, too. How long will you think it right to show all these disfavours to us helpless ones? We too have hearts. Three times you have honoured other places by visits, and you have run day and night into one in amusement and conversation.' (30b)

When she had finished, his Majesty said nothing, and

<sup>1</sup> *khāna*, lit., house.

<sup>2</sup> *pahr*. Gul-badan names the Hindūstānī division of time into watches on which her father had commented as being a novelty to himself. (Mems., 331.)

<sup>3</sup> It seems, as again later on, that they fell asleep where they were seated, on mattresses and provided with pillows.

<sup>4</sup> The early morning prayers, about which the opinion is expressed that prayer is better than sleep.

<sup>5</sup> *waxū'*, ablution before prayers. Cf. Hughes, Dict. of Islām.

<sup>6</sup> From what follows, Gul-barg would seem to be the fellow-sufferer.





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his Majesty resolved to pursue him. Sultān Bahādur left Champānīr and went towards Aḥmadābād.<sup>1</sup> His Majesty took the country of Aḥmadābād also, and portioned out the whole of Gujrāt to his men. Aḥmadābād he bestowed on Mīrzā 'Askarī,<sup>2</sup> Bahrūch on Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān,<sup>3</sup> and Patan on Yādgār-nāṣir Mīrzā.<sup>4</sup>

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

His Majesty then went to Baroda, and from there towards Champānīr.<sup>7</sup> We had settled down, when there

<sup>1</sup> Taking his treasure with him, Sultān Bahādur fled before Humāyūn to Champānīr, Aḥmadābād, Cambay and Diu.

<sup>2</sup> Humāyūn's half-brother.

<sup>3</sup> Grandson, through a daughter, of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā *Bāyqarā*; on his father's side an Uzbek.

<sup>4</sup> Humāyūn's first cousin, the son of Bābar's half-brother Nāṣir. He was a posthumous child. Mr. Beveridge has drawn my attention to the fact,—of which there are other examples,—that he is called Yādgār, a souvenir, of Nāṣir, his father.

<sup>5</sup> This excursion preceded the allotment of fiefs. Gul-badan's way of putting the pursuit of Bahādur is borne out by some other writers. This was Humāyūn's first sight of the sea, and the spectacle seems to have been more in her mind than was Bahādur. Akbar's first sight of the sea is also commemorated in the histories.

<sup>6</sup> Abū'l-fazl calls them Bhils and Gawārs. (H.B. I. 309.) They were rude tribesmen acting in Bahādur'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.

<sup>7</sup> Behind this dull statement is a stirring episode. Humāyūn took Champānīr after a four months' blockade, by night escalade of a rock so nearly perpendicular that seventy or eighty iron spikes had to be driven in to allow ascent. Thirty-nine men climbed up. Bairām Khān was the fortieth, Humāyūn the forty-first of the three hundred who mounted. Such a Bābar-like episode makes regret the keener that Humāyūn's life was ruined and stained by his slavery to a drug. The loot of Champānīr was enormous; it had been regarded as impregnable, and was full of treasure. It was taken in 1536 (943 H.).



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SHĪR SHĀH AFGHĀN.





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to Garhī.' There was fighting, and Jahāngīr Beg was wounded and many men were slain.

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

He was nine months in the far-away country of Gaur, and named it Jannatābād.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

Just at this time the asylum of shaikhs, the servitor (*bandaqī*) Shaikh Bahlūl, hid<sup>7</sup> armour and horse-accoutre-

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Bābar first names him in 1507-8 as coming from Harāt. There are two men named Khusrau *kūkaltāsh* by Bābar, but they were not contemporaries. One died in 1502.3, before the other came upon the scene.

<sup>4</sup> Husband of the sister of Bega Begam, Humāyūn's wife. He was put to death by Mīrzā Kāmran at Ghaznī in 1547.

<sup>5</sup> Sayyid Nūru-d-dīn Mīrzā, the father of Salīma Sultān Begam, and the husband of a daughter of Bābar. Cf. App. s.n. Gul-rang.

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

<sup>7</sup> 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 Shīr Khān and the mīrzās.<sup>1</sup> Mīrzā Hindāl would not believe it, so Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad was sent to inquire into the matter. He found the armour and accoutrements, and had *Bandagī* Shaikh Bahlūl killed.<sup>2</sup> The Emperor, on hearing news of it, set out for Āgra.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> The rebels mentioned on p. 23b.

<sup>2</sup> For the probable facts, *cf.* B. & H., II. 162 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> It was Mu'yid Beg *Duladai Barlās* who urged this foolish point of honour, and who thus led to the disaster at Chausa. He was a cruel man as well as one ignorant in military matters. He was a favourite of Humāyūn, but the Emperor's followers rejoiced when he died.

<sup>4</sup> Gul-badan's brevity (natural enough even if she were more historic in method) is somewhat misleading. Mr. Erskine allows one to follow



When his Majesty reached the river's bank, he stopped, bewildered as to the crossing, and said: 'How to cross without boats!' Then came the rāja (Bīrbahān) with five or six horsemen and led him through a ford. For four or five days his people were without food or drink. At last the rāja started a bāzār, so that the people of the army lived some days in comfort and repose. The horses also were rested. Many men who were on foot bought fresh mounts. In short, the rāja rendered fitting and dutiful services. Later on his Majesty gave him leave to go, and at the hour of mid-day prayer came himself, safely and comfortably, to the bank of the Jamna. The army crossed at a ford they had found. A few days later they came to Karra, where corn and grass were plentiful, because it was his Majesty's own country. (33b)

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

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

Of many who were in that rout (at Chausa) there was never heard, in any way soever, news or sign. Amongst them were 'Āyisha Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā<sup>1</sup> (*Bayqra*); and Bachaka, who was a *khalīfa* of my royal father;<sup>2</sup> and Bega-jān *kūka*; and 'Aqīqa Begam;<sup>3</sup> and Chānd Bībī, who was seven months with

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

<sup>1</sup> Wife of Qāsim Husain Sultān *Usbeg*, whose timely arrival gave Bābar so much satisfaction. (13a) Qāsim had been Governor of Patna (82b), but, from the circumstance of his wife's being at Chausa, would seem to have left it with Humāyūn.

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

<sup>3</sup> Bega Begam's daughter, who will have been about eight years old.





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go to Āgra, and not think of establishing yourself in Dihlī.' (34b)

Mīrzā Kāmran gave heed to Mīr Faqr-'alī's words, and bestowed on him a head-to-foot dress. He then seized Mīrzā Hindāl and came to Āgra. He visited the tomb of *Firdaus-makānī*,<sup>1</sup> saw his mother and sisters, and halted in the Rose-scattering<sup>2</sup> Garden.

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

A few days after his Majesty's arrival, Mīrzā Kāmran came from the Rose-scattering Garden and paid his respects to him. We paid our respects on the evening of the day he came. He took notice of this insignificant one, and was kindly pleased to say : ' I did not know you at first, because when I led the army (whose footprints are victorious<sup>5</sup>) to Gaur Bangāla, you wore the high cap (*tāq*), and now when I saw the muslin coif<sup>6</sup> 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 (*fiṭrat*) I was thankful I had not, and I said : (35a) " Thank God I did not bring Gul-badan !" For although 'Aqīqa<sup>7</sup> was young, I have been

<sup>1</sup> Bābar's remains then had not been conveyed to Kābul in 1539.

<sup>2</sup> (?) Gold-scattering. Mr. Erskine calls it so, and it is likely to be that already mentioned by Gul-badan more than once.

<sup>3</sup> Retreating from Chausa.

<sup>4</sup> His own *jāgīr*.

<sup>5</sup> *zāfr-azār*. This, after Chausa, can only be a precative of Gul-badan's.

<sup>6</sup> This change appears to indicate that Gul-badan, who is about eighteen or nineteen years old, has been married. The Persian has *lachaq qaṣāba*, without conjunction. Steingass and Johnson describe the *lachaq* as a square mantle worn by women, doubled into a triangle, but here the description given in the *Burhān-i-qātī* is more apropos, *i.e.*, a square of stuff folded cornerwise and put upon the head so that the corners tie under the chin. It is often (*l.c.*) elaborately embroidered in gold. *Qaṣāba* appears to have the same meaning as *lachaq*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. p. 33b.



consumed by a hundred thousand regrets and cares, and have said: "Why did I take her with the army?" "

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

Then again he spoke: 'How would it be, Gul-badan, if you went yourself and fetched your brother, Muḥammad Hindāl Mīrzā?' (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 Mīr Abū'l-baqā<sup>5</sup> with her Highness my mother, to fetch Mīrzā Hindāl. At once on hearing this

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

<sup>2</sup> *qūl*, Mongolian,—main body of an army.

<sup>3</sup> Ar. *qanāt*.

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

<sup>5</sup> B. & H., II., s.n..



news: 'She has come to see me!' Muḥammad Hindāl Mīrzā made his mother happy by giving her honourable meeting. He came with her from Alwar, and paid his duty to his Majesty.<sup>1</sup> About Shaikh Bahlūl he said: 'He used to send arms and military appurtenances to Shīr Khān. When this was ascertained, I killed the shaikh on account of it.'

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

In those days his Majesty had a certain servant, a water-carrier. (36a) As he had been parted from his horse in the river at Chausa and this servant betook himself to his help and got him safe and sound out of the current, his Majesty now seated him on the throne. The name of that menial person we did not hear, some said Nizām, some said Sambal. But to cut the story short, his Majesty made the water-carrier servant sit on the throne, and ordered all the amīrs to make obeisance to him. The servant gave everyone what he wished, and made appointments. For as much as two days the Emperor gave royal power to that menial. Mīrzā Hindāl was not present at his court;<sup>2</sup> he had taken leave, and had again gone to Alwar with the intention of getting arms ready. Neither did Mīrzā Kāmran appear. He was ill, and sent to say to his Majesty: 'Gifts and favours of some other kind ought to be the servant's reward. What propriety is there in setting him on the throne? At a time when Shīr Khān is near, what kind of affair is this to engage your Majesty?'

In those days Mīrzā Kāmran'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)

<sup>1</sup> Hindāl was received in the presence of Kāmran and other kinsmen. Humāyūn said to Kāmran: 'You know who is to blame! Why did Hindāl rebel?' Kāmran passed on the question to Hindāl himself, who, with profound shame, pleaded that being young he had listened to bad advice, and begged forgiveness. (Erskine's notes on Stewart's Jauhar, B. M. Add. 26,608.)

<sup>2</sup> Lit., in that assembly.





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Lāhōr), 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.<sup>1</sup>

I saw that the Emperor's command also was in the affair. I was helpless. (37b) I wrote a suppliant letter, saying: 'I never expected your Majesty to cut off this insignificant one from your service, and to give her to Mīrzā Kāmran.' To this humble note he sent a compassionate answer (*salām-nāma*), to this effect: 'I had no heart to part with you, but the mīrzā persisted, and was miserable, and begged very hard, and I was obliged to trust you to him. For just now there is important work<sup>2</sup> on hand. God willing, I will send for you when it is settled.'

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

At least there was this limit to misfortune,—his Majesty and his brothers came safely through the peril.<sup>4</sup> Our other relations<sup>5</sup> came from Āgra by way of Alwar to Lāhōr. (38a)

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

<sup>2</sup> The opposition of Shīr Khān, soon to be closed at Kanauj. Gul-badan's enforced departure with Kāmran saved her a painful and hazardous flight.

<sup>3</sup> May 17th, 1540 (Muharram 10th, 947H.). Mīrzā Haidar gives an admirable account of it as 'the battle of the Ganges.' Gul-badan's full brother, Hindāl, led the van at Kanauj, and defeated Shīr Khān's son, Jalāl. Hindāl was a successful general. 'Askarī, Kāmran's full brother, was defeated by Khawās Khān.

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

<sup>5</sup> They were convoyed by Hindāl. See *infra*.



Just now the Emperor said to Mīrzā Hindāl: ‘Aqīqa Begam disappeared in that first interregnum (*fitrat*<sup>1</sup>), and I repented extremely, and said: “Why did I not kill her in my own presence?” Now, again, it is difficult to convey women with us.’ Mīrzā Hindāl answered: ‘What it would be to your Majesty to kill a mother and a sister, speaks for itself! So long as there is life in me, I will fight in their service. I have hope in the most high God, that,—poor fellow as I am,—I may pour out my life’s blood for my mother and my sisters.’

Then the Emperor set out for Fathipūr (Sīkrī) with Mīrzā ‘Askarī and Yādgār-nāṣir Mīrza and the amīrs who had come safely off the battlefield.<sup>2</sup>

Mīrzā Hindāl sent on before him<sup>3</sup> her Highness his mother, who was Dil-dār Begam, and his own sister, Gul-chihra Begam, and Afghānī *aghācha*, and Gul-nār *aghācha*, and Nār-gul *aghācha*, and the amīrs’ wives and families, etc.. He was marching along when the Gawārs pursued him in great numbers. (38b) Some of his troopers charged and defeated them. An arrow struck his horse.<sup>4</sup> There was much fighting and confusion. Having saved the helpless women from the bond of the Gawārs, he sent on (to Lāhōr) his mother and sister, and many of the amīrs’ people, etc., and went to Alwar. Here he got together tents and pavilions and numerous requisites, and then started for Lāhōr. He arrived in a few days,

<sup>1</sup> *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.

<sup>2</sup> Amongst them was Haidar Mīrzā, who describes the fugitives as ‘broken and dispirited, and in a state heartrending to tell.’ Sīkrī must have rubbed salt into their wounds, since it recalls Bābar’s triumph. Their halting-place there was his garden, a token of his genius for living.

<sup>3</sup> The known enemy, Shīr Khān, was in the rear. With Hindāl’s marriage-feast fresh in mind, one may give a thought to Sultānam. She was probably of this party, since her husband’s contingent was with Humāyūn, and he was not on his *jāgīr* of Alwar.

<sup>4</sup> *Asp-i-mubārik*, (?) the horse which had the happiness to bear him. Perhaps *asp* is a mistake for some word to which ‘blessed’ would be a more fit adjective.



and brought what was wanted for the princes and the amīrs.

His Majesty alighted in Khwāja Ghāzī's garden near Bībī Hāj-tāj.<sup>1</sup> Every day there was news of Shīr Khān; and during the three months that the Emperor was in Lāhōr word was brought day after day: 'Shīr Khān has advanced four miles,' 'six miles,' till he was near Sirhind.

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

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 Resurrection. People left their decorated places and furniture just as they were, but took with them whatever money they had. There was thankfulness to God, because mercifully a ford was found across the Lāhōr water (Rāvī) where everyone crossed. His Majesty halted a few days on the river's bank. Then an ambassador came from Shīr Khān. The Emperor had decided to see him next morning, when Mīrzā Kāmran made a petition, saying: 'To-morrow there

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<sup>1</sup> Abū'l-fazl says that Hindāl's quarters were in Khwāja Ghāzī's garden, and Humāyūn's in Khwāja Dost *munshī's*.

Bībī Hāj, Bībī Tāj, Bībī Nūr, Bībī Hūr, Bībī Gūhar, and Bībī Shābaz are said to have been daughters of 'Aqīl, brother of 'Alī (Muḥammad's son-in-law). They were famous for piety and asceticism. After the murder of Imām Husain at Kerbela, these ladies left Syria for India in obedience to a secret intimation. They alighted outside Lāhōr at the place named by Gul-badan and where their shrine now is. They converted many of the townspeople to their faith, and thus angered the, presumably Hindū, governor. He sent his son to command their departure, but the son fell under their influence, and remained near them. This still more angered his father, who went out against them and their followers with an armed force. The ladies prayed that their honour might be preserved, and they not be seen by strange men. Immediately the earth opened and swallowed them. (*Khazīna'u-l-aṣfiyā*, II. 407.)





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In those days Bibī Gūnwar<sup>1</sup> was with child. Everyone said: 'A son will be born.' In that same garden of Dost *munshī* and in the month of Jumāda'u-l-awwal, a daughter was born whom they named Bakhshī-bānū.

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

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

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

Khwāja Kilān Beg<sup>2</sup> was in Siālkōt, and disposed to serve his Majesty. With him was Mū'yid Beg, who wrote: 'The khwāja greatly wishes to serve you and would come, but he has Mīrzā Kāmran to consider. If your Majesty would come quickly, his help would be made easy in an excellent way.' The Emperor at once took arms and equipment, and set out to go to the khwāja, and joined company with him and brought him along.<sup>3</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> To give value to Ahmad's prophecy, Bibī Gūnwar ought also to have traced back to him. She does not seem to have been a woman of rank. The girl now born was at least the third child of Humāyūn, there having been Al-amān and 'Aqīqa, children of Bega Begam and now both dead.

<sup>2</sup> The well-known old servant of Bābar and now one of Kāmran's chief amīrs.

<sup>3</sup> The begam's story here does not agree with that of Mr. Erskine's authorities. Mū'yid Beg is the ill-adviser of the march from Bengal to Chausa.



The Emperor was pleased to say: 'With my brothers' concurrence, I shall go to Badakhshān. (40b) Let Kābul remain the fief of Mīrzā Kāmran.' But Mīrzā Kāmran would not consent to (his Majesty's) going to Kābul,<sup>1</sup> and said: 'In his lifetime the Emperor *Firdaus-makānī* gave Kābul to my mother (Gulrukh Begam). It is not right (for you) to go to Kābul.'

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

Let his Majesty talk as he would, pacifying and conciliating, the mīrzā resisted more and more. When he saw that there was a large following with Mīrzā Kāmran, and that the mīrzā was in no way willing for him to go to Kābul, he had no resource but to move towards Bhakkar and Multān. Having arrived in Multān, he halted one day. (41a) A small quantity of corn was obtained in the fort and having divided that little amongst his men, he marched on till he came to the bank of a river which was seven rivers in one.<sup>2</sup> He stood distracted. There were no boats, and he had a large camp with him. Then there came word that Khawāṣ Khān,<sup>3</sup> with several amīrs, was coming up behind.

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

<sup>1</sup> Kāmran may well have feared that Humāyūn would get no further than Kābul on his way to Badakhshān.

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

<sup>3</sup> A follower of Shīr Khān.



and many men. His Majesty sent him a banner and kettledrums, and a horse, and a head-to-foot suit, and asked for boats and also for corn. After a time Bakhshū *Balūchī* got together and sent about a hundred boats, full of corn too, for the royal service,—a proper attention which pleased the Emperor very much. He divided the corn amongst his people, and crossed the water<sup>1</sup> safe and sound. May mercy be shown to Bakhshū for his dutiful service!

After a weary journey, they reached Bhakkar at last. The fort is in the middle of the river and very strong. The governor, Sultān Maḥmūd (*Bhakkarī*),<sup>2</sup> had fortified himself in it. (41*b*) The Emperor alighted safe and well over against the fort, near which was a garden<sup>3</sup> made by Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain *Samandar*.<sup>4</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> The Gāra, near Uch.

<sup>2</sup> Foster-brother of Shāh Ḥusain *Arghūn*, and the man for whom Sīdī 'Alī *Reis* negotiated terms with Humāyūn in 1555.

<sup>3</sup> A delightful garden, the *Chār-bāgh* of Rūhrī (Lūhrī), on the left bank of the Indus. Shāh Ḥusain felt no anxiety as to military operations after hearing that Humāyūn had camped here. *Chār-bāgh* seems to denote a royal and private garden.

<sup>4</sup> 'A place in Hindūstān from which aloes are brought.' (Steingass, *s.v.*) Cf. *Samandūrī*, aloe-wood, of the *Āin*. (Blochmann 80.) Samandar seems an equivalent for Sind.





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Bābā Dost is related to us. It is fitting that you should give me his daughter in marriage.' Mīrzā Hindāl kept on making objections, and said: 'I look on this girl as a sister and child of my own. Your Majesty is a king. Heaven forbid there should not be a proper alimony, and that so a cause of annoyance should arise.'<sup>1</sup>

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.'<sup>2</sup> 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 Hamīdā-bānū Begam here.' When she sent, the begam did not come, but said: 'If it is to pay my respects, I was exalted by paying my respects the other day. Why should I come again?' Another time his Majesty sent Subhān Qulī, and said: 'Go to Mīrzā Hindāl, and tell him to send the begam.' The mīrzā said: 'Whatever I may say, she

<sup>1</sup> 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 Hamīda had been already asked in marriage, but not betrothed or perhaps promised. Her objections to marry Humāyūn seem personal, and may indicate preference for another and dislike for him. She is said to have been fourteen years old and Humāyūn 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 Hamīda 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 Hamīda some few years younger.

<sup>2</sup> *Mādar-i-dukhtar az in ham peshtar nāz mīkanad.* Perhaps, 'caressed the idea.'



will not go. Go yourself and tell her.' When Subhān Qulī went and spoke, the begam replied: 'To see kings once is lawful; a second time it is forbidden. I shall not come.' On this Subhān Qulī went and represented what she had said. His Majesty remarked: 'If she is not a consort (*nā maḥram*), we will make her a consort (*maḥram*).'

To cut the story short: For forty days the begam resisted and discussed and disagreed. At last her highness my mother, Dil-dār Begam, advised her, saying: 'After all you will marry someone. Better than a king, who is there?' The begam said: 'Oh yes, I shall marry someone; but he shall be a man whose collar my hand can touch, and not one whose skirt it does not reach.' Then my mother again gave her much advice. (43b)

At last, after forty days (discussion), at mid-day on Monday (fault) Jumīdu-l-awwal (*sic*) 948H. (September, 1541), and in Pātr (*sic*), his Majesty took the astrolabe into his own blessed hand and, having chosen a propitious hour, summoned Mīr Abū'l-baqā and ordered him to make fast the marriage bond. He gave the mīr two laks of ready money for the dower<sup>1</sup> (*nikāḥāna*), and having stayed three days after the wedding in Pātr, he set out and went by boat to Bhakkar.

He spent a month at Bhakkar and he sent Mīr Abū'l-baqā to Sultān *Bhakkarī*. The mīr fell ill while away, and went to the mercy of God.<sup>2</sup>

His Majesty then gave Mīrzā Hindāl leave to go to Qandahār, and he dismissed Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir to his own place, Lār. He himself went towards Seāwān<sup>3</sup> (Sehwān),

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the ladies romance a little here. Humāyūn was certainly at a loss for money now and later.

<sup>2</sup> This is not a historic account of the death. He was sent to Yādgār-nāṣir and was shot while crossing the river on his return to Rūhrī by adherents of Shāh Ḥusain. His death caused great grief to Humāyūn. (B. & H., II., 222.)

<sup>3</sup> At the end of September, 1541. Hindāl's leave is a sisterly gloss on his acceptance of an invitation to Qandahār given by its governor, Qarācha Khān.



which is six or seven days' journey from Tatta.<sup>1</sup> Sehwan has a strong fort, in which was Mir 'Alika, a servant of his Majesty the Emperor.<sup>2</sup> 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.

Mirzā Shāh 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.' Three<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup>As after this there were few men even with the Emperor, (? Shāh 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 (Shāh) Husain *Samandar* had sent word to Mirzā Yādgār-nāṣir : (44b) 'If the Emperor, when he is retreating, should

<sup>1</sup> Semblance of relevance can be given to this statement only by reference to other writers. Humāyūn 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.

<sup>2</sup> Certainly not so, for 'Alika was an Arghūn and follower of Shāh Husain. Perhaps Gul-badan wrote or intended to convey that 'Alika had served Bābar as once all the Arghūns had done. Perhaps she has confused the import of the story that Mir 'Alika when sent by Shāh Husain to take command of Sehwan, actually passed through Humāyūn's lines and the bāzār without recognition as an enemy.

<sup>3</sup> Text, thirty—*sīṣad*. No wonder Humāyūn's force vanished! He is said to have left Hindūstān, *i.e.*, Lāhor, with a following of 200,000. This presumably included Kāmran's party, and was made up of soldiers and women, children, traders, servants, etc.. At this time Humāyūn had lost both Hindāl's and Yādgār-nāṣir's troops.

<sup>4</sup> The narrative becomes much confused here.





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rāja was in Jodhpūr, and sent armour and a camel's-load of *ashrafīs*, and greatly comforted his Majesty by saying: 'You are welcome! I give you Bīkanīr.' The Emperor halted with an easy mind, and despatched *Atka Khān* (Shamsu-d-dīn *Ghaznarī*) to Māldeo, and said: 'What will his answer be?'<sup>1</sup>

In the downfall and desolation in Hind, Mullā Surkh, the librarian, had gone to Māldeo, and had entered his service. (45*b*) He now wrote: 'Beware, a thousand times beware of advancing. March at once from wherever you are, for Māldeo intends to make you prisoner. Put no trust in his words. There came here an envoy from Shīr Khān who brought a letter to say: "By whatever means you know and can use, capture that king. If you will do this, I will give you Nagōr and Alwar and whatever place you ask for."' *Atka Khān* also said when he came: 'This is no time for standing.' So at afternoon prayer-time the Emperor marched off. When he was mounting, they captured two spies and brought them bound before him. He was questioning them when suddenly they got their hands free, and one snatched a sword from the belt of Muḥammad *Gird-bāz*<sup>2</sup> and struck him with it, and then wounded Bāqī *Gualīārī*. The other at once unsheathed<sup>3</sup> a dagger and faced the bystanders, wounded several and killed the Emperor's riding-horse. They did much mischief before they were killed. (46*a*) Just then there was a cry, 'Māldeo is here!' The Emperor had no horse fit for Ḥamīda-bānū Begam. He may have asked for one for her from Tardī Beg,<sup>4</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> Presumably to *Atka Khān*'s message from Humāyūn.

<sup>2</sup> (?) *gird-būzū*, strong-limbed.

<sup>3</sup> Doubtful translation; *as mayān yak kashīda*.

<sup>4</sup> This excellent officer is frequently a scapegoat. Our begam, however, imputes her blame tentatively. For estimate of his character see B. & H., I. and II., *s.n.*. Jauhar brings Raushan Beg into a similar story of this terrible journey.



my horse.' It would seem that Nadīm<sup>1</sup> Beg heard that his Majesty was giving his horse to the begam and thinking of riding a camel, for he mounted his own mother on a camel and gave her horse to the Emperor.

His Majesty took a guide from this place, and mounted and rode for 'Umrkōt. It was extremely hot; horses and (other) quadrupeds<sup>2</sup> kept sinking to the knees in the sand, and Māldeo was behind. On they went, thirsty and hungry. Many, women and men, were on foot. (46*b*)

On the approach of Māldeo's troops, the Emperor said to Īshān(Īsān)-tīmūr Sultān and to Mu'nim Khān<sup>3</sup> and a number of others: 'You all come slowly, and watch the enemy till we have gone on a few miles.' They waited; it grew night, and they missed their way.

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

They recited the *fātiḥa*, and his Majesty said: 'Go, fight the infidels!' He thought: 'Īshān-tīmūr Sultān, and Mu'nim Khān,<sup>4</sup> and Mīrzā Yādgār,<sup>5</sup> 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 *fātiḥa*, Shaikh 'Alī Beg struck the Rājput captain with an arrow, and cast him from his horse. (47*a*)

<sup>1</sup> The husband of Māham *anaga*, Akbar's celebrated nurse. (R.A.S.J., January, 1899, art. Māham *anaga*, H. Beveridge.) His mother was Fakhru-n-nisā'. Cf. Gul-badan, 26*a* and 71*a*.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps ponies only. Text, *chārwā*.

<sup>3</sup> Gul-chihra's husband.

<sup>4</sup> The well-known *Khān-i-khūnān* of Akbar's reign.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps 'Uncle Yādgār' (*ṭaghūī*), the father of Bega Begam. Yādgār-nāṣir was not here, but still in Sind.



Several more (of the royal troop) hit others with arrows ; the infidels turned to flee, and the fight was won. They brought in several prisoners alive. Then the camp went slowly, slowly on ; but his Majesty was far ahead. Those who had recited the *fātiḥa* came up with the camp.

There was a mace-bearer named Bihbūd. They sent him galloping after the Emperor, to say : ‘ Let your Majesty go slowly. By Heaven’s grace, a victory has been vouchsafed, and the infidels have fled.’ Bihbūd himself was taken to the presence, and conveyed the good news.<sup>1</sup>

His Majesty dismounted, and a little water even (*ham*)<sup>2</sup> was found, but he was anxious about the amīrs, and said : ‘ What has happened to them ?’ Then horsemen appeared in the distance, and again there was a cry : ‘ God forbid ! Māldeo !’<sup>3</sup> His Majesty sent a man for information, who came running back and said : ‘ Īshān-tīmūr Sultān, and Mīrzā Yādgār, and Mu’nim Khān are all coming, safe and sound.’ They had missed their way. Their return rejoiced the Emperor, who rendered thanks to God.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> And also, tied to his girths, two heads of foes which he flung at Humāyūn’s feet.

<sup>2</sup> to brim of the cup of joy.

<sup>3</sup> These cries remind one that even now Humāyūn must have had with him a huge contingent of helpless beings, women and children and non-combatants.





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there was born his imperial Majesty, the world's refuge and conqueror, Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar *Ghāzī*. 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 Tardī Muḥammad Khān took the news to him. He was highly delighted, and by way of reward and largesse (*niṣār*) for the tidings he forgave all soever of Tardī Muḥammad Khān's past offences. He gave the child the name he had heard in his dream at Lāhōr, the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar.

On leaving this place, the Emperor went towards Bhakkar with as many as 10,000 men who had gathered round him, people of the rānā and of the outlying tribes and Sūdmas (Sodhas) and Samīchas. (49a) They reached the district of Jūn, where there was one of Shāh Ḥusain's servants with some troopers. He fled.<sup>1</sup> Here there was the Mirror Garden, a very pleasant and enjoyable place where the Emperor alighted. He assigned its villages (? of Jūn) in *jāgīr* to his followers.

It is a six days' journey from Jūn to Tatta. The Emperor was as much as six<sup>2</sup> months in Jūn, and brought his family and people and the whole 'Umrkōt party there.<sup>3</sup> The Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar was six months old when they took him to Jūn. The party which had come from various places with the royal family and the *ḥaram* now broke up. As for the rānā, he marched off at midnight for his own country, on account of a coolness<sup>4</sup> caused by some talk between him and Tardī Muḥammad Khān.<sup>5</sup> All the Sūdmas and Samīchas went off by agree-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. & H., II., 256, for stories of the taking of Jūn.

<sup>2</sup> Other writers say nine.

<sup>3</sup> Ḥamīda and her baby were good travellers. They left 'Umrkōt when the child was under five weeks old (November 20th), and joined Humāyūn early in December (1542).

<sup>4</sup> *shukr rangī*. I do not find this word in dictionaries, and translate tentatively on the analogy of *shukr-ūb*, a tiff.

<sup>5</sup> Other writers give Khwāja Ghāzī as the second in the quarrel.





**INCIDENTS FOLLOWING THE BIRTH OF AKBAR.**

At the top, on the right, are Hamida-banū and the child ; on the left, the









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Very few amīrs remained; amongst them were Tardī Muḥammad Khān and Mīrzā Yādgar and Mīrzā Payanda Muḥammad and Muḥammad Walī and Nadīm *kūka* and Raushan *kūka* and Khadang<sup>1</sup> the chamberlain. Then there was word brought: 'Bairām Khān has reached Jājkā (Hāj-kān) on his way from Gujrāt.' The Emperor was delighted, and ordered Khadang and others to give him honourable meeting.

Meantime Shāh Husain Mīrzā had heard of Bairām Khān's coming and sent to capture him. Bairām Khān rashly went into a hollow, and there they fell upon him. (50b) Khadang the chamberlain was killed. Bairām Khān and the rest escaped, and the khān came and paid his respects to the Emperor.

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

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

On hearing of these things, his Majesty came to his aunt Khānzāda Begam,<sup>2</sup> and said with great urgency: 'Pray do

<sup>1</sup> Probably the father of Maywa-jān. Bairām arrived April 12th, 1548 (Muḥarram 7th, 950H.).

<sup>2</sup> From this it would seem that Khānzāda was in Sind with Humāyūn. No other writer, I believe, mentions this or the embassy on which she is now sent. The Uzbegs and Turkmāns do not appear *à propos* here. If, as Gul-badan says,—and her authority is good,—Khānzāda now went to Qandahār, she will have gone on to Kābul, possibly with Hindāl after he surrendered the town to Kāmran. Of Mahdī Khwāja, Khānzāda's husband, I find no mention made by any





**DANCE IN CELEBRATION OF AKBAR'S BIRTH.**

[ To page p. 160.









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

Mīrzā Hindāl went off to Badakhshān, and settled down in Khost and Andar-āb. Mīrzā Kāmran said to Dil-dār Begam: 'Go and fetch him.' When she arrived, the mīrzā said: 'I have withdrawn myself from the turmoil of soldiering, and even<sup>3</sup> Khost is a hermitage. I have quite settled down.' The begam answered: 'If you intend to lead the darvish-life, even<sup>3</sup> Kābul is a hermitage. Live where your family and kinsfolk are. That is the better plan.' Then she made him come, and for awhile he lived as a darvish in Kābul.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> (?) The *Tangī* of Rudyard Kipling.

<sup>2</sup> The *Tūrīkh-i-badūyunī* states that Ghaznīn was given to Hindāl and then taken away, and Mr. Erskine comments on this as probably untrue. (B. & H., II. 265 n..) Gul-badan here supports 'Abdu-l-qadīr.

<sup>3</sup> 'as good as any other place' is perhaps the import of the *ham*.

<sup>4</sup> We surmise that this is a gloss of Gul-badan, who has copied from a diary or writings of Khwāja Kasak. This name may be the *Tūrī kīsīk*, a guard, a sentinel. No Persian word seems appropriate.





### HYMN OF PRAISE FOR AKBAR'S BIRTH.

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

[To face p. 162.]









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tie of father and son<sup>1</sup> between you and Allāh-dost, write and ask him in what way Mīrzā Kāmran stands towards me, and what he will do if I go into his neighbourhood.' (53b) He also gave this order to Khwāja Kasak: 'Go to Sīwī, and ask Mīr Allāh-dost whether he thinks it advisable for me to come to Kābul.' The khwāja set out, and the Emperor said: 'We will not march till you have returned.'

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

Mīr Allāh-dost sent 3,000<sup>5</sup> 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 Mīrzā Askarī or the amīrs, it would not be bad to go to Kābul;

<sup>1</sup> Probably a spiritual relationship; that of religious teacher and disciple.

<sup>2</sup> (?) to toss it secretly into a corner.

<sup>3</sup> *sabq khwānda ast*. Perhaps Kasak as a pupil 'has said his lessons to us,' i.e., to Allāh-dost.

<sup>4</sup> He had been Kāmran's *diwān* up to the time when the royal family left Lāhōr, and he joined Humāyūn when the brothers parted for Sind and for Kābul.

<sup>5</sup> Text, *sīṣad*, but perhaps only 300 should be read.



but if not, it will be clear to your Majesty that nothing is to be gained by going. You have few followers. What, then, will happen?’

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

Having settled it in this way, they recited the *fātiḥa* and went, march by march, for Qandahār. Near Shal-mastān they halted in a village named Ranī (? Ralī), but as it had snowed and rained, and was extremely cold, they determined to go on to Shal-mastān. 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.’<sup>2</sup> The Emperor mounted the very hour the alarm was given, and went off.

He went two arrows’ flight, and then sent Khwāja Mu‘azzam and Bairām Khān to fetch Ḥamīda-bānū Begam. (55a) They went and mounted her, but there was not a chink of time in which to take the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar. Just when the begam left the camp to join his Majesty, Mīrzā ‘Askarī came up with 2,000 troopers. There was an outcry, and when he heard it, he entered the camp<sup>3</sup> and asked: ‘Where is the Emperor?’ People said: ‘He went hunting long ago.’ So the mīrzā knew that his Majesty had gone away just as he himself

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<sup>1</sup> Approximately Quetta. The route seems to have been over the Bolan.

<sup>2</sup> The youth was Chupī Bahādūr, a former servant of Humāyūn. Gul-badan’s story differs in some details from that told by other writers.

<sup>3</sup> Late in 950H. (1548). The little Akbar reached Qandahār on December 15th, 1548.



came in. Then he took possession of the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar, and gave him in charge to his wife Sultānam,<sup>1</sup> who showed him much kindness and affection. He made all the royal followers march, saying: 'Go to Qandahār.'

His Majesty, when he left, took the road to the mountains. He went eight miles, and then travelled as fast as possible.<sup>2</sup>

(55b) He had with him Bairām Khān, Khwāja Mu'azzam, Khwāja Nīāzī, Nadīm *kūka*<sup>3</sup> and Raushan *kūka*, and Hājī Muḥammad Khān, and Bābā-dost the paymaster, and Mīrzā Qulī Beg *chūlī*,<sup>4</sup> and Haidar Muḥammad the master of the horse, and Shaikh Yūsuf *chūlī*, and Ibrāhīm the chamberlain, and Ḥasan 'Alī, the chamberlain, and Ya'qūb the keeper of the armoury, and 'Ambar the superintendent and the royal agent (*mulk-mukhtār*), and Sambal captain of a thousand, and Khwāja Kasak.<sup>5</sup>

Khwāja Ghāzī says:<sup>6</sup> 'I also was in attendance.' This company went with the Emperor, and Ḥamīda-bānū Begam says,<sup>6</sup> 'There were as many as thirty people,' and that of women there was, besides herself, the wife of Ḥasan 'Alī, the chamberlain.

The prayer before sleep had passed before they reached the foot of the mountains. The snow lay deep, so there was no road to go up by. Their minds were full of anxiety lest that unjust creature, Mīrzā 'Askarī, 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.

<sup>1</sup> I believe she was in Qandahār, and that she received the child on his arrival there.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps he rode four kos, and then, having waited for Ḥamīda, hurried on.

<sup>3</sup> His wife, Māham *anaga*, remained behind with Akbar. With Akbar was also *Atka* Khān (Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad) and his wife, Jī-jī *anaga*.

<sup>4</sup> Humāyūn's sobriquet for those who went to Persia with him; from *chūl*, a desert. Others in this list might claim it.

<sup>5</sup> Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad puts the number of the party at twenty-two.

<sup>6</sup> The tense used suggests conference and talking over. Jauhar says that Khwāja Ghāzī joined Humāyūn in Persia from Makka. This looks like a contradiction of Jauhar.





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or rather for one hair of it. (57a) Go where you wish. God protect you! Mīrzā 'Askarī may do what he likes.' The Emperor gave him a ruby and a pearl and some other things.

At dawn he marched to honour Fort Bābā Hājī<sup>1</sup> by a visit. He reached it in two days. It belongs to the Garm-sīr,<sup>2</sup> and lies on the river (Halmand). There are many sayyids there, and they waited on the Emperor and showed him hospitality.

Next morning Khwāja 'Alāwalu-d-dīn (Jalālu-d-dīn) Maḥmūd,<sup>3</sup> having left Mīrzā 'Askarī, 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. Hājī Muḥammad Khān *kūkī*<sup>4</sup> brought thirty or forty troopers and offered a string of mules.

Being helpless because of the disunion of his brothers<sup>5</sup> and the desertion of his amīrs, it now seemed best to the Emperor,—with reliance on the Causer of causes,—to decide upon going to Khurāsān.<sup>6</sup> (57b)

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

He sent all sorts of people to give honourable reception,

<sup>1</sup> Fort of the Pilgrim Father.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, a warm climate, a winter habitation in low ground, and cultivated fields.

<sup>3</sup> He was a revenue-collector of the mīrzā.

<sup>4</sup> Son of Bābā Qūshka, an intimate of Bābar.

<sup>5</sup> Kāmran was master of Kābul and Ghaznī, Qandahār, Khutlān and Badakhshān. 'Askarī was attached to his full-brother's fortunes, and Hindāl was a prisoner in Kābul. Shīr Shāh ruled Bābar's Indian Empire, and Shāh Ḥusain was in Sind. Certainly there seemed no 'crack' to hold Humāyūn. The date is December, 1548.

<sup>6</sup> *i.e.*, on his way to Persia proper. Humāyūn's messenger to the Shāh was Chupī Bahādur. (55a and n..)



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

The Shāh sent all his brothers to meet his Majesty,— Bahrām Mīrzā, and Alqās Mīrzā, and Sām Mīrzā. All came and embraced him, and escorted him with full honour and respect. As they drew near (the Shāh) 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 pāshas was as close as two nut-kernels in one shell.<sup>2</sup> Great unanimity and good feeling ensued, so that during his Majesty's stay in that country, the Shāh often went to his quarters, and on days when he did not, the Emperor went to his.

In Khurāsān<sup>3</sup> his Majesty visited all the gardens and the flower-gardens, and the splendid buildings put up by Sultān Husain Mīrzā, and the grand structures of olden days.

There was hunting eight times while he was in 'Irāq, and each time trouble was taken for him also. Hamīdabānū Begam used to enjoy the sight from a distance in either a camel or a horse litter. Shāhzāda Sultānam,<sup>4</sup> the Shāh's sister, used to ride on horseback, and take her stand

<sup>1</sup> He had crossed the river without receiving invitation or permission, because of Kāmran's threatened approach. The incidents of Humāyūn's visit to Persia are very entertaining. (B. & H., II. 275 *et seq.*)

<sup>2</sup> A figure of speech too compact to leave room for the facts. The intercourse of the pāshas 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.

<sup>3</sup> Not only in Khurāsān but on and off the route to Tahmāsp's summer quarters where the pāshas met, did Humāyūn visit noteworthy places. He saw Harāt as his father had done, and later his devious journey took him to Jām, where he saw the shrine of his own and of Hamīda's ancestor, the Terrible Elephant, Ahnad. He visited the tomb of the Founder of the Safī dynasty at Ardabīl, and the date of his visit (1544) makes it probable that he trod that 'Holy Carpet' of Ardabīl 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.).

<sup>4</sup> This lady afforded Humāyūn vital assistance in Persia, and even pleaded for his life when it was in the balance. She was highly esteemed by Tahmāsp, and had influence in state affairs.



behind her brother. His Majesty said (to Ḥamīda-bānū): 'There was a woman riding behind the Shāh at the hunt. She stood with her reins held by a white-bearded man. People told me it was Shāhzāda Sultānam, the Shāh's sister.' (58b) In short, the Shāh showed the Emperor much hospitality and courtesy, and laid a charge (on his sister) to show motherly and sisterly hospitality and sympathy (to Ḥamīda-bānū Begam).<sup>1</sup>

One day, when Shāhzāda Sultānam had entertained the begam, the Shāh said to her: 'When (next) you offer hospitality, let it be arranged outside the city.' It was on a beautiful plain, rather more than four miles out, that they pitched tents (*khaima*) and folding-tents (*khirga*) and an audience-tent (*bārgā*), and also set up *chatr*<sup>2</sup> and *ṭāq*.<sup>3</sup>

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

That day Shāhzāda Sultānam asked Ḥamīda-bānū Begam: (59a) 'Are such *chatr* and *ṭāq* met with in Hindūstan?' The begam answered: 'They say two *dāng*<sup>4</sup> with respect to Khurāsān, and four *dāng* with respect to Hin-

<sup>1</sup> An obscure passage in the text, and conjectural only in translation. The Persian words I have rendered 'motherly and sisterly' are *mūdarūna wa khwūharūna*. On this same page occurs *hindūūna*; at 48b, *nikūḥūna*, and at 62a, *pūdshūhūna*.

<sup>2</sup> (?) umbrella-shaped tents.

<sup>3</sup> round-topped tents or balconies, or arched erections.

<sup>4</sup> or *dīnak*. Hazzarding a guess, the meaning 'quarter of the world' seems fittest to select from the several of *dūng* or *dīnak*. 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.

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





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from its lightness in her hand that it had lost weight, and said so. (60a) The Emperor asked : 'How is this? Except you and me, no one knows about them. What can have happened? Who has taken them?' He was astonished.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Text, *tūtū*.

<sup>2</sup> Jauhar states that amongst other disaffected persons these two men, and a third, Sultān Muḥammad, the spearman (*nazabūs*), had just returned from Makka, and were of Kāmran's party. Gul-badan makes it seem probable that Jauhar's statements apply only to Sultān Muḥammad. (Cf. list of companions of Humāyūn on his journey, 55b.)

<sup>3</sup> *māh chīcham*. Cf. 18b n..

<sup>4</sup> *nīrī wa parī*.



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

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

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

Khwāja Ghāzī and Raushan *kūka*, in shame at their deed, made secret communications to the Shāh, and carried their talk so far that his heart was troubled. His Majesty saw that the Shāh's intimacy and confidence were not what they had been, and at once sent some of whatever rubies and other jewels<sup>1</sup> he possessed as a gift to him, who then said: 'Khwāja Ghāzī and Raushan *kūka* are in fault; they turned my heart from you, and truly I used to regard you

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<sup>1</sup> It was now that Humāyūn gave to the Shāh the 'diamond which had been obtained from Sultān Ibrāhīm's treasury,' *i.e.*, the *Koh-i-nūr*. (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1899, art. 'Bābar's Diamond,' H. Beveridge.)



as a brother.' Then the two sovereigns again became of one mind, and made clean heart to one another.

The two wrong-doers were excluded from the presence, and were made over to the Shāh, who, when opportunity occurred, got possession of those rubies,<sup>1</sup> and, as to the men, ordered: 'Let them be kept in custody.'<sup>2</sup>

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

At length the Shāh despatched his own son and khāns and sultāns and amīrs with his Majesty to help him, together with good arms and tents, folding and audience tents; and *chatr* and *ṭāq* and *shamiāna*, excellently wrought, and all sorts of the things necessary and fit for a king, from the mattress-warehouse and the treasury and the workshops and kitchen and buttery. In a propitious hour those two mighty sovereigns bade one another farewell, and his Majesty left that country for Qandahār.<sup>3</sup>

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

When Mīrzā 'Askarī heard (1545) that he was on his way from Khurāsān and approaching Qandahār, he sent the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar to Mīrzā Kāmran in Kābul, who gave him into the care of Dearest Lady, Khānzāda Begam, and our paternal aunt. (62b) He was two and a half years old when she received him into her charge. She was very fond of him, and used to kiss his hands and feet, and say: 'They are the very hands and feet of my brother the Emperor Bābar, and he is like him altogether.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> (?) those already bartered away.

<sup>2</sup> They were, it would seem, let down by tent-ropes into the celebrated underground prison of Sulaimān's *Diwān*. (Jauhar, Stewart, 72.)

<sup>3</sup> Humāyūn again indulged his love of travel and sights, and delayed so long in Persian territory that the Shāh, coming unexpectedly upon him, angrily turned him off without ceremony.

<sup>4</sup> The child was just over three. It was now that he and Bakhshī-bānū travelled together to Kābul in the snow.





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he had never made a hostile raid,<sup>1</sup> and now, all at once, when he heard of his Majesty's approach, desire to break forth (? hunt) seized him, and he went into the Hazāra country.<sup>2</sup> (63b)

Mīrzā Hindāl, who had chosen the darvish's corner (in Kābul), now heard of the Emperor's return from 'Irāq and Khurāsān, and of his success in Qandahār. He saw his chance, and sent for Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir, and said: 'The Emperor has come to Qandahār, and has been victorious. Mīrzā Kāmran sent Khānzāda Begam to sue for peace, but the Emperor did not agree to his sort of peace. The Emperor sent Bairām Khān as his envoy, and Mīrzā Kāmran did not agree to what he proposed. Now the Emperor has given Qandahār to Bairām Khān and has set out for Kābul. Come now, let us, you and I, plan and agree together, and scheme how to betake ourselves to his Majesty.' Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir agreed, and the two made their plan and compact. Mīrzā Hindāl said: 'You make up your mind to run away and when Mīrzā Kāmran hears of it, he will certainly say to me: "Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir 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, Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir ran away. The news went to Mīrzā Kāmran, who came back at once to Kābul and sent for Mīrzā Hindāl and said: 'Go and persuade Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir to come back.' Mīrzā Hindāl mounted at once, and joined Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir with all speed. Then they travelled post-haste for five or six days, when they were honoured by paying their duty to the Emperor.

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<sup>1</sup> *tūkht raftan*. I do not know what the begam wishes to say. Kāmran had made hostile raids to Badakhshān and against the Hazāras. One might read 'hunting expedition.'

<sup>2</sup> He had a Hazāra wife. Perhaps the passage about Kāmran's hostile raid or hunting is merely an introduction to Hindāl's plan of scape. (Cf. B. & H., II. 814, 815, for this story.)



They advised the Khimār<sup>1</sup> Pass as the best route. On Ramzān 9th, 951H. (the third week of October, 1545), his Majesty ordered a halt in that pass. News of this went to Mīrzā Kāmran on the same day and disturbed him greatly. He had his tents taken out very quickly and encamped in front of the Guzar-gāh.<sup>2</sup> (64b)

On the 11th of the same month, the Emperor ordered a halt in the valley of (?) Tīpa, and Mīrzā Kāmran<sup>3</sup> also came and drew up opposite to fight. Then all his amīrs deserted and were exalted by kissing the royal feet. Even Bāpūs<sup>4</sup> who was one of his well-known officers, deserted him with all his following and was exalted by kissing the royal feet. The mīrzā 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 Bāpūs<sup>5</sup> which was near, and went softly, softly past the New Year's Garden and the tomb of Gul-rukh Begam,<sup>6</sup> dismissed his 12,000 troopers, and went off.

When it was dark, he went on in the same direction to Bābā Dashtī,<sup>7</sup> and halted near a piece of water, and sent back Dostī *kūka* and Jūkī *kūka* to fetch his eldest daughter Habība, and his son Ibrāhīm Sulṭān Mīrzā, and Hazāra Begam<sup>8</sup> who was the brother's child of Khizr Khān (Hazāra), and Māh Begam<sup>9</sup> who was sister of Haram (Khurram) Begam, and Māh-afroz, mother of Hājī Begam,<sup>10</sup> and Bāqī *kūka*.<sup>11</sup> (65a) This party went with the mīrzā,

<sup>1</sup> (?) *himār*, the Ass's Pass.

<sup>2</sup> (?) The Ferry Garden, or perhaps Bābar's burial-place.

<sup>3</sup> Not in person, I believe. His troops were under Qāsim *Barlūs*.

<sup>4</sup> Governor (*ūtalāq*) of Yasīn-daulat (Āq Sulṭān), the betrothed husband of Habība.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Erskine says that Kāmran escaped by a breach opened in a wall. He went by way of Bīnī-ḥiṣār to Ghaznī, where 'Askari still was.

<sup>6</sup> (?) His mother.

<sup>7</sup> The Desert Father; perhaps a shrine in a lonely spot. (Cf. Khwāja Khizr, *infra*, 70b.)

<sup>8</sup> A wife.

<sup>9</sup> Probably a wife.

<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> (?) The elder brother of Adham and son of Māham *anaga*. Māham *anaga* would be in Kābul now.



who planned to go to Tatta and Bhakkar. In Khizr Khān Hazāra's country, which lies on the way to Bhakkar, he married Ḥabība Begam to Āq Sultān and entrusted her to him, while he himself went on.

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

On the 12th of the same month, her Highness my mother, Dil-dār Begam, and Gul-chihra Begam, and this lowly person paid our duty to the Emperor. For five years we had been shut out and cut off from this pleasure, so now when we were freed from the moil and pain of separation, we were lifted up by our happiness in meeting this Lord of beneficence again. Merely to look at him eased the sorrow-stricken heart and purged the blear-eyed vision. (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 *shāhrukhīs*. Whoever lost; lost those twenty *shāhrukhīs*, which would make five *misqāls*.<sup>2</sup> Each player gave the winner his twenty *shāhrukhīs* to add to his own.<sup>3</sup>

To widows and orphans, and kinsfolk of men who had

<sup>1</sup> The hour was probably fixed by astrological counsel. Abū'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 Abū'l-fazl and Gul-badan.

<sup>2</sup> One *shāhrukhī* was about ten pence. Four *shāhrukhīs* made one *misqāl*.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Erskine says that the earliest mention of cards as made known to him by an Oriental writer is when Bābar sends some to Shāh Ḥusain *Arghūn* who was 'very fond' of them, by Mīr 'Alī, the armour-bearer, in 933H. (1526-27). No doubt such an easy means of speeding the hours was known to the ladies of Bābar's family as early as to anyone else, and Gul-badan is perhaps merely describing a new game.





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foot<sup>1</sup> 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).<sup>2</sup> In it was Mīrzā Sulaimān, who came out to fight but could not stand face to face with his Majesty and so decided to run away. The Emperor then entered the fort safe and sound. Then he went to Kishm, where, after a little while, an illness attacked his blessed frame and he slept day and night.<sup>3</sup> When he came to his senses, he sent Mun'im Khān's brother, Fazā'il Beg, to Kābul, and said: 'Go! comfort and reassure the people of Kābul. Set them at ease in various ways.<sup>4</sup> Let them not quarrel. Say: "It began ill, but has ended well."' (67a)

When Fazā'il Beg had gone, he (Humāyūn) went one day nearer Kābul.<sup>5</sup>

False news having been sent to Mīrzā Kāmran in Bhakkar, he set out post-haste for Kābul. In Ghaznī he killed Zābid Beg<sup>6</sup> and then came on. It was morning; the Kābulīs were off their guard; the gates had been opened in the old way, and water-carriers and grass-cuts were going in and out, and the mīrzā passed into the fort with all

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps there is expressed here a difference of degree of honour in the *khi'lat* and *sar-u-pūī*.

<sup>2</sup> Sulaimān had not made submission to Humāyūn,—hence this expedition to Badakhshān.

<sup>3</sup> He is said to have been insensible for four days. He was nursed by Māh-chūchak and Bībī Fāṭima, an armed woman (*ordū-begī*) of the *haram*. She was, it would seem, mother of Zuhra *ūghā*, the wife of Khwāja Mu'azzam, and to save whose life Akbar nearly lost his own. (Elliot, V. 292; B. & H., II. 380 *et seq.*)

<sup>4</sup> (?) As to his health, and their own safety from Kāmran's return, and the continuance of the situation as he had left it. The illness and convalescence lasted at least two months. He fell ill in Shāhdān, between Khishm and Qila'-i-zafar, and Qarācha Khān, his vazīr, behaved with decision and good sense, so that Humāyūn's authority was upheld.

<sup>5</sup> Doubtful translation. Humāyūn is elsewhere said to have gone to Qila'-i-zafar to recruit, and Fazā'il to have arrived in Kābul a few hours after the first news there of the illness. Perhaps one of these occurrences is behind this obscure statement.

<sup>6</sup> Husband of Bega Begam's sister.



these common people. He at once killed Uncle Muḥammad Alī<sup>1</sup> who was in the hot bath. He alighted at the college of Mullā 'Abdu-l-khāliq.

When the Emperor was starting for Qila'-i-zāfar, he placed Naukār<sup>2</sup> at the door of the ḥaram. Mīrzā Kāmran must have asked: 'Who is in the Bālā-i-ḥiṣār?' and someone must have said: 'It is Naukār.' Naukār heard of this and at once put on a woman's dress and went out. The mīrzā's people laid hands on the doorkeeper of the fort, and took him to Mīrzā Kāmran, who ordered him to be imprisoned. (67b) The mīrzā's people went into the Bālā-i-ḥiṣār, and plundered and destroyed innumerable things belonging to the ḥaram, and they made settlement<sup>3</sup> for them in Mīrzā Kāmran's court (*sarkār*). He put the great begams into Mīrzā 'Askarī's house and there he shut up a room with bricks and plaster and (?) dung-cakes, and they used to give the ladies water and food from over the four walls.<sup>4</sup>

In what was once Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir's house he put Khwāja Mu'azzam<sup>5</sup> and ordered his own wives and family to stay in the palace where the royal ḥaram 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.<sup>6</sup>

When the Emperor heard that Mīrzā Kāmran had come from Bhakkar and was acting in this way, he returned from Qila'-i-zāfar and Andar-āb safe and sound to Kābul. Qila'-i-zāfar he gave to Mīrzā Sulaimān. (68a)

<sup>1</sup> Brother of Māham Begam.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the servant sent with gifts by Bābar from Āgra to Kābul. The name looks like that of an Abyssinian. Is it 'new in work,' and a sobriquet given in youth and retained?

<sup>3</sup> *zabṭ wa rabṭ*. Is this an indication of Gul-badan's opinion that Kāmran profited by the robbery of his relations? His cruelties at this time make theft look innocent. (B. & H., II. 386 *et seq.*)

<sup>4</sup> The translation of this passage is doubtful.

<sup>5</sup> An undue honour, perhaps prompted by the khwāja's disgrace with Humāyūn.

<sup>6</sup> Probably for the exploitation so often named in the histories.



When he came near to Kābul, Mīrzā Kāmran sent for her Highness my mother and for me from the house,<sup>1</sup> and gave my mother orders to reside in the armourer's house. To me he said: 'This is your house as well as mine. You stay here.' 'Why,' I asked, 'should I stay here? I will stay with my mother.' He then went on: 'Moreover, write to Khizr Khwāja Khān and tell him to come and join me and to keep an easy mind, for just as Mīrzā 'Askarī and Mīrzā Hindāl are my brothers, so is he. Now is the time to help.' I answered: 'Khizr Khwāja Khān has no way of recognising a letter<sup>2</sup> from me. I have never written to him myself. He writes to me when he is away, by the tongue of his sons. Write yourself what is in your mind.' At last he sent Mahdī Sultān<sup>3</sup> and Shīr 'Alī to fetch the khān. From the first I had said to the khān: 'Your brothers may be with Mīrzā Kāmran, (but) God forbid that you should have the thought of going to him and joining them. (68b) Beware, a thousand times beware of thinking of separating yourself from the Emperor.' Praise be to God! the khān kept to what I said.

When the Emperor heard that Mīrzā Kāmran had sent Mahdī Sultān<sup>3</sup> and Shīr 'Alī to fetch Khizr Khwāja Khān, he himself despatched Qambar Beg, the son of Mīrzā Hājī, to the khān, who was then in his own *jāgīr*, and said: 'Beware, a thousand times beware! Let there be no joining Mīrzā Kāmran. Come and wait on me.' The result of this auspicious message was that the khān set out at once for court, and came to the 'Uqābain (Hill of the two eagles) and paid his respects.

When the Emperor passed Minār Hill, Mīrzā Kāmran sent forward all his well-ordered soldiers under Shīr

<sup>1</sup> Presumably the brick and mud quarters of the ladies.

<sup>2</sup> *Suād na dārad ki khaṭ-i-marā 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'ālat-yār, as being her own. She is now about twenty-five

<sup>3</sup> Brother of Khizr and of Yasīn-daulat (Āq Sultān).





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Bālā-i-ḥiṣār. Mīrzā Kāmran's men used to fire from the town upon the Emperor on the 'Uqābain. The royal soldiers put Mīrzā 'Askarī to stand right in front and made fun of him.

Mīrzā Kāmran's men also used to make sallies from the fort, and on both sides many were killed. The royal troops were often the victors and then the others had not courage to come out. For the sake of his wives and children and the begams and the household, etc., the Emperor did not have the cannon fired nor did he place the large houses in difficulty. (70a)

When the long siege was ended, they (*i.e.*, the ladies) sent Khwāja Dost Khāwand *madarchī*<sup>1</sup> to his Majesty to say: 'For God's sake, do whatever Mīrzā Kāmran asks, and save the servants of God from molestation.'<sup>2</sup>

The Emperor sent for their use from outside nine sheep, seven flasks of rose-water, one of lemonade, and seven sets of nine dress-lengths<sup>3</sup> and some made-up jackets.<sup>3</sup> He wrote:<sup>4</sup> 'For their sakes, I could not use force against the citadel, lest I should give an advantage to their enemies.'<sup>5</sup>

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

To finish the story: There were always people in the Bālā-i-ḥiṣār from evening prayer till dawn, and there was a continuous uproar. The night Mīrzā Kāmran went away,<sup>6</sup> prayer-time passed and indeed bedtime came, and there was no noise at all. (70b)

There was a steep stair by which people came up from

<sup>1</sup> Follower of the Musalmān saint Madār.

<sup>2</sup> This message seems one from the imprisoned ladies. The khwāja to whom it was entrusted may now, as in the earlier siege of Kābul, have been Kāmran's envoy to Humāyun.

<sup>3</sup> *pūrcha* and *nīmcha dokhta*. There seems between these words an apposition which I render by the Englishwoman's colloquial terms.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably to some kinsman or official to whom the gifts were consigned.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.*, by injuring the royal household.

<sup>6</sup> April 27th, 1547 (Rabī' I. 7th, 954H.).



below. When all the city was asleep, there suddenly sounded (on the stair) a clashing and clinking of armour, so that we said to one another: 'What a noise!' Perhaps a thousand people were standing in front (of the fort). We were afraid, but all at once, without warning, off they went. Qarācha Khān's son Bahādur brought us word that the mīrzā had fled.<sup>1</sup>

Having thrown a rope, they (or he) brought up Khwāja Mu'azzam by way of the wall.<sup>2</sup>

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 Nāzir 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-dār Begam and me, and then Bega Begam and Hamīda-bānū 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 Nāzir: 'Guard one side,' and to Tardī Beg Khān: '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 Māh-chūchak Begam and Khānīsh *aghā* and those of the *haram* who had been with the Emperor on the campaign.

In Badakhshān Māh-chūchak had a daughter born. On the same night the Emperor had this dream: 'Fakhru-n-nisā', my *māmā*,<sup>3</sup> and Daulat-bakht came in by the door,

<sup>1</sup> Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad says that Kāmran escaped by a hole fashioned for the purpose in the wall 'on Khizr Khwāja's' side. This suggests that Gul-badan's husband connived at the evasion, unless one remembers that Khizr Khwāja is a place outside Kābul.

<sup>2</sup> I do not understand this sentence. Either the followers of Kāmran drew the khwāja up into the fort-precincts to take him with them, he having displeased Humāyūn and being nearly connected with him, or the ladies had him drawn up. He was, it seems, not a prisoner. (67b)

<sup>3</sup> Fakhru-n-nisā', the mother of Nadīm *kūka*, would seem from this to have been Humāyūn'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 *nisā'* from one, and *bakht* from the other, would run them together into *Bakht-nisā'*.

Māh-chūchak had four daughters<sup>1</sup> and two sons,—Bakht-nisā' Begam, and Sakīna-bānū Begam, and Amīna-bānū Begam, and Muḥammad Hakīm Mīrzā, and Farrukh-fāl Mīrzā. (71*b*) She was with child when the Emperor went to Hindūstān (1554), and bore a son, in Kābul, whom they named Farrukh-fāl Mīrzā. A little later Khānish *aghā* had a son whom they named Ibrāhīm Sultān Mīrzā.

The Emperor spent a full year and a half in Kābul, prosperously and happily, and in comfort and sociability.<sup>2</sup>

After taking flight from Kābul, Mīrzā Kāmran went to Badakhshān, and there stayed in Tāliqān. One day the Emperor was in the Inner Garden,<sup>3</sup> and when he rose at dawn for prayers, news came that many of the amīrs who formerly were with the mīrzā, had gone to him again. Amongst them were Qarācha Khān and Muṣāhib Khān, and Mubāriz Khān and Bāpūs.<sup>4</sup> Many wretches fled by night and went to join the mīrzā in Badakhshān.

In a propitious hour the Emperor also started for Badakhshān. He besieged the mīrzā in Tāliqān, and after a time made him agree to submit and become obedient (72*a*) when he waited on the Emperor, who bestowed Kulāb on him, and gave Qilā'-i-zafar to Mīrzā Sulaimān, Qandahār (*sic*; (?) Kunduz) to Mīrzā Hindāl, and Tāliqān to Mīrzā 'Askarī.

<sup>1</sup> Gul-badan does not name Fakhru-n-nisā' who became the wife of Shāh 'Abū'l-ma'ālī and of Khwāja Ḥasan *Naqshbandī*. Perhaps she is Bakht-nisā'.

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

<sup>3</sup> *ōrta-bāgh*.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps it may be taken as an indication of the degradation of 'home life' that Qarācha and Bāpūs again joined Kāmran, although the latter had exposed Qarācha's son and a wife of Bāpūs on the battlements, with the utmost dishonour, and had killed three of the latter's children and flung their bodies from the ramparts.





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how then, should I seek the hurt of my brothers? May God grant to you all the same divine and beneficent guidance, so that our agreement and concord may endure!' (73a)

There was wonderful cheerfulness and happiness because many officers and their followers met their relations again, for they too had been sundered because of their masters' quarrels. Nay! one might rather say they had thirsted for one another's blood. Now they passed their time in complete happiness.

On his return from Badakhshān the Emperor spent a year and a half in Kābul and then resolved to go to Balkh. He took up his quarters in the Heart-expanding Garden,<sup>1</sup> and his own residence was over against the lower part of the garden, and the begams were in Qulī Beg's house because it was close by.

The begams said to the Emperor over and over again: 'Oh, how the *rīwāj*<sup>2</sup> will be coming up!' He replied:

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, moved out of the city as a preliminary to marching.

<sup>2</sup> The following account of this plant is taken from Conolly's Travels, I., 213 n.. It is translated by him from the *Makhūzinu-l-adwiya* (Treasury of Medicines). '*Rībās, rīvās, rīwāj* or *jigarī* (so named from a person of Nishāpūr 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. Ārd-shīr was named *Rūwand-dast* (rhubarb-hand) from the length of his hands. The root is called *rūwand* (rhubarb). The top is like the claw of a fowl. The flower is red, and the taste is subacid with a little sweetness. The seed is formed at the top of a long slender stalk which springs up annually in the centre of the plant. It grows where snow lies and in mountainous countries. The best grows in Persia. It is medicinally attenuating and astringent, gives tone to the stomach, and improves the appetite. A collyrium of the juice strengthens the eye and prevents opacity, and a poultice of it with barley-meal is a useful application to sores and boils. The juice of the *rīvās* is harsher than that of unripe grapes.' For mention of the name *rīwāj* see *Tabaqūt-i-akbarī*, Lucknow lith. ed., 215; *Tūzūk-i-jahāngīrī*, 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, *rūwand*.'



‘When I join the army, I shall travel by the Koh-dāman, so that you may come out and see the *rīwāj* growing.’ It was at afternoon prayer-time that he rode out<sup>1</sup> (of Kābul) to the garden. Qulī Beg’s house where the begams were, was close by and overlooked it, and his Majesty pulled up as he passed, and all the begams saw him, and rose and made the *kōrnish*. (73b) Directly they had made this salutation, he beckoned with his own blessed hand, to say: ‘Come.’<sup>2</sup>

Fakhru-n-nisā’ *māmā* and Afghānī *āghācha* went on a little ahead. There was a stream in the lower part of the garden which Afghānī *āghācha* could not cross, and she fell off her horse. For this reason there was an hour’s delay.<sup>3</sup> At last we set out with his Majesty. Māh-chūchak Begam not knowing, her horse went up a little.<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> and Mīr (fault) and Khānish *āghācha* and Z̄arīf the reciter and Sarū-sahī and Shāham *āghā* sang softly, softly.

Up to the time of our reaching Laghmān, neither the

<sup>1</sup> Presumably from Kābul, and on the day of starting for Balkh *viā* the Koh-dāman.

<sup>2</sup> The ladies seem to have been waiting for this signal to start.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> *andak buland raft*. Perhaps the horse reared, the begam not knowing how to manage it; but the later and otherwise irrelevant sentence about the unfinished wall suggests that the begam went too high up the hill. The party is now on its way to see the *rīwāj* growing, and Humāyūn’s temper is tried by the various contretemps of the ladies’ cavalcade.

<sup>5</sup> 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 *mih-r-amez*<sup>1</sup> tent had come. We all, his Majesty and all of us, and Ḥamīda-bānū Begam sat in that tent till three hours past midnight and then we went to sleep where we were, in company with that altar of truth (Humāyūn).

Early next morning he wished to go and see the *rīwāj* on the Kōh. The begams' horses were in the village, so the starting-time passed before they came up. The Emperor ordered that the horses of everyone who was outside should be brought. When they came he gave the order: 'Mount.'

Bega Begam and Māh-chūchak Begam were still putting on their head-to-foot dresses, and I said to the Emperor: 'If you think well, I will go and fetch them.' 'Go,' he answered, 'and bring them quickly.' I said to the begams and to Māh-chūchak Begam and the rest of the ladies: 'I have become the slave of his Majesty's wishes. What trouble waiting gives!' I was gathering them all together and bringing them when he came to meet me and said: 'Gul-badan! the proper hour for starting has gone by. (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 Ḥamīda-bānū Begam.<sup>2</sup> After afternoon prayers, there was the interval between two prayers before the horses arrived. In this interval he went away.<sup>3</sup>

Everywhere in the Dāman-i-kōh the *rīwāj* 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

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a tent of Humāyūn's invention, in the name of which *mih-r* means *sun*. Cf. 'another of his (Humāyūn's) inventions was a tent which had twelve divisions, corresponding to the signs of the Zodiac. Every sign had a lattice through which the lights of the stars of dominion shone.' (*Akbar-nāma*, H. Beveridge I. 361.)

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps, a tent of Ḥamīda having come, he seated himself in it.

<sup>3</sup> (?) the start was made to see the *rīwāj*.





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day his men sallied out and drew up in battle array. The royal army carried off the victory, and Pīr Muḥammad's men tasted defeat and returned to the city. By the next morning the khān had come to think: 'The Chaghataī 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.<sup>1</sup> The news of their march reached the Uzbegs and amazed them. Try as the royal officers would, they produced not a scrap of effect. It could not be hindered: the royal army ran away. (75a)

The Emperor waited a little, and when he saw that no one was left, he too had to go. Mīrzā 'Āskarī and Mīrzā Hindāl, not having heard of the confusion, rode up to the camp. They found no one and saw that the Uzbegs had gone in pursuit, so they too took the road and made for Kunduz. After riding a little way, his Majesty stopped and said: 'My brothers are not here yet: how can I go on?' He asked the officers and attendants whether anyone would bring him news of the princes. No one answered or went. Later on word came from the Mīrzā'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 Khwāja Khān said: 'If you approve, I will bring news.' 'God's mercy on you!' rejoined his Majesty. 'May they have gone to Kunduz!' (75b)

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

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<sup>1</sup> 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 Bukhārā, and (2) lest Kāmran should again take Kābul and have their families at his mercy. The last was perhaps the dominant motive for the flight without a pursuer.



delight, brought word that Mīrzā Hindāl had arrived at Kunduz safe and sound. His Majesty gave Mīrzā Sulaimān leave to go to his own place, Qila'-i-zafar, and came himself to Kābul (1550, 957H.).

While Mīrzā Kāmran was in Kūlāb, a woman named Tarkhān<sup>1</sup> Bega, who was a thorough cheat, showed him the way by saying: 'Make a declaration of love to Haram Begam.<sup>2</sup> Good will come of it.' Acting on these words of an ill-judging adviser, he actually sent a letter and a kerchief<sup>3</sup> to Haram Begam by the hand of Begī *aghā*. This woman laid the letter and the kerchief before the begam and then set forth the mīrzā's devotion and passion. Haram Begam said: 'Keep that letter and that kerchief now and bring them again when the mīrzās come home.' Begī *aghā* then wept, and moaned, and coaxed, and said: 'Mīrzā Kāmran has sent you this letter and this kerchief; he has loved you a long time, and you have no pity for him.' (76a) Haram Begam began to show her disgust and violent anger, and at once sent off for her husband, Mīrzā Sulaimān, and her son, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm. She said to them: 'Mīrzā Kāmran 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.<sup>4</sup> Send off a letter for me about it and rebuke him. As for this wretch of a woman, tear her piece by piece. Let her be a warning to others that no man may cast the evil eye of sinful thought upon another man's womanfolk. What does such a man deserve who, the son of a mother, yet does such monstrous things, and who fears neither me<sup>5</sup> nor my son?'

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<sup>1</sup> This title indicates rank. A 'Tarkhān Begam' was wife of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā. (Mems., 22.)

<sup>2</sup> or Khurram. One of her sisters was a wife of Kāmran.

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

<sup>4</sup> *kīlān*. Both here and at 77b this word seems to have wider meaning than is given by the Turkī and Persian dictionaries.

<sup>5</sup> The begam's martial character spices this story, since her husband



Instantly hands were laid on Begī *āghā* Bībī, condemned of fate to die, and she was torn in pieces. In consequence of this affair, Mīrzā Sulaimān and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm were displeased with Mīrzā Kāmran, or rather they became his enemies. (76b) They wrote to the Emperor that Mīrzā Kāmran wished to thwart him and that this could not be better seen than in his failure to go to Balkh with him.

After this the mīrzā, in Kūlāb,<sup>1</sup> could not find, in his terror-stricken thoughts, any better remedy than to become a darvish. He sent his son, Abū'l-qāsim (Ibrāhīm) to Mīrzā 'Askarī, and betook himself to Tāliqān with his daughter 'Āyisha (Sultān Begam), and said to his wife (Muhtarīma Khānam): 'Do you and your daughter follow me later. I will send for you to whatever place I settle on: Till then go and stay in Khost and Andar-āb.' The khānam was related to the Uzbek khāns, and some of her kinsfolk let the Uzbeks<sup>2</sup> know: 'If you want booty, there are goods and men and women servants; take these, and let the lady go free, for if 'Āyisha Sultān Khānam's<sup>3</sup> 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-āb. Here she stayed.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> In Kūlāb were the kinsfolk of his wife, Māh Begam, sister of Haram Begam, daughter of Sultān Wais *Qibchūq*, and sister of Chakr 'Alī Khān.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, across whose country she had to travel.

<sup>3</sup> (?) Mughal Khānam.





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Either at Chārīkārān or Qarā-bāgh there was fighting with Mīrzā Kāmran and his Majesty's army was successful. The mīrzā fled to the mountain passes (*tangayhā*) and Lamghānāt.<sup>1</sup>

Āq Sultān (Yasīn-daulat) who was the mīrzā's son-in-law, said in effect to him (*gufta bāshad*): 'You are continually thwarting the Emperor. What is the meaning of it? It is not what should be. (78a) Either make your submission and obeisance to the Emperor or give me leave to go, so that men may distinguish between us.' Mīrzā Kāmran said fiercely: 'Have my affairs come to such a pass that you offer me advice?' Āq Sultān also spoke angrily, 'If I stay with you, my position will be unlawful,' and left him at once, and went with his wife (Habība) to Bhakkar. The mīrzā wrote to Mīrzā Shāh Husain, and said: 'Āq Sultān has displeased me and has gone away. If he comes to Bhakkar, do not let his wife be with him. Part them and tell him to go where he likes.' Shāh Husain Mīrzā at once, on receiving the letter, deprived Habība Sultān Begam of the company of Āq Sultān and let him depart for the blessed Makka.<sup>2</sup>

In the fight at Chārīkārān, Qarācha Khān<sup>3</sup> and many of Mīrzā Kāmran's well-known officers were killed.

'Āyisha Sultān Begam<sup>4</sup> and Daulat-bakht *aghācha* were in flight for Qandahār, and were captured at the Khimār Pass, and brought in by the Emperor's people. Mīrzā Kāmran went to the Afghāns,<sup>5</sup> and stayed amongst them. (78b)

From time to time his Majesty used to visit the orange-gardens. That year also, according to his old habit, he went to the mountain passes (*tangayhā*) to see the oranges. Mīrzā Hindāl was in attendance, and of the ladies (*haramān*),

<sup>1</sup> Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad, 'mountains of Mandrūd.' B. & H., II. 893, 'by the Pass of Bād-paj towards the Afghān country.'

<sup>2</sup> Kāmran was the son-in-law of Mīr Shāh Husain *Arghūn*, and was therefore able to secure this interference with Āq Sultān's domestic affairs.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Elliot, V. 233.

<sup>4</sup> Kāmran's daughter.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.*, Lamghān.



there went Bega Begam, Ḥamīda-bānū Begam, Māh-chūchak Begam and many others. I could not go because my son, Sa'adat-yār, was ill at the time. One day his Majesty, attended by Mīrzā Hindāl, was hunting near the mountain passes. They had very good sport. The Emperor went towards where the mīrzā was hunting and had made a very good bag. Following the rules of Chingīz Khān, the mīrzā proffered his game to the Emperor, for it is a rule of Chingīz Khān 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 Mīrzā Kāmran blocked the road, and shot an arrow at the unwitting mīrzā which struck his blessed shoulder. Acting on the thought 'God forbid my sisters and womenfolk should be upset by news of this,' he wrote off at once to say: 'Ill begun has ended well!<sup>1</sup> Do not be anxious, for I am getting better.' To finish the story: as it was hot, his Majesty went back to Kābul, and in the course of a year the arrow-wound got better.

A year later word was brought that Mīrzā Kāmran had collected troops and was preparing for war. His Majesty also, taking military appurtenances, set out for the mountain passes (*tangayhā*) with Mīrzā Hindāl. He went safe and well, and made his honouring halt in the passes. Hour by hour, and all the time, spies kept bringing news: 'Mīrzā Kāmran has decided that an attack must be made to-night.' (79b) Mīrzā Hindāl went to the Emperor and submitted his advice: 'Let your Majesty stay on this high ground, and let my brother (nephew) Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar *padshāh* 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

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<sup>1</sup> 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.’<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> and he set it down for a while. Because of this delay, the mīrzā 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 mīrzā 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 *fāṭhiha* 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 *ṭabaqchī*,<sup>3</sup> hearing his voice, cried: ‘They are attacking me.’ The mīrzā, 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 youth<sup>4</sup> with his tyrant sword! Would to Heaven that

<sup>1</sup> 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.’

<sup>2</sup> It is hardly necessary to say that sneezing is by many nations regarded as an omen of other things than catarrh.

<sup>3</sup> Clerk of the scullery who has charge of plates and dishes, utensils which are often of value by material and by workmanship.

<sup>4</sup> Hindāl was killed on Zī’l-qa’dā 21st, 958H. (November 20th, 1551). He was born before March 4th, 1519 (Mems., 258.), and was therefore in his thirty-third year.

Gul-badan always speaks of her brother with affection, and her story





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

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

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

It was by Mīrzā Kāmran's evil fate that Mīrza Hindāl became a martyr. From that time forth we never heard that his affairs prospered. On the contrary, they waned day by day and came to naught and perished. (81b) He set his face to evil in such fashion that fortune never befriended him again nor gave him happiness. It was as though Mīrzā Hindāl had been the life, or rather the light-giving eye of Mīrzā Kāmran, for after that same defeat he fled straight away to Salīm Shāh, the son of Shīr Khān. Salīm Shāh gave him a thousand *rupīs*.<sup>2</sup> Then the mīrzā told in what position he was, and asked help. Salīm Shāh said nothing openly in reply, but in private he remarked: 'How can a man be helped who killed his own brother, Mīrzā Hindāl? It is best to destroy him and bring him to naught.' Mīrzā Kāmran 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 Salīm Shāh, he imprisoned many of them.

Mīrzā Kāmran had gone as far as Bhīra and Khūsh-āb when Adam Ghakkar, by plot and stratagems, captured him and brought him to the Emperor. (82a)

To be brief, all the assembled khāns and sultāns, and high and low, and plebeian and noble, and soldiers and the

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<sup>1</sup> Khwānd-amīr compares a hustle of people to the day of resurrection.

<sup>2</sup> A scornful measure of Kāmran's fall. The date is the end both of 1552 and of 959H.



rest who all bore the mark of Mīrzā Kāmran's hand, with one voice represented to his Majesty: 'Brotherly custom has nothing to do with ruling and reigning. If you wish to act as a brother, abandon the throne. If you wish to be king, put aside brotherly sentiment. What kind of wound was it that befell your blessed head in the Qibchāq defile through this same Mīrzā Kāmran? He it was whose traitorous and crafty conspiracy with the Afghāns killed Mīrzā Hindāl. Many a Chaghataī 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 eyes<sup>1</sup> (we say that) our lives, our goods, our wives, our children are all a sacrifice for a single hair of your Majesty's head. This is no brother! This is your Majesty's foe!'

To make an end of words, one and all urgently set forth: 'It is well to lower the head of the breacher of a kingdom.'

His Majesty answered: 'Though my head inclines to your words, my heart does not.' All cried out: 'What has been set before your Majesty is the really advisable course.' At last the Emperor said: 'If you all counsel this and agree to it, gather together and attest it in writing.' All the amīrs both of the right and left assembled. They wrote down and gave in that same line (*miṣra'*): 'It is well to lower the head of the breacher of the kingdom.' Even his Majesty was compelled to agree.

When he drew near to Rohtās, the Emperor gave an order to Sayyid Muḥammad: 'Blind Mīrzā Kāmran in both eyes.' The sayyid went at once and did so.

After the blinding, his Majesty the Emperor<sup>2</sup> . . . .

END OF THE MS.

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<sup>1</sup> *bar jahannum*, which I take as an oath. Cf. *bar haq*.

<sup>2</sup> Here in the MS. volume follows folio 83, which I have conjectured should follow folio 73b, and have placed there.









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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 *ḥaram*.

News of her death reached Bābar when he was besieging Chandīrī in 934H. (January, 1528).

Mems., 182, 183, 204.

## II. Āfāq Begam. (No. 26.)<sup>1</sup>

She was a daughter of Sultān-bakht Begam; her father's name has not yet come to my knowledge; she was a grand-daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā.

Bābar mentions the arrival of a daughter of Sultān-bakht Begam in Āgra in 935H. (October, 1528), and Gul-badan supplies the name Āfāq by naming an Āfāq of this parentage as at the Mystic Feast in 938H. (1531).

Gul-badan. Persian text, 25b.  
Mems., 387.

(*Afghānī āghācha*, the Afghān lady. See Mubārīka Bībī.)

## III. Afroz-bānū Begam. (No. 33.)

Pers. *afroz*, dazzling, illuminating, and *bānū*, (?) a form of *bān* (*vān*), which in composition means holding, possessing. Also a prince or chief.

Nothing is said to identify her. She was at the Mystic Feast (1531).

Gul-badan, 25b.

## IV. Āghā Begam. (No. 34.)

Turkī, *āghā*, a title of honour, and Ar. *sultān*, sway, pre-eminence. Steingass classes the word *āghā* as Persian. It may be *āka*, lady. The dictionaries do not apply it to women.

Mentioned as at the Mystic Feast in 1531. She may be *Bāyqarā* (*infra*).

Gul-badan, 25b.

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<sup>1</sup> Numbers so entered are those of Gul-badan's guest-list, 24b *et seq.*



### V. Āghā Begam Bāyqarā.

She was a daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqarā and of Pāyanda Sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī. Her descent being so high through both parents, her name *Āghā* rises above its frequent application to wives of less degree. Here it may have the meaning of *chief* or *great*. She married her cousin Murād who was a son of Rābi'a-sultān Begam (Bedka): The *Habību-s-siyār*, 327 *et seq.* (lith. ed.), states that she died before she reached maturity, but this does not agree with Bābar's statements. The *Habīb* places her death earlier than 912H. (1506).

Mems., 181.

*Habību-s-siyār*, lith. ed., 327 *et seq.*

### VI. Aghā kūka. (No. 78.)

Wife of Mun'im Khān ; at Hindal's Feast (1537).

Gul-badan, 26a.

### VII. Āghā-sultān aghācha. (No. 37.)

(?) The lady of chief honour.

She was a wife of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā (died 1494), and mother of Yādgār Sultān Begam (Bābar's half-sister). She was present at Hindāl's marriage feast (1537), and probably at the Mystic Feast, in 1531. She is classed amongst 'our begams.'

Gul-badan, 25b.

Mems., 10, 14.

### VIII. Āghā-sultān Sultānam Dughlāt.

She was a daughter of Muḥammad Haidar Mīrzā *Dughlāt*, and therefore aunt of the author of the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*. She married 'Abdu-l-qadūs Beg *Dughlāt* in Kāshghar, after 877H. (1472-73). Her husband was alive in 900H. (1494-95), and was governor of Khost for Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī.

Mems., 27.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. and R., 95, 103.



### IX. Āi Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Turkī, *āi*, moon. Her name is not mentioned in the Memoirs, but is so by Ilminsky (Mems., 80; Ilminsky, 84, line 7 from foot).

She was the fourth daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā *Mīrānshāhī* and Khānzāda *Termizī* II.; and wife of Jahāngīr Mīrzā, half-brother of Bābar. She was betrothed in 901H. (1495-96), married in 910H. (1504-5), bore one daughter, and was widowed not later than 914H. (1508-9).

Mems., 80, 128.

Pavet de Courteille, I. 57, 262.

### X. Āka Begam *Bāyqrā*.

*Āka* is clearly a title; her personal name I have not found. Her sister who is styled *Bedka*, appears to be named Rābi'a-sultān.

Daughter of Mansūr Mīrzā *Bāyqrā* and Fīroza Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*, full and elder sister of Sultān Husain Mīrzā. Bābar states (Mems., 176, 177) that she married (his uncle) Sultān Aḥmad Mīrza, and had a son, Kīchak Mīrzā (the young or small prince). But he does not mention her, either as *Āka* or otherwise, amongst Aḥmad's wives (Mems., 22), and he says that Aḥmad had two sons who died young. Kīchak, however, lived to change his military occupations for literature.

It is singular that a marriage of the oldest *Mīrān-shāhī* of his generation with the oldest *Bāyqrā* girl should not have been entered in Aḥmad's biographical notice.

Mems., 22, 28, 176, 177.

(Ālūsh—Anūsh—Begam, *Ūlūs*, *q.v.*.)

### XI. Amīna Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Ara., *amīn*, faithful.

Daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chūchak.

Gul-badan, 71a.





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XV. 'Aqīqa ('Afīfa) Begam Mīrān-shahī. (No. 47.)

Her name may be 'Aqīqa, a cornelian, etc., or 'Afīfa, a chaste, modest woman. Our begam's MS. allows both readings. I have used the first but the second seems the more appropriate in sense.

She was a daughter of Humāyūn and Bega and second child of both parents. She was born in Āgra in 1531. It is only from her aunt Gul-badan that anything is known of her. She went to Guālīār with her mother in (?) 1534; she was at Hindāl's feast in 1537, and she was lost at Chausa on June 27th, 1539.

Gul-badan, 22a, 23b, 25, 33b, 34b.

XVI. Ātūn māmā. (No. 38.)

An *ātūn* is a teacher of reading, writing, and embroidery, etc. *Māmā* seems to be the title of old women-servants.

Bābar mentions an *ātūn* in 1501. He met her at Pashāghar whither she had come on foot from Samarqand and where she again joined her old mistress, Bābar's mother, Qutluq-nigār Khānam. She had been left behind in the city after Shaibānī's capture of it because there was no horse for her to ride.

Gul-badan mentions an *ātūn māmā* as at Hindāl's wedding feast, and as *māmā* seems to be used for old servants, it is possible that she is the woman mentioned by Bābar.

Gul-badan, 26a.  
Mems., 99.

XVII. 'Āyisha-sultān Begam Bāyqarā. (No. 9.)

Ar. 'aish, joy, and *sultān*, sway, pre-eminence. Cf. App. s.n. Daulat.

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqarā and Zobaida *aghācha* of the Shaibān sultāns. 'Āyisha married, (1) Qāsim Sultān *Uzbeq*, a Shaibān sultān, and by him became the mother of Qāsim Husain Sultān *Uzbeq*, an amīr of Bābar and Humāyūn; (2) by *yanga-lik* (cf. App. s.n. Jāmal), Būran Sultān,



a kinsman of Qāsim Sultān, and by whom she had 'Abdu-l-lāh Sultān *Uzbeq* who entered Bābar's service.

'Āyisha was at the Mystic Feast in 1531, and she was lost at Chausa in 1539 (946H.).

Khwānd-amīr gives 929H. (1522-23) as a date at which 'Āyisha was in Qāsim Sultān's *ḥaram*, but this does not agree with Bābar's narrative. His entry that 'Abdu-l-lāh was in his service and although young, acquitting himself respectably, cannot at latest have been made after 1530. From 1522 to 1530 is all too short for widowhood, remarriage, birth of 'Abdu-l-lāh, and his growth to respectable military service.

Gul-badan, 24b, 38b.

Mems., 182.

*Ḥabību-s-siyār*, lith. ed., 327 *et seq.*

#### XVIII. 'Āyisha-sultān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*. (? No. 11.)

Third daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* and Qūtūq (Katak) Begam. She was a first cousin of Bābar, and his first wife. They were betrothed in Samarqand when he was five years old, 894H. (1488-89), and married in Sha'bān, 905H. (March, 1500), at Khojand during the 'troubles' *i.e.*, conflict with Khusrau Shāh and Aḥmad Tambol. Bābar says that at first he had no small affection for 'Āyisha and that it declined. She was the mother of his first child, Fakhru-n-nisā' (born 907H., 1501). She left Bābar before the overthrow (*wirānī*) of Tāshkand by Shaibānī in 909H. (1503), being influenced by the 'machinations' of her elder sister, probably Salīqa, who was married to one of those many kinsmen who tried to overthrow the boy-king of Farghāna.

Gul-badan mentions an 'Āyisha Sultān Begam (No. 11) as being at the Mystic Feast, without describing her. The following entry (No. 12) is that of Sultānī, a daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā, and described as being such. It seems likely that Gul-



badan meant this note as to parentage to apply to both begams (Nos. 11 and 12). (*Cf. App. s.n. Sultānan.*)

Gul-badan, 6b, 24b.  
Mems., 22, 78, 90.

### XIX. Āyisha-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

Daughter of Kāmran Mīrzā.

Firishta (lith. ed., 241) and Khāfī Khān (I. 122) say that Kāmran left one son and three daughters.

The son is called Ibrāhīm by Gul-badan, and in the early part of the *Akbar-nāma*. (*Bib. Ind.*, ed., I. 226.) Later the A. N. and other sources call him Abū'l-qāsim, which may be a hyonymic (*kunyat*).

As to the three girls, Firishta, without naming them, gives the information that:

- No. 1 married (a) Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā (*Bāyqarā*).  
No. 2 ,, (b) Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-raḥman *Mughal*.  
No. 3 ,, (c) Fakhru-d-dīn *Mashhadī* who died in 986H. or 987H. (No. 88 of Blochmann's list. *Āin-i-akbarī*, p. 406).

Khāfī Khān's information coincides with Firishta's verbally as to No. 3, and actually as to No. 1 and No. 2. For Ibrāhīm can be described as a son of a 'paternal uncle,' if these words are used in the wide sense given to them by contemporary writers. So, too, can 'Abdu-r-raḥman, if he be No. 183 of Blochmann's list—a Dughlāt Mughal and cousin of Mīrzā 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 Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqarā*.

2. Kāmran's eldest daughter, Hābība, was forcibly parted from her husband, Āq Sultān, in about 1551-52, and this would allow re-marriage to (b) or (c). Āq Sultān went to Makka from Sind 1551-52 (*cir.*), and his name disappears thenceforth.

3. 'Āyisha may also have married (b) or (c).

In the list of the pilgrims of 983H. (A. N. *Bib. Ind.*





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appears in the biography of poetesses by Fakhri amīri. Mirzā Haidar says that some of her children and of two other Mughal khānams (Daulat and Qūt-līq) who were forcibly married at the same time, were living and reigning in Transoxiana at the time of his writing the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*. She is, I think, the 'Āyisha named by Gul-badan on 76b.

*Tār. Rash.*, 160, 192, 193.

Gul-badan, 76b.

*Jawāhiru-l-'ajāib*. Fakhri amīri (Bodleian MS.).

### XXI. Bābū aghā (Māmā aghā).

Professor Blochmann writes the name *Bābū*; but *Bābā*, darling, or *Bānū*, lady, would seem more appropriate for a Persian woman.

She was the wife of Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān *Nishāpūri*, and was related to Hamīda-bānū Begam *Jamī*, Akbar's mother. Abū'l-fazl calls her *Māmā aghā*. He says that she was a good woman, and that on her death Akbar went to her house and offered condolence because of her relationship to his mother.

Shihābu-d-dīn was *damād* of Māham *anaga*, and as *damād* is presumably used here in its more common sense of 'son-in-law,' Bābū *aghā* would seem to be a daughter of Māham *anaga*.

*Akbar-nāma*, *Bib. Ind.* ed., III. 716.

*Aīn-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, 333.

### XXII. Bachaka Khalīfa.

Gul-badan, *Bachaka*; *Mems.*, *Bachaka*; Ilminsky, *Bīchkā*. Vambéry (*Chaghatāische Sprachstudien*) has an appropriate word, *bechek*, Chok. (? Kokand), *xierrath*; ornament. The name is presumably Chaghatāi Turkī, as the bearer of it was an old family servant of a Farghāna household.

*Bachaka* was a head woman-servant (*khalīfa*) of Bābar's household, and was one of two women who escaped with his mother and him from Samarqand in 1501. There was a *Bachaka* whom Gul-badan calls a '*khalīfa* of my royal father,' lost at Chausa



in 1539, and the two references may well be to the same woman.

Mems., 98.  
Gul-badan, 88b.  
Ilminsky, 116.

XXIII. Badī' u-l-jamāl Khānam Chaghataī Mughal.

The khānam of rare beauty; Ar. *badī'*, astonishing, rare; *jamāl*, beauty.

Daughter of Sa'id Khān Chaghataī Mughal, ruler of Kāshghar; and first cousin, once removed, of Bābar. She married Bāush Sultān of the Uzbek Kazāks. On her father's death, her brother Rashīd insisted upon her divorce, and then gave her in marriage to Muḥammadi *Barlās* whom Ḥaidar Mīrzā styles 'a peasant.'

*Tūr. Rash.*, E. & R., 453.

XXIV. Badī' u-l-jamāl Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 2.)

She was a daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'id Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*. She went to India during Bābar's life; was at the double wedding of his daughters, and at the Mystic Feast in 1531.

Mems., 887.  
Gul-badan, 11a, 18b, 24b.

XXV. Bairām (Maryam) Sultān.

Ilminsky calls her Bairam; Khwānd-amīr, Maryam. The Mems. give her no name.

She was the elder daughter of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā *Bāyqrā* and Mīnglī-bī *aghācha Uzbek*. She married Sayyid 'Abdu-l-lāh Mīrzā of Andikhūd (a Tīmūrid through his mother). She bore a son, Sayyid Birka, who served Bābar.

Ilminsky, 209.  
Mems., 181.  
*Ḥabību-s-siyār*, 827 *et seq.*



XXVI. Bakhshī-bānū Begam.

Princess Good-fortune. Pers. *bakhsh*, fortune, and *bānū* (*vān*), possessing.

She was a daughter of Humāyūn and of Gūnwar Bibī, and was born in Jumāda I., 947H. (September, 1540), the year of the Timūrid exodus from India. She fell into the hands of her uncle 'Askarī with her father's camp and the baby Akbar in 1543. In 1545 she was sent with Akbar in the depth of winter from Qandahār to Kābul. In 957H. (1550), and when ten years old, she was betrothed by her father to Ibrāhīm, son of Sulaimān and Ḥaram. Ibrāhīm (b. 1534) was six years older than Bakhshī-bānū, and he was killed in 1560, leaving her a widow of twenty. In the same year she was given in marriage by Akbar to Mīrzā Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain *Aḥrārī*.

Gul-badan, 89b.

*Akbar-nāma*, s.n..

XXVII. Bakhtu-n-nisā' Begam.

Felicity of womanhood; Pers. *bakht*, felicity, fortune, and *nisā'*, woman.

She was a daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chūchak, and was born in 957H. (1550). Gul-badan says that she received her name in accordance with Humāyūn's interpretation of a dream. There is, however, ground for thinking that she and Fakhru-n-nisā', both mentioned in the histories as daughters of Māh-chūchak, are one and the same person. Gul-badan enumerates three daughters of Māh-chūchak, and says that there were four. It is her habit to state, in such matters, one more than she names. She mentions Bakht, but not Fakhr.

Of Bakhtu-n-nisā' it is recorded in the histories that she came from Kābul to India with her son Diwālī, after the death of Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakīm, her brother (993H.—1584-85), and that she was concerned in a reconciliation effected by Salīma-sultān Begam between Akbar and Salīm.





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Mīrzā of Hājī Tarkhān who was her first cousin and the son of Rabī'a-sultān (Bedka) *Bāyqra*.

Khwānd-amīr says that she married 'Khwāja Māulānā.' This may be a second marriage or a confusion with Kīchak, her sister.

Mems., 177, 181.

*Habību-s-siyār*, 327 et seq..

### XXXII. Bega Begam and Bībī.

The Emperor Jahāngīr, when in his Memoirs enumerating the gardens of Kābul, mentions one which belonged to Bega Begam, a widow of his father's grandfather, *i.e.*, Bābar. Which of Bābar's wives is indicated by this title cannot be said with certainty.

Jauhar has a story of Kāmran's want of consideration for 'Bega Begam,' in which the points useful here are that on the day in 1545 when Humāyūn took Kābul from Kāmran, he asked for food from Bega Begam, and he said of her that she was the very person who had brought Bābar's bones and laid them in Kābul.

These two references of Jahāngīr and Jauhar are probably to the same lady. Of Bābar's wives, Bībī Mubārīka (*Afghānī aghācha*) appears to me the most suitable to the time and task.

Bābar's body was still in its Āgra tomb in 1539. (*Gul-badan*, 34*b*.) Māham was then dead; Dil-dār's movements exclude her from consideration; Gul-rukḥ, if living, will have left Āgra with her son Kāmran before the Tīmūrid exodus was enforced by defeat at Kanauj; Bībī Mubārīka remains, the probable and appropriate agent for fulfilling Bābar'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.

Bābar's body was not removed till after the *fiṭrat*, *i.e.*, the Tīmūrid downfall and exodus. Bega Begam,



or, as we may call her with Jauhar for the sake of clearness, the Bībī, must therefore have remained behind the rest of the royal family. This may have occurred in one of two natural ways. She might have stayed in Āgra under the protection of one of the religious families and safeguarded by pious duty to Bābar's tomb, until Shīr Khān gave permission to remove the body and a safe escort for her journey to his frontier; or she may even have been in Bengal and at Chausa with Humāyūn, and, like Bega (*Hājī*) Begam, have been made captive. It would harmonize with Shīr Khān's known actions if he had allowed Bābar's widow to remove his bones, and if he had aided her pious task.

*Tūzūk-i-jahāngīrī*, lith. ed., 51.

*Humāyūn-nāma*, Jauhar, Pers. text, s.a. 951H. (November, 1545).

B. & H., II. 325 n..

XXXIII. Bega Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*. (No. 15.)

This Bega was a daughter of Mīrzā Ulugh Beg *Mīrān-shāhī* who was king of Kābul and known as *Kābulī*. She was Bābar's first cousin, and may be that daughter of her father who married Muḥammād Ma'sūm Mīrzā *Bāyqarā*. Gul-badan styles her 'ama, paternal aunt, of Humāyūn; *anglice*, she and he were first cousins, once removed. She was at the Mystic Feast in December, 1531.

Gul-badan, 24b.

Mems., 180.

XXXIV. Bega Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*. (? No. 22. Bega Kilān Begam.)

Daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā and Khānzāda II. *Termizī*; wife of Haidar Mīrzā *Bāyqarā* and mother of Shād Begam (No. 28).

In 901H. (1496) Sultān Husain *Bāyqarā* was besieging Hīṣār which was held for Bega's brother Mas'ūd,



and in which she was. Husain became apprehensive about the spring rains and patched up a peace, the seal of which was Bega's marriage with his son Haidar, her first cousin through his mother, Pāyanda-sultān. The betrothal took place outside the fort, with assistance of such music as could be procured, and later when the bride was taken to Harāt, the marriage was celebrated with the splendour loved by Husain and befitting a Tīmūrid alliance. Haidar was a full Tīmūrid; Bega was one on her father's side, and probably as a Termizī sayyida's daughter, drew through her also a strain of the same blood.

Haidar died before his father; *i.e.*, before 912H. (April, 1506).

Mems., 30, 38, 180.  
Gul-badan, (?) 24b, No. 22.

XXXV. Bega (*Hājī*) Begam (?) *Begchik Mughal*. (? No. 50.)

She was a daughter of Uncle (*ṭaghār*) Yādgār Beg who was, I think, a brother of Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā, father of Kāmran's wife, Gul-rukḥ. Abū'l-fazl calls Bega Begam *dukhtar-i-ṭaghār-i-wālida-i-Jannat-āshyānī*. Yādgār and 'Alī *Begchik* are both styled *Mīrzā*, but this elevation is due, it seems, to their alliances with the royal house. Haidar calls their brothers *mīrs*.

Bega married Humāyūn, her first cousin, and she was the wife of his youth. It is out of harmony with the custom of his house that his chief wife should be of less than royal descent. So far as I have been able to trace the matter, he never made an equal marriage. Gul-barg *Barlas*, 'Khalīfa's' daughter, whose second husband he was, had best claim to high birth.

The first son, perhaps first child, of Bega and Humāyūn was Al-amān, born 934H. or 935H. (1528) when his father was about twenty-one and was in Badakhshān. Bābar has commemorated his birth both by mentioning it and by preserving his own





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other ladies when Humāyūn made his expedition to recover Hindūstān, and she came with Ḥamīda, Gul-badan, and the rest to join Akbar in 964H. (1557). After this she built her husband's tomb near Dihlī, 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 *Hājī 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 Kāmran. In both these cases a renewed pilgrimage might serve as the explanation of the distinction.

Bega Begam died in 989H. (1581), shortly before Gul-badan's return from Makka. She had almost certainly passed her seventieth year, and was perhaps still older. Abū'l-fazl says that her affairs were settled by one Qāsim 'Alī Khān. He also records a visit of Akbar to her in her last illness, as well as an earlier visit of hers to him made from Dihlī in 981H..

Gul-badan, 22a, 23b, 29b, 80b, 78b, 83a.

Mems., 388, 390.

*Akbar-nūma*, *Bib. Ind.* ed., index, *s.n.*.

*Āin-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, 465. (Confusion has been made here with Kāmran's daughter.)

*Badāyunī*, Lowe, 808 n..

*History of the Afghāns*, Dorn, I. 108.

### XXXVI. Bega Kilān Begam. (No. 22.)

She was at the Mystic Feast. No clue is given to her identification. The '*kilān*' of her title indicates a pre-eminence which would suit Bega *Mīrān-shahī*, daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā. (*Cf. supra.*)

Gul-badan, 24b.



XXXVII. Bega Sultān Begam Marrī.

Daughter of Sanjar Mīrzā of Marv; first wife of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqrā*; mother of Badī'ū-z-zamān Mīrzā. 'She was extremely cross-tempered, and fretted the mīrzā beyond endurance, till, driven to extremities by her insufferable humour, he divorced her. What could he do? He was in the right:

A bad wife in a good man's house,  
Even in this world, makes a hell on earth.

May the Almighty remove such a visitation from every good Moslim; and God grant that such a thing as an ill-tempered, cross-grained wife be not left in the world.'

There is no later record of her.

Mems., 181, 182.

XXXVIII. Bega Sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 13.)

Daughter of Sultān Khalīl Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*; grand-daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'id; first cousin of Bābar.

Gul-badan, 24b.

XXXIX. Begam Sultān.

Daughter of Shaikh Kamāl. Died 945H. (1538).

Beale's 'Oriental Biography,' s.n..

(Begam Sultān, Sa'adat-bakht, q.v..)

XL. Begī Sultān āghācha.

Inferior wife (*chāhar-shambihī*) of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqrā*.

Mems., 183.

XLI. Buwā Begam.

Mother of Sultān Ibrāhīm *Lōdī Afghān*. She attempted to poison Bābar in December, 1526 (938H.) in the manner which is told in most of the histories. The



*Iqbāl-nāma* adds the interesting detail that she was deported from India, and that on her enforced journey to Kābul she drowned herself in the Indus.

Mems., 347.  
Gul-badan, 19a.

## XLII. Chūlī Begam Azāk.

The Desert Princess; Pers. *chūl*, desert. The Memoirs have *Jūlī*, but the meaning of *chūlī* (which looks like a sobriquet) suits the descent of the begam better than anything which can be extracted from *jūl*. Ilminsky writes *Jūlī*, but for this the Mems. are his possible warrant. B.M. Pers. Or. 16,623, f. 123, l. 7., has a clearly-pointed *chūlī*; also on f. 124b.

Chūlī (Jūlī) Begam was a daughter of a beg of the Azāks, and married Sultān Ḥusain *Bāyqra* before he conquered Khurāsān in 878H. (1473). She was the mother of Sultānām, his eldest girl and her only child, and she died before 912H. (1506).

Mems., 181, 182.  
*Ḥabību-s-siyār*, 827 *et seq.*

## XLIII. Daulat-bakht āghācha.

(?) The lady of happy horoscope (*bakht*).

She may be the mother of Kāmran's daughter 'Āyisha, with whom she was in flight for Qandahār. (Cf. 'Āyisha.)

Gul-badan, 78b.

## XLIV. Daulat-bakht Bībī. (No. 85.)

She was clearly an active and working member of Humāyūn's household. She appeared to him in a dream (71a), and her name formed a part of Bakhtun-nisā's. She went on before the main body of begams when they visited the waterfall at Farza, and saw to the commissariat. She is named as being at Hindāl's marriage feast.





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Daulat-sultān to his son Tīmūr. She bore him a daughter, and she remained in his *ḥaram* until Bābar took possession of Samarqand in 917H. (1511), and she joined him. She went south with him in 1513, and remained several years in Badakhshān with another nephew, Mīrzā (Wais) Khān who behaved to her like a son.

Another nephew, Sa'īd, her own brother Aḥmad's son, then invited her, with costly gifts, to visit him in Kāshghar. She made the long and difficult journey; joined him in Yarkand; and with him she spent the rest of her life.

Bābar mentions that her foster-brother brought him news and letters from her in 925H. (September 8th, 1519). In the same year Mansūr, Sa'īd's eldest brother, went to Kāshghar to visit her, his 'beloved aunt.'

The Persian text of the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* says that Mansūr went so that by looking at her kind face his grief for the loss of his father might be mitigated. The Bible Society's Turkī version reads: 'Being prompted thereto by the extreme warmth of his affection for her.' Both statements illumine her character. The second seems the more appropriate, since the death of Sultān Aḥmad Khān took place in 909H. (1503) and Mansūr's visit in 926H. (1520).

There is no mention of her remarriage, and her story is that of an affectionate and leisured aunt.

Mems., 14, 99, 105, 274.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 108, 117, 156, 160, 351, 352, 356.

#### XLVIII. Daulat-sultān (?) *Sakanj* Begam.

*Sakanj* I cannot explain. B. M. Add. 24,090 (44b) has no points, and the word may be S-k-n-gh. B. M., Or. 187 (48a) has k-m-n-j or b-k-n-j. The Turkī (Bible Society's MS. translations) has Daulat.

Daughter of Amīr Shaikh Nūru-d-dīn *Qibchāq Mughal*, governor of Turkistān; wife of Wais Khān *Chaghataī Mughal*.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 64 and 64 n..



XLIX. Dil-dār Begam. (No. 48.)

The Heart-holding Princess; Pers. *dil*, heart, and *dār*, holding.

Neither her husband, Bābar 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 Bābar held the view that four wives were a lawful number, Dil-dār, of whatever parentage, may be counted amongst them, since in 1509 Māham only remained of his earlier wives, 'Āyisha, Zainab, and Ma'sūma having disappeared from the household by death or divorce.

Dil-dār is mentioned once in the Turkī text of Kehr and Ilminsky, and then as *aghācha*. I am too ignorant of the import of this word in the domestic circle to venture to draw from its use an inference as to social status. It, however, as used by Bābar and by 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-nāma* (*Bib. Ind.* ed., II. 62) makes use of the words 'Dil-dār *aghācha* Begam,' and adds *aghā* as a variant (*cf.* App., *s.n.* *aghā*). Gul-badan always styles her mother begam, and sometimes *ḥaẓrat*. In enumerating her father's children and their mothers, she does not mention the parentage of any wife besides Ma'sūma *Mīrān-shāhī*, a Tīmūrid, but no deduction as to the lower birth of the others can be drawn safely from this, and there is some ground for supposing that Dil-dār was of *Mīrān-shāhī* birth. (*Cf. infra*, p. 277.)

Perhaps some indication of non-royal birth is given by Māham's forcible adoption of Dil-dār's son in 1519, but I am too ignorant of the *nuances* of Muḥammadan etiquette to venture on assertion or even on opinion in such a matter. That Māham did not take Gul-



rukḥ's<sup>1</sup> son tells nothing, since the chief factors in the adoption, *i.e.*, Māham'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-dār are mentioned by Gul-badan: Gul-rang, born between 1511 and 1515; Gul-chihra; Abū-n-nāṣir Muḥammad (Hindāl), born 1519; Gul-badan, born 1523; and Alwar, who died in India in 1529.

She is very frequently written of by her daughter; some other authors give of her a clear and pleasant impression; and she is always spoken of with respect and as a good and sensible woman.

Gul-badan, 6*b*, 16*a*, 23*a*, 25*b*, 29*b*, 30*a*, 35*a*, 35*b*, 38*a*, 42*a*, 50*b*, 51*b*, 65*a*, 70*b*.

Jauhar, Stewart, 80, 81.

Ilminsky, 281.

*Akbar-nāma*, *Bib. Ind.* ed., *s.n.*.

B. & H., II. 164, 220, 302.

### L. Dil-shād Begam.

The Heart-rejoicing Princess; Pers. *dil*, heart, and *shād*, rejoicing.

Daughter of Shāh Begam and grand-daughter of Fakhr-jahān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*. Of her paternal descent nothing is recorded.

Gul-badan, 24*b*.

### LI. Dūdū Bibī.

Wife of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh *Lohānī*, Afghān King of Bihār; mother of Sultān Jalālu-d-dīn; regent for her son in his minority from 1529.

B. & H., *s.n.*.

### LII. Fakhr-jahān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*. (No. 1.)

The world's ornament. Ar. *fakhr*, ornament, and Pers. *jahān*, world.

She was a daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'id Mīrzā; a paternal aunt of Bābar; the wife of Mīr 'Alā'u-l-mulk *Termizī*; and mother of Shāh and Kīchak Begams.

<sup>1</sup> For *erratum* in my Introduction as to Gul-rukḥ, *cf.* App. *s.n.*.





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LVI. Fāṭima Sultān aghā.

Ar. *Fāṭima*, a name given presumably in honour of the Prophet's daughter. The meaning of *sultān* here is not apparent. It does not seem as, e.g., in *Daulat-sultān*, safe to consider it as a part of a compound word, and to read *Fāṭima-sultān*. Nor from the bearer's parentage does it suit to take it as a title, implying that she is of the *sultāns* of her tribe.

There are points in the use of the word *sultān* which require fuller discussion than is practicable here. One *Fāṭima Sultān* and her sister *Bairām* (*Maryam*) were the children of *Ḥusain Bāyqrā* by an Uzbek servant of one of his royal wives. They are not given any further title, but their brothers are *mīrzās*.

Daughter of the chief of a Mughal *tumān* (10,000 men); first wife of 'Umar Shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī*; mother of his second son, *Jahāngīr* who was two years the junior of *Bābar*.

Mems., 10, 14.

LVII. Fāṭima Sultān anaqa and Bībī. (No. 60.)

Mother of *Raushan kūka* and of *Zuhra*, wife of *Khwāja Mu'azzam*. *Bāyazīd biyāt* speaks of her as the *ōrdū-begi* of *Humāyūn's ḥaram*, a title which *Blochmann* translates 'armed woman.'

She was at *Hindāl's* marriage feast; she helped to nurse *Humāyūn* in 1546; and was an envoy to *Ḥaram Begam* for marriage negotiations; and she appears in *Akbar's* reign when her daughter is murdered.

*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1898, art. *Memoirs of Bāyazīd biyāt*, H. Beveridge.

*Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī*, Elliot, V. 291.

*Ākbar-nāma*, Bib. Ind. ed., s.n..

*Gul-badan*, 26a.

LVIII. Fāṭima Sultān Bāyqrā.

Daughter of *Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāyqrā* and of *Mīnglī-bī aghācha Uzbek*; wife of *Yādgār Muḥammad Mīrzā Shāh-rukhī* (died 875—1470-71). She was dead before 912H. (May, 1506).

Mems., 182.

*Ḥabību-s-siyār*, 327 et seq..



LIX. Fātīma Sultān Begam.

A wife of Shāh Husain Beg *Arghūn*, and mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-sind*.

LX. Fauq Begam. (No. 31.)

Ar. *fauq*, superiority, excellence.

Gul-badan, 25b.

LXI. Fīroza Begam. (No. 35.)

The princess of victory; Pers. *fīroz*, victorious, prosperous.

Gul-badan, 25b.

LXII. Fīroza Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*.

She was a grand-daughter of Tīmūr, and married Mansūr Mīrzā *Bāyqarā*. Their son Husain was therefore a double Tīmūrid, fourth in descent through Mansūr and third through Fīroza.

Mems., 176.

LXIII. Gauhar-shād Begam and *āghā, Turkomān*.

The jewel of joy; Pers. *gauhar*, jewel, and *shād*, joy, delight.

Wife of Shāh-rukh, son of Tīmūr; sister of Qarā Yūsuf *Turkomān*; founder of the Masjid which bears her name in Mashhad, and, with her husband, of the Bāgh-i-zāghān (Ravens' Garden) at Harāt. Bābar saw her tomb (dated 861H., 1457) and her mosque in 1506.

Mems., 207.

Northern Afghānistān, C. E. Yate, *s.n.*

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 88 *n.*

LXIV. Gauhar-shād Begam *Dughlāt*.

Daughter of Muḥammad *Dughlāt Hişārī*; wife of Amīr Yār (*sic*); son of Amīr Jān-wafā, who was *darogha* of Samarqand under Shaibānī in 906H. (1500) when Bābar took the city, and who was an



intimate of Muḥammad *Hiṣārī*, and saved his life by a warning word, as a reward for which Gauhar-shād was given in marriage to his son.

Mems., 86, 88, 239.  
*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 193.

LXV. Gauhar-shād Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*. (No. 5.)

Daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā and paternal aunt of Bābar. She was at the Mystic Feast.

Mems., 887.  
*Gul-badan*, 11a, 24b.

LXVI. Gul-badan Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*. (No. 46.)

*Cf.* Biographical Introduction and her own *Humāyūn-nāma*.

LXVII. Gul-barg Begam *Barlās*. (No. 49.)

The rose-leaf princess; Pers. *barg*, leaf.

Daughter of Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Alī *Barlās*, Bābar's *Khalīfa*; niece, therefore, of Sultān Junaid *Barlās*, a brother-in-law of Bābar. (*Cf.* *Shahr-bānū*.) She may be the child of that Sultānam who received Gul-badan at Kūl-jalālī. (14a) She married, first, Mīr Shāh Husain *Arghūn*, in 930H. (1524). The alliance was not happy and a separation took place. She appears to have remarried Humāyūn at some time before the defeat at Chausa (1539). She was with him subsequently in Sind, and from there went with Sultānam to Makka previous to 1543.

She was buried in Dihlī. Mīr Ma'sūm writes of her death: 'She entrusted her soul to the guardians of the hour of death, and the leaves (*gul-barg*) of the rose-bush of her life were dispersed by the boisterous wind of mortality.'

*Gul-badan*, 21a, 25b, 29b, 80b, 49b.  
*Tārīkh-i-sind*, Mīr Ma'sūm.  
 B. & H., I. 885.





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LXXI. Gul-'izār Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

The rosy-cheeked princess; Pers. *gul*, rose, and *'izār*, cheek, face.

Daughter of Bābar and Gul-rukh; full-sister of Kāmran and 'Askarī.

Gul-badan names no marriage for her, but she may have been the wife of Yādgār-nāṣir.

Gul-badan, 6b.  
Mems., 10.

LXXII. Gul-'izār Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

Daughter of Kāmran Mīrzā; she accompanied Gul-badan Begam to Makka (983H., October, 1575). (Cf. App. s.n. 'Āyisha Mīrān-shāhī.)

*Akbar-nūma*, Bib. Ind. ed., III. 145.

LXXIII. Gul-nār āghācha. (No. 57.)

The red, red rose; Pers. *gul*, rose, and *nār* (*anār*), pomegranate, carnation red.

She was of Bābar's *ḥaram*, and may have been one of the two Circassian (Cherkis) slaves (the other being Nār-gul) who were presented to the Emperor by Shāh Ṭahmāsp in 933H. (1526).

She was at Hindāl's wedding-feast, and shared in the conferences of Humāyūn and his family; and she was one of Gul-badan Begam's pilgrim band (983H., 1575).

Gul-badan, 25b, 30a, 35a, 38a.  
Mems., 347.  
*Akbar-nūma*, Bib. Ind. ed., III. 145.

LXXIV. Gul-rang Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 44.)

The rose-hued princess.

Daughter of Bābar and Dil-dār and her mother's first child. She was born in Khost, probably between 1511 and 1515, during Bābar's exile from Kābul after the Mughal rebellion. She was given in marriage to Isān-timūr *Chaghataī* Mughal, her father's first cousin, during the last days of her father's life and in 1530.



Isān-tīmūr is last mentioned in 1543, and of Gulrang there is no certain record after *cir.* 1534, when she was at Guālīār. (23a) (*Cf.* App. *s.n.* Salīma.)

Gul-badan, 6b, 16b, 18b, 23a, 25b, 29b.

### LXXV. Gul-rukh Begam (?) *Begchik Mughal.*

The rose-cheeked princess.

Wife of Bābar; mother of Kāmran, 'Askarī, Shāh-rukh, Aḥmad, and Gul-'izār. Outside Kābul there was in 1545 the tomb of Gul-rukh Begam. (64b) This may well have been hers.

She is perhaps a *Begchik*. This may be judged from the following notes:

(1) Kāmran married a daughter of Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā *ṭaghāī*.<sup>1</sup> (Mems., 388.)

(2) Humāyūn married a daughter of Yādgār *ṭaghāī*. (Mems., 388.)

Amongst contemporary *Begchik* amīrs are Sultān Alī Mīrzā and Yādgār Mīrzā.

If one follows the recorded incidents of Sultān 'Alī's life, one sees that Gul-rukh may be his sister.

(a) In 914H. (1508-9) he was ordered to drown Khalīl Khān. (*Tār. Rash.*, 183.) Having done so, he took refuge with Bābar in Samarqand. (*l.c.*, 265.)

(b) In 917H. (1511) he was with Sayyid Muḥammad *Dughlāt* in Andijān, apparently at Bābar's instance. (*l.c.*, 248.) In the same year he was sent by Sa'īd

<sup>1</sup> 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, *ṭaghāī*, in the next and the next. Once a *ṭaghāī*, always a *ṭaghāī*. The numerous uncles on the mother's side who appear in the Memoirs and the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* as so-and-so *ṭaghāī*, 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 *ṭaghāī* is the Machiavelli of Mīrzā Ḥaidar's life, 'Alī Mīrzā *ṭaghāī* (*Dughlūt*). 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.



Khān who had reinforced Andijān under Bābar's orders, to Kāzan.

(c) In 920H. (1514) he accompanied Sa'id in his conquest of Kāshghar, and at this date is named amongst the Begchik amīrs of the Kāshghar army. (*l.c.*, 308, 326.)

(d) In 925H. (1519) he waited on Bābar, and is styled *ṭaghāī* of Kāmran. (Mems., 274.) Bābar says here: 'Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā, the maternal uncle of Kāmran (Ilminsky, 311, *Kāmran-nīnak ṭaghāī*), who in the year in which I passed over from Khost to Kābul had proceeded to Kāshghar, *as has been mentioned*,<sup>1</sup> waited on me here.'

Bābar must several times have passed from Khost (Andar-āb) to Kābul. The *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* fixes the occasion here alluded to as in 920H. (1514). This was Bābar's latest and last crossing of the northern passes to Kabul.

By thus bringing the statements of the Memoirs and the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* together, Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā Begchik is fairly-well identified with Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā, *ṭaghāī* of Kāmran.'

(e) In 935H. (1528) Kāmran married his daughter. (Mems., 388.)

Mems., 274, 388.

*Tār. Rash.*, 183, 248, 264, 265, 280, 308, 326.

## LXXVI. Gul-rukh Begam Mīran-shāhī.

Daughter of Kāmran Mīrzā; wife of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqarā*; mother of Muẓaffar Husain who married Sultān Khānam, Akbar's eldest daughter, and of Nūru-n-nisā' who became a wife of Salīm (the Emperor Jahāngīr).

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<sup>1</sup> Something interesting as to the *Tūsūk-i-bābarī* (Turkī text of the Memoirs) may lie here. The period of Sa'id's Kāshghar conquest falls in a gap of the *Tūsūk*. Bābar referred to an incident of that time as having been already mentioned. This suggests, as a cause of the gap, lost leaves, and not an omission of record. (*Cf. Tār. Rash.*, 247 n..)





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She was taken captive as a child by Shaibānī *Uzbek*, and she lived in his household until he gave her in marriage to his nephew, 'Ubaidu-l-lāh. Shortly before Shaibānī murdered her father (914H., 1508-9), 'Ubaidu-l-lāh asked for Ḥaidar (*ætat.* 11) to come to him and Ḥabība in Bukhārā, and thus saved him from a general massacre of Mughal sultāns.

When 'Ubaidu-l-lāh retreated to Turkistān (*cir.* 1511), Ḥabība remained in Bukhārā. She then joined her uncle Sayyid Muḥammad *Dughlāt*, in Samarqand, and with him went to Andijān where he married her to her cousin Sa'id. She reared one of Sa'id's children, Rashīd whose mother was a 'tribeswoman,' Makhdūm *Qaluchī*, but he certainly did her training no credit. She was widowed in 989H. (July 9th, 1583), so that Gul-badan may be wrong in saying that she was at the Mystic Feast in 1581. She may have been a wedding guest in 1587.

*Tūr. Rash.*, E. & R., 140, 192, 198, 206, 268, 451, 458.  
Gul-badan, 24b.

### LXXXI. Ḥājī Begam Mirān-shāhī.

She was a daughter of Kāmran, 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 Ḥājī, since she is so entered before the *haj* of 983H. (*Cf.* XIX., 'Āyisha-sultān.)

(Ḥājī Begam, Bega, *q.v.*)

(Ḥājī Begam, Māh-chūchak *Arghūn*, *q.v.*)

### LXXXII. Ḥamīda-bānū.

Ar. *ḥamīda*, praised, laudable, and Pers. *bānū*.

Daughter of Sayyid Muḥammad Qāsim. She died 984H. (1576-77), and was buried at Andakhui.

The above information is given by Captain Yate,



and as Hamīda-bānū may be the daughter of one of Humāyūn's followers, I have inserted her name.

Northern Afghānīstan, Yate, p. 849.

### LXXXIII. Hamīda-bānū Begam Maryam-makānī.

Posthumous style, *Maryam-makānī*, dwelling with Mary.

She was the mother of Akbar. There is difficulty in making precise statement as to her family relations. She was of the lineage of Aḥmad *Jāmī Zinda-fīl*.

(a). Gul-badan, whose long intimacy with Hamīda invests her statement with authority, states that Mīr Bāba Dost was Hamīda's father, and that Khwāja Mu'azzam was her *barādar*, i.e., brother undefined.

(b). The *Tārīkh-i-sind* states that her father was Shaikh 'Alī-akbar *Jāmī* who was one of the pillars of Mīrzā Hindāl. Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad says that 'Alī-akbar was father of Mu'azzam.

If the statements of paragraphs (a) and (b) stood alone, 'Bābā Dost' and 'Alī-akbar' might be identified as the *petit-nom* and the name of one man.

There is a good deal to support this view, and there is something against it.

In favour of the identification of Bābā Dost with 'Alī-akbar are the following points :

(1). 'Bābā Dost' seems to be not a personal name, but a sobriquet of affection and domestic intimacy.

(2). Jauhar calls Hamīda the daughter of Hindāl's *akhund*, and Mr. Erskine (perhaps, however, inferentially) calls 'Alī-akbar Hindāl's preceptor.

(3). Mīr Bābā Dost was alive in 947H. (1540-41), the year preceding Hamīda's marriage, and was then with Hindāl. (*Akbar-nāma*, H. Beveridge, I. 360.)

(4). Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and *Badāyunī* contribute negative support to the identification by using the



indefinite *khal*, maternal uncle, to describe the relation of Akbar and Mu'azzam.

(5). *The Ma'asiru-l-umarā'* confirms the identification by use of the words *barādar-i-a'yānī*, full-brother. Its authority may not be of the best, but the choice of these words has some weight.

(6). 'Alī-akbar was of the lineage of Aḥmad Jāmī. Humāyun had a dream which allowed him to know that the son prophesied in it by Aḥmad would be of the latter's lineage. There is, I think, nothing said on this point of Mīr Bābā Dost, but saintly descent was claimed for Ḥamīda's father.

(7). Gul-badan gives one the impression (it is little more) that Mu'azzam was younger than Ḥamīda. He calls his sister *Māh-chīchām*, which may be read as 'Moon of my mother,' but also as 'Elder Moon-sister.' (Cf. 18b n.) If he were Ḥamīda's junior, and as Mīr Bābā Dost was alive in 1540-41, he could not have been an independent agent in 1543-44.

In opposition to the identification, there are two considerations :

(i.) A minor matter ; two names are given by the sources : Mīr Bābā Dost and 'Alī-akbar.

(ii.) The important fact that Abū'l-faḥr calls Mu'azzam Ḥamīda's *ukhuwwat-i-akhyāfī*,<sup>1</sup> which, according to Lane, must be rendered 'uterine brother.'

Was, then, the name Bābā Dost a sobriquet of Shaikh 'Alī-akbar ?

Were Ḥamīda and Mu'azzam full brother and sister ? Were they the children of one father and two mothers, or were they uterine brother and sister ?

Shaikh 'Alī-akbar's name I have not found in any

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<sup>1</sup> Steingass does not recognise the force of 'uterine,' since he renders *barādar-i-a'yānī* by 'uterine brother.'





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*wa tayammun ba Mīrzā Hindāl sabq farmudand. Az ān jihat ba mā hamrā and.*

Erskine (II. 220) and Stewart (Jauhar, 31 n.) both say that Ḥamīda was married at fourteen years of age. The incidents of her wedded life are set down in Gul-badan Begam's book and in the *Akbar-nāma* and other sources; but having regard to her interesting personality, they may be enumerated here also.

She was married at Pāt early in 948H. (summer, 1541), and remained in Sind until she made with Humāyūn the terrible desert journey to 'Umrkut where Akbar was born (October 15th, 1542). About the beginning of the following December she and her baby went into camp at Jūn, after travelling for ten or twelve days. In 1543 she made the perilous journey from Sind which had Qandahār for its goal, but in course of which Humāyūn had to take hasty flight from Shāl-mastān, 'through a desert and waterless waste.' She went with him, leaving her little son behind. She accompanied her husband to Persia, and it is recorded that on the way and at Sistān, its governor brought his mother and his wives to entertain her. With Humāyūn she made, amongst other pious visitations, one to Jām where was their ancestor Aḥmad's shrine. She was kindly treated by Shāh Ṭahmāsp and by his sister, and Gul-badan's details of the Persian episode can hardly have been learned from anyone but Ḥamīda. In 1544, in camp at Sabz-āwār, a daughter was born. She returned from Persia with the army given to Humāyūn by Ṭahmāsp, and at Qandahār would meet Dil-dār and Hindāl, her former protectors.

It was not until November 15th, 1545 (Ramzan 10th, 952H.) that she again saw her son, who recognised her. She had shortly after this to accept Māh-chūchak as a co-wife. In June, 1548, she and Akbar accompanied Humāyūn on his way to Tāliqān as far as Gul-bihār, and thence returned to Kābul. This may



be the expedition made by the ladies and chronicled by Gul-badan, to see the *rūwāj*. When Humāyūn, in November, 1554, set out for Hindūstān, she remained in Kābul.

Bāyazīd *bīyāt* 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 Khān, and was forgiven. Early in the reign of Akbar, Khwāja Mīrak, Nizāmu-d-dīn's grandfather and who was her *diwān*, was hanged by Mu'nim Khān because he had sided with Mīrzā Sulaimān.

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 Diblī in the fifth year, and she had a part in the plot for deposing Bairām Khān. She was closely associated with Gul-badan in Akbar's court and affection; together they interceded for Salīm with his father; together they received gifts from the Emperor; and their tents were side by side in his encampments. Ḥamīda was with Gul-badan in the latter's last hours.

Abū'l-faẓl says that when long fasts came to an end, the first dishes of dressed meat used to go to Akbar from his mother's house.

Ḥamīda died in the autumn of 1604 (19th Shahrīyār 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 Bābar's victory at Khānwa, and have been some seventy-seven years old at the time of death.

Gul-badan, 39a, 42a, 43b, 48a, 55a, 55b, 58a, 59b, 62b, 68a, 74a, 78b, 83a.

*Akbar-nāma*, Bib. Ind. ed., s.n..

*Aīn-i-akbarī*. *Aīn*, 26, *Ṣufīyāna*, Blochmann, 61, 62.

Jauhar, l.c., Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad, etc.

*Ma'āsiru-l-umarā'* Bib. Ind. ed., I. 618.

*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1898, art. Bāyazīd *bīyāt*, H. Beveridge, 16.



### LXXXIV. Haram Begam Qibchāq Mughal.

Princess of the *Haram*. Her name has been transliterated by some European workers as *Khurram*, 'blossoming, cheerful,' and this seems the more probable name to bestow on a child. But some of the Persian texts support *Haram*, and the editors of the *Bib. Ind. Akbar-nāma* have adopted it. Gul-badan has *Haram*.

*Haram Begam* may be a sobriquet bestowed after the revelation of the facts of the bearer's character and dominance.

Daughter of Sultān Wais *Kulābī Qibchāq Mughal*; and sister of Chakr 'Alī and Haidar Begs and of Māh Begam, a wife of Kāmran. She married Sulaimān Mirzā *Mīrān-shāhī*, son of Khān Mirzā (Wais). She had one son, Ibrāhīm (Abū'l-qāsim), and several daughters. Her children, through Shāh Begam *Badakhshī*, their paternal ancestress, claimed descent from Alexander the Great.

Most of the incidents of her career are given in the Introduction to this book, and her remarkable character is exhibited there. *Badāyunī* calls her *Walī-ni'amat*, and says she was known by this name. This may be a tribute to her pre-eminence in character and action and also to the fact of her belonging to an older generation than Akbar's, under whom he wrote. The elder men of royal birth were Lords and the elder women Ladies of Beneficence in those days.

Gul-badan, 65a, 75b.  
*Akbar-nāma*, *Bib. Ind.* ed., s.n..  
*Badāyunī*, Lowe, 61, 89, 90, 217.  
*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1898, art.  
*Bāyazīd biyāt*, H. Beveridge, 12, 16.  
 B. & H., s.n..  
*Āin-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, s.n..  
 Introduction, *supra*.

### LXXXV. Hazāra Begam.

Princess of the tribe of the Hazāra. This is a title, and not a personal name.

She was the daughter of a brother of Khizr Khān *Hazāra* who was the chief of his tribe during the





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'Alī-dost, took leading parts in Bābar's affairs. Her chief co-wife was Shāh Begam *Badakhshī*.

She shared the vicissitudes of her remarkable husband's remarkable career for some thirty years; nursed him through two years of paralytic helplessness till his death in 892H. (1487) at the age of seventy-four, and survived him about eighteen years.

Four times at least she fell into the hands of an enemy :

(1) In Kāshghar, *cir.* 860H. (1455-56), when Mihr-nigār was an infant at the breast and when she was returned in safety to her husband.

(2) In Tāshkand in 877H. (1472-73), when Yūnas had gone to buy barley at a time of dearth in Mughal-istān. It was then that there occurred the well-known episode which shows Isān-daulat's high spirit and decision of character and which is briefly narrated in the Introduction (p. 68). She was returned with honour to her husband.

(3) In Andijān in 903H. (1497-98), when the town was taken from her grandson Bābar by his kinsfolk. She was sent after him in safety to Khojand, and from there went on to the protection of her third daughter's home in Kāshghar.

(4) At Samarqand in 906H. (1500-1), when the town was taken by Shaibānī. She remained behind when Bābar left the place, and rejoined him in a few months with his 'family, heavy baggage, and a few lean and hungry followers.'

In the eighth year of her widowhood (900H.) she was guiding Bābar's affairs with decision and sense in Andijān. He says that few women equalled her for sagacity, far-sight and good judgment, and that many important affairs were carried out by her counsel.

News of her death reached Bābar in Kābul early in 911H. (June, 1505), during the forty days' mourning for his mother.

Two slight records of her remain for mention.



Desert-born and of a tribe which clamoured against settled life, she yet had a garden-house at Andijān. She reared a half-sister of Bābar, Yādgar, daughter of Aghā aghācha.

Mems., 10, 12, 16, 27, 58, 59, 100, 111, 169.  
*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 86, 94, 175, 197, 308.  
 B. & H., *s.n.*.

### LXXXVIII. Jahān-sultān Begam.

The world-ruling princess; Pers. *jahān*, world, and Ar. *sultān*, sway.

Probably a child of Humāyūn. She died in Kābul, aged two, in 954H. (1547).

Gul-badan, 70a.

### LXXXIX. Jamāl aghā.

Grace; Ar. *jamāl*, grace, beauty.

Wife (1) of Saniz Mīrzā *Dughlāt*, and by him mother of 'Umar and Abā-bakr and Jān (or Khān)-sultān Khānam.

(2) of Dost-muḥammad *Chaghatāi* in 869 H.

(3) of Muḥammad Haidar *Dughlāt*, and by him mother of Muḥammad Husain Mīrzā *Hiṣārī* (Haidar's father) and Sayyid Muḥammad Mīrzā.

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.* Khān-zāda *Mīran-shahī*.)

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 88, 89, 99, 102, 104.

### XC. Jān-sultān Begam. (No. 32.)

The soul-ruling princess; Pers. *jān*, life, soul, and Ar. *sultān*, sway.

She was at the Mystic Feast in 1531.

Gul-badan, 25b.

(Jūli Begam, *Chūli*, *q.v.*)



XCI. Khadija Begam.

Presumably she was named after Muḥammad's first wife.

She was first a slave<sup>1</sup> of Sultān Abū-sa'id Mīrzā, and upon his death in 873H. (1469) she betook herself to Harāt and there became the wife of Sultān Husain Bayqra.

She had a daughter, known as Āq Begam, by Abū-sa'id, and two sons, Shāh Gharīb and Muẓaffar Husain, by her marriage with Husain.

Hers is an instance where the conferring of a title is mentioned. Bābar 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 Muẓaffar Husain, that adherents gathered after his father's death. She forced on the joint-kingship which excited Bābar's ridicule. Mīrzā Haidar when speaking of the death of Jahāngīr *Mīrān-shāhī*, said that he was generally reported to have been poisoned in his wine by Khadija Begam after her old fashion.

In 912H. (1506-7) Bābar saw her in Harāt, and he was there unlawfully entertained by her at a wine-party. When Shaibānī conquered the city in 913H. she was cast down from her high estate and given up to be plundered, and was treated as one of Shaibānī's meanest slaves.

Mems., 179, 182, 183, 198, 204, 223.  
*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 196, 199.

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<sup>1</sup> Turkī text (Ilminsky), *ghuncha-chī*, which Redhouse translates a seller of rosebuds and a young and good-looking female slave. The Persian text has the same word *ghuncha-chī*. The interest of these details is the light they may cast on the use of such words as *āghā* and *āghācha*.





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Muḥarram 5th, 935H. (September 20th, 1528), but various business detained her and Bābar paid her another of his dutiful visits on October 9th. When or if she returned to Kābul is not said, but she was at the Mystic Feast in Āgra in 1531.

Gul-badan, 11a, 24b.  
Mems., 374, 382, 387.

XCIV. Khāl-dār anaga.

The nurse with a mole; *khāl-dār*, mole-marked.  
Mother of Sa'ādat-yār *kūka*.

*Akbar-nāma*, Bib. Ind. ed., I. 44.

XCV. Khānam Begam. (No. 18.)

Daughter of Āq Begam; grand-daughter of Abū-sa'id *Mīrān-shāhī*. The 'Khānam' may indicate that she is a Chaghatāi chief's child.

Gul-badan, 24b.

(Khānam, Muḥtarima, *q.v.*)

XCVI. Khānish aghā Khwārizmī.

Daughter of Jūjūq Mīrzā *Khwārizmī*; wife of Humāyūn; mother of Ibrāhīm who died as an infant. Bāyazīd calls her child Muḥammad Farrūkh-fāl, but Gul-badan and Abū'l-faḥl are against him. Farrūkh-fāl was the child of Māh-chūchak. Ibrāhīm was born on the same day as Muḥammad Ḥakīm, *i.e.*, Jumāda I. 15th, 960H. (April 19th, 1553).

Gul-badan, 71a, 71b, (?) 73b.  
Bāyazīd (I. O. MS. 72a), *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1898, art. Bāyazīd *bīyāt*, H. Beveridge, p. 14.  
*Akbar-nāma*, Bib. Ind. ed., I. 881.

XCVII. Khān Sultān Khānam and Sultānam Dughlāt.

Both these names appear to be titles, and not personal.

Daughter of Saniz Mīrzā *Dughlāt* and Jamāl *aghā*; full-sister of Abā-bakr.



She was a woman of life-long piety and devotion to good works. Perhaps for this reason her brother who seems to have been an incarnation of unjust cruelty, treated her with studied barbarity, as a consequence of which she died in torture and suffering.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 88, 258.

XCVIII. Khān-zāda Begam Bāyqarā. (No. 16.)

The khān-born princess; Turkī *khān*, and Pers. *zāda*, born.

Gul-badan says she is a daughter of Sultān Mas'ūd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*, and through a daughter grandchild of Pāyanda Muḥammad (*sic*) Sultān Begam, paternal great-aunt of Humāyūn. Bābar names no such marriage of a daughter of Pāyanda. 'The second of the daughters [of Pāyanda] was Kīchak Begam [whose name is probably a sobriquet]. Sultān Mas'ūd Mīrzā was extremely attached to her, but whatever efforts he made, Pāyanda-sultān Begam, having an aversion to him, would not consent to the match. She was *afterwards*' (Turkī *sūngra*, P. de C. *dans la suite*) 'married to Mullā Khwāja.'

A daughter of Husain Bāyqarā and of Bābā āghācha, whose name was Sa'adat-bakht and title Begam Sultān, was married to Mas'ūd after his blinding. Her daughter might be fitly described as of inferior rank to the great begams. Such a description is given by Bābar of 'Khān-zāda, daughter of Sultān Mas'ūd Mīrzā.' Husain and Pāyanda's daughter would certainly rank as equal in birth to the daughters of Abū-sa'id, since she was a full Tīmūrid.

The 'extreme attachment' of Mas'ūd to Kīchak fits Musalmān marriage better than Musalmān courtship. It may be that, spite of Pāyanda's opposition, Mas'ūd married Kīchak. The 'afterwards' of the Memoirs (*supra*) and the *de la suite* of Pavet de Courteille seem to demand some more definite antecedent than



Mas'ūd's attachment. Moreover, this presumably persisted with his wish to marry Kīchak.

Did he marry Kīchak, and was she divorced after his blinding or at some other time, and then was Sa'ādat-bakht given to him?

Mems., 181, 182, 387.  
Gul-badan, 24b.

### XCIX. Khān-zāda Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

Daughter of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī and of Qūt-liq-nigār Khānam; full-sister of Bābar and five years his senior. Eldest of her father's daughters. She is recorded as thrice married: first, to Shaibānī in 1501 (907H.); secondly, to a man of inferior rank, Sayyid Hada; and, thirdly, to Mahdī Muḥammad Khwāja,<sup>1</sup> son of Mūsa Khwāja. One child of hers is recorded, Shaibānī's son, Khurram-shāh Sultān.

She was born *circa* 1478 (883H.). This is known from the statement of her brother that she was five years his senior. In 1501 (907H.) she was married by Shaibānī when he captured Samarqand from Bābar. Gul-badan makes the marriage a condition of Shaibānī's peace with Bābar; Haidar says she was given in exchange for Bābar's life, and Khāfi Khān, as a ransom (*ba tariq-i-faida*). She was in Shaibānī's power and could have been married without consent of Bābar. As in 1501 she was twenty-three years old, she had almost certainly been married before, possibly to Mahdī. Her marriage arrangements with Shaibānī might include the divorce which the Musalmān law requires. Bābar does not go into details as to the marriage; he says she fell into Shaibānī's hands. Presumably as himself of Tīmūrid birth, Shaibānī would treat a Tīmūrid woman with respectful forms even when she was spoil of battle. To marry Khān-zāda, he divorced her maternal aunt, Mihr-nigār Chaghatāi.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Appendix B., Mahdī Khwāja.





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her in conformity with the custom of *yangalik*.  
(*Cf. Jamāl aghā.*)

Mems., 30.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 380.

CI. Khān-zāda Begam Termizī.

Of the family of the Khāns of Termiz; wife of Sultān Aḥmad Mirzā *Mīrān-shāhī*. She was a bride when Bābar was five, *i.e.*, in 893H. (1488) but, according to Turkī custom, was still veiled. Sultān Aḥmad desired Bābar to pluck off the veil and run away, a little ceremony which it was supposed would bring him good luck when his time for marriage should come.

Mems., 28.

CII. Khān-zāda Begam Termizī (a.).

Daughter of the chief (*mīr-i-buzurg*) of Termiz; wife of Sultān Maḥmūd Mirzā *Mīrān-shāhī*; mother of Sultān Mas'ūd Mirzā. She died apparently early in her married life. The mīrzā was greatly afflicted at her death.

Mems., 29, 30.

CIII. Khān-zāda Begam Termizī (b.).

Daughter of a brother of Khānzāda *Termizī (a.)*; grand-daughter of the chief of Termiz; wife of Sultān Maḥmūd Mirzā *Mīrān-shāhī*; mother of Husain (who died, aged thirteen, before his father) and of five girls, Khānzāda, Bega, Āq, Āī, and Zainab.

Mems., 29, 30, 38, 128.

CIV. Khān-zāda Khānam.

'Épouse légitime' of Muẓaffar Mirzā *Bāyqrā*, and illegally taken by Shaibānī.

Mems., 224.

Pavet de Courteille, II., 10.



CV. Khūb-nigār Khānam Chaghataī Mughal.

The image of beauty. Here *khānam* has its full value, since Khūb-nigār was daughter of the *Khāqān*, the Khān emphatically.

Third daughter of Yūnas Khān *Chaghataī* and Isān-daulat *Qūchīn*; wife of Muḥammad Ḥusain *Dughlāt Ḥiṣārī*; mother of Ḥaidar and Ḥabība.<sup>1</sup> She was a year older than her husband, and was married in 899H. (1493-94). Bābar, writing in 907H. (1501-2) mentions the reception of news of her death. Her husband was murdered in 914H..

Mems., 12, 99, 218.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 117, 118, 158, 156, 197.

CVI. Khurshed kūkī. (Nos. 55 and 64.)

Pers., the sun, sunshine.

Gul-badan, 26a.

CVII. Kīchak Begam Bāyqrā.

The small princess; Turkī, *kīchak*, small. The name is probably a sobriquet.

Daughter of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā *Bāyqrā* and Pāyanda-sultān Begam *Mīrān-shahī*; wife of Maulānā Khwāja who was of the family of Sayyid Atā one of her father's best vazīrs.

Khwānd-amīr reverses her marriage with that of her sister Bega, and makes her marry Bābar, son of Rabī'a.

Mems., 181.

*Ḥabību-s-siyār*, 327 et seq..

CVIII. Kīchak Begam Termizī. (No. 23.)

Daughter of Mīr 'Alā'u-l-mulk *Termizī* and Fakhr-jahān *Mīrān-shahī*; wife of Khwāja Mu'in *Aḥrārī*; mother of Mīrzā Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain.

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<sup>1</sup> The translation of the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* (E. & R., 159) has the statement that Khūb-nigār bore six sons (*farsandān*), and that two died at the breast and four survived. I believe it should read 'six children, of whom four died at the breast, and two survived her.'



She went to Hindūstān with her mother, and was at Hindāl's wedding feast.

Mems., without names. (Cf. Fakhr-jahān and Shāh Begam.)  
Gul-badan, 25a.

*Akbar-nāma* (lith. ed.), s.n..

*Aīn-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, 822.

CIX. Kīchak māham. (No. 80.)

Cf. s.n. Māham for meaning of the word.

She is named as at Hindāl's wedding.

Gul-badan, 26b.

CX. Kilān Khān Begam.

This is clearly not a personal name. Pers. *kilān*, elder, great, and Turkī *khān*, a title.

Daughter of Sultānam Begam *Mīrān-shāhī* and grand-daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā. Which of Sultānam's three husbands was Kilān Khān Begam's father is not said; from her daughter's title, Tīmūr Sultān *Uzbek* seems most probable.

Mems., 22.

Gul-badan, 24b.

CXI. Lād-malik *Turkomān*.

(?) Mistress of the Fort; Pers. *lād*, fortress, and Ar. *malik*, possessor, ruler.

Wife of (1) Tāj Khān *Sarangkhānī* and (2) of Shīr Khān *Sūr* (985H., 1528-29).

B. & H., II. 181, 182, and authorities there cited by Mr. Erskine.

CXII. Lāl-shād Khānam *Chaghataī Mughal*.

Perhaps, with a lip like the gleam of a ruby; Pers. *lāl*, ruby, and *shād*, gleam, happy.

Eldest daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Khān *Chaghataī* and of a 'slave' (*amm-i-wald*).

'Although she was outside the circle of distinction, she was finally married to Muḥammad Amīr Mīrzā *Dughlāt*.'

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 161.





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## CXVII. Māham Begam : ākā and akām (lady and my lady).

The word Māham is explained by Mr. Erskine (who did not know Gul-badan's book) as Bābar's name of endearment for his favourite wife, and as meaning 'my moon.' Mr. Schuyler also translates it by the same words. He says that a woman who was shot for political offences in Bukhārā was known as 'My moon (Māham) of Keninghez.'

But many Māhams are chronicled, and not only Bābar gives the name to Humāyūn's mother; Gul-badan speaks frequently of 'my lady who was Māham Begam,' and Māham seems to be her personal name. It is used at least once as a man's. (*Akbar-nāma*, I. 820, Māham 'Alī Qulī Khān.)

Whether māham is to be classed with sultānam, khānam, begam, shāham, I am unable to say.

Sir Douglas Forsyth (*Mission to Yarkand*, 84) translates khānam and begam by *my lord* and *my 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 khāns and begs, or princes. Sultānam also is a common title, and from Gul-badan's use of it does not appear to be a personal name, but to answer to sultān as khānam to khān, etc..

Against reading khānam as *my lady*, with a sense of possession or admission of superiority (as is done by Sir Douglas Forsyth), there are the Turkī words formed from it, viz., *khānam-alī*, honeysuckle, and *khānam-būjakī*, ladybird. Shāham, which has the appearance of being formed from shāh like the others by the suffix *am* or *im*, is used both for man and woman. Shīram occurs as a man's name.

Māham was a wife of whom it was said that she was to Bābar what 'Āyisha was to Muḥammad, and she was Humāyūn's mother. Gul-badan mentions her often, yet no one of the numerous sources I have consulted, sets down her family or the name of her father.

At one time it appeared to me probable that she was a Begchik Mughal, because Bābar calls Yādgār *Begchik*, *ṭaghaī* when speaking of him in connection with Humāyūn. Further consideration led to the abandonment of the theory.

Uncle Yādgār, Uncle 'Alī, and Uncle Ibrāhīm (*Chapūk*, slashed-face) are named as being three of the eight brothers or half-brothers of Gul-rukḥ, the mother



of Kāmran; and Bega (*Hajī*) Begam is the daughter of Uncle Yādgār.

Amongst these eight Begchiks I do not find one named Uncle Muhammad 'Alī, and there is a good deal to lead one to regard a certain Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī *ṭaghāī* as being Māham's brother.

He was associated with Khost, and it is on record that Humāyūn visited his maternal grandparents (*nanahā*) in Khost. The Begchiks do not seem to have been connected with Khost. Bābar speaks frequently of Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī as being employed in the government of Khost (925H.); as coming from Khost for orders, etc., and the *mīr-zādas* of Khost also are recorded as visiting the court. One of Māham's children was born in Khost.

Bābar frequently mentions an 'Abdu-l-malūk *Khostī*, and he may be a connection of Māham. He, however, appears as *Khostī*, *Khwastī*, *Qastī*, *qūrchī*, *Qūrchīn*, and without a more complete good Turkī text no opinion can be formed as to his identity.

Gul-badan says that *Āka* (Māham) was related to the owners of the New Year's Garden in Kābul, and this was made by Ulugh Beg *Kabulī Mīrān-shāhī*.

Abū'l-faḥr says Māham was of a noble Khurāsān family, related to Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā (*Bāyqarā*), and, like Ḥamīda-bānū Begam, was of the line of Shaikh Aḥmad *Jāmī* (*az dūdman-i-a'yān wa ashraf-i-Khurāsān and, wa ba Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā nisbat-i-khwesh dārānd*). Perhaps *nisbat-i-khwesh* implies blood-relationship on the father's side.

Gul-badan speaks of Māham's Mughal servants, but a Chaghataī, a Begchik, a Qūchīn is also a Mughal, and Bābar often sinks the divisional tribe-name in the general one, Mughal (*e.g.*, *Mems.* 9 and 21).

Some considerations suggest that Māham was a *Dughlāt Mughal*, and of the family of 'Abdu-l-qadūs, but no valid opinion can be formed until a text as good as the Elphinstone is available for guidance.



Bābar married Māham in Harāt when he visited that city after Sultān Husain Mīrzā's death, and in 912H. (1506). Humāyūn was born on March 6, 1508 (Zū'l-qa'da 4th, 913H.). Four other children were born to her, and all died in infancy. They were Bār-bul, Mihr-jahān, Isān-daulat and Fārūq.

The events of her career are detailed in the Introduction to this volume and in Gul-badan Begam's book.

Mems., 250, 405, 412, 428, 428 n..

Gul-badan, 4a, 6b, 7a, 8b, 11b, 13b, 14b, 16a, 16b, 17a, 18b, 21a and b, 22a and b, 23a and b, 24b.

*Akbar-nūma*, Bib. Ind. ed., and H. Beveridge, s.n. Māham and Māham 'Alī Qulī Khān.

Turkistān, Schuyler, 95 ff..

#### CXVIII. Māham Kābulī. (No. 81.)

At Hindāl's marriage feast.

Gul-badan, 26a.

#### CXIX. Māham Khānam Chaghataī Muḡhal.

Second daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Khān *Chaghataī* and full-sister of Manṣūr Khān. Their mother was Ṣahib-daulat *Dughlāt*, sister of Mīr Jabār *Bardī Dughlāt*. Māham married Builāsh Khān *Uzbek Kazāk*, son of Awīq.

Ḥaidar Mīrzā names her as a hostage given, with her mother, by her brother Manṣūr to his half-brother Sa'id at a time of their meeting in 1516. She had two other full-brothers, Bābājāk and Shāh Shaikh Muḡammad.

*Tār. Rash.*, N. E. & R., 160, 344.

#### CXX. Māh Begam Qibchāq Muḡhal.

The moon princess ; Pers. *māh*, moon.

Daughter of Sultān Wais *Qibchāq Muḡhal* and sister of Ḥaram Begam ; wife of Kāmran Mīrzā.

Gul badan, 64b.





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XXIII. Māh-chūchak Begam Arghūn.

Daughter of Shāh Ḥasan and Māh-chūchak Arghūn and her father's only child ; wife of Kāmran ; married 953H. (1546). Her wifely fidelity is commemorated by the historians. She went with Kāmran to Makka after his blinding, and attended him until his death, October 5th, 1557. She survived him seven months.

*Tārīkh-i-sind*, Mīr Ma'ṣūm, in the account of Shāh Ḥasan's family.

CXXIV. Māh-chūchak Begam.

Sister of Bairām Oghlān and of Farīdūn Khān Kabuli.

She married Humāyūn in 1546. She had two sons, Muḥammad Hakīm (born 960H.—1553) and Farrūkh-fāl. Gul-badan says she had four daughters and then, with discrepancy frequently found in her writings, names three : Bakht-nisā', Sakīna-bānū, and Amīna-bānū. The name of the best-known of her girls, Fakhru-n-nisā', is omitted.

Māh-chūchak's story is told by her sister-in-law, in the Introduction of this volume, by Mr. Blochmann and by several Persian writers.

She was murdered by Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī in Kābuk in 1564.

Gul-badan, 71a, 71b, 78b, 78b, 83a.

Jauhar, Mr. William Irvine's MS., Part II., Chapter II..

Bāyazīd, I.O. MS., 72a.

Niḡāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, 27th year of Akbar.

*Badūyunī*, Lowe, 54 et seq..

*Āin-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, s.n..

CXXV. Makhdūma āghā. (No. 59.)

The Lady āghā ; A.: *makhdūma*, lady, mistress.  
Wife of Hindū Beg.

Gul-badan, 26a.



CXXVI. Makhdūma Begam (Qarā-gūz).

Wife of 'Umar Shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī*; mother of Ruqaiya, a posthumous child; she was married at the end of 'Umar's days; she was tenderly beloved, and to flatter him her descent was derived from his uncle, Manūchahr *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Mems., 10, 14.

CXXVII. Makhdūma-jahān.

The mistress of the world; Ar. *makhdūma*, mistress, and Pers. *jahān*, world.

Mother of Sultān Bahādūr *Gujrātī*.

B. & H., II. 96.

CXXVIII. Makhdūma Qāluchī.

A wife of Sa'id Khān *Chaghataī*; a 'tribes-woman'; mother of Rashīd; sister of Suqār *Bahādūr Qāluchī*.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 140, 187, 309.

CXXIX. Makhdūma Khānam.

The Lady Khānam; Ar. *makhdūma*, lady, mistress.

Daughter of Shīr 'Alī Khān *Chaghataī Mughal*; sister of Wais Khān; wife of Amāsānjī Taishī *Qālmāq*; mother of Qadīr, Ibrāhīm, and Ilyās.

Her marriage was a ransom for her brother Wais of whom it was commonly reported that he was routed sixty times by the Qālmāqs. On her marriage, Wais made Amāsānjī become a Musalmān, and Makhdūma continued the work of her husband's conversion and that of his tribe.

She named one of her daughters Karīm *Bardī* in affection and respect for the Dughlāt amīr of this name.

Mems., 409.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 67, 91.



CXXX. Makhdūma-sultān Begam.

Daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* and Zuhra Begī *aghā Uzbek*; elder sister of Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā. 'She is now in Badakhshān.' (Mems., 30.) The 'now' may be in the late twenties of 1500, and she may have been with Mīrzā Khān (*Wais Mīrān-shāhī*).

Mems., 30.

CXXXI. Makhfī.

Hid, concealed.

This is the poetical name (*takhalluṣ*) of Salīma-sultān Begam *Chaqānīānī*, Nūr-jahān Begam, and Zību-n-nisā', a daughter of Aurang-zīb.

CXXXII. Malika-jahān. -

The world's queen; Ar. *malika*, queen, and Pers. *jahān*, world.

Elliot and Dawson, V. 81, 87, 88.

CXXXIII. Ma'sūma-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

The very chaste princess; Ar. *ma'sūm*, chaste, innocent, and *sultān*, sway, pre-eminence.

Fifth and youngest daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*. Her mother was Ḥabība-sultān Begam *Arghūn*. She married Bābar (her first cousin) in 913H. (1507), and from his account of the affair it was a love-match on both sides. She was half-sister of 'Āyisha, Bābar's first wife. She died in child-bed, and her infant received her name.

Gul-badan, 6b.

Mems., 22, 208, 225, 281, 429 Supplement.

CXXXIV. Ma'sūma-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 43.)

Daughter of Bābar and Ma'sūma; wife of Muḥammad-zamān Mīrzā *Bāyqarā*.

Gul-badan, 6b, 23a, 25b, 29b.

*Akbar-nūma*, s.n..

Mems., 22, 395, 429 Supplement.





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she is very possibly a Chaghataī on her mother's side (Umīd was an Andijānī), or the style is due to her marriage with a khān. She appears to have married a man of high rank; perhaps Kūchūm (*Qūch-kunjī*) Khān who was Khāqān of his tribe from 1510 to 1530, or his son and successor (ruled from 1530 to 1533). She had a son Pulād whom Bābar mentions as fighting with 'Qūch-kunjī' and his son Abū-sa'īd *Uzbek* at Jām (1528).

The Qūch-kunjī was the tribe of Isān-daulat.

Kūchūm, Abū-sa'īd, Mihr-bānū, and Pulād sent ambassadors and messengers to Bābar in the same year, and Bābar mentions his return gifts with quaint particularity. The envoys were entertained at a feast by him on December 12th, 1528 (935H.).

Mems., 10, 890, 895, 897, 899.

*Tūr. Rash.*, E. & R., s.n. Kuchum and Sultān and 206 n..  
Muhammadan Dynasties, Stanley Lane-Poole, 278.

### CXXXIX. Mihr-jahān or -jān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Sun of the world or of life; Pers. *mihr*, sun, and *jahān*, world, or *jān*, life, soul.

Daughter of Bābar and Māham; born at Khost; died an infant.

Gul-badan, 6b.

### CXL. Mihr-nigār Khānam *Chaghataī Mughal*.

The image of affection, or a very sun.

Eldest daughter of Yūnas Khān *Chaghataī* and Isān-daulat (*Qūchīn, Kunjī*); born *cir.* 860H. (1455-56); wife of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*; first cousin of Bābar.

In 905H. (early in July, 1500) she was captured by Shaibānī and married by him. In 906H. (1500-1) she was divorced when he wished to marry Khān-zāda, her niece. She then stayed awhile in Samarqand. In 907H. (1501-2) she went to Tāshkand and joined



the large family party which assembled there. (Mems. 99.) In 911H. (middle of 1505) she came to Kābul with other kinsfolk, soon after the death of her grandmother (Isān) and of her father, and during the ceremonial mourning of Bābar for his mother. 'Our grief broke out afresh,' he writes.

Mīrzā Haidar gives a pleasant account of the welcome she accorded her generous and kindly nephew Bābar in 912H. (1506-7), when he put down Khān Mīrzā's (Wais) rebellion in Kābul: 'The Emperor leapt up and embraced his beloved aunt with every manifestation of affection. The khānam said to him: "Your children, wives, and household are longing to see you. I give thanks that I have been permitted to see you again. Rise up and go to your family in the castle. I too am going thither."'

In 913H. (1507), when Khān Mīrzā set out for Badakhshān with his mother, Shāh Begam, to try his fortunes in her father's ancient lands, Mihr-nigār also 'took a fancy to go. It would have been better and more becoming,' writes Bābar, 'for her to remain with me. I was her nearest relation. But however much I dissuaded her, she continued obstinate and also set out for Badakhshān.

Mihr-nigār rued her self-will. She and Shāh Begam were captured on their way to Qila'-zafar by one of Abū-bakr *Dughlāt's* 'marauding bands,' and 'in the prisons of that wretched miscreant they departed from this perishable world.'

Mems., 12, 22, 99, 169, 232.

*Tār. Rash.*, 86, 94, 117, 155, 196, 197, 200, 258.

#### CXLI. Mīnglī-bī āghācha Uzbeq.

A low-born wife (*ghūncha-chī*) of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqrā*. The *Habību-s-siyār* calls her a Turk and a purchased slave (*mamlūqa*) of Shahr-bānū Begam



*Mīrān-shāhī* who brought her when she herself married Sultān Ḥusain, and presented her to him.

She was mother of three sons: Abū-tūrāb, Muḥammad Ḥusain, and Farīdūn Ḥusain; and of two daughters: Bairām (or Maryam) and Fātīma.

Mems., 181, 182, 188.

*Habību-s-siyūr* (lith. ed.), 327 *et seq.*

### CXLII. Mīng-liq kūkaltash.

She escaped from Samarqand with Bābar's mother on its capture by Shaibānī in 907H. (1501).

Mems., 98.

### CXLIII. Mubārīka Bībī; Afghānī āghācha. (No. 56.)

Ar. *mubārīka*, blessed, fortunate.

She was a daughter of Shāh Manṣūr *Yūsufzai*, and was married by Bābar at Kehrāj on January 30th, 1519 (Muḥarram 28th, 925H.). The alliance was the sign and seal of amity between him and her tribe. A charming account of her and her marriage is given in the *Tārīkh-i-ḥāfīz-i-raḥmat-khānī*, and Mr. Beveridge has translated it in full under the title 'An Afghān Legend,' so that it need not be reproduced here.

Gul-badan never gives the name Mubārīka (Blessed Damozel) as that of the Afghān lady (*Afghānī āghācha*) whom she so frequently and pleasantly mentions. Ḥafīz Muḥammad (*l.c.*) says that Mubārīka was much beloved by Bābar, and this is borne out by the fact that she was one of the small and select party of ladies who were the first to join him in India. She went there, it is safe to infer, with Māham and Gul-badan in 1529.

She bore no child, and this misfortune Ḥafīz Muḥammad attributes to the envy of other wives who administered drugs to deprive her of motherhood and weaken her husband's affection.

She died early in Akbar's reign.





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She is occasionally spoken of simply as 'Khānam.'

Gul-badan, 62b.

*Akbar-nūma*, s.n..

*Aīn-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, s.n..

*Tūr. Rash.*, E. & R., 451.

Cf. Introduction.

### CXLVII. Munauwar Sultān Begam Bāyqarā.

The illuminated princess; Ar. *munauwar*, bright illuminated.

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqarā and Bābā aghācha; wife of Sayyid Mīrzā of Andekhud who appears also to have married her niece. She was famed for her beauty. The Memoirs and Ilminsky's text do not give her name, and I have found it in the *Habību-s-siyār*. From this same work is derived the information that Sayyid Mīrzā is a name given to a son of Ulugh Beg Mīrzā Mīrān-shahī.

Mems., 182.

*Habību-s-siyār*, 327 et seq.

### CXLVIII. Nāhīd Begam. (No. 54.)

Pers. *Nāhīd*, the name of the mother of Alexander; a name for the planet Venus, etc..

Daughter of Māh-chūchak Arghūn by her marriage as a captive of Bābar, with his foster-brother Qāsim; wife of Muhibb-'alī Barlās.

When her mother, resenting her position in a misalliance, ran away, Nāhīd, then eighteen months old, remained in Kābul.

When her mother was imprisoned in Sind by Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān, Nāhīd escaped to Bhakkar, and was protected, till her return to Akbar's court, by Sultān Maḥmūd Bhakkarī (975H.).

She was at Hindāl's wedding feast. Much of her story is contained in the Introduction of this volume.

Gul-badan, 4a, 26a.

*Tārīkh-i-sind*, Mīr Ma'sūm.

*Bādshūh-nāma* s.n. (fully used by Blochmann).

*Aīn-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, s.n..

B. & H., I. 348, 351, 352, 385.



CXLIX. Nār-gul aghācha. (No. 58.)

(?) Red as a rose, pomegranate-red. For *nār* see *infra*. Pers. *gul*, a rose.

She was perhaps one of two Circassian slaves, of whom Gul-nār may be the other and who were sent to Bābar by Ṭahmāsp in 1526.

Mems., 847.

Gul-badan, 25b, 35a, 38a.

CL. Nār-sultān aghā. (No. 77.)

Presumably Pers. *nār*, a pomegranate; but it might be Ar. *nār*, advice, counsel, or even fire, and *sultān*, pre-eminence, a high degree of what is expressed by the first word of the compound name.

Gul-badan, 26a.

CLI. Nigār aghā. (No. 76.)

Pers. *nigār*, a mistress, a sweetheart.

Mother of Mughal Beg.

Gul-badan, 26a.

CLII. Nizhād-sultān Begam Bāyqrā.

The princess of highly distinguished race; Pers. *nishād*, family, high-born; Ar. *sultān*, pre-eminence.

Eldes daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqrā and Bābā aghācha; wife of Sikandar Mīrzā, son of Bāyqrā Mīrzā who was her father's elder brother.

Mems., 182.

*Habību-s-siyār*, 887 *et seq.*

CLIII. Pāpā (? Bābā) aghācha.

Mr. Erskine writes *Papa*, and Ilminsky, perhaps following him, *Pāpā*. *Bābā*—*i.e.*, darling—would seem a more fitting name for one who is said to have been much beloved.

She was a low-born wife of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqrā and foster-sister of Āfāq Begam. The mīrzā 'saw her and liked her,' and she became mother of seven of his children, *i.e.*, four sons, Muḥammad



Ma'sūm, Farrūkh Husain, Ibn Husain, Ibrāhīm Husain; of three daughters, Nizhād-sultān, Sa'adat-bakht, and a third whose name Bābar does not give.

Mems., 181, 182, 188.

CLIV. Pāshā Begam Bahārlū Turkomān of the Black Sheep.

(?) Turkī *Pāshā*, a lord, or Pers. *pecha*, chief, before. The *Ma'āsir-i-rahīmī* writes *pāshā*.

Daughter of 'Alī-shakr Beg *Bahārlū*; wife (1) of Muḥammadī Mīrzā of the Black Sheep; (2) in 873H. (1468-69) of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*; mother by Maḥmūd of three daughters and one son, Bayasanghar (born 882H.).

Bābar does not give the name of any one of the three girls, nor does he mention that one of them was a wife of his own. One married Malik Muḥammad Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*. The *Ma'āsir-i-rahīmī* supplies the information that another was Ṣālḥa-sultān Begam and that she had a daughter by Bābar whose name was Gul-rukḥ; that Gul-rukḥ married Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad *Chaqānīānī*, and had by him Salīma-sultān Begam. Abū'l-faẓl says that a daughter of Pāshā by Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā was married to Khwāja Hasan *Khwāja-zāda*, and that on account of this connection *Firdaus-makānī* (Bābar) married Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn to his own daughter, Gul-barg Begam, and that Salīma-sultān Begam was the issue of this marriage.

(There are difficulties connected with the account here given of Ṣālḥa which are set forth under the name of her daughter, Salīma-sultān.)

Pāshā Begam was of the same family as Bairām Khān. (Cf. genealogical table *s.n.* Salīma-sultān.)

Mems., 29, 30, 31, 72.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 93 n..

*Ma'āsir-i-rahīmī*, Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. in year 1024H..





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digiously attached' to her. She drank wine; her co-wives were neglected from fear of her. At length her husband put her to death, and 'delivered himself from his reproach.'

Mems., 22.

CLIX. Qūt-līq (Qutluq) Khānam Chaghataī Muḡhal.

(?) The image of happiness; from Turkī *qūtlu*, happy, and *līq*, endowed with.

Daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Khān *Chaghataī*; wife of Jānī Beg Khān *Uzbek*.

Her marriage was a sequel of victory by Shaibānī over her father. Cf. 'Āyisha (her sister).

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 160, 251.

CLX. Qūt-līq-nigār Khānam Chaghataī Muḡhal.

Second daughter of Yūnas Khān *Chaghataī* and Isān-daulat *Qūchīn*; chief wife of 'Umar-shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī*; half-sister of Maḥmūd and Aḥmad Khāns; mother of Khān-zāda and Bābar.

She accompanied her son in most of his wars and expeditions, and lived to see him master of Kābul. She died in Muḡarram, 911H. (June, 1505).

Mems., 10, 11, 12, 30, 90, 94, 98, 99, 104, 105, 134, 169.

*Gul-badan*, 4a.

*Tār. Rash.*, s.n..

*Akbar-nāma*, s.n..

CLXI. Rabī'a-sultān Begam Bāyqrā and Bedka Begam Bāyqrā.

These two names may indicate the same person.

The Memoirs (176 and 177) say that Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqrā* had two full-sisters, Āka and Bedka, and that Bedka married Aḥmad *Hājī Tarkhān*, and had two sons who served Sultān Husain.

These statements are contained also in the Turkī texts (B.M. Add. 26,324, and Ilminsky), and also in a considerable number of good Persian texts in the British Museum and Bodleian.



There is, however, this difference of statement. The Turkī texts write: *Bedka Begam ham mīrzā nīnak aīkā-chī sī aīdī*. P. de C. translates: *était aussi l'ainée du mīrzā*. The Persian texts have: *Bedka Begam ki khwāhar-i-khurd mīrzā būd*; and from this Mr. Erskine translates: . . . *the mīrzā's younger sister*.

The Turkī, it should be observed, uses of *Āka* precisely the same word as of *Bedka*, *aīkā-chī sī*.

It may be right to regard *Bedka* as the younger of the two sisters of the *mīrzā*, and not as the sister younger than the *mīrzā*.

To pass now to what has led me to make a tentative identification of *Bedka* with *Rabī'a-sultān*.

The Memoirs (181) mention *Rabī'a-sultān* as the younger sister of the *mīrzā* (Ḥusain) and as having two sons, *Bābar* and *Murād* who were given in marriage to two daughters of Ḥusain.

The Turkī texts do not describe *Rabī'a-sultān* in any way, or say that she was Ḥusain's sister. They simply mention the marriages.

The Persian texts say of Ḥusain's two daughters (*Bega* and *Āghā*): *ba pīsarān-i-khwāhar-i-khurd-i-khudrā Rabī'a-sultān Begam, Bābar Mīrzā wa Sultān Murād Mīrzā, dādā būdand*.

The Persian texts which state that *Rabī'a-sultān* was Ḥusain's own sister, have greater authority than most translations can claim for such additional information as is here given, because the Persian translation of the *Tūzūk-i-bābarī* was made in a court circle and at a date when such additional statements were likely to be known to many living persons.

Ḥusain may have had a younger and half-sister, but the words in the Persian texts which are used of *Rabī'a-sultān* are those used of *Bedka*, and they are more applicable to a full than a half sister.

The *Āka* of the passage in which *Bedka* is mentioned has no personal name recorded. *Bedka* may be a word of the same class as *āka*, i.e., a title or



sobriquet, and Rabī'a-sultān 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 Mansūr Mīrzā *Bāyqrā* and of Fīroza Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*, and thus doubly a Tīmūrid. She was full-sister of Bāyqrā and Husain Mīrzās and of Āka Begam. She married Aḥmad Khān *Hājī Tarkhān*, and had two sons whose names (if Bedka be Rabī'a-sultān) were Bābar and Murād and who married two of her nieces, Bega and Āghā.

Mems., 176, 177, 181.

Ilimsky, 203, 204, 208.

B.M. Turkī Add. 26,284, f. 48a and b; 53.

Other texts under 911H..

CLXII. Rabī'a-sultān Begam (*Qarā-qūz*) *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* and Qūtūq (Katak) *āghācha* (Begam); wife (1) of Sultān Maḥmūd Khān *Chaghataī* and mother of Bābā Sultān, and (2) of Jānī Beg *Uzbek* who married her after the murder of her father and her son by his cousin Shaibānī in 914H. (1508).

Mems., 22.

*Tūr. Rash.*, E. & R., 114, 116.

CLXIII. Rajab-sultān *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Ar. *rajab*, fearing, worshipping. *Sultān* may here be a title.

Daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā and a concubine (*ghūncha-chī*).

Mems., 30.

CLXIV. Ruqaiya Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Ruqaiya was the name of a daughter of Muḥammad, and conveys the notion of bewitching or of being armed against spells.

Daughter of Hindāl; first wife of Akbar; she died Jumāda I. 7th, 1035H. (January 19th, 1626), at the age of eighty-four. She had no children of her own, and she brought up Shāh-jahān. Mihru-n-nisā' (Nūr-





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CLXIX. Sālḥa-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī.*Cf. Salīma-sultān Chaqānīānī.*CLXX. Salīma-sultān Begam Chaqānīānī.

Daughter of Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad *Chaqānīānī* and of a daughter of Bābar, as to whose name the sources ring changes upon the rose. She appears as Gul-rang (B. and H. *s.n.*), Gul-barg, Gul-rukh. As her mother was a full Turkomān or Turk by descent, it has occurred to me that she may have borne a Turkī 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'āsir-i-raḥīmī*, under 1024H., the following information is obtained. Pāshā Begam *Bahārlū Turkomān* married (873H., 1469) as her second husband, Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*. By him she had three daughters and one son: Bayasanghar (b. 882H., 1477). One daughter whose name was Sālḥa-sultān Begam, married Bābar and bore him a daughter, Gul-rukh (*sic*). Gul-rukh married Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad *Chaqānīānī*, and their daughter was Salīma-sultān Begam who married first, Bairām *Khān-i-khānān*, and secondly, the Emperor Akbar.

Abū'l-faḥr (*Bib. Ind. ed.*, II. 65) adds the particular that *Firdaus makānī* gave his daughter Gul-barg (*sic*), to Nūru-d-dīn because a daughter of Maḥmūd and Pāshā had been given to Nūru-d-dīn's grandfather Khwāja Ḥasan, known as Khwāja-zāda *Chaqānīānī*. He also states that Salīma-sultān Begam was the issue of Gul-barg's marriage.

In the Memoirs, as we have them, there is no mention of Sālḥa-sultān nor of Nūru-d-dīn's marriage with a daughter of Bābar. Yet Abū'l-faḥr states that *Firdaus-makānī* arranged Gul-barg's marriage. The first omission is the more remarkable because Bābar (*Mems.*, 30) states that Pāshā had three daughters. He does not give their names, and specifies the



marriage of the eldest only. On the same page he tells of his marriage with Sālḥa's half-sister Zainab and of her death. The omission is remarkable and appears to have no good ground, since he chronicles his other Tīmūrid marriages. Of Pāshā's daughters it may be noted here that one married Malik Muḥammad *Mīrān-shāhī*, another Khwāja Ḥasan *Chaqānī*, and the third, Bābar.

It appears to me tolerably clear that Bābar's marriage with Sālḥa-sultān took place at a date which falls in a gap of the Memoirs, *i.e.*, from 1511 to 1519. This is the period which contains the exile from Kābul after the Mughal rebellion.

Not only does Bābar omit Sālḥa-sultān's name and his marriage with her (Mems., 30), but Gul-badan is also silent as to name, marriage and child of Sālḥa-sultān. This silence is in every way remarkable. She enumerates her father's children and gives their mothers' names, and she enumerates some of his wives in more places than one. From her lists a Tīmūrid wife cannot have escaped, and especially one whose child became the mother of Gul-badan's associate Salīma-sultān.

An explanation of Gul-badan's silence and also of a part of Bābar's has suggested itself to me; it is conjectural merely and hypothetical. The absence of mention of Sālḥa-sultān and of her child suggests that she appears under another name in Gul-badan's list of her father's children and their mothers. She may be Gul-badan's own mother, Dil-dār Begam without undue wresting of known circumstantial witness.

The principal difficulty in the way of this identification is Abū'l-faḥr's statement that Nūru-d-dīn's marriage was made by *Firdaus-makānī*, whereas Gul-badan states that her father arranged two Chaglutai marriages for her sisters.

If we might read *Jannat-āshyānī* (Humāyūn) for *Firdaus-makānī* much would fall into place; the



marriage with Nūru-d-dīn could be a re-marriage of Gul-chihra who was widowed in 1533, and of whose remarriage nothing is recorded until her brief political alliance with 'Abbas *Uzbek* in 1549. It is probable that she remarried in the interval.

To pass on to recorded incidents of Salīma-sultān's life :

There is an entry in Hindāl's guest-list which may indicate her presence.

She accompanied Ḥamīda-bānū and Gul-badan to Hindūstan in 964H. (1557), and she was married at Jalindhar shortly after Ṣafar 15th, 965H. (middle of December, 1557) to Bairām *Khān-i-khānān*. It is said that the marriage excited great interest at Court. It united two streams of descent from 'Alī-shukr Beg *Bahārlū Turkomān*. Salīma-sultān was a Tīmūrid through Bābar, one of her grandfathers, and through Maḥmūd, one of her great-grandfathers.

A few words must be said about her age at the time of her marriage, because the question has been raised through Jahāngīr's statement that she died at the age of sixty in 1021H., and commented upon by the *Darbār-i-akbarī*. If Jahāngīr gives her age correctly she must have been born in 961H., and this would make her a child of five when she married Bairām, and needs her betrothal by her father to Bairām to date from babyhood.

The *Darbār-i-akbarī* says that it is clear from Jahāngīr's statement of her age at death that she was married to Bairām *ætat.* 5, and that her memory is thus cleared from the reproach of two marriages !

Whatever is concealed in Jahāngīr's 'sixty,' nothing is said to indicate that he desired to bring Salīma-sultān into the circle of Hindū propriety. He may have had the wish ; he was a Hindū mother's son. The comment of the modern author of the *Darbār-i-*





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The genealogical table on the next page illustrates Salīma-sultān's descent, and the following dates bear also upon the topic :

Pāshā married Maḥmūd ... ..	878H.—1469.
Bayasanghar born ... ..	882H.—1477.
Maḥmūd died ... ..	900H.—Jan. 1495
Bābar married Zainab, d. of Maḥmūd ...	910H.—1504.
Zainab died .. ... ..	913H.-914H.—1507-8.
Sālḥa's child, the wife of Nūru-d-dīn, was not born in 911H.—1511, because she is not in the list of children who left Kābul with Bābar in that year. (Gul-badan, 7a.)	

### CLXXI. Salīma Khānam Chaghātāi Muḡhal.

Daughter of Khizr Khwājā, but whether also of Gul-badan is not recorded.

She went with Gul-badan to Makka in 983H. (1575).

*Āin-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, 441.

### CLXXII. Salīqa-sultān Begam (Āq Begam) Mīrān-shāhī.

(Umsky, 25, reads Ṣālḥa.) The princess of excellent disposition ; Ar. *salīqa*, of good disposition, and *sultān*, pre-eminence.

Daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* and Qūtūq (Katak) Begam ; wife of her cousin Ma'sūd. The marriage was announced to Bābar in 900H. (1494) with gifts of gold and silver, almonds, and pistachios. She was captured by Abū-bakr *Dughlāt* with Shāh Begam and Mihr-nigār Khānam.

Mems., 22, 27.

### CLXXIII. Sāmiḥa Begam *Barlās*.

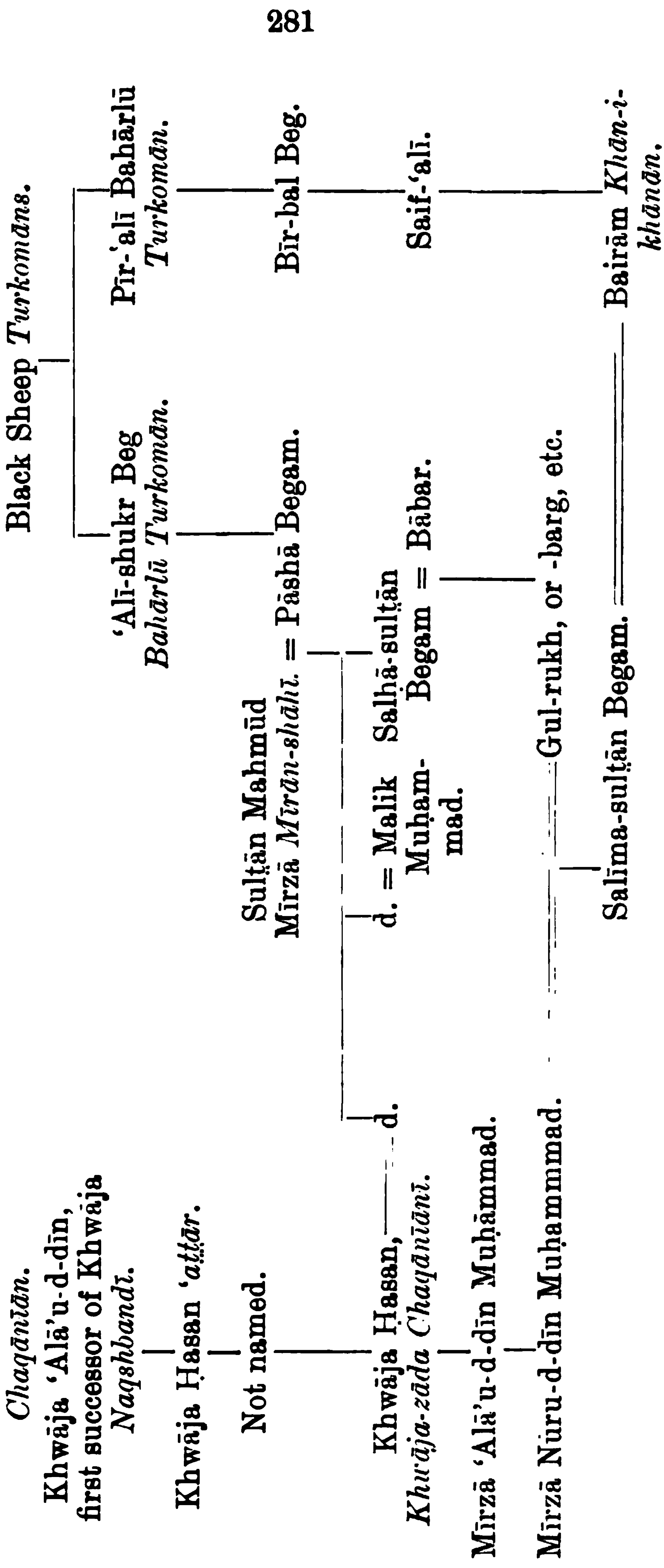
The gentle princess ; Ar. *sāmiḥ*, gentle.

Daughter of Muḥibb 'Alī *Barlās* (son of Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Alī *Khalīfa*), and presumably of Nāhid Begam ; mother of Mujāhid Khān.

Mujāhid (who is named in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* as commander of 1,000, but is not in the *Āin*) was a son



GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF SALĪMA-SULTĀN CHAQAŪNĪĀNĪ.





of Muṣāhib Khān, son of Khwāja Kilān (Bābar's friend),

*Ain-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, 421, 533.

#### CLXXIV. Sarv-qad and Sarv-i-sahī.

Straight as a cypress; Pers. *sarr*, a cypress, and *qad*, form, or *sahī*, erect.

Sarv-i-sahī, to use Gul-badan's word, was a singer and reciter. She belonged to the households both of Bābar and Humāyūn, and was subsequently married, with full *nisbat*, to Mu'nim Khān-i-khānān.

She acted as go-between of Mu'nim and Khān-i-zamān ('Alī Qulī *Uzbeq-i-shaibānī*) during the rebellion of the latter—probably in the tenth year of Akbar, and Bāyazīd calls her a reliable woman and the *ḥaram* of the *Khān-i-khānān*. She sang on the way to Lamghān by moonlight in 958H. (1551); she was with Mu'nim at the time of his death in Gaur (Ṣafar, 983H., 1575), and in Rajab of the same year accompanied Gul-badan to Makka.

Gul-badan, 82a (inserted in the translation after 73b).

Bāyazīd, I.O. MS., 122b, 147b.

*Akbar-nāma*, Bib. Ind. ed., III. 145.

#### CLXXV. Shād Begam Bāyqrā. (No. 28.)

Daughter of Haidar Bāyqrā and Bega Mīrān-shahī; wife of 'Adil Sultān.

Gul-badan, 25a.

Mems., 180.

#### CLXXV (a). Shād Bibī.

Wife of Humāyūn; lost at Chausa.

Gul-badan, 83b.

#### CLXXVI. Shāham aghā.

(?) My queen; from Pers. *shāh*, king, ruler.

Of the *ḥaram* of Humāyūn. She went with Gul-badan Begam to Makka in 983H..

*Ain-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, 441.





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honour; and that they spent some time in Kābul in the greatest ease and comfort.

Bābar's kindness fell on ungrateful ground, since in the following year, 912H. (1506-7), Shāh Begam fomented a rebellion against him in favour of her grandson, Mīrzā Khān. Haidar says that during Bābar's absence in Harāt her motherly love (it was grandmotherly) began to burn in her heart, and persuaded her that Bābar was dead, and that room was thus made for Mīrzā Khān. The story of Bābar's magnanimity to her when he had put down the rising she had stirred, is well known and is detailed in the histories.

In 913H. (1507-8) she laid claim to Badakhshān, saying that it had been her family's hereditary kingdom for 3,000 years; that though she, a woman, could not attain to sovereignty, her grandson would not be rejected. Bābar assented to her scheme, and she set off for Badakhshān, together with Mihr-nigār Khānam and Mīrzā Khān.

The latter went on in advance to Qila'-zafar. The ladies and their escort were at once attacked and plundered by robber bands in the employ of the ruler of Kāshghar, Abā-bakr *Dughlāt*, and were by them conveyed to him in Kāshghar. 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.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., s.n..

#### CLXXVIII. Shāh Begam *Termizī*. (No. 24.)

Daughter of Fakhr-jahān Begam and of Mīr Alā'u-l-mulk *Termizī*. She may be 'Kīchak' Begam, and if not, is her sister.

She was the mother of Dil-shād Begam. If she be



Kīchak, she was the wife of Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain.  
(*Cf.* Kīchak.)

She was at the Mystic Feast.

Gul-badan, 24b.

CLXXIX. Shāh Khānam. (No. 17.)

Daughter of Badī'ū-l-jamāl Begam.

Gul-badan, 24b.

CLXXX. Shahr-bānū Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

(?) *Ar. shahr*, the moon, the new moon.

Daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī ;  
wife of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāyqarā, and married to  
him before his accession in 873H. (March, 1469).

Bābar gives an entertaining detail about her married  
life. Once at Chekmān her husband was engaged in  
a battle with her brother Maḥmūd. All his ladies  
except herself alighted from their litters and mounted  
on horseback, presumably for rapid flight if the day  
went against Ḥusain. Shahr-bānū, however, 'relying  
on her brother,' remained in her litter. This being  
reported to her husband, he divorced her and married  
her younger sister, Pāyanda-sultān.

Of her subsequent history nothing seems recorded.  
(*Cf.* Mīnglī-bī aghācha.)

Mems., 182.

CLXXXI. Shahr-bānū Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 7.)

Third daughter of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī  
and Umīd Andijānī; half-sister of Bābar and eight  
years his junior; born *cir.* 1491; full-sister of Nāṣir  
and Mihr-bānū; wife of Junaid *Barlās* (brother of  
Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Alī *Khalīfa*); mother by him of Sanjar  
Mīrzā; widowed *cir.* 944H. (1537-38).

She seems to have gone to Sind with her nephew,



Yādgār-nāṣir Mīrzā, in 1540 and after the *débaçle* in Hindūstān, for when Yādgār-nāṣir had fled from Sind to Kāmraṅ in Qandahār (a traitor cast aside by his employer, Shāh Ḥusain *Arghūn*), Kāmraṅ sent ambassadors to Shāh Ḥusain to request that the begam and her son might be returned to his charge. [Shahr-bānū was Kāmraṅ's paternal (half)-aunt and full-aunt of Yādgār-nāṣir.]

She was at once started on her journey, but was insufficiently provided with necessaries for traversing the difficult desert tract which stretches towards the western mountain barrier of Sind. Numbers of her party perished before reaching Shāl (Quetta); and many died in that town from 'malignant fever.' Amongst its victims was Shahr-bānū, at the age of about fifty-one years.

Gul-badan, 24b.

Mems, 10.

*Akbar-nūma*, s.n..

B. & H., I. 526 and II. 253. (Here occur errors of statement, *i.e.*, that Shahr-bānū was Yādgār-nāṣir's wife and Kāmraṅ's sister.)

### CLXXXII. Shāh Sultān Begam.

(?) Wife of Abū-sa'id Mīrzā *Mīraṅ-shahī*; mother of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā.

The news of her death in Andijān reached Bābar in 907H. (1501).

Mems., 20, 99.

### CLXXXIII. Shāh-zāda Begam and Sultānam Khānam

*Ṣafawī*.

The daughter of kings.

Sister of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia. Her protection of the Emperor Humāyūn during his sojourn in Persia is named by many of the historians.

Gul-badan, 58a, 58b.





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Wais Mīrzā, the son of Miāngī Bāyqrā Mīrzā.' (Mems., 181.)

*Barādar kilānash ba pīsar miāngī Bāyqrā Mīrzā Sultān Wais Mīrzā dāda būd.* (*Waqī'at-i-bābarī*, Persian text, B.M. Or. 16,623, 123b.)

*Āghā sī Bāyqrā Mīrzā nīnak ortānchī oghalī Sultān Wais Mīrzāgha chīqārīb aidī.* (*Tūzūk-i-bābarī* or *Bābar-nāma*, Turkī text, B.M. Add. 26,324, f. 52b, and Ilminsky, 209.)

'Son frère aîné l'avait donnée en mariage à Sultān Wais Mīrzā, fils cadet de Bāyqrā Mīrzā.' (Pavet de Courteille, I. 375.)

Both the English and French versions make the elder brother of Sultānam give her in marriage. But she was an only child, and her father was living to act for her. The French version, here as in so many other places, appears to have relied upon Mr. Erskine. The Turkī text appears to yield something more probable, *i.e.*, 'His elder brother, Bāyqrā Mīrzā's middle son, Sultān Wais Mīrzā. . . .'

Mr. Erskine has read *miāngī* as part of Bāyqrā's name. Comparison with the Turkī makes appear as the more probable reading: 'the middle son'—*pīsar-i-miāngī*.

M. Pavet de Courteille's *fils cadet* lets slip the notion of *mīyān*. Redhouse gives for the *ortānchī oghal* of the Turkī text, 'the middle son out of an odd number'—*e.g.*, the third out of five, the second of three, etc..

In the same passage the Memoirs have: 'Sultānam Begam set out along with her grandson. . . .' Here the Persian words *ba hamīn tārikh* (Turkī, *ushbū tārikh*) 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.

*Habību-s-siyār*, 327 *et seq.*

Also the places mentioned in the notice above.



CLXXXVI. Sultānam Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 12.)

Daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā.

A Sultānam of this parentage is mentioned by Bābar (Mems., 22), by Haidar (E. & R, s.n.), and by Gulbadan (24b). These appear to be at least two, and perhaps are three women. Their record is as follows :

(1). Sultānam, fourth daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā. (Mems., 22.) She was the child of Qūtūq (Katak) Begam. She married her cousin 'Alī, son of Maḥmūd Mīrzā. 'Alī was murdered by Shaibānī (cf. s.n. Zuhra) in 906H. (July, 1500), and his widow was taken to wife by Shaibānī's son, Muḥammad Tīmūr. A third marriage is mentioned by Bābar, viz., to Maḥdī Sultān. By this style the histories mention the Uzbek chief who was associated with Ḥamza (Khamza) Sultān. But this Maḥdī was put to death by Bābar in 1511, and Tīmūr was living in 1512 (918H.). Either Sultānam was divorced, perhaps to make marriage with some other kinswoman and later captive legal; or Maḥdī Sultān may be the father of 'Adil Sultān; or he may be Maḥdī Muḥammad Khwāja.

(2). Sultānam, daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā, married Muḥammad Ḥusain *Dughlāt* in the autumn of 1503. She was given to her husband by Khusrau Shāh who describes her as daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā *wa pādshāh-zāda-i-man*, by which Mr. Ross has understood that she was of Khusrau's 'family.' There was a son, issue of this marriage and named 'Abdu-l-lāh.

It is difficult to regard No. 1 and No. 2 as one woman, both because of their marriage dates and of the circumstance that No. 1 was an Uzbek captive and No. 2 in Badakhshān. Bābar mentions no marriage of a Sultānam with Muḥammad Ḥusain *Dughlāt*. A surmise—it is nothing more—has occurred to me, namely: No. 2 was married to the *Dughlāt* mīrzā shortly after the destruction of Tāshkend; Bābar's



wife 'Āyisha, third daughter of Sultān Aḥmad *Mīrān-shāhī*, had left Bābar shortly before that disaster. She might be Sultānam No. 2.

(3). Sultānam, or Sultānī, daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā, was at the Mystic Feast in 1531. She is said to be the mother of Kilān Khān Begam. This title is not appropriate for the child of any of the marriages mentioned for No. 1 or No. 2. It is quite appropriate for the child of the marriage of Sultān Aḥmad and Qūtūq's firstborn daughter, Rabī'a-sultān, because Rabī'a married Sultān Maḥmūd Khān who was the Elder Khān (*kilān*) and also the Great Khān (*Khāqān*) of the Mughals. Shaibānī murdered five of Maḥmūd's six sons, but probably his girls escaped because of their value as wives.

The above notes make for the opinion that Sultānam is a title, and not a name. Cf. app. s.n. Māham.

Mems., 22.

Gul-badan, 24b.

*Tūr. Rash.*, E. & R., 164, 170, 193.

#### CLXXXVII. Sultānam. (No. 52.)

Wife of Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Alī *Khalīfa*.

Gul-badan, 14a, 14b, 26a, 50a.

#### CLXXXVIII. Sultān-nigār Khānam *Chaghataī Muḡhal*.

Daughter of Yūnas Khān *Chaghataī* and Shāh Begam *Badakhshī*; wife of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*; mother of Sultān Wais (Khān Mīrzā); widowed in 900H. (January, 1495).

On Maḥmūd's death in Samarqand she joined her brothers in Tāshkand, going off 'without giving any notice of her intentions,' says Bābar. Later on she married Awīq (Adīk) Sultān *Jūjī*, the chief of the *Uzbeq Qazāqs*. Her story is somewhat confused in the Memoirs (13 and 14) by a double mention of her





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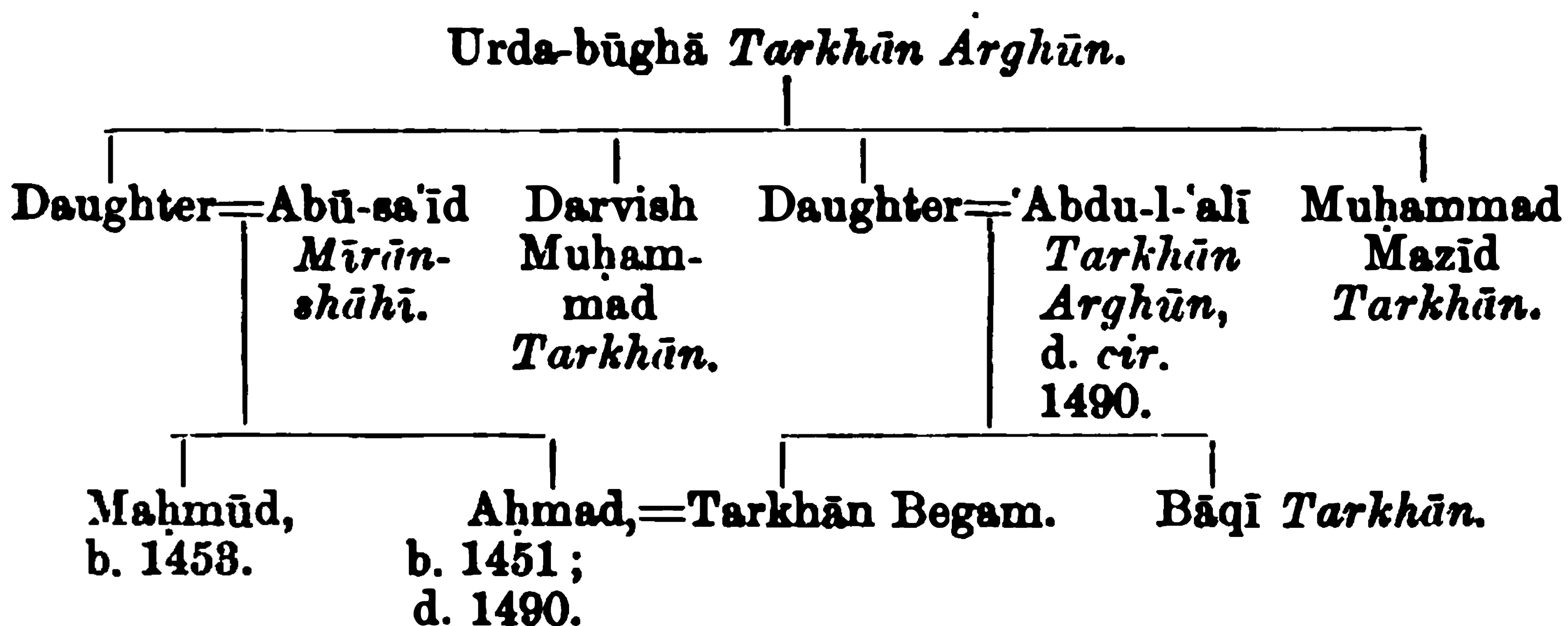


CLXXXIX. Tarkhān Begam.

This is a title, and not a personal name.

In Bābar's time, according to Mr. Erskine (Mems., 24 n.), the ancient title of *Tarkhān* had come to belong to a particular family or clan. This may be well seen by consulting Professor Blochmann's *Āin-i-akbarī*, 361, where the genealogical table of the Arghūns of Tatta shows the title to have become hereditary in their branch of the Arghūns.<sup>1</sup>

The Tarkhān Begam whose name stands above this notice was linked with these Tarkhān Arghūns in the way shown below. She married her first cousin, Aḥmad *Mīrān-shāhī*, and Qūtūq Begam was her foster-sister.



Mems , 22, 24.

*Āin-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, 861.

B. & H., I. and II. s.n. Sind, Arghūn, etc..

CXC. Tarkhān Begam and Bega.

Gul-badan, 75b.

(Tarsūn-sultān, Yūn, q.v.)

<sup>1</sup> Professor Blochmann (*l.c.*) states that 'Abdu-l-'alī and five sons were murdered by Shaibānī, but Bābar and the Sind historians give no support to the story. It looks as though by some clerical error the account of the murder of Sultān Maḥmūd Khān and his sons had crept in here. Shaibānī drove Bāqī out of his late father's government of Bukhārā.



CXCI. Ulugh Begam. (No. 10.)

Daughter of Zainab Sultān Begam ; grand-daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'id ; first cousin of Bābar.

Gul-badan, 24b.

CXCII. Ulūs (Anūsh and Alūsh) āghā Turkomān. (? No. 53 )

Turkī, *ulūs*, tribe. Clearly a title.

Daughter of Khwāja Husain Beg *Turkomān* of the White Sheep, an amīr of 'Umar Shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī* ; wife of 'Umar Shaikh ; mother of a girl who died in infancy. She was removed from the *ḥaram* a year or eighteen months after her marriage. Gul-badan mentions a begam of this name as at Hindāl's wedding-feast ; whether she is *Ulūs āghā* promoted, I have no means of knowing.

Mems., 14.  
Gul-badan, 26a.

CXCIII. Ūmīd āghācha Andijānī.

Pers. *umīd*, hope.

An inferior wife of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* whom she predeceased. She was the mother of Mihr-bānū who was two years older than Bābar and will have been born therefore in 1481 ; of Nāṣir who was born in 1487 ; and of Shahr-bānū who was born in 1491.

Mems., 10, 14.

CXCIV. Umm-kulṣūm Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

A surname of Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad ; Ar. *umm*, mother, and *kulṣūm*, plumpness.

Grand-daughter of Gul-badan Begam and a member of the Ḥaj of 983H..

*Akbar-nāma*, III. 145.



CXCV. Ūzūn-sultān Khānam Chaghataī Mughal.

(?) Pers. *auzūn*, or *ūzūn*, ample, increase.

Daughter of Shīr 'Alī Khān *Oghlan Chaghataī*; sister of Wais Khān and Makhdūma Khanām; paternal aunt of Yūnas Khān; wife of Amīr Sayyid 'Alī *Dughlat*; mother of Muḥammad Ḥaidar *Dughlat* and great-grandmother of Ḥaidar Mīrzā, the historian.

She was widowed in 862H. (1457-58), and then, in conjunction with her son, received Kāshghar and Yangī-ḥiṣār from her stepson, Sāniz.

*Tūr. Rash.*, E. & R., 64, 87, 88.

CXCVI. Yādgar-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 8.)

Pers. *yūdgār*, remembrance.

Daughter of 'Umar Shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī* and Āghā Sultān *āghācha*; half-sister of Bābar, and brought up by his grandmother, Isān-daulat. She was a post-humous child, and, if one may draw an inference from her example and others similar, is for this reason called Yādgar (Souvenir). Her father died Ramḡān 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-laṭīf *Uzbek*, after the conquest of Andijān and Akhsī by Shaibānī, and in 916H. (1511) Bābar's successes at Khutlān and Ḥiṣār 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 Hindāl's wedding festivities.

*Mems.*, 10.

*Gul-badan*, 24b, 26b.

CXCVII. Yūn (Tarsūn)-sultān Mughal.

Ilminsky, 15, writes *Tarsūn*.

Inferior wife of 'Umar Shaikh, and married at the end of his life.

*Mems.*, 14.





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however, is spoken of by her, and Zainab may be her personal name. Zainab had a daughter Ulugh Begam.

Gul-badan, 24b.

### CCI. Zainab-sultān Begam.

There is a difficulty in identifying the begam of this name, whom Bābar mentions (Mems., 387) as coming to India. It will be seen by comparing the sources and their French and English interpretations :

Mems., 387. 'another, by name Zainab-sultān Begam, the granddaughter of Bikeh Chichām.'

P. de C., II. 355. 'et la petite-fille de Yenga-Tchetcham, autrement dite Zeineb-sultān Begam.'

B. M. Or., 3714, Pers., p. 482. *dīgar nabīra yanga chichām ki Zainab-sultān Begam būshad.*

Bodleian, Elliot, 19, f. 180a. *dīgar nabīra bega chichām ki Zainab-sultān Begam.*

Ilminsky, Turkī text, 447. *yana, yanga chichām ki Zainab-sultān Begam būlaghā'i nabīra sī kīlib.*

It seems safer to take Zainab as the name of Bābar's relation (*i.e.*, the *yanga* of his *chicha*) than as that of the granddaughter (*nabīra*).

It may be observed here that the best authorities quoted above, *i.e.*, Ilminsky, behind whom is Kehr, and Or., 3714, have *yanga* where Mr. Erskine and Elliot, 19, have *bega*. This exchange may occur in the case of other *begas* of this appendix. Until a good Turkī text more complete than that in the B. M. is found, this must be left an open question.

If *Zainab* be taken as the name of the *yanga*, she may be identifiable with one of the other women already entered in the appendix, but for deciding this point more examples are necessary of Bābar's application of the word *yanga*.

Mems., 387.

### CCII. Zobaida āghācha Jalāir.

The marigold; Ar. *zubaida*.

Grand-daughter of Husain Shaikh Tīmūr of the Shaibān Sultāns. According to the *Ḥabibu-s-siyār*, she was a *Jalair*.



She was an inferior wife of Sultān Husain Mīrzā and the mother of 'Āyisha Begam. She predeceased her husband who died April, 1506.

CCIII. Zuhra Begī and Āghā Uzbek.

Ar. *zuhra*, beauty, a yellow flower, the star Venus.

An inferior wife of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā ; mother of Makhdūma-sultān Begam and of Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā.

She was married during the lifetime of Maḥmūd's father, and therefore before Rajab 873H. (January, 1469), and was widowed Rabī II., 900H. (January, 1495). In 905H. (1499-1500) she entered into an intrigue with Shaibānī, a fellow-tribesman, of which the ultimate aim was dominance in Samarqand for her son 'Alī. A part of her scheme and offer was her own remarriage with Shaibānī. Bābar 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 Shaibānī Khān mind her a bit, or value her even so much as his other handmaids, concubines, or women. Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā 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.'

M<sub>ems.</sub>, 29, 30, 31, 83, 84.



Mahdī Khwāja.

Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad has included in his *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* a story which he heard from his father Muḥammad Muqīm *Harāwī*, and of which the purport is that Bābar's *Khatīja* (Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Alī *Barlās*) had at one time thought of placing a certain Mahdī Khwāja on the throne in succession to Bābar.

Two circumstances cast doubt on the story: (1) It was customary in Bābar's family for a son to succeed his father; (2) Bābar left four sons, the youngest of whom, Hindāl, was eleven years old.

Moreover, there were Tīmūrīds both of the Bāyqrā and Mīrān-shāhī branches in India with Bābar whose claims to a Tīmūrīd throne would be strongly enforced.

But Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad has left us the story in circumstantial detail and it cannot be passed over unnoticed, and this the less because Gul-badan Begam throws some light on the identity of the Mahdī concerned, and also because in an important particular, *i.e.*, the relation of Mahdī to Bābar, I am able, through Mr. Beveridge's study of the *Ḥabību-s-siyār*, to give more accurate information than was at Mr. Erskine's disposal.

The story was old when Nizāmu-d-dīn set it down and it is not necessary to accept all its details as exact. It is sufficient to consider its minimum contents which are, that in the royal household there had been a rumour of a plan of supersession of Bābar's sons by Mahdī Khwāja at the instance of Khalīfa.

The question naturally arises, who was the man





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Mahdī Khwāja, as Bābar invariably calls him after his first appearance, went to Hindūstān with Bābar and is frequently mentioned. It is significant of his high position and presumably not only by marriage but by birth, that on military duty he is always associated with men of royal blood, either Tīmūrid or Chaghataī. He is sometimes given precedence of them, and is never named last in a list of officers. Chīn-tīmūr *Chaghataī*, Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā *Bāyqarā*, Sultān Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*, and ‘Ādil Sultān are constantly associated with him. It seems clear that he was a great noble and ranked amongst the highest. Khāfi Khān calls him Sayyid Khwāja, and so does Khwānd-amīr. Whether the ‘Khwāja’ indicates anything as to his mother’s marriage I am not able to say.

Khāfi Khān (I. 42) has a passage which *may* relate to him: *Sultān Mīrzā wa Mahdī Sultān binī a‘māmra* (of Bābar) *ki asīr-i-ān juma‘ būdand khalāṣ sakht*. The date of the occurrence is *cir.* 1511, the year in which another Mahdī, *i.e.*, *Uzbek*, was killed by Bābar. Mr. Erskine appears to think that the two men, named here as released, were Ḥamza and Mahdī Sultāns *Uzbek*, but the sources do not give the style of Mīrzā to either of these chiefs. They appear to have had marriage connections with Bābar in an earlier generation, and a son of Mahdī seems to have been ‘Ādil Sultān (Mems., 363) who was father of ‘Āqil Sultān *Uzbek* (*Akbar-nāma*, I. 221).

A Mahdī Khwāja who was undoubtedly of Bābar’s family, appears both in the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* and in Gul-badan Begam’s *Humāyūn-nāma*. He is the son of Aiman, and grandson of Sultān Aḥmad Khān *Chaghataī*, Bābar’s mother’s brother. But his age places him out of the question; he was about ten in 1530, and the hero of Nizāmu-d-dīn’s story stroked his beard, and was either a *damād* or a *yazna*. Mahdī



*Chaghatāi*, moreover, reached India after Bābar's death.<sup>1</sup>

The *Ṭabaqāt* states that Mahdī Khwāja had long been connected with Khalīfa; the latter was himself a sayyid.

Nizāmu-d-dīn calls Mahdī a *jūwan* and Mr. Erskine has accentuated all the faults and characteristics of youth in his version of the story. But Gul-badan calls Hindāl an uninjurious youth at thirty-three, and there seems good ground to read often in *jūwan* the notion of vigour and strength rather than exclusively of fewness of years. In 1530 Mahdī had served Bābar eleven known years.

Like many other such small problems, that of the family connections of Mahdī Khwāja and the other men of his name may be solved by some chance passage in a less known author, or by a closer consideration of the personages of the Memoirs.

Mems., 255, 303, 305-307, 338, 340-342, 344, 345, 349, 352, 368, 370, 371, 401, 426.<sup>2</sup>

*Akbar-nūma*, s.n., 'Āqil Sultān and Mahdī.

Khāfī Khān, *Bib. Ind.* ed., s.n..

*Habibu-s-siyūr*, Khwānd-amīr, under date *cir.* 923H..

*Cf.* Index to this volume, s.n. Mahdī.

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<sup>1</sup> The rough estimate of Mahdī *Chaghatūi*'s age is made as follows: Aiman was married to Haidar Mīrzā's cousin in 923H. (1517). (*Tūr. Rash.*, E. and R., 144, 352.) He had five sons by this wife. (l. c. 144 and 401). Of these Ma'sūd is named as the eldest. The rest are Khizr (Gul-badan's husband) Mahdī, Isān-daulat (Habība's husband), and another. Khizr is inferentially the second son, but if Mahdī were the second, he could hardly have been born before 926H. (1520). This would make him about ten in 1530, but he may have been younger and the third son, as is indicated by the enumeration of Haidar Mīrzā.

<sup>2</sup> At p. 424 Mr. Erskine has an entry of a Sayyid Mahdī who arrives from Guālīār in July, 1529. That this is a mis-reading for Mashhadī is shown by collation with other texts than his own.









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\* This line is quoted by Daulat Shāh. Cf. Mr. E. G. Browne's ed. p. 537.

\*\* The folio which follows in the MS. (83a and 83b) has been conjecturally placed after 73b.



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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 بلک  
روز بروز تنزل کرد و ابر و ضایع شد و بنوعی رو بخرابی (81 b) آورد که  
دیگر دولت بمیرزا کامران یار نشد و کامرانی نکرد و گویا حیات میرزا کامران  
بلک روشنائی چشم میرزا کامران میرزا هندال بود که از همان شکست که  
گریخته راست رفت در پیش سلیم شاه پسر شیرخان \* او یک هزار روپیه  
داده و درین ضمن میرزا کامران عرض احوال نموده و کومک طلید \* 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 \* بلک  
همچو کسی را نا بود کردن و معدوم ساختن بهتر است \* میرزا کامران این  
کنگایش سلیم خان را شنید و بمردم 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 میرزارا در بندخانه حکم کرده و میرزا  
کامران تا به بهیرو و خوش آب رفته بود که در (82 a) همان حدود آدم  
گهکهر بصد و حیل 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 سه بعرض حضرت پادشاه رسانیدند که در پادشاهی و تحکم  
رسم برادری منظور نمی باشد \* اگر خاطر برادر میخواهد ترک پادشاهی  
بکنید و اگر پادشاهی میخواهد ترک برادری بکنید و این همان میرزا کامران  
است که از سبب او در دشت قیچاق بسر مبارک ایشان چه نوع زخم رسیده





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هندال در ملازمتِ حضرت را می‌شدند \* وقتی که به تنگیا بدولت و سعادت رفته نزول اجلال فرمودند (79b) و جاسوسان هر زمان هر ساعت خبر می‌آوردند که میرزا کامران فرار داده است امشب شبخون باید ریخت \* میرزا هندال آمده بعرضِ 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 کدام علیحده علیحده دلداری و دلاسا کرده که — همه آن خدمتها یکطرف و خدمت امشب یکطرف انشا الله آنچه حسب المدعای شایانست بهمون روش سرافراز خواهید شد \* همه را جابجا نشانده و برای خود جیبه جامه و طافی و دبلغه طلبیدند \* نوشکی بقیچه را برداشته بود که شخصی عطسه زد \* نوشکی بقیچه را ساعتی نگاه داشت \* چون معطل شد کسی را برای ناکید فرستادند \* چون بناکید تمام آوردند خود پرسیدند که چرا معطل کردی؟ نوشکی عرض کرد که بقیچه را برداشته بودم که شخصی عطسه زد — بنابر آن بقیچه را باز ماندم و ازین (80a) سبب معطل شد \* فرمودند که غلط کردی بگو انشا الله شهادتِ مبارک باشد — و باز گفتند — باران همه گواه باشند که از جمیع چیزهای حرام و از افعال‌های ناشایسته توبه کردم \* حاضران فاتحه خواندند و مبارک باد گفتند \* فرمودند — نیچه جامه جیبه بیار \* پوشید در پیش خندق رفتند و بسپاهیان مردانگی و نسلی دادند \* درین اثنا طبیحی میرزا هندال آواز میرزارا که شنیدند فریاد برآورد که مرا به شمشیر گرفتند \* میرزا بجزد شنیدن از اسپ فروز آمده و بدو گفتند — باران این از مردانگی دور است که طبیحی ما را در نه شمشیر بگیرند و ما کومک نکنیم \* و خود در خندق فرود آمدند و سپاهیان هیچکدام از اسپ فرود نه آمدند و میرزا دوبار از خندق برآمدند و حمله‌ها کردند \* در همان نردد شهید شدند \*



و عایسه سلطان بیگم و دولت بخت آغاچه گریخته بجانب قندهار  
میرفتند که از نکیو حمار مردم پادشاهی گرفته آوردند (78b) 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 بیگ بیگم و حمید بانو بیگم و ماه چوچک بیگم و غیره  
اکثر حرمان همراه بودند \* و پسر 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 هم شکار خود را بحضرت پیشکش کردند  
که در نوره چنگیز خان رسم چنین است که خوردان به بزرگان خود چنین  
پیش می آیند \* غرض هم شکارهای خود را پیشکش حضرت کرده \* بعد  
از آن به خاطر میرزا رسید که حصه خواهران هم بماند (79a) باز خواهران  
گله نکنند \* پاره دیگر شکار بکنم که برای خواهران حصه بپریم \* میرزا باز  
بشکار مفید شده اند \* بیکپاره شکار کرده برگشته می آمدند که میرزا کامران  
کسی را تعیین کرده بودند آن کس سر راه را گرفته و میرزا ازین غافل  
نیری زد و آن تیر به کتف مبارک ایشان رسید — از ملاحظه آنکه مبادا  
خواهران من یا حرمان من شنید بیطاقی بکنند \* فی الحال نوشته فرستادند  
که — رسید بود بالای ولی بخیر گذشت \* شمایان خاطرها خود را  
جمع دارید که من بصحت و عافیت هستم \* غرض هوا که گرم شد حضرت  
برگشته بکابل آمدند و مدت یکسال گذشت زخم تیر 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 (۷۷b) میرزا ابراهیم آمد حضرت را ملازمت کردند و حضرت بکابل رفتند و میرزایان در دولتخواهی بکابل و بکجهه شه در ملازمت بودند که میرزا کامران متوجه شدند \* حضرت پادشاه مجرم بیگم گفته فرستادند که کلینرا بگوئید که بزودی زود لشکر و مردم بدخشانرا سامان نموده فرستید و بیگم در انلك روز انلك 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 فراباغ پیرزا کامران جنگ شد لشکر حضرت غالب آمد و فتح کردند و میرزا کامرانرا شکست دادند \* میرزا کامران گریخته به تنگها و لغانات رفت \*

واق 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 (۷۸a) 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 \* واق 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 \* بجزد رسیدن فرمان شاه حسین میرزا حبیبه بیگم را از تصرف آق سلطان جدا ساخته و سلطانرا بمکه معظمه رخصت کرده \*

در همان جنگ چارکاران فراجه خان و اکثر مردم نامی میرزا کامران

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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 ترخان بیگم نام عورنی عبار مکاره بود بمیرزا کامران راه نموده که به حرم بیگم اظهار عاشقی بکنید که درین مصححتهاست \* میرزا کامران هم بگفته آن ناقص العقل خطی و روپاکی بدست بیگی آغا بجرم بیگم فرستادند \* این عورت خط و روپاک را برده پیش حرم بیگم نهاد و ملازمت میرزا کامران و اشتیاق بسیار اظهار کرد \* حرم بیگم گفت که حالا این خط و روپاک را نگاه دارید هرگاه میرزایان از بیرون بیایند این خط و روپاک را بیارید \* بیگی آغا در پی گریه و زاری و ملایمت که میرزا کامران این خط و روپاک بشما فرستاده و مدنهایست که بر شما 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 شایان را دانسته است که بن هر دو خطی نوشته واقع که من لایق این بودم که مرا چنین نویسد \* میرزا کامران برادر کلان تو باشد و من بجای کلین ایشان باشم \* مرا ازین بابت خطی فرستد \* بگیری و این زنک را پاره پاره سازید تا بر دیگران عبرت شود و هیچکس بر اهل و عیال کسی بچشم بدخیال فاسد نکند و از زن آدمی زاده چه مناسب که هر چه چیزهای نالایق بیارد و از من و پسر من نترسد \* و فی الحال بیگی آغا بیبی دولت خون گرفته را پاره پاره کردند و میرزا سلیمان و میرزا ابراهیم ازین جهت بمیرزا کامران بد شدند بلکه دشمن شدند و بخدمت حضرت نوشتند که قصد مخالفت دارد و مخالفت ازین صریح تر نی باشد که در حین توجه بلخ در ملازمت همراه نرفته \* بعد از آن میرزا کامران در کولاب از نوم هراسید 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 فرار داده بود که چغتای زور است — من فی توانم جنگ کرد — بهتر است که برآمد بروم — که امرایان پادشاهی یکی بعرض رسانید که یورت چرکین شده است — اگر ازین منزل برخواسته دشت منزل نمایند مناسب است \* حضرت حکم فرمودند چنین بکنند \* بجزد که دست به بار و بارخانه نهادند دیگر مردم تلافوف شدند و چند کس منادی کرد ب مردم کسی بس نیامد \* چون خواست آلهی چنین بود بی جهة غنیم و تقرب و بی واسطه مردم راهی شدند \* به اوزبک خبر رسید که لشکر پادشاهی کوچ کرد \* اوزبک در نهب شد و بساؤلان پادشاهی هر چند که سعی کردند به ریزه پایی نه آمدند (75a) و بمنع 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 انک راهی آمد بودند که استادند و گفتند که برادران تا 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 شنید شد که شکست واقع شد — ندانستم که بکدام طرف رفتند \* این خط که بدست حضرت افتاد بسیار بی طاقی کردند \* خضر خواجه خان 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 خرگاهی که بهمان خرگاه حمید بانو بیگم آمد نشیبتند\* بعد از نماز پیشین تا اسپان را آوردن میان دو نماز شد\* درین طور وقت شریف 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 نشیبتند\* آن شب در آنجا نیز بعیش و عشرت بهم گذرانیدیم و مایان هم در ملازمت آن قبله حقیقی بودیم\* صباح وقت نماز بیرون شریف بُردند — و از بیرون به بیگم و حمید بانو بیگم و ماه چوچک بیگم و بن و بهمه بیگمان علمه خط نوشتند که بگناه خود قابل شک عذرخواهی نوشید\* انشا الله در فرضه با در استالیف خیرباد کرده متوجه لشکر خواهم شد و اگر نه (74a) بخدا (? بجدا) سپردیم\* آخر هم عذرخواهی نوشته بخدمت اقدس 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 گویند فرستادند — و یک روز پیشترک بیبی دولت بخت در فرضه آمد بود و خوردنی وافر و شیر و جنرات و شیره و شربت و غیره طیار کرده بودند\* آن شب بعیش گذرانید صباح بر بالای فرضه نثرآب خوبست\* آنرا (fault) استالیف رفته و سه روز دیگر در استالیف بودند و بعد از آن کوچ کرده در <sup>۹۵۸</sup>سینه نهصد و پنجاه هشت متوجه بلخ شدند\*

و از کونل که گذشتند پیرزا کامران و میرزا سلیمان و میرزا عسکری فرمانهای طلب فرستادند که ما متوجه جنگ اوزبک شدیم وقت بکجهتی و برادر بست می باید که بسرعت تمام برسید\* میرزا سلیمان و میرزا عسکری آمد (74b) بحضرت ملحق شدند\* کوچ به کوچ متوجه شد به بلخ رسیدند\*





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مردم عجب شوقی و خوشحالی روی داده بود — چرا که اکثر امرایان و نوکران هم خویش و برادر یکدیگر بودند از مهر جدای صاحبان خود آنها هم از یکدیگر جدا بلك نشته خون یکدیگر بودند \* الحال همه 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 دولتخانه حضرت را در پایان باغ مذکور روبرو برپا کردند و بیگمان در حویلی کلی بیگت چون نزدیک بود آنجا فرود آمدند \* بحضرت باز عرض رسانیدند که ابا رواج جنوری برآمد باشد \* حضرت فرمودند — چون که بشکر میروم براه کوه دامن روم تا شمایان برآمد رواج را به بینید \* نماز دیگری بود که حضرت سوار شد در باغ دلکشا آمدند و حویلی کلی بیگت که بیگمان در آن بودند نزدیک بود و آنجا سرکوب بود \*

حضرت آمد استادند \* بیگمان همه دیدند و برخواستند (78b) و کورنش کردند — و بجزد کورنش کردن بیگمان حضرت بدست مبارک خود اشهارت کردند که بیاید \* فخرالنسا ماما و افغانی آغاچه پیشترک میرفتند — و در دامن کوه باغ دلکشا جوی بوده است \* افغانی آغاچه از جوی مذکور نتوانست گذست و افغانی آغاچه از اسپ افتاد \* از برای آن ساعتی معطل کردند \* آخر الامر بعد از ساعتی بملازمت اشرف اقدس مشرف گشتیم و ماه چوچک بیگم نا دانسته اسپش اندک 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 نسکین داده خواهم آمد \* مابان بفرموده حضرت اندک راهی رفته بودیم که حضرت شریف آوردند \* در واقع کلفت بالکلبه بر طرف شد و خوشحال و فرخناک آمدند \* شب



و قلعه ظفر را بمیرزا سلیمان دادند و قندهار را \* بمیرزا هندال و طالقان را بمیرزا  
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 توره که در ملازمت حضرت پادشاه نشسته اند فرمودند که آفتابه  
چلانچی بیارید که دست شسته هم بجا 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  
بینی خود را حرکتی بدی کرد \* میرزا عسکری و میرزا هندال بسیار درشت  
پیش آمدند (72b) و گفتند که این چه روستای کریست؟ اولاً مایان چه  
حد داریم که در حضور حضرت پادشاه دست بشویم — اما چون عنایت  
فرمودند و حکم نمودند نتوانستم تغیر حکم کرد — این اداهای بینی جنبانی چه  
معنی دارد \* آخر میرزا عسکری و میرزا هندال بیرون برآمد دست شسته  
آمد نشینند — و میرزا سلیمان بسیار شرمند شد — و هم در بک دستار خان  
طعام خوردند \* و حضرت درین مجلس این 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 بجا 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 مسلمانان بطلم چه جای  
آنکه زبان برادران را می طلبید باشم — انشا الله تعالی بهمه شما بان خدای  
تعالی همین توفیق کرامت کند که موافق و بیکجه باشد (73a) و در میان

\* So too Jauhar. Kundūz appears right.



خوشحالی تمام شب در یکرمان صباح شد. — ماه چوچک بیگم و خانس 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 درآمد اند و چیزی آوردند و پیش من گذاشتند \* هر چند فکر کردند فرمودند که تعیر 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 آمنه 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 خانس آغا پسر تولد شد. — ابراهیم سلطان میرزا نام نهادند \* و مدت یکسوم 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 اورته 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 نا مرادان 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





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بدست 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 بدست افتاد\*

حضرت پادشاه و میرزا هندال در ملازمت حضرت بفتح و فیروزی شادبانه نواختند و بکوکبه و دبدبه در عقابین درآمدند — و از برای خود خیمه و خرگاه و بارگاه برپا کردند\* و میرزا هندال را مورچال پلِ مستان تعیین نمودند و با امرایان هر جا مورچال تعیین کردند\*

تا مدت هفت ماه محاصره داشتند\* از قضا يك روزی (69 b) میرزا کامران از حویلی در دالان میرفتند که شخصی از عقابین تفنگ انداخت و ایشان دوبه خود را در کناره گرفتند و اکبر پادشاه را گفتند که در روبرو برده نگاه دارید\* آخر مردم بعرض اقدس اشرف رسانیدند که میرزا محمد اکبر را در روبرو نگاه داشته اند\* حضرت فرمودند که تفنگ نه اندازند\* بعد ازین مردم پادشاهی در بالای حصار تفنگ نی انداختند و از شهر کابل مردم میرزا کامران بعقابین در لشکر حضرت تفنگ 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 عبال و اطفال و بیگمان و مردم و حرمان و جماعه دیگر نوپ و ضرب جنگ نی انداختند — و بخانها (?) ابرا (70 a) تنگ نی کردند\*

چون محاصره بدور دراز انجام شد 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 بنویسید \* آخر الامر مهدی سلطان را و شیر علی 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 (68b) 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 شیر علی 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 بمیرزا کامران ملحق نشود — در ملازمت ما بیاید \* آخر خضر خواجه خان بجزد شنیدن این خبر و پیغام فرح انجام متوجه درگاه فلك بارگاه گنت و در عقابین آمد ملازمت کرد \*

آخر حضرت از منار که گذشتند درین اثنا شیر افکن پدر شیروبه را میرزا کامران ترتیب داده و ترتیب کرده تمام لشکر خود همراه کرده پیش فرستادند که رفته جنگ کند \* مابان از بالا میدیدیم که او نقاره زده از پیش بابا دستی میکشست و مابان میگفتیم که خدا نصیب نکند که (69a) نورفته جنگ کنی و گریه میکردیم \*

آخر چون در برابر دبه افغانان که رسید و قراولان روبرو که شدند بجزد 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 بچنگ 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 در بند بکنید (67b) بعد ازین مردم میرزا کامران بالای حصار رفتند و اشیاء و اسباب بی شمار اهل حرم نالان و تاراج کرده در سرکار میرزا کامران ضبط و ربط نمودند و یگمان 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 یگمان 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 یگمان 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 نالان کردند — و اهل و عیال هر کدام را یکی سپردند \* چون استماع نمودند که میرزا کامران از بکهر آمدن 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 بنواجی 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 والده من خواهد بود من نیز آنجا خواهم بود \* ایشان در جواب من گفتند که پس شما بنحضر خواجه خان خطی نویسد که آمدن ما ملحق شوند و خاطر جمع دارند — بنوعی که میرزا

\* Armenian, cakes of dung. The word is current in Turki. The translation should read "He closed the door of that house" &c..





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و اکثر اوقات معرکه و مجلس بود و شبها تا صباح می نشیستند 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 بیست شاهرخی میدادند و کسی که پای میداد همین بیست شاهرخی پای میداد که پنج مثقالی باشد و اگر می برد هر چند که بازی میکردند زیاده می بردند\*

و مردم که در جنگ چوسه و کنوج و بکهر و در آن فطرانها در نوده حضرت کشته و خسته گشته بودند بیوها و بییمان و اهل و عیال آن جماعت را و طبفه و رانبه 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 بفراغت میگذرانیدند و بجان درازی حضرت اکثر بفاتحه خیریت قیام و اقدام (66a) می نمودند\*

بعد از چند روز بندهار 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 روز هابونی 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 جاهاء 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 بیابوسی حضرت پادشاه مشرف شدند — و بایوس که یکی از امرای نامی میرزا کامران بود وی نیز بجماعه خود گریخته بقدم بوسی حضرت آمد مشرف گشت \* میرزا کامران یکی و تنها ماندند و چون دیدند که در گرد و نواحی من کس نماند — منزل بایوس که امرای نامی ایشان بود نزدیک بود — در و دیوار مشارالیه را انداخته ویران کرده و آهسته آهسته از پیش باغ نوروزی و گورخانه گلبرخ بیگم شد این دوازده هزار سوار خود طلاق داده رفتند \* چون ناریک شد بهمان راه به بابا دشتی در پیش 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 (65 a) خواهر حرم بیگم و مهر افروز \* بیکه مادر حاجی بیگم و باقی کوکه که این جمله را بیارید \* آخر این جماعه بمیرزا کامران همراه شدند و میرزا متوجه نهته و بکهر شدند \*

در ولایت خضر خان که در سر راه بکهر واقعست در آنجا که رفتند حبیبه بیگم را باق سلطان نکاح بسته سپردند و خود بجانب بکهر و نهته شدند \* حضرت پادشاه فتح کرده در شب دوازدهم پنج گهری 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 تقاره نواخته در خدمت حضرت در کابل درآمدند \* و روز دوازدهم ماه مذکور حضرت والد دلداری بیگم و گلچهن بیگم و این حقیر حضرت را ملازمت کردیم \* چون مدت پنج سال بود که از دولت ملازمت محروم و مهجور بودیم و از محنت دوری و مشقت مهجوری خلاص شد بدولت وصال آن ولی نعمت مشرف شدیم و بجزد دیدن دل غمزه را حضوری (65 b) و چشم رمد دیده را نوری نازه حاصل گشت و از خوشحالی هر زمان سجدهات شکر بجا می آورد \*

\* Erroneously read as ماه افروز (مهر افروز)



پادشاه به آن روش صلح را قبول نکردند و حضرت پادشاه بیرم خان را برای  
 بلجی‌گری فرستاده بودند\* میرزا کامران سخن بیرم خان را قبول نکردند و  
 الحال پادشاه قندهار را به بیرم خان سپرده متوجه کابل شد اند\* بیاید ما  
 و شما شرط و عهد با یکدیگر کرده بحیله خود را بحضرت 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  
 می‌شنود البته مرا خواهد گفت (64a) که یادگار ناصر گریخته شما رفته دلانا  
 کرده بیارید\* تا آمدن من شما آهسته آهسته بروید\* بعد از آنی که من آمد  
 رسیم همراه شده بسرعت تمام خودهارا بملازمت حضرت پادشاه خواهیم  
 رسانید\* همینرا 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 بحضرت عرض  
 کردند که براه تکیه حمار\* باید متوجه شد\*

در سینه نهصد و پنجاه و یک نهم شهر رمضان المبارک در تکیه حمار\*  
 نزول اجلال فرمودند\* همان روز بمیرزا کامران خبر رسید\* میرزا کامران را  
 اضرائی عجبی دست داد\* در ساعت چادر برآورده در پیش گذرگاه  
 فروز آمدند و حضرت (64b) پادشاه در یازدهم شهر رمضان در  
 جلگه نیبه\* نزول اجلال فرمودند و میرزا کامران هم آمد در برابر  
 فروز آمدند بقصد جنگ\* درین اثنا هم امرایان و سپاهیان میرزا

\* حمار؟ (حمار)\*

\*\* Perhaps the Tibāh of Bābar (Mems: L. & E. 139 & 136 n.)  
 which Mr. Erskine says is 3 m. s. of Ak-serāi and to the left of the  
 road from that place to Kābul. Abū'l-faḥl (A. N. I. 243) gives Julga-  
 i-dūrī as the meeting place.





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میدانستم \* باز هر دو پادشاه یکدل شدند و با یکدیگر خاطر را صاف کردند \*  
و آن هر دو حرام خور مردود هر (fault) پادشاه شدند \* و آن هر دو را  
پادشاه به شاه سپردند \*

آن لعل هارا بهر نوعی وقتی 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 جوئی مینمودند و هر روز تحفه و هدیه  
عجیب و غریب (62a) بحضرت پادشاه میفرستادند \* آخر الامر پسر  
خود را با خانان و سلطانان و امرایان بکومک همراه حضرت پادشاه کرده  
با بران (؟ق) خاطر خواه و خرگاه و بارگاه و چتر و طاق و شامیانهای پرکار  
و گلیمهای ابریشی و زلجهای کلابتون دوزی از هر باب اسباب چنانچه  
باید و شاید و از نوشکخانه و خزینه خانه و از هر کارخانه و باورچخانه  
و رکابخانه پادشاهان را طیار کرده ساعت نیک آن دو پادشاه عالیقدر  
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 زیر سر خود و گاهی در بغل خود نگاه میدارد \* خواجه معظم فهید و در دل جزم و یقین کرد که آن لعلها در پیش خواجه غازی هست و در همان طافی نگاه داشته است \* پیش حضرت آمد و عرض کرد که من نشان لعلها را در طافی خواجه غازی یافته ام \* بيك روشی میخواهم از او آن را ربایم \* اگر (61 a) خواجه غازی پیش حضرت آمد از من استغاثه کند حضرت بن چیزی نگویند \* حضرت شنید نسیم فرمودند \* خواجه معظم از آن باز بخواجه غازی هزل و مطایبه و مزاق (بک) 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 (بک) بکند و بمن اهانت رساند \* حضرت پادشاه فرمودند که باکی ندارد — خورد سال است باری بخاطرش رسیده باشد و از دلگیری‌ها بی 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 بيك بار طافی را از سرش ربود و لعل بی بدل از طافی بر آورده پیش حضرت پادشاه و حمید بانو بیگم آورد و نهاد \* حضرت نسیم کردند و حمید بانو بیگم خوشحال شدند و بخواجه معظم شاباش و رحمت (61 b) باد گفتند \* خواجه غازی و روشن کوکه از افعال‌های خود شرمسار شده هر دو پیش شاه رفته و سخنان مخفی بعرض شاه رسانیدند تا بجدی چیزی‌ها 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 پادشاه گفت که گناه خواجه غازی و روشن کوکه است که ما را از شما بیگانه کرده بودند و الا ما شمارا بیگانه



غیبت دانسته است و بیخ لعل را دزدیده و بخواجه غازی بکجهه شده و بخواجه غازی سپرده و بهرور ایام صرف میخواستند صرف نمایند\*  
 حمیده بانو بیگم که سر خود را شسته آمدند حضرت پادشاه آن طومار را به بیگم دادند\* بیگم از هوای دست فلحال 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 تنحص این بیک روشی که شور نشود بکنید گویا مرا از خجالت می بر آرید\* والا تا زنده ام از روی پادشاه خجل خواهم بود\*

خواجه معظم گفت— بکیزی بخاطر من می رسد که مرا با وجود نرف حضرت پادشاه قوت آن نیست که تانوی لاغر توانم خرید بخلاف خواجه غازی و روشن کوکه که هر کدام اینها برای خودها اسپان بوجاق خرید اند و هنوز زر اسپان را نداده اند\* این خرید اینها بی یک امیدواری نیست\* بیگم گفتند— ای برادر وقت برادری است— البته تنحص این معامله باید کرد\* خواجه معظم گفت— ماه چیم\* شما بکسی نگوئید— انشا الله تعالی امیدوارم که حق (60b) بمقدار برسد\* از آنجا برآمد بخانه همون سوداگران پرسید که این اسپان را بچند فروختید؟ در بهای اسپان شما زرکی 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 نرف خواجه غازی آمد و گفت که بنجه سرویای وناری و پری خواجه غازی در کجا می شد؟ و در چه جا نگاه میدارد\* یتیم خواجه غازی جواب داد که خواجه ما بنجه





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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 جهتی آن دو پادشاه عالی مقام مانند دو مغز در یک پوست بادام 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 نا در عراق بودند هشت مرتبه بشکار رفته بودند و هرگاه که بشکار میرفتند هر مرتبه حضرت را هم تکلیف میکردند — و حمید بانو بیگم در کجاوه با در محافه از دور تماشا می کردند — و شاهزاده سلطانی 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 سلطانی (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 سلطانی حمید بانو بیگم را تکلیف مهمانی نموده بود \* شاه بخواهر خود گفت که چون مهمانی می کنی در بیرون شهر معرکه سازی \* از شهر دو کروه دور پیشترک خیمه و خرگاه و بارگاه در صحن میدان خوب برپا کردند \* چتر و طاق نیز برپا کردند \* در خراسان و در آن حدود سراپرده میگرفتند 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 خوشاوندان شاه



زنها را که نخواهید گذاشت — گرفته پیش ما بیارید — مال واسپان تعلق بشما دارد و پادشاه را بنفدهار برسانید \* اوّل که من حضرت را ندیدم بودم خیالی فاسد داشتم \* الحال که حضرت را ملازمت کردم جان من و خاندان من (57a) پنج شش فرزندان دارم همه صدقه سیر حضرت بلك صدقه یکنار موی حضرت \* حضرت هرکجا که میخواهند تشریف فرمایند پناه خدا میرزا عسکری مرا هرچه خواهد بکند \* آخر بک پاره لعل و مروارید و چیزهای دیگر به آن بلوچ عنایت فرمودند و صبح کوچ کرده بجانب قلعه بابا حاجی تشریف فرمودند \*

بعد از دو روز رسیدند \* آن قلعه داخل ولایت گرم سیر است و در کنار دریا واقع شده است و جمعی از سادات در آنجا می باشند \* آمد حضرت را ملازمت کردند و میزبانی بها آوردند \* صبح او خواجه علاول الدین محمود از میرزا عسکری گریخته آمد و قطار استر واسپ و شامیانه و غیره که داشت آورده پیشکش حضرت کرد \* دیگر بی دغدغه شدند \*

روز دیگر حاجی محمد خان کوکی با سی چهل سوار آمد و قطار استر پیشکش نمود \* آخر از ناموافق برادران و نام پای امرا لا علاج شده مصلحت (57b) چنان دیدند که نوکل بحضرت مسبب الاسباب کرده عزم جرم خراسان باید کرد \* و بعد از قطع منازل و طی مراحل بنواحی خراسان رسیدند \* باب هلمند که رسیدند شاه طهماس از استماع این خبر در تحیر و تفکر فرو ماند که هابون پادشاه از گردش فلك غدار کج رفتار نا سازگار به این حدود رسیدند و حضرت واجب الوجود بانجاها رسانید \*

جمع اهالی و موالی و اشراف و اکابر و وصیع و شریف و کبیر و صغیرا باستقبال حضرت پادشاه فرستادند \* همه اینها تا آب هلمند پیشواز آمدند و بهرام میرزا و الفاس میرزا و سام میرزا که برادران شاه باشند — همرا



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 یافته بهر روش بالای کوه  
 رفتند و تمام 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 اسپ بکشید \* حالا  
 اسپ را که کشتند دیگ نی که آتش بپختند \* در دبلغه گوشت بپختند و کباب  
 کردند و چهار طرف آتش کردند و بدست مبارك خود کباب کرده نوش  
 کردند \* بزبان مبارك 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 آبادانی  
 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 \* همراه حضرت قریب سی کس بودند \* بلوچان که دیدند همه  
 جمع شده آمدند \* حضرت در خرگاه بدولت نشسته بودند که از دور  
 دریافتند که حضرت نشسته اند با یکدیگر می گفتند که اگر ما این هارا  
 گرفته پیش میرزا عسکری ببریم البته براقی این هارا بما (56b) می دهد بلکه  
 انعامات زیادی هم خواهد داد \* حسن علی ایسک آغا زین 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 تمام شب با احتیاط تمام بودند \* پاره از شب گذشته  
 بود که آن بلوچ سردار آمد حضرت را ملازمت کرد و گفت که فرمان  
 میرزا کامران و میرزا عسکری بما آمده است \* در آن نوشته اند که شنید شد  
 که پادشاه در خانهای شما تشریف دارند - اگر در آنجا باشند زنهار هزار





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غنیمت دانسته است و پنج لعل را دزدید و بخواجه غازی بکجهه شده  
و بخواجه غازی سپرده و بمروور ایام صرف میخواستند صرف نمایند\*  
حمیده بانو بیگم که سر خود را شسته آمدند حضرت پادشاه آن طومار را به  
بیگم دادند\* بیگم از هوای دست فلحال 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 تفحص این بیک روشی  
که شور نشود بکنید گویا مرا از خجالت می بر آرید\* والا تا زنده ام از روی  
پادشاه خجل خواهم بود\*

خواجه معظم گفت— بیکیزی بخاطر من می رسد که مرا با وجود  
تقرب حضرت پادشاه قوت آن نیست که ثانوی لاغر توانم خرید بمخلاف  
خواجه غازی و روشن کوکه که هر کدام اینها برای خودها اسپان تپوچاق  
خریدند و هنوز زر اسپان را نداده اند\* این خرید اینها بی یک امیدواری  
نیست\* بیگم گفتند— ای برادر وقت برادری است— البته تفحص این  
معامله باید کرد\* خواجه معظم گفت— ماه چیم\* شما بکسی نگوئید— انشا  
الله تعالی امیدوارم که حق (60b) بمقدار برسد\* از آنجا برآمد بخانه همون  
سوداگران پرسید که این اسپان را بچند فروختید؟ در بهای اسپان شما  
زرکی وعده کرده اند و ادای این زرها را بچه روش خاطر نشان کرده  
اند؟ سوداگران گفتند که بما این هر دو شخص وعده لعلها کرده اند  
و اسپان برده اند\* خواجه معظم از آنجا پیش نفر خواجه غازی آمد و گفت  
که بنجهه سروپای وناری و پری خواجه غازی در کجا می شد؟ و در چه  
جا نگاه میدارد\* تبیم خواجه غازی جواب داد که خواجه ما بنجهه



و عمه شاه و خواهران شاه و حرم‌های 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 می‌گویند 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 بعمه خود متوی سخن حمیده 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 خوبتر بهم میرسیده باشد \*  
 و غام روز معرکه و مجلس را خوب گذرانیدند \* در وقت طعام همه زنان  
 امرا ابستاده خدمت میکردند \* و حرمان شاه پیش شاهزاده سلطانم آش  
 می‌ماندند \* دیگر از هر جنس پارچای زردوزی و غیره چندان که باید  
 و شاید به حمیده بانو بیگم مهمانی کرده \* شاه خود پیش رفته تا نماز خفتن  
 در خانه پادشاه بوده \* بعد از آن شنید که حمیده بانو بیگم بخانه خود آمدند  
 از پیش پادشاه (59b) برخواسته 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 مغاطره بی وفائی کرد که چند پاره لعل قیمتی که در طومارهای  
 حضرت پادشاه می‌بود که حضرت خود یا حمیده بانو بیگم میدانستند و  
 ثالثرا بان اطلاع نبود \* اگر پادشاه بجائی تشریف می‌بردند آن طومار را  
 به حمیده بانو بیگم می‌سپردند \* روزی بیگم بسر شستن رفتند \* آن طومار را در  
 بنچه روپاک بچید بر بالای پلنگ پادشاهی نهادند \* روشن کوکه فرصت را

\* The translation of Sultānam's speech is doubtful. (باشد) \*



بگوشه پرنابند \* گرفته خواند و او را نسپرده در ساعت الله دوست و بابا جوکرا بدرونِ قلعه برد و انواع درشتی کرده \* اینها سوگند خوردند که ما را از آمدن این خبر نیست و این (54a) پیش من سبق خوانده است و خواجه غازی جهت با داشت و پیش کامران میرزا بود — باین سبب کتابت نوشته است \* محمود فرار داد که کپسک را با جمعی همراه پیش شاه حسین فرستد \* میر الله دوست و بابا جوکرا تمام شب پیش محمود بودند و ملائمت کرده او را درخواست نموده از بند خلاص کردند و سیصد انار صد بهی میر الله دوست برای حضرت فرستاد و عریضه از ترش نه نوشت که مباد 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 \* کپسک آمد بعرض رسانید \*

حضرت مُتَحَبِّر 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 سرحدِ فندهار 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 فرار با یکدیگر داده فائحه خواندند و کوچ بکوچ متوجه فندهار 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 اوزبک بر یابوی قله رهوار کپسک (?) رسید و نعره زد که حضرت سوار شوند که در راه سخنی عرض خواهم کرد که وقت تنگ است و الحال وقت سخن گفتن نیست \*





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وقتها را میرزا عسکری (52a) دادند و غزین را وعه کردند میرزا  
هنال \* حالا که غزین آمدند لغانات و تنگبهار را میرزا هنال دادند \*  
بن طور و عدل های دروغ \* میرزا هنال بیدخشن رفته در خوست و  
نتراب نشستند \* میرزا کامران بلندار بیگم گفتند که شما رفته بیارید \*  
حضرت بلندار بیگم که رفتند میرزا جواب دادند که من خود را از دغدغه  
بسی گری گذرانده ام و خوست هم گوشه ایست \* نشسته ام \* بیگم گفتند  
گر 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 پیش حضرت پادشاه کس فرستاد که لایق  
دولت آنست که از اینجا کوچ کرده بجانب قندهار بروید - بهتر است \*  
حضرت راضی شدند و جواب فرستادند که در اردوی ما اسپ و شتر  
کم مانده 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 بشما 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 بر کشتی ها سوار شدند \* تا سه روز  
بجرا طی کردند \* از سرحد ولایت او گذشته نواسی نام موضعی بود آنجا  
فروز آمدند و سلطان قلی نام ساریان باشی را فرستادند تا شتران را بیارد \*  
سلطان قلی مذکور رفته هزار شتر آورد \* حضرت هم شتران را به امرایان  
و سپاهی و غیره مردم لشکر دادند و قسمت فرمودند \* آن شتران بنوع  
بودند که گویا هفت پشت بلکه هفتاد پشت آن شتران مذکور شهر و ادم  
و بار را ندیده 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 بانفاق باشید بهتر است و کتابه‌ها که من بمیرزا 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 مابان 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 نطلبید \* دلداری بیگم گفتند که خانزاده بیگم ولی نعمت شما اند و کلان و بزرگ هم شمایان اند \* حقیقت خطبه را از ایشان پرسید \* آخر به آکه گفتند \* حضرت خانزاده 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 خوانده‌اید — 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 بیایند بنام ایشان خواهد خواند \* چون قبل بدور و دراز کشید بود و مردم تنگ آمد آمد بودند ضرور شد خطبه را خواندند \*



بگوشه پرناید \* گرفته خواند و او را نسرده در ساعت الله دوست و بابا جوکرا بدرون قلعه برد و انواع درشتی کرده \* اینها سوگند خوردند که ما را از آمدن این خبر نیست و این (54a) پیش من سبق خوانده است و خواجه غازی جهت با داشت و پیش کامران میرزا بود — باین سبب کتابت نوشته است \* محمود فرار داد که کپیک را با جمعی همراه پیش شاه حسین فرستد \* میر الله دوست و بابا جوکوک 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 مباد 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 نا چه روی دهد \* کپیک آمد بعرض رسانید \*

حضرت مُتَحَبِّر 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 فرار با یکدیگر داده فائحه 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 قرارداد چنین بود که ازین منزل بشالستان خواهم رفت \* وقت نماز عصر بود که جوانی اوزبک بر یابوی قله رهوار کپیک (?) رسید و نعره زد که حضرت سوار شوند که در راه یعنی عرض خواهم کرد که وقت تنگ است و الحال وقت سخن گفتن نیست \*





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بکهر شدند و بسی و اهل و عیال را (48b) در عمرکوت گذاشتند — و خواجه  
 مُظْمَر 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 صحر روز یکشنبه بود که تولدِ  
 حضرت بادشاه عالم پناه عالم گیر جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی شد \*  
 فر در برج اسد بود \* تولد در برج ثابت شد بغایت خوبست و منجمان  
 گفتند فرزندی که درین ساعت شود صاحبِ اقبال و دراز عمر می شود \*  
 حضرت در پانزده کرم می بودند که نردی محمد خان خبر رسانید \*  
 حضرت بسیار بسیار خوشحال شدند — و از مژده و بشارت این خبر  
 تفسیرات مانند نردی محمد خان معاف کردند \*

و آن خواب که در لاهور دیده بودند همون 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 سینیچه تا ده هزار کس جمع شدند — در پرگنه  
 چون رسیدند (49a) یک غلام شاه حسین میرزا با چند سوار در چون  
 بود — گریخته رفت \* در آنجا باغ آینه بسیار خوب بصفا بود \* در آن باغ  
 حضرت فروز آمدند و مواضع آن را بمردم جاگیر تعین فرمودند \* از  
 چون نهته شش روزه راه بود \* تا شش ماه حضرت در آنجا بودند و  
 بعمرکوت کس فرستادند اهل حرم و بسی نام 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 آمد بودند متفرق شدند  
 و رعنا را از جهة گت 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 سینیچه نیز بدو موافقت کرده رفتند \*  
 حضرت بهمان جمعیت خود ماندند \*



و هر دلوی که از چاه بیرون می آمد چون نزدیک می رسید مردم خود را در میان دلو می انداختند و ریسمان گسسته 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 خودها 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 \* نالابی کلانی بود \* اسپان و شتران که درون نالاب در آمدند چندان آب خوردند که اکثر مردند \* اسپ کم مانده بود — استر و شتر بودند \* از آن باز (48a) هر روز آب پیدا می شد تا به عمرکوت رسیدند که جای خوبست و نالاب 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 چنین خدمات شایسته بجا آورد که بکدام زبان تفریر توان کرد؟ و چند روزی در آنجا بماند و خوبی گذرانیدند \*

و بعد از آنی که خزینه تمام شد نردی بیگ خان زر بسیار داشت حضرت بطریق فرض از او مبلغی طلبیدند \* او بحساب ده دوهشتاد هزار اشرفی فرض 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 جرّار بهم رسانید در ملازمت حضرت همراه کرد \* باز حضرت متوجه

\* (رعنا) Text, *passim*, spells thus.



یادگار و میرزا پاینده 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 پرگنه جاجکاه 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 که آمد  
و میخند\* خدنگ ایشک آغا کشته شد و بیرم خان با چندی خلاص شد  
در ملازمت حضرت آمد مشرف شد\*

درین اثنا عرضه داشتند قراچه خان آمد بحضرت پادشاه (؟) و میرزا  
هندال که مدتیست که در نواحی بکهر نشسته اید\* درین مدت از  
شاه حسین میرزا اثر دولتخواهی ظاهر نشد بلکه بد پیش آمد\* دیگر  
بعنایت الهی کار آسان خواهد شد اگر پادشاه بدولت و سعادت بیابند  
بهر و عین مصلحت است و اگر حضرت نیابند شما البته بیابید\* 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 صدق این شدند که قندهار را از میرزا هندال بگیرند\*

درین ضمن حضرت این خبرها را شنیده پیش عمه خود خاتزاده  
بیگم آمد مبالغه بسیار (51a) نمودند که مرا سرافراز کرده بقتل  
بروید و میرزا هندال را و میرزا کامران را نصیحت کنید که اوزبک و ترکان

\* Cf. Turkī ishik aghāsi, usher. (آغاچی)





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بکهر شدند و بسی و اهل و عیال را (48b) در عمرکوت گذاشتند — و خواجه  
 مُعظَّم را نیز گذاشتند که از حرم خبردار باشد \* حمید بانو بیگم حامله بودند \*  
 بعد از متوجه شدن حضرت سه روز گذشته بود که بتاریخ چهارم شهر رجب  
 المرجب سنه <sup>۹۴۹</sup> نهصد و چهل و نه وقتِ صبح روز یکشنبه بود که تولدِ  
 حضرت بادشاه عالم پناه عالم گیر جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی شد \*  
 قمر در برج اسد بود \* تولد در برج ثابت شد بغایت خوبست و منجمان  
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 حضرت در پانزده کرو می بودند که نردی محمد خان خبر رسانید \*  
 حضرت بسیار بسیار خوشحال شدند — و از مژده و بشارت این خبر  
 تفسیرات مانقدیم نردی محمد خان معاف کردند \*

و آن خواب که در لاهور دیده بودند همون نام جلال الدین محمد اکبر  
 بادشاه نام نهادند \* و از آنجا کوچ کرده متوجه بکهر شدند — و از مردم  
 رعنا و اطرافی و سودمه و سسینچه تا ده هزار کس جمع شدند — در پرگنه  
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 حضرت فروز آمدند و مواضع آن را بمردم جاگیر تعین فرمودند \* از  
 جون نهته شش روزه راه بود \* تا شش ماه حضرت در آنجا بودند و  
 بعمرکوت کس فرستادند اهل حرم و بسی نام 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 جهة گنت 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  
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 حضرت بهمان جمعیت خود ماندند \*



و هر دلوی که از چاه بیرون می آمد چون نزدیک می رسید مردم خود را در میان دلو می انداختند و ریسمان گسسته 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 خودها در چاه می اندازند — از کرونئی 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 \* نالابی کلانی بود \* اسپان و شتران که درون نالاب در آمدند چندان آب خوردند که اکثر مردند \* اسپ کم مانده بود — استر و شتر بودند \* از آن باز (48a) هر روز آب پیدا می شد تا به عمرکوت رسیدند که جای خوبست و نالاب 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 چنین خدمات شایسته بجا آورد که بکدام زبان تقریر توان کرد؟ و چند روزی در آنجا بجزر و خوبی گذرانیدند \*

و بعد از آنی که خزینه تمام شد نردی بیگ 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 کشته بود \* بوجود آن هم دوسه هزار سوار جرّار بهم رسانید در ملازمت حضرت همراه کرد \* باز حضرت متوجه

\* Text, *passim*, spells thus. (رعنا)



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 با چندی از راه کنار میرفتند \* درین جنگ چند کسی زخمی شدند — (۱) لوش بیگ برادرِ شام خان جلایر و پیر محمد آخته و روشنگ نوشچی 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 بسانلمیر رسیدند \* آن مردم آن روز تشویش دادند تا آنکه در پلودی نام پرگنه که تعلق به مالدیو داشت رسیدند \* راجه مالدیو در جودهپور بود — يك جیبه و يك شتر بار اشرفی بخدمت حضرت فرستادند و دلایلی بسیار نمود که خوش آمدید — بیکانبر را بشما میدم \* 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 زنده هزار زنده حضرت پیش نیاید و در هر جا که منزل دارند در ساعت کوچ کنند که مالدیو در صد گرفتن شما است و اعتماد بر قول او نکنید که ایلچی شیر خان آمده و شیر خان نوشته فرستاده که هر نوعی که دانید و توانید آن حضرت را بگیریید — اگر این کار کردید ناگور و الور و هر جایی که خواهید بشما میدم \* 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 گوالباری را زخمی کرده —





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آیم \* سبحان قلی که از بیگم این حرف شنیده آمد بعرض رسانید \* حضرت فرمودند اگر نا محرم اند محرم می سازیم \*

غرض که نا چهل روز از جهه حمید بانو بیگم مبالغه و منافسه بود و بیگم راضی نشدند \* آخر حضرة والداهم دلداری بیگم نصیحت کردند که آخر خود بکسی خواهی رسید — بهتر از پادشاه که خواهد بود — بیگم گفتند که آری بکسی خواهم رسید که دست من بگریباز او برسد — نه آنکه بکسی برسم که دست من میدانم بدامن او نرسد \* آخر باز (43b) والداهم نصیحت بسیار کردند \*

غرض که بعد از چهل روز در ماه جمید الاول سنه ۹۴۸ نهصد و چهل و هشت در مقام پانز روز دوشنبه نیم روز بود که استرلاب را حضرة پادشاه بدست مبارك خود گرفته اند و ساعت سعده را اختیار کرده میر ابو البقارا طلید حکم فرمودند که نکاح بستند \* مبلغ دولک 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 یکماه در بکهر بودند \* میر ابو البقارا در پیش سلطان بکهری فرستادند \* آنجا تشویش 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 نهنه شش هفت روزه راهست \* سیاهوان قلعه مضبوط دارد و میرعلیکه ملازم حضرت پادشاه در آن قلعه بود و توپچی 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 یک 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 اسناده بود \* گفتند— این پسر با 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 بدیدن حضرت والد دلداری بیگم آمدند \* فرمودند— میر بابا دوست خویشاوند ما است— مناسب آنست که دختر او را با نسبت بکنید \* میرزا هندال عذرهای می گفتند که این دختر را من مثل خواهر و فرزند خود میدانم— حضرت پادشاه اند— مبادا معاش نیک نشود تا باعث کلفت شود \* حضرت پادشاه خشم کرده برخواسته رفتند \*

بعد از آن حضرت والد خطی نوشته فرستادند که مادر دختر ازین هم پیشتر ناز میکند— عجبست که به اندک سخن رنجید رفتند \* حضرت پادشاه در جواب نوشته فرستادند که این حکایت شما با بسیار خوش آمد هر نازی که می کنید بسر و چشم قبول داریم \* دیگر از جهة معاش که نوشته اند انشا الله— حسب المدعا 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 بیار و حضرت والد که کس فرستادند حمید بانو بیگم نه آمدند— گفتند— اگر غرض ملازمت است خود آن روز بملازمت مشرف شده 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— تو خود رفته بگو \* سبحان قلی که رفته گفت— بیگم جواب دادند که بدین پادشاهان يك مرتبه جایز است— در مرتبه دیگر با محرمست— من نمی



آخر میر سمندرا\* پیش شاه حسین میرزا فرستادند که از ضرورت بولایتِ نو آمد ام و ولایتِ نو بتو مبارک باشد۔ ما دخل نخواهیم کرد۔ باری تو خود آمد ما را ملازمت بکن و خدمت که لازمه باشد بجا بیار۔ که ما داعیهٔ جرات داریم و ولایتِ ترا بتو میگذاریم\* آخر شاه حسین مذکور بکر و حبله تا پنج ماه حضرت را در سمندر نگاه داشت و بعد از آن کس بخدمت حضرت فرستاد که سامانِ طوی دختر خود را کرده بخدمت حضرت میفرستم و خود نیز بملازمت خواهم آمد\*

حضرت سخنِ 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 میدی۔ مانع (428) آمدن کبست و باعث توقف چیست؟ این مرتبه داشت که کار تنگ شده است و مردم بسیار گریخته می روند\* جواب فرستاد که دخترِ من نامزدِ میرزا کامران است و دیدنِ 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 عقبِ 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 بدیدنِ حضرت والد آمدند\*

حرمهای میرزا و همه مردمِ میرزا حضرت پادشاه را درین مجلس ملازمت

\* آخر میرزا شاه حسین سمندرا Text, (سمندرا) \* This is clearly the scribe's error. Mir Samandar was a confidential servant of Humāyūn and is named in the histories as the envoy. Cf. note to translation.





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و در آن ایام یبسی گونور حامله بود\* همه میگفتند که پسر تولد خواهد شد\* در همان باغ دوست منشی از یبسی گونور در ماه جمید الاول دختر تولد شد بیخشی بانو بیگم نام کردند\*

و در آن روزها میرزا حیدر را بگرفتن کشمیر تعین نموده اند\* درین اثنا خبر آمد که شیرخان رسید\* عجب اضطراری دست داد\* قرار دادند که صباح کوچ کنند\* (40a)

درین مدت که برادران در لاهور بودند هر روز مصلحت و مشورت و کنگاش میکردند\* اصلاً یک چیز قرار نمی دادند\* آخر الامر خبر آمد که شیرخان آمد\* دیگری علاج شد بکپهر روز بود که کوچ کردند و حضرت داعیه کشمیر داشتند— و میرزا حیدر کاشغیر را 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 بیابند ملازمت خواجه بحضرت با حسن وجه میسر می شود\* حضرت از شنیدن این خبر فی الحال جیبه پوشید 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 بمیرزا 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—



سرهند باشد \* آن بی انصاف (39a) خدا نا ترس قبول نکرده و گفت که کابل را بشما گذاشتم — در آنجا باید رفت \*

مظفر بیگ در ساعت کوچ کرد و پیشتر 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 نقد 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 دریای منزل کردند که ایلچی شیرخان آمد \* فرار دادند که صباح به بیند که میرزا کامران التماس نمودند که فردا معرکه خواهد بود و ایلچی شیرخان خواهد آمد \* اگر در نوك زچۀ حضرت نشینم تا فرقی میان من و برادران باشد باعث سرافرازی من خواهد شد \*

همین بانو بیگم میگویند میرزا ابن رباعی را پادشاه نوشته فرستادند و من شنیدم بودم که در جواب شیرخان بدست ایلچی نوشته فرستادند \* رباعی این است —

در اینه گرچه خود نمائی باشد — پیوسته زخویشن جدائی باشد — (39b)  
خود را بمثالی غیر دیدن عجب است — این بوالعجبی کار خدای باشد \*  
ایلچی شیرخان که آمد ملازمت کرد \*

خاطر مبارك ایشان ملول شد \* دلگیر شد در خواب شدند و در خواب دیده اند که عزیزی آمد از سرنا پا لباس سبز پوشید و عصای در دست \* گفت مردانه باش و غم مخور و عصای خود را بدست مبارك حضرت داده اند و گفته اند خدای تعالی بتو فرزندی خواهد داد — نامش جلال الدین محمد اکبر بانی \* حضرت پرشیدند 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 کردنِ مادر و خواهر  
بحضرت روشن است \* تا جان دارم در خدمت آنها نرود میکنم و امیدوارم  
از حضرت خق سبحانه که در قدیم حضرت والد و همشیره این حقیر جان  
خود را نثار کنم \*

آخر حضرت بادشاه با میرزا عسکری و یادگار ناصر میرزا و امرای که  
از جنگ گاه سلامت بر آمدند متوجه فتح پور شدند \*  
و میرزا هندال حضرة والده خود را که دلدار بیگم باشند و همشیره که  
گلچهره بیگم باشند و افغانی آغه چه و گلنار آغه چه و نارگل آغه چه و اهل  
و عیالِ امرا و غیره را در پیش انداخته می بردند که گواران بسیار بر ایشان  
ناختند \* از سپاهیان ایشان چند کس اسپ انداخته اند و گواران را (88 b)  
شکست دادند — و یک تیر به اسپ مبارک ایشان رسید \* جنگ و جدل  
بسیار کردند \* ضعفارا از اسیری گواران خلاص کرده حضرت والد و  
همشیره خود را و بسی 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 امرایان را آنچه در کار بود همراه گرفته در اندک روز  
آمد بلاهور رسیدند \*

حضرت در باغ خواجه غازی نزدیک یببی حاج تاج فرود آمدند \*  
هر روز خبر 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 ملک  
هندوستان را بنو گذاشتم \* يك لاهور ماند میان ما و شما حد همین





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درین وقت که شیرخان نزدیک رسیده این چه کار است که حضرت میکند \*

در آن روزها میرزا کامران بیماری عجب زور کرده \* چنان ضعیف و لاغر شدند و از بس که لاغر شده بودند اصلاً چهره برجا نبود و امید زیستن نبود \* بعنایت (36 b) الهی بهتر شدند — و میرزا کامران را گمان آن شد که بمصلحت حضرت بادشاه و والدها به ایشان زهر دادند \* حضرت بادشاه این سخن را شنیدند \* بکمرنبه بدین میرزا کامران آمدند و سوگند خوردند که هرگز در خیال ما نگذشته و بکس نرموده ایم \* 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 شیرخان 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 بادشاه پل بسته از آب گنگ گذشتند \* میرزا کامران شنیدند — از آگره کوچ کردند \*

بطرف لاهور نشسته بودیم که میرزا کامران فرماز بادشاهی را فرستادند که شمارا حکم است که همراه من به لاهور بروید \* از جهت من میرزا کامران بحضرت بادشاه گفته باشند که بیماری من بسیار قوی است و بسیار غریب و بیکیس و بی غمخوارم (37 a) اگر گلبدن بیگم را حکم شود که بمن همراه بلاهور برود عین عنایت و کرم خواهد بود \* حضرت بروی ایشان گفته باشند که برود \* چون بادشاه بدولت و سعادت جانب لکهنو دوسه منزل رفتند میرزا فرمان پادشاهی را نمودند و محصل شدند که البته شما همراه من بیاید \* والده من درین اثنا گفته باشند که هرگز از مابان جدّاً سفر نکرده است \* ایشان فرمودند اگر تنها سفر نکرده است شما نیز همراه بروید \* تا پانچ صد از سپاهی و مهتران همرم و هر دو آنکه و کوکۀ



میگوید\* و باز فرمودند که گلبدن چه شود (85 b) که برادرِ خود محمد هندال میرزا را تو رفته بیاری؟ 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 غمخواری فرزندان بر مادر و پدر لازم است\* اگر تشریف ببرید غمخوار بست که بر مایان میکنید\*

آخر امیر ابو البقارا بهمراهی حضرت والد ام بطلب میرزا هندال فرستادند — و محمد هندال میرزا بجزد شنیدن این خبر تشریف آوردند و حضرت والد خوشحالی‌ها 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 کجیم و اسباب شپاه‌یگری را بشیر خان مفرستاد\* 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 یک غلام سفا داشتند\* از جهة آنکه پادشاه در آب چوسه از اسپ جدا شد بودند (86 a) و غلام سفا خود را رسانید و به مدد او از گرداب سعادت و سلامت برآمدند — آخر حضرت سقای مذکور را بر تخت نشانند — و نام آن غلام مشغص نشیدیم\* بعضی نظام میگفتند و بعضی سنبل میگفتند\* غرض آن غلام سفا را بر تخت نشانند و حکم فرمودند که همه امرایان کورنش بغلام سفا بکنند و غلام بهر کس هر چه 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 بحضرت گفته فرستادند که غلام را بخشیش و رعایت‌های دیگر بایست کرد — چه لازم بود که بر تخت نشیند\*



آمدند و فردوس مکانی را زیارت کرده والد و همشیرهارا 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 خودرا بجانب الور کشیدند \*

و میرزا کامران حضرت پادشاهرا ملازمت کردند \* بعد از چند روز از باغ گل افشان آمده حضرت پادشاهرا ملازمت میکردند \* همان روز که حضرت آمدند شب بود که رفته ملازمت کردیم \* این حقیررا دیدند فرمودند که اول ترا نشناختم از برای آنکه وقتی که لشکر ظفر اثر به گور بنگاله کشید بودم — طافی پوش بودی \* الحال که لچک قصابه دیدم نشناختم — و گلبدن من ترا بسیار یاد میکردم و گاهی پشیمان شد می گفتم که کاشکی همراه می آوردم — اما وقتی که فطرات شد (858) شکر میکردم و میگفتم الحمد لله که گلبدنرا 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 آچم و این حقیر 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 هم مطلوب و مرغوبست \* روا باشد — بجهت قضیه شیخ بهلول من میرزا محمد هندال چه خواهم گفت — آنچه تقدیر الهی بود شد \* الحال من هیچ غبار خاطری به هندال ندارم — و اگر باور نکنید — مصحفرا برداشته بودند که حضرت والد و دلدار بیگم و این حقیر مصحفرا از دست ایشان گرفتم و همه گفتند — روا باشد — چرا چنین





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منگبر شدند و اکثر مردم اهل و عیال خود را در کشتی بالا روبه آب می کشیدند تا بحاجی 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 می آمدند \* 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 خواستِ خُدا چنین بود — غافل نشسته بودند که شیرخان آمد ریخت \* لشکر شکست یافت و اکثر اهل و مردم در اسیری ماندند — و بدستِ مبارکِ حضرة زخم رسید \* سه روز در چناده بودند \* بعد از آن به اریل آمدند و چون بر سرِ 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 اسپان نیز آسوده شدند — و هر که پیاده بوده اسپ نازه خرید \* غرض راجه خدماتِ شایسته و بایسته بجا آورد — و روز دیگر راجه را رخصت فرمودند و خود بسعادت و سلامت نماز پیشین بر لبِ آبِ جمنه آمدند \* يك 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 ولایتِ خود بود \* مردم لشکر آسوده شد بکالی رسیدند — و از کالی کوچ کرده متوجه آگره شدند \* قبل از آمدن آگره خبر شنیدند که شیرخان طرفِ چوسه می آید \* مردم را طرفه اضطرابی دست داد \* از بعضی ها در آن فطرات اصلاً و قطعاً نام و نشان یافته نشد \* از آن

\* اگره Text (کره). Clearly an error. Humāyūn was marching up the Dūāb from the junction of the Jamna and Ganges, towards Āgra.



خان غلام او در گور بودند \* خواص خان (82a) و پسر خود را فرستاد که بروید و گرهی را مضبوط کنید \* ایشانان آمدند و گرهی را گرفتند — و آنحضرت جهانگیر بیگ را پیش نوشته بودند که يك منزل پیشتر می رفت \* بر سر گرهی 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 گرهی فرود آیند \* چون کوچ کرده پیشتر رفته نزدیک گرهی فرود آمدند شب شیر خان و خواص خان گریختند \* فردا آنحضرت به گرهی در آمدند و از گرهی 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 میرزا 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 تخته پنهان کرده و در اربابها بار کرده بشیر خان و میرزایان میفرستد \* میرزا هندال باور نمی کردند \* آخر بجهت تفحص 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 بادشاه کلان اید — بهمان راهی که آمد بودید بهمان راه متوجه شوید — تا شیر خان نگوید که راه آمدن خود را ماند برآه 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 منصور مقابل شدند و جنگ کرده سلطان بهادر را بشکست او گریخته بجانب چنابیر رفت \* آخر حضرت خود مقید شد تعاقب کردند چنابیر 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 بهروچ را بقاسم حسین سلطان دادند — و پتن را به یادگار ناصر میرزا دادند — و حضرة خود از چنابیر بمردم اندک بطریق سیر به کنبایت رفتند \* بعد از چند روز يك عورنی خبر آورد که — چه نشسته اید — مردم کنبایت جمع شد به سر شما خواهد ریخت — یا حضرت سوار شوند \* امرای از حضرت بر سر آنجماعت ناخند و آنها (31b) گیر کردند و پاره را قتل کردند — و بعد از آن به برود آمدند \* از آنجا بطرف چنابیر رفتند \*

نشسته بودیم که فترات شد و مردم میرزا عسکری احمدآباد را مانده پیش بادشاه آمدند — و بعرض رسانیدند که میرزا عسکری و یادگار ناصر میرزا متفق شده اند و به آگره میخواهند بروند \* چون حضرت شنیدند ضرور شد متوجه آگره شدند — و بهم و معامله گجرات پرداختند — گجرات را پرنافه کوچ کرده بجانب آگره آمدند \* تا یکسال در آگره بودند \*

بعد از آن بجانب چناده رفتند و چناده را و بنارس را گرفتند \* شیر خان در پرکنده بود و بخدمت حضرت عرضه داشت کرد که بنک پیر غلام شماست — بکجارا سر حدی سد بسته بدهند — که در آنجا نشسته باشم \*

درین فکر بودند که پادشاه گور بنگاله زخمی شد گریخته پسر حضرت آمد و بدان حضرة مقید نشدند — و کوچ کرده متوجه گور بنگاله شدند \* شیر خان دانست که پادشاه بگور بنگاله رفتند \* خود هم جریب ابلغار کرده بگور رفت و همراه پسر خود بکجا شد \* پسر او و خواص





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 حضرة ولايت احمدآباد را هم گرفتند و بمردم نام گجرات را تقسیم کردند و احمدآباد را میرزا عسکری عنایت فرمودند — و بهروج را بقاسم حسین سلطان دادند — و پتن را به یادگار ناصر میرزا دادند — و حضرة خود از چنابیر بمردم اندک بطریق سیر به کنبایت رفتند \* بعد از چند روز يك عورتی خبر آورد که — چه نشسته اید — مردم کنبایت جمع شده به سر شما خواهد ریخت — یا حضرت سوار شوند \* امرایان حضرت بر سر آنجماعت ناخند و آنها (81b) گیر کردند و پاره را قتل کردند — و بعد از آن به برود آمدند \* از آنجا بطرف چنابیر رفتند \*

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بعد از آن بجانب چناده رفتند و چناده را و بنارس را گرفتند \* شیرخان در پرکنده بود و بخدمت حضرت عرضه داشت کرد که بنک پیر غلام شماست — بکجارا سر حدی سد بسته بدهند — که در آنجا نشسته باشم \*

درین فکر بودند که پادشاه گور بنگاله زخمی شد گریخته پسر حضرت آمد و بدان حضرة مقید نشدند — و کوچ کرده متوجه گور بنگاله شدند \* شیرخان دانست که پادشاه بگور بنگاله رفتند \* خود هم جریده ایلغار کرده بگور رفت و همراه پسر خود بکجا شد \* پسر او و خواص



بنیاد گله کردند که چند روز است که درین باغ تشریف آورده اید۔ یک روز بخانه ما نه آمدید\* در راه خانه ما خوخار نکاشته اند۔ امیدواریم 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 بنماز رفتند۔ و یک پھر روز برآمد بود که همشیرها و بیگمان و دلدار بیگم و افغانی آغچه و گلنار آغچه و میوه جان و آغچه جان و اینگه هارا (sic) طلبیدند۔ و حالاً که همه رفتیم پادشاه هیچ نگفتند و همه دانستند که پادشاه در قهر اند\* بعد از آن گفتند۔ بعد از زمانی۔ که ییبی سحر چه بلا از من گلها کردی۔ و۔ آن همچو جای نبود که گله بایست کرد\* شما میدانید که در خانه ولی نعمتار شمایان بوده ام\* بن ضرورت است خاطر جوئی ایشانان کردن و با\* جود آن از روی ایشان شرمند ام که دیر می بینم۔ و دایم در خاطر م بود که از شمایان\*\* بجلی طلبیم\* خوب شد که شما خود بزبان آوردید۔ من افیونی۔ اگر در آمد و رفت من دیرتر واقع شود از من نرنجید۔ وگرنه خطی نوشته بدهید که رضائی شما خواه بیاید خواه نیاید که ما راضی و شاکر ایم از شما\* گلبرگ بیگم فی الحال بهمین مضمون نوشته دادند و به گلبرگ بیگم دریافتند و بیگه بیگم پاره مبالغه کردند که عذر بدتر از گناهِش (81a) 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\*

\* Read as *bā wujūd-i-ān*. (با)

\*\* Read in translating for سجلی; an attested writing. (بجلی)



شکست (29b) دادند\* و بعد از چند گاه حضرت پادشاه خود متوجه  
گجرات بسعادت و سلامت 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  
بکماه بودند\*

روزهای دیوان که بکشنبه و سه شنبه باشد — آنروی آب می رفتند و تا  
در باغ بودند اکثر روزها آجم و همشیرها و حرمان در ملازمت حضرت  
می بودیم\* و از همه بالا چادر معصومه سلطان بیگم — بعد از آن چادر  
گلرنگ بیگم و چادر آجم بیگما بود\* بعد از آن چادر مادرم\* گلبرگ  
بیگم و یگه بیگم و غیره بیگمان\*

و کارخانها برپا کردند و طیار نمودند\* مرتبه اول که خیمه و  
خرگاه و بارگاه در باغ برپا کردند بجهت دین 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 (30a) که تشریف  
می بردند همه بیگمان و همه همشیرها همراه میرفتند — و فرداش در خانه این  
حقیر تشریف فرمودند\* تا سه پهر شب مجلس بود و اکثر بیگمان و همشیرها  
و بیگه ها و آغاها و آنچها و سازندها و گویندها بودند\* بعد از سه پهر  
حضرت آسایش فرمودند\* همشیرها و بیگمان همه در ملازمت حضرت  
نکته کردند\*

و یگه بیگم بیدار کردند که وقت نماز است\* حضرت فرمودند که آب  
وضو را در همان خانه طیار سازند\* بیگم دانستند که پادشاه بیدار شدند\*

\* Cf. n. to trs. (مادرم)

\*\* occurs elsewhere where فروز might be looked for. (فروز)





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و حضرت بادشاه فرمودند که آگه جانم اگر حکم شود در حوض آب بماند \* آگه جانم گفتند بسیار خوب \* خود آمد بر سر زینه نشستند و مردم غافل که بیکبارگی شراس زده آب آمد — جوانان را طرفه اصرایی دست داده (28a) حضرت بادشاه فرمودند دخل ندارد — هر کدام شایبان که يك گلوله شبت \* و يك پارچه معجون بخورید و از اینجا بدر روید — و در آن میان هر که معجون خورد زود برآمد و آب تا شتالنگ رسید بود \* المحاصل هم معجون رسا خوردند و برآمدند \* و آشی طوی کشیدند و سروپاها بمردم نهادند و انعامها و سروپاها بمردم 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 کبشتی هارا آئین بسته بودند \* و در يك کشتی مثل شش کسی و شش کنج بسته بودند و در کشتی بالاخانه ساخته بودند و پایان باغی ساخته بودند از قسم قلغه 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 مبارك ایشان عطا کرده بود — هر که میدید مخیر 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 \* آگه جانم 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 \*

\* This word has only the *yā* points and might yield also *sīb*, apple. Anise seems the safer remedy against chill.

\*\* Translated as *ān ast ki*.



تصویرهای و خطّهای خوش نهاده بودند\* و خانه سیوم که آنرا خانه مراد می‌گفتند در آن خانه خهرکت از مرصع و ظرفی از صندل انداخته و نوشکهای خیال انداخته و در پایان نیز نهالچهای خاصگی انداخته در پیش نهالچها دسترخانهای انداخته همه از زربفت خیال بود و میوه‌های الوان و شربتهای گوناگون— و همه اسباب عیش و طرب تنعم مهیا ساخته بودند\*

و روزی که طوی خانه طلسم شد حکم فرمودند که تمام میرزایان و بیگمان و امرایان همه ساچق سازند\* بفرموده ایشان همه آوردند— حکم فرمودند که این ساچق را سه نوده بکنند— سه خوان اشرفی شد و شش خوان شاهرخی— بکخوان اشرفی و دو خوان شاهرخی را به هندو بیگ دادند که این حصّه دولت است— میرزایان و امرایان و وزرا و سپاهی‌ها بخش بکن— و بکخوان اشرفی و دو خوان شاهرخی را (27b) بملازمت مولا محمد فرغری دادند که این حصّه سعادت است— اینرا به اکابران و اشراف و علما و صلحا و زهاد و مشایخ و درویش و عبّاد و فقرا و مساکین بخش بکند— و بکخوان اشرفی و دو خوان شاهرخی را فرمودند که این حصّه مراد است— از ما است— پیش بیارید\* آوردند— فرمودند که شردن چه حاجت است\* اوّل خود دست مبارک رسانیدند و فرمودند که اوّل در بکخوانچه اشرفی و در بکخوانچه شاهرخی پیش بیگمان به برند\* هرکسی مشت مشت خودها بگیرد و باقی دو خوان شاهرخی— و همه اشرفی را قریب دو هزار بود— و شاهرخی قریب ده هزار باشد\* همه را پاشیدند و نثار کردند اوّل پیش ولی نعمتان و دکر (?دیگر) بمحاضران مجلس از صد و صد پنجاه کم هیچکس نیافته بود— بتخصیص جماعه که در حوض بودند— بسیار یافتند\*



کوک و شرف نشا کوک و فتح کوک و رابعه سلطان کوک و ماه لقا کوک و انگهای ما و کوکهای ما و مردم بیگمان و کوچ امرایان و مردم که در دست راست بودند — سلیمه بیگه و بیبی نیکه و خاتم آغه دختر خواجه عبدالله مروارید و نگار آغه مادر مغل بیگ و نار سلطان آغه و آغه کوک کوچ منعم خان و دختر میرشاه حسین (?) عیسی بیگه و کبک مام و کالی مام و بیگی آغه و خانم آغه و سعادت سلطان آغه و بیبی دولت بخت و نصیب آغه و عیسی کالی و دیگر بیگها و آنها کوچ امرایان بدین طرف نشتند (26b) و همه در آن مجلس طوی حاضر بودند \*

و طرح خانه طلسم بدین تفصیل — خانه کلان مشن که در آن جا طوی دادند — خانه خورد دیگر برابر آن هم مشن بود — و در هر دو مشن انواع تکلف و آرایش نموده بودند — و در مشن کلان که طوی خانه باشد — تخت مرصع نهاده — در بالا و پایین تخت اسفهای زردوزی انداخته و شدهای مروارید اوینخته بمقدار یک نیم گز درازی — هر لری دو کره آینه در پایان قریب سی چهل لریها ساخته و اوینخته — و در مشن خورد چهارکت\* (sic) مرصع نهاده و پاندان و صراحی و مشربه مرصع و طلا آلات و نفره آلات ساده در طاقها نهاده و بجانب دیوانخانه قبله روبه و دیگری بجانب باغ مشرق روبه و در سیوم بجانب مشن کلان جنوب روبه و در چهارم بجانب مشن خورد شمال روبه — در بالای این سه خانه مذکور سه بالاخانه بود که یکی را خانه دولت میگفتند — و در آن خانه نه اسباب سپاهگری می بود — مثل شمشیر مرصع و قور مرصع و کمر خنجر مرصع و جمدهر و کهبوه مرصع و ترکش — همه مرصع و قورپوش (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 Hindustānī words occur in the M.S. (چهارکشت)





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شرح نومی خانه که در لبِ دریا راست کرده بودند — و نام آنرا طلسم  
نهاده بودند \*

اوّل خانه کلانِ مشمن بود و در میانه خانه حوض (24b) مشمن و باز  
در میانه حوض صُفّه مشمن و بالای آن گلیسهای ولایتی انداخته — و اکثر  
جوانان و صاحبِ حسن دختران و زنانِ صاحبِ جمال و سازندها  
و گویندها، خوش آوازا حکم کردند که در حوض بنشینند و در پیشگاه  
خانه تخت مرصع که آقام در نومی عنایت کرده بودند نهادند و نوشک  
زردوزی در پیش انداخته بودند \*

حضرت پادشاه و آگه جانم در پیش تخت در يك نوشک نشستند \*  
و در دست راستِ آگه 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 نوشک 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 مادرِ کلان خان بیگم بیگه سلطان بیگم دخترِ سلطان  
خلیل میرزا عموی پادشاه و مام بیگم و بیگی بیگم دخترِ الغ بیگم میرزا  
کابلی عموی پادشاه — و خانزاده بیگم دخترِ سلطان مسعود میرزا از جانبِ  
مادری نواسه پابنده محمد (sic) سلطان بیگم عمه پادشاه و شاه خانم  
دخترِ بدیع الجمال بیگم — و خانم بیگم دخترِ آق بیگم و زینب سلطان خانم  
دخترِ سلطان محمود خان طغائی کلان پادشاه — و مُحبه سلطان خانم دخترِ  
سلطان احمد خان که به الاجه خان مشهور بودند طغائی خورد پادشاه  
کلان و خانش خواهر میرزا حیدر دخترِ خاله پادشاه و بیگه کلان بیگم



طلبم که اینها هم گوالبار را به بینند \* نوکار و خواجه کیر را فرسنادند 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 سنه ۹۴۰ نهصد و چهل از عالم فانی بعالم جاودانی خرامیدند— و فرزندان حضرة بادشاه بابام را داغ تبیی تازه شد— بتخصیص بمن 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 (248) 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 دهولپور رفتند— در سال یازدهم همراه آجم شدم و پیش از آنکه بگوالبار روند و عمارات را بنا کرده رفتند \* و بعد از آس چله آکام پادشاه بدلی تشریف بردند و بنای قلعه دین پناه نهادند و به آگره آمدند— و آکه جانم \* بحضرت بادشاه گفتند که نوث میرزا هندال کی می کنید؟ حضرت گفتند بسم الله— و در آن اثنا آکام حیات بودند که میرزا هندال نکاح کردند— اما موقوف باسباب نوثی بودند که سپارند— فرمودند که اسباب نوثی طلسم هم طیار است— اوّل نوثی طلسم بدم \* بعد از آن نوثی میرزا هندال بکنم \* 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 شادبها کردند \*

و درین اثنا شنیدند که محمد زمان میرزا پدر حاجی محمد خان کوکی را کشت (28a) و خیال باغی شدن دارد \* حضرت بادشاه برای طلب 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 نخبوب سلطان میرزارا حکم شد که بچشم هر دو میل کشند \* در میل کشیدن نخبوب کور شد و بمحمد سلطان میرزا کسی که میل کشید بچشم مشارالیه اسبب نرسانید \* 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 بن و بایزید آمدند فریب یکسال در آگره بودند \* به آگام عرض کردند که درین روزها دلگیرم \* اگر حکم شود در ملازمت شما بسیر گوالبار برویم \* حضرت آگام و آجم و همشیرها معصومه سلطان بیگم را که ماه چچه میگفتم و گلرنگ بیگم را گل چچه میگفتم در ملازمتِ ولی نعمتان در گوالبار بودیم \*

و گلچهره بیگم در اوده بودند چرا که شوهر ایشان توخته بوغا سلطان برحمت حق پیوستند (28b) 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 بیارد — ما نیز در آگره می آئیم \*

درین اثنا حضرت آگام گفتند که اگر حکم شود بیگه بیگم و عنیفه را

---

\* The rebellious Mīrzās were of the house of Bāyqarā (گریزانیدند) with which Māham Begam had relationship.





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ماه از طرف گور رسیدند \* بجزد استماع این خبر حضرت پادشاه از آگره متوجه آنها شدند و بین و بایزید را شکست داده به چناده آمدند — و چناده را نیز گرفته به آگره آمدند \*

و آکام که مام بیگم باشند بسیار در طلب و آرزو بودند که فرزندِ هایون را به بینم — و هر جا که دخترِ صاحبِ حُسن و جمال می بود — در خدمتِ حضرت پادشاه می آوردند \* و میوه جان که دخترِ خدنگک یساول بود در خدمتِ من بود \* (بعد) از قضا حضرت فردوس مکانی روزی در حیاة خود فرمودند — هایون — میوه جان بد نیست — چرا در خدمت خود نمی گیری؟ — آخر بگفته ایشان هایون (228) پادشاه همان شب عقد بستن میوه جان را گرفتند — و بعد از سه روز بیگم از کابل آمدند و حامله شدند \* بعد از يك سال دختر نولد شد و نامش را عقیقه بیگم نهادند \* و آگه مام بیگم را میوه جان میگفت که من نیز حامله ام \* آخر آکام دو طریقِ براق طیار کردند و می گفتند — هر کدام که از شایان پسر بزاید براق نیک را بان میدم — و براق بستن و بدام و چار مغز از طلا و نقره راست کرده بودند — و براق <sup>\*\*</sup> یاقان نیز راست کرده بودند و خوشحال بودند که شاید یکی از این ها پسر زاید — و چشم انتظار داشتند که بیگم عقیقه بیگم را زائیدند \* الحال چشم برآه میوه جان داشتند که ده ماه شد و یازدهم ماه نیز گذشت \* میوه جان میگفت که خاله من حرم میرزا الغ بیگ بودند \* در دوازده ماه پسر زائیدند \* من هم شاید که بدان مانند شد باشم \* و خرگاہا دوخته و نوشک ها پر کرده \* آخر هم معلوم شد که هویک <sup>\*\*\*</sup> بوده \*

\* The text has no points to the *yā* of my reading. If the prop were absent the word could be read *طریق*, *taraq*, ply, fold i. e. sets. The sense of the two passages is, I think, that Māham got together two sets of arms of which one included of those a Mughal Commander.

\*\* Text *yarāq-yalqān* for *yarāq-i-īlkhān*. (براق)

\*\*\* (هویک) ? an ambitious little person or a little mad-woman.



کردند — و شصت حافظِ خوشخوان و خوشالخان قاری را مقرر فرمودند که پنج وقت نماز بجماعت بخوانند و ختم قرآن بکنند و فائحه بارواح حضرت فردوس مکانی بخواند باشند\* و سبکری که الحال (21a) فتح پور مشهور است دروبست و مع زیادتی پنج لك از بیانه وقفِ مزارِ حضرت کردند که برای خرج علما و حفاظ و غیره که تعلقِ مزار دارند صرف می شد باشد\* دو وقت آش آکام تعیین فرمودند — صباح يك گاو و دو گوسفند و پنج بز — و نماز دیگر پنج بز\* تا دو نیم سال که آکام در قید حیاة بودند این طعام دو هفته از سرکار ایشان بر سر مزار بخش میکردند\*

و تا زمانی که آکام حیات بودند در دولخانه آکام حضرت بادشاه را میدیدم\* وقتی که آکام بد حال شدند بمن گفتند که بسیار مشکل مینماید که بعد از فوتِ من دخترانِ پادشاه برادر خود را در خانه کلبه‌گ بیبی به بینند\* گویا که سخن حضرت آکام در دل و هوشِ حضرت بادشاه بود — تا در هندوستان بودند — دایم در خانه ما آمدن مایان را میدیدند و مهربانی و عنایت و شفقت بیحد میکردند — و بمصومه سلطان بیگم و گلرنگ بیگم و گلچهره بیگم و غیره — همه بیگمان که کدخدا شده بودند — حضرة پادشاه در خانه این حقیر می آمدند — و همه بیگمان در خانه این حقیر آمدن ملازمت حضرت بادشاه میکردند (21b) غرض که حضرت بادشاه خاطرجوی این شکسته را بعد از وفات پادشاه بابام و آکام به چنین عنایت میکردند و شفقتِ بیحد در باره این بیچاره میفرمودند که بتبی و بی سری خود را ندانستم\*

مدّة ده سال که بعد از وفات حضرت فردوس مکانی — حضرت جنت آشیانی در هند بودند همه مردم در رفاہیت و امنیت و فرمانبرداری و اطاعت بودند\* بعد از واقعه فردوس مکانی بین\* و بایزید بعد از شش

\* Text has *tashdīd*. (بتّین)



برای دیدن می آیند \* همه برخواستند همه بیگمان را و مادران را 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 حویلهای در آمدن ناراج بکنند \* مناسب آنست که بیک کسی جامه سرخ پوشانند و بر فیل سوار بکنند و از بالا فیل منادی بکند که حضرت بابر پادشاه درویش شدند و پادشاهی خود را بهمایون پادشاه دادند \* و حضرت هایون پادشاه حکم فرمودند که چنین بکنید \* بجز منادی کردن مردم را خیلی نسلی شد (20b) و همه مردم دعای دولت ایشان میکردند \* بتاریخ نهم شهر مذکور روز جمع حضرت هایون پادشاه بغت نشستند — و پادشاهی ایشان را همه عالم مبارک باد گفتند \*

بعد از آن بدیدن مادران و خواهران و مردم خود آمده — پرسش و دلداری داده نوازش و غم خواریها فرمودند — و حکم فرمودند هرکس هر منصبی و خدمتی و جاگیری و جای که داشت — همه بحال 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 متبرکه اول معرکه بر سر مزار حضرت پادشاه بابام می شد و محمد علی عیسی را متولی مزار حضرت





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و در حین بیماری حکم کردند با کام که گزنگ بیگ و گجهو بیگ  
 کخدا باید کرد (18b) و هرگاه که حضرت عمه جیو\* تشریف ازانی  
 فرماید معلوم ایشان بکنید که بادشاه میگوید بخاطر من میرسد که گزنگ را  
 به ایسن نیمور سلطان و گلچهرارا به نوحه یوغا لطن نسبت بکنم\* آکا جانم  
 تبسم کنان آمدند\* به ایشان گفتند که حضرت بادشاه این قسمی فرماید  
 که بخاطر من چنین رسیده— باقی آنچه رضای ایشان باشد— همان طور  
 بکنند\* حضرت آکه جانم نیز گفتند که خدا مبارک و سزکاری کند—  
 بسیار خوب بخاطر ایشان رسیده\* جیجیم\*\* خود و بدیع الجمال بیگم واق  
 بیگم هر دو عمه بردالان بردند\* صفا\*\*\* داده و بساطها انداخته  
 ساعترا ملاحظه کرده آنچه مام هر دو مستانرا زانوزتائیده به دامادی  
 سرافراز بکنند\*

درین ضمن نشویش سکم ایشان بیشتر شد\* حضرة هابون بادشاه  
 که احوال پدر خرابتر دیدند— باز بیطافت شدند\* اطبا و حکمرا  
 طلبیده گفتند نیک ملاحظه کرده علاج نشویش حضرت نمائید\* اطبا  
 و حکما (19a) جمع شده گفتند که کم طالعی مابان است که داروی کارگرنی  
 شود\* امیدواریم 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 یکه بدبخت بدست داده خود يك نوچه زهر داده بود که برده

\* (جیو) By this term of endearment *Hamida-bānū*, 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. ماماها (14b.) for مامها. So also of the points of the *yā* and the *che*.

\*\*\* (صفا) As in this M.S. *alif* is several times written for *hā'i* *hawaz*, I translate صفا, estrade, raised seat and not صفا.



قریب دو سه ماه صاحب فراش بودند و میرزا هایون بجانب کالنجرفه رفتند \* چون نشویش حضرت بادشاه پیشتر شد — بطلب حضرت هایون بادشاه کس فرستادند \* ایشان بایلغار رسیدند \* چون حضرة را ملازمت کردند — ایشان را بسیار ضعیف دیدند \* حضرت هایون بادشاه رفت تمام نموده — بیطاعتی کردن گرفتند و بخدمتگاران می گفتند که یکبارگی چرا ازین قسم زارنزار گشته اند — و اطبا و حکما را طلبیدند و گفتند که من ایشان را تندرست گذاشته رفتم بودم — یکبارگی چه شد؟ حکما و اطبا چیزها می گفتند \*

و حضرت بادشاه بابام هر زمان و هر ساعت می پرسیدند که هایون \* کجا است؟ و چه کار می کند؟ درین اثنا یکی آمد گفت که پسر میر خورده بیگ میر بردی بیگ کورنش میرساند \* فی الحال حضرت بادشاه (188) بابام باضطراب تمام طلبید پرسیدند که هندال کجا است؟ کی خواهد آمد؟ چه بلا انتظار داد \* میر بردی گفت که شاهزاده کامگار بدلی رسید اند — امروز فردا بخدمت خواهند رسید \* درین اثنا حضرت بادشاه بابام به میر بردی بیگ گفتند که مردك بدبخت — شنیدم ام که خواهر ترا در کابل کدخدا کردند و ترا در لاهور کدخدا کردند — برای این طوهای پسر مرا زودتر نمی آوردی — که انتظار از حد گذشت — و می پرسیدند که هندال میرزا چه مقدار شده است و به که مانند است؟ چون میر بردی بیگ جامه میرزا پوشید بود نمود که این جامه شاهزاده است که به بند عنایت فرموده اند \* حضرت پیشتر طلبیدند که به بینم قد و قامت هندال چه مقدار شده است — و هر زمان هر ساعت می گفتند که هزار دریغ که هندال را ندیدم \* هر کس که می آمد می پرسیدند که هندال کی خواهد آمد؟

\* This is probably a clerical error for *Hindāl*. (هایون)

\*\* The text has no negative but it is required by the context. (نمی)



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 حقیر همراه همشیرها ملازمت آن حضرت فرسته 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 نا 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 چهره 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 اید 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 برابرهایون تو دوست نمی دارم— از برای آنکه سلطنت و پادشاهی و دنیای روشن از برای یگانه جهان و نادره دوران کامگار برخوردار فرزند دلبنده هایون میخواهم— نه برای دیگران \*

وقتی که ایشان بیمار بودند حضرت رونده حضرت مرتضی علی کرم الله وجهه نگاه داشتند— و آن رونده را از روز چهارشنبه نگاه میدارند \* ایشان از اضطراب و بیطاقتی از روز سه شنبه نگاه داشتند \* هوا بغایت گرم بود \* دل و جگر ایشان نفید— و در رونده مذکور دعا خواستند که خدایا— اگر بعوض جان جان مبدل شود— من که بابر ام— عمر و جان خود را به هایون بخشیدم— و در همان روز حضرت فردوس مکانی را تشویش شد (17b) و هایون پادشاه بر سر خود آب ریختند و بیرون آمدند بار دادند و حضرت پادشاه بابام را از جهت تشویش درون بردند \*





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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 منصور  
 نباشد \*

بعد از آمدن آگره سه ماه گذشته بود که حضرت بادشاه متوجه دهلپور  
 شدند و حضرت مام بیگم و این خبر به سیر دهلپور رفتم \* در دهلپور  
 حوضی ده دره راست کرده بودند از يك پرچه \* از آنجا بسیکری رفتند \*  
 صفت 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 صفت مذکور هست \* و در سیکری در باغ چوکندی هم  
 راست کرده بودند \* حضرت بادشاه بابام در آن چوکندی \* نورخانه 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 بر آمد و من (15 b) بیطاقتی 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 *tūr-khāna*. Zenker describes it as a seat of honour of the nature of a throne. It would supply a necessity of Indian life, if one might read *ṭaur*, 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 توفوز اسپ و دو محافه کوتل که بادشاه بابام فرستاده بودند و یک محافه که از کابل آورده بودند — قریب صد مغلانی خدمتگاران آکام بر اسپان نیوجاق سوار پر زیب و زینت \*

و خلیفه بابام با سلطانم کوچ خود تا نوگرام پیشواز آمدند و من در محافه بودم \* مامهای من در باغچه مرا فرود آورده بودند و زلجه (sic) انداخته بالای زلجه مرا نشاندند 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 شاهرخی و پنج اسپ گرفتم و سلطانم کوچ ایشان سه هزار شاهرخی و سه اسپ پیشکش کرد و گفت — ما حاضری طیار است اگر نوش جان کنند سرافرازی بیندها خواهد بود \* قبول کردم — در جای خوب صُفه کلان راست کرده و چادر سفرلات سرخ اندرون زربفت گجراتی و شش شامیانه سفرلات و زربفت — هر کدام یک رنگ و چهار چوغه سراپرده سفرلات و چوبهای سراپرده هم رنگ بود \* در منزل خلیفه بابام نشستم — ما حاضری کشید تا قریب پنجاه (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

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\* (نه) What follows appears to be an incomplete and perhaps misplaced description of Akām's cortège.



مزاحمت بحال 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 شبان 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 گروهی رسید \* (13b) حضرت را از استماع این خبر خوش  
حالی گئی 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 سنه ۹۳۳ 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 آگام که ماه بیگم باشند از کابل  
به هندوستان آمدند و این حفر هم همراه ایشان بیشتر از همشیرها آمد  
حضرت بادشاه بابام را ملازمت کردم و آگام در کول رسیدند که  
حضرت بادشاه دو محافه سه رکیب فرستادند \* از کول باگره ابلغار  
کرده رفتند و حضرت بادشاه خیال داشتند که نا کوبجلالی پیشواز  
(14a) روند \* نازشام یکی آمد گفت که حضرت را در دو گروهی  
گذاشته آمدم \* حضرت بادشاه بابام نا اسپ آوردن تحمل نکردند  
و پیاده روان شدند و در پیشخانه نیچه ماهم در خوردند \* آگام میخواستند  
که پیاده شوند \* بادشاه بابام نماندند و خود در جلوی آگام نا خانه خود  
پیاده آمدند \*





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باره سنگ حوض ده در دهی فرموده بودند و می گفتند که هرگاه این حوض طیار شود بشراب پر خواهم کرد\* چون قبل از جنگ رعنا\* سنگا که از شراب توبه کرده بودند بشریت لیمون پر کردند\*

بعد از فتح سلطان ابراهیم بعد از یکسال رعنا از طرف مندو\*\* (or هندو) پیدا شد بلشکریبی حد\*

از امرا و راجها و رانا هر کدام که آمد حضرت بادشاه را ملازمت کرده بودند—هرمه باغی شد برعنا رفته پیوستند تا کول جلالی و سنبهل و رایری هم پرگنهارای و 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 سناره شکر\*\*\* یلدوز در برابر است\* لشکر بادشاهی را عجب هیرانی دست داد و بسیار متفکر و منالم

\* (رعنا) Perhaps a sarcasm is intended by changing the title *rānā* into the epithet *rā'nā*—a foolish admirer of himself. *Sangā* is always so stigmatized, but so too are other and friendly *Rānās*. Cf. 48 b.

\*\* (مندو) Text uncertain. The enemy came from the side which from a military stand-point, was emphatically Hindū and also may be said colloquially to have come from the direction of Mandū.

\*\*\* (شکر) I am indebted to Mr. Beveridge for the interesting information in the following note. The شکر (Venus) of the text is, he believes, a mistake for سگزر, *Sakkiz*, eight, the Eight Stars being regarded as unpropitious by Persians. Gul-badan has perhaps confused the portents of a defeat by Shaibānī at Khwāja Kārdzīn in 1501 and the battle of Khānwa in 1527. Bābar's statement about Khānwa is that Sharīf gave warning that Mars was in the west and that whoever should come from the east, would be defeated.

Bābar has a characteristic story of his having precipitated the fight at Kārdzin (1501) because the Eight Stars were exactly between the opposing armies and if he had delayed, they would have favoured Shaibānī for 13 or 14 days. "These observances were all nonsense and my precipitation was without the least solid excuse." He lost the battle. Cf. Steingass Pers. Dict. 689; Vullers II. 310 a; Mem. 92, 353, 368.



ما گردد \* حق سبحانه ممالك هندوستان را بما عطا کرده بيايند تا دولت را بهم بينيم \*

واز دختر سلطان ابو سعيد ميرزا هفت بيگم آمد بودند — گوهر شاد بيگم و فخر جهان بيگم و خديجه سلطان بيگم و بديع الجمال بيگم و آق بيگم و سلطان بخت — و زينب سلطان خانم دختر تغاى پادشاه سلطان محمود خان و محب سلطان خانم دختر الاجه خان تغاى خورد حضرت پادشاه بودند \* قصه مختصر هم بيگمان و خانمان نود و شش (11b) کيس بودند \* بهمه آنها جاى و جاگير و انعامات خاطر خواه تعيين کردند \*

و مدت چهار سال که در آگره بودند هر روز جمعه بديدن عمهاى خود ميرفتند \* يك روز هوا بغايت گرم بود و حضرت آکم گفتند که هوا بغايت گرم است — اگر يك جمعه نرويد چه شود؟ بيگمان از اين سخن نخواهند رنجيد \* پادشاه با آکم \* گفتند — ما هم از نو عجب است که اين سخنان بگوئى \* دختران حضرت ابو سعيد سلطان ميرزا که از پدر و برادران خود جدا شده اند — من اگر خاطر جوى ايشان نکم چون شود؟ بخواجه فاسم معمار حکم کردند — خدمتى خوبت ميفرمايم و آن آنست که عمهاى ما هر کارى و يا مهى در دربخانه داشته باشد — بجان و دل خود خدمات دربخانه ولى نعمتان را بتقديم رسانى \*

و در آگره آنروى آب عمارتها فرمودند و خانه سنگين که خلوتخانه ايشان ميانه حرم و باغ و در ديوانخانه هم خانه سنگين راست کرده بودند — و در ميانه خانه حوضى و چهار حجره در چهار برج خانه — و در کنار دريا (12a) چوکندى راست کرده بودند — و در دهولپور هم از يك

\* Up to this point this alternative name of Māham has been written آکم. Now (as elsewhere in some other words) the orthography of the writer improves and the correct spelling is given ام آکه = my Lady.



ویگمان و آغه‌ها و انگها و کوکها و آغه‌چه‌ها و همه دعاء گویان از جِراو<sup>\*</sup> و اشرفی (10b) و شاهرخ و پارچه جُدا جُدا بدهند<sup>\*</sup> از روی مفصل بدین ترتیب دادند<sup>\*</sup> تا سه روز در باغ و دیوانخانه مذکور خوشحالی و معرکه داشتند<sup>\*</sup> سرافرز گشتند و بدعا و دولت حضرت فاتحه خواندند — و خوشحال شد سجدهات شکر بجا آوردند<sup>\*</sup>

و بدست خواجه کلان بیگ بعوی عیس<sup>\*\*</sup> 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<sup>\*</sup> حکم بود که اشرفی را سوراخ کرده و چشمش را بسته و در گردش انداخته درون حرم فرستید<sup>\*</sup> بجزدی که اشرفی سوراخ کرده در گردش انداخته از گرانی طرفه بیطافتی و اضطراب و خوشحالی میکرد و به دو دست اشرفی را گرفته طرفگیها میکرد که کسی اشرفی مرا نگیرد — و از بیگان هم هر کدام ده دوازده اشرفی دادند تا قریب هفتاد و (11a) هفتاد اشرفی شد<sup>\*</sup>

و بعد از آمدن خواجه کلان بیگ بکابل — در آگره هامبون 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<sup>\*</sup> 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 درگه

\* جواهر Sic; but presumably (جراو)

\*\* For remarks on this passage cf. note to translation. (عیسپی)





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و بدخشان را بهایون پادشاه دادند — و هایون پادشاه متوجه آنصوبه گشتند \*

حضرت پادشاه و آکم هم متعاقب 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 قلات و قندهار شدند و در ساعت که بفلات رسیدند فتح کرده متوجه قندهار شدند — و مردم قندهار تا یکم سال در قلعه بندی بودند \* بعد یکم سال بجنگ 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 بپیرزا کامران دادند — و خود متوجه کابل شدند \*

روز جمعه غره صفر سنه <sup>۹۳۲</sup> نهصد و سی و دو که آفتاب در برج قویس بود — پیش خانه بر آورده از پشته يك لنگه گذشته (98) در جلگه دبه یعقوب 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 و پرگنه نسخیری نموده اند — مثل بهیره و بجزور و سیالکوت و دیپالپور و لاهور و غیره تا آنکه مرتبه پنجم روز جمعه غره صفر سنه <sup>۹۳۲</sup> نهصد و سی و دو از دبه یعقوب 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 <sup>۹۳۲</sup> در پانی پت بسطان ابراهیم بن سلطان سکندر بن بهلول 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 سِپت رانی  
امرا و ناموافقی برادران میسر و مسخر نمی شد \* آخر الوقت که برادران  
رفتند و از امرایان همچو کسی نماند که خلاف مقصود ایشان توانند حکایتی  
کرد. در سنه <sup>۹۲۵</sup> نهصد و بیست و پنج بجزوررا بچنگ در دو سه گری  
گرفتند. و مردم بجزوررا قتل عام کردند \*

و در روز مذکور ملك منصور بوسفزی 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 پادشاهان \* عنایت فرمودند که رفته مردم و رعایا و  
غیره را آورده بوطن های خود آبادان سازد \*

وقاسم 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 اوزبگ نزدیک. فکر این ولایت بکنید  
که مباده بدخشان از دست برود \* تا فکر بدخشان کردن والده میرزا  
سلیمان میرزای (8b) مذکوررا گرفته آورده بود \* حضرت بادشاه حسب  
المدعا و خاطر خواه ایشان جای نشیست و جاگیر پدر تعیین نمودند

---

پادشاه and بادشاه The M.S. writes indifferently (پادشاهان) \*  
With equal caprice it inserts *zamma*, *hamza*, under-dotted *sin*, &c..



واز دلدار بیگم گلرنگ بیگم و گلچهره بیگم و هندال میرزا و گلبدن بیگم  
و آلور میرزا \*

غرض که گرفتن کابل را شگون گرفته بودند که همه فرزندان در کابل  
شده اند غیر دو بیگم که در خوست شده اند مهرجان (sic) (7a) بیگم از  
ماه بیگم و گلرنگ بیگم از دلدار بیگم \*

تولد حضرت هایون پادشاه که پسر کلان حضرت فردوس مکانی اند—  
ولادت مبارك ایشان در شب سه شنبه چهارم ذی قعدة سنه ۹۱۳ نهصد  
وسیزده— 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 همه 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 مهر جهان بیگم (7b) و باریول میرزا و معصومه سلطان  
بیگم و میرزا کامران باشند— همراه گرفته متوجه سمرقند شدند— و بامداد  
شاه اسماعیل فتح سمرقند کردند— و نا هشت ماه تمامی ماور النهر در تحت  
نصرف 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 ماور النهر از سر بدر  
کردند— و در سنه ۹۱۰ نهصد و ده ولایت کابل میسر شد \* \*





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دریابند \* بدیع الزمان میرزا از جهة تعظیم بادشاه پیش آمد دریابند \* در این اثنا بادشاه از درد درآمدند \* میرزا غافل بودند که قاسم بیگ فوطه حضرت بادشاه را گرفته کشید با برنتوق بیگ و ذوالنون بیگ گفت که فرار چنین داده بودند که میرزا پیش در آمد دریابند \* درین اثنا میرزا باضطراب 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 باوزبیگ جنگ میکنیم \* 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 خراجات ایشان (5b) جاها تعیین نموده بودند و بیهانه دیدن آنهاجاها 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 امراها نکردند. اینها هر یک

تغافل کرده. میرفتند \* حضرت و قاسم بیگ مع پسران خود تا سه چهار روز برف دور کرده راه را طیار میکردند و مردم لشکر از عقب میگذاشتند \* باین روش تا بغوریند 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 بسجد 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 آمدیم \*



خانمرا ماندند\* صاحبانِ باغ که مردم و صیل\*\* آنکه\*\*\* باشند—یکهزار  
تنکه مشقالی داده گذاشتند\*

درین اثنا فرمانهای سلطان حسین میرزا بناکید آمدند که ما (4b)  
خیال جنگ باوزبگ<sup>†</sup> داریم\* اگر شما هم بیاید بسیار خوبست\* حضرت  
آنمعی را از خدا میطلبیدند\* عاقبت الامر بسوی ایشان روانه  
گشتند\* در اثنای طی طریق خبر آمد که سلطان حسین میرزا شنقار شدند\*  
امرای حضرت بادشاه بعرض رسانیدند که چون سلطان حسین میرزا شنقار  
شدند—مناسب آنست که برگشته بکابل باید رفت\* حضرت فرمودند که  
چون اینمقدار راه آمد امم بمیرزا عزاپرسی نموده ببردم\* عاقبت الامر  
متوجه خراسان شدند\* چون از تشریف آوردن بادشاه که میرزایان شنیدند  
هر همه باستقبال روان شدند—غیر بدیع الزمان میرزا که برنتوق<sup>††</sup> بیگ  
و ذوالنون بیگ که امرائی سلطان حسین میرزا بودند—چنین گفتند که  
چون بادشاه از بدیع الزمان میرزا خوردند پانزده<sup>۱۵</sup> ساله—مناسب چنان  
است که پادشاه زانوزده دریابند\* درین اثنا قاسم بیگ گفته که بسال  
خوردند اما بتوره کلانند—از برای آنکه چند مرتبه بضرب شمشیر فتح  
سرفند کرده اند\* آخر چنین فرار دادند (5a) که یکمرتبه بادشاه زانوزده

\* Used transitively. So too at 59a &c..

\*\* Text و یصل (وصیل).

\*\*\* (آنکه) This word may be *atka* or *anaga* and is to be explained by the known ownership of the garden which was made by Bābar's paternal uncle, Ulugh Beg. But for the undotted "prop", it might have been read as *اکه* and as referring to Khān-zāda Begam or Māham, Bābar's wife, both of whom, as will be noticed, are styled *āka* (*janām*) and *āka* respectively. Cf. a use of *آنکه* p. 28b.

† Vambéry's derivation of this multiform word, "Özbeğ, 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*.

†† Text, *sic* for برنتوق (برنتوق).



لاریک چویاق— باین طور حال بی براق نوگل بحضرت حق سبحانه کرده  
متوجه بدخشانان و کابل شه \*

در قندز و بدخشانان لشکر و مردم خسرو شاه بودند \* آمدن حضرت  
بادشاه بابام را ملازمت کرده \* باوجود گناهان که بد کرده— مانند بایسنفر  
میرزارا شهید کرده و سلطان مسعود میرزارا میل کشیده بودند و این هردو  
میرزا عموزاده 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 درشتیها آنحضرت را از ولایت خود بدر کرده بود \* و حضرت  
بادشاه که مفهوم مردی و مردی و مرآت بوده اند— اصلاً و قطعاً در مقام  
انتفاع آن نشدند و فرموده اند که از جواهر و طلا آلات هر چند که دلش  
خواهد بردارد— و پنجش قطارشتر و پنجشش (48) استر بار همراه برده  
بصحت و سلامت رخصت یافته بخراسان رفته و حضرت بادشاه متوجه  
کابل شدند \*

در آن وقت محکم کابل محمد مقیم— پسر ذوالنون ارغون که پدر  
کلان ناهید بیگم بود— داشت \* کابل را بعد از وفات الغ بیگ میرزا—  
از عبد الرزاق میرزا گرفته و از (آن) میرزا عبد الرزاق مذکور عموزاده  
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 بندهار 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 والده حضرت بادشاه باشند— در شش روز نب  
کرده— از عالم فانی بدار البقا رحلت نمودند \* و در باغ نوروزی حضرت





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## بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

حکم شده بود که آنچه از واقعه فردوس مکانی و حضرت جنت  
آشیانی میدانسته باشید بنویسید\* وقتی که حضرت فردوس مکانی از دار  
الفا بدار البقا خرامیدند— این خبر هشت ساله بود و بیان\* واقع شاید  
کترک بخاطر مانده بود\* بنابر حکم پادشاهی آنچه شنید و بخاطر بود نوشته  
میشود\*

در اوّل این جزو از واقعه حضرت بادشاه بابام نوشته میشود—  
اگرچه در واقعه نامه حضرت بادشاه بابام این سخنان مذکور است— بنابر  
نیما و تبرکاً نوشته میشود\*

از زمان حضرت صاحب قرانی تا زمان حضرت فردوس مکانی از  
سلاطین ماضیه هیچکس برابر ایشان تردّدات نکرده\* در دوازده سالگی  
بادشاه شدند و بتاریخ پنجم شهر رمضان المبارک سنه نهصد و نه در  
خطه<sup>\*\*</sup> اندجان (3a) که پای تخت ولایت فرغانه است— خطبه خوانند\*  
مدّت یازده ساله کمال در الکه ماورالنهر با سلاطین چغتیبه و نیموریه  
واوزبگیه جنگها و تردّدات نموده اند که زبانِ قلم از شرح تعداد آن عاجز  
وقاسر 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 همايون بادشاه

جمع کرده گلبدن بیگم بنتِ بابر بادشاه عهده اکبر بادشاه \*

Copied from the British Museum Persian M.S. (Or. 166),  
by Annette S. Beveridge.

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ہمایون نامہ

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\* (Note to بادشاہ) *This title is inscribed on the first fly-leaf of the volume containing the M.S. It is upon paper of colour and kind differing from that of the M.S. and identical with four blank pages bound up at the end of the volume, possibly with the intention of writing up the missing terminal portion of the work.*





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