

INDEX (OTHER THAN OF PLACES).

NOTE.—This index is full for the pages down to 201. It gives the Roman-numbered names only of Appendix A.

Reference to the Persian imprint is by folio numbering. This is reproduced accurately from the MS., in the Persian imprint, and as closely as the sentences permit in the translation.

Words in *'āin*, *ghāin*, etc., are classed with their nearest equivalents.

Abdu-l-ghafūr, Shaikh, 149 and n..

'Abdu-l-ḥaī, Mīr, 199.

'Abdu-l-khāliq, Mullā, 181.

'Abdu-l-lāh Khān *Uzbek* 191n..

Abdu-l-lāh, Qāzī, 144.

'Abdu-l-qadīr *Badāyunī* 60, 62, 72, 74, 76, 162n..

'Abdu-r-razzāq, Mīrzā, 86.

'Abdu-l-wahab, see Jūjūk.

Abū'l-baqā, Mīr, 34, 139, 151 and n..

Abū'l-faḥr 24, 39, 57, 59, 66, 69, 71, 74n., 76, 77, 78 and n.,
83, 129n., 163n., 175n., 178n., 187n..

Abū'l-ma'ālī *Termizī* 26, 56, 63, 64, 175n., 186n..

Abū'n-nāṣir Muḥ., see Hindāl.

Abū'l-qāsim, see Ibrāhīm *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Abū-sa'īd *Mīrān-shāhī* 26, 45, 97, 118.

Accession Feast (Humāyūn's) 114n., 118 and n..

Adam *Ghakkār* 48, 56, 200.

Adham Khān *kūka* 58-63, 177n..

Adoption of Hindāl 116 and n., 117 and n..

Āfāq (Āpāq), wife of Husain *Bāyqarā*, 120, 202.

Āfāq (No. 26.), d. of Sulṭān Bakht, 204.

Afghānī āghācha (No. 56.) (Bībī Mubārīka) 3, 9, 91 and n.,
103, 122, 131, 139, 143, 189, 204; ? 216 (Bega); 266.

Chaghatāi, 'moreover, , reached India after Bābar's death.¹

The *Tabaqāt* 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, 363, 370, 371, 401, 426.²

Akbar-nāma, s.n., 'Aqil Sultān and Mahdī.

Khāfi Khān, *Bib. Ind.* ed., s.n..

Habību-s-siyār, Khwānd-amīr, under date *cir.* 923H..

Cf. Index to this volume, s.n. Mahdī.

¹ The rough estimate of Mahdī *Chaghatāi*'s age is made as follows: Aiman was married to Haidar Mīrzā's cousin in 923H. (1517). (*Tār. 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.

² At p. 424 Mr. Erskine has an entry of a Sayyid Mahdī who arrives from Guāliūr in July, 1529. That this is a mis-reading for Mashhadī is shown by collation with other texts than his own.

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 Sulṭān Mīrzā Bāyqarā, Sulṭān Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhū, and ‘Ādil Sulṭān are constantly associated with him. It seems clear that he was a great noble and ranked amongst the highest. Khāfī Khān calls him Sayyid Khwāja, and so does Khwānd-amīr. Whether the ‘Khwāja’ indicates anything as to his mother’s marriage I am not able to say.

Khāfī Khān (I. 42) has a passage which *may* relate to him: *Sulṭān Mīrzā wa Mahdī Sulṭān binī a‘māmra* (of Bābar) *ki asīr-i-ān juma’ būdand khalāṣ saht*. The date of the occurrence is *cir.* 1511, the year in which another Mahdī, *i.e.*, *Uzbeq*, was killed by Bābar. Mr. Erskine appears to think that the two men, named here as released, were Hamza and Mahdī Sulṭāns *Uzbeq*, but the sources do not give the style of Mīrzā to either of these chiefs. They appear to have had marriage connections with Bābar in an earlier generation, and a son of Mahdī seems to have been ‘Ādil Sulṭān (Mems., 363) who was father of ‘Āqil Sulṭān *Uzbeq* (*Akbar-nāma*, I. 221).

A Mahdī Khwāja who was undoubtedly of Bābar’s family, appears both in the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* and in Gul-badan Begam’s *Humāyūn-nāma*. He is the son of Aiman, and grandson of Sulṭān 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

concerning whom such intention could be attributed to the wise and experienced Khalīfa?

Nizāmu-d-dīn calls Mahdī Bābar's *damād*, and Mr. Erskine, amongst other translators, has rendered this by son-in-law. It is unnecessary to consider why any Mahdī Khwāja known in history should have been preferred to those sons-in-law who were of Bābar's own blood, because Gul-badan calls Mahdī Bābar's *yaṭna*. For this word the dictionaries yield only the meaning of 'brother-in-law' and 'husband of the king's sister.' Both these meanings are also attributed to *damād*. But the *Ḥabīb* settles the verbal question by a statement that Mahdī Khwāja was the husband of Khān-zāda Begam, Bābar's full sister.

It is not improbable that he had another close link with the Emperor, namely that of relationship to Māham Begam, but I am not yet able to assert this definitely.

Bābar never mentions Mahdī Khwāja's parentage. This is learned from Khwānd-amīr who states that he was the son of Mūsa Khwāja and grandson of Murtaza Khwāja. He was a sayyid; and from the circumstance that his burial-place was chosen as that of Sayyid Abū'l-ma'ālī *Termizī*, it may be inferred that he belonged to the religious house of Termiz. If so, he had probably Timūrid blood in his veins, since inter-marriage between the families was frequent.

Bābar mentions a Khwāja Mūsa who is perhaps Mahdī's father, in 914H., 1508. He immediately afterwards names Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī, Māham Begam's brother, in suggestive sequence.

Bābar's first surviving record of Mahdī is made in 925H. (February, 1519) when 'Mīr Muḥammad Mahdī Khwāja' brings in a prisoner. It is in *cir.* 923H. (1517) that Khwānd-amīr speaks of the marriage of Mahdī and Khān-zāda, but this is probably a good deal after the fact, because Khān-zāda was returned to Bābar in 917H. (1511).

APPENDIX B.

Mahdī Khwāja.

Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad 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 *Khalīfa* (Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Alī *Barlās*) had at one time thought of placing a certain Mahdī Khwāja on the throne in succession to Babar.

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 Timūrids both of the Bāyqrā and Mirān-shāhī branches in India with Bābar whose claims to a Timūrid throne would be strongly enforced.

But Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad has left us the story in circumstantial detail and it cannot be passed over unnoticed, and this the less because Gul-badan Begam throws some light on the identity of the 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

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. Babar stigmatizes her action as 'stupidity and folly,' and says, further, 'the wretched and weak woman, for the sake of getting herself a husband, gave the family and honour of her son to the winds. Nor did 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.'

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 Bikh 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 bāshad.*

Bodleian, Elliot, 19, f. 180a. *dīgar nabīra bega chichām ki Zainab-sultān Begam.*

Ilminsky, Turkī text, 447. *yana, yanga chichām ki Zainab-sultān Begam būlaghū'ē nabīra se kīib.*

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 *Habibu-s-siyār*, she was a *Jalair*.

CXCVIII. Zainab-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

(?) From Ar, *zain*, adorning.

Fifth daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mirzā and Khān-zāda Begam (*b.*) *Termizī*; first cousin and wife of Bābar.

She was married at the instance of Qūt-liq-nigār, in the year of the capture of Kābul, *i.e.*, 910H. (1504-5), perhaps at the time that Jahāngīr Mirzā, Bābar's half-brother, married her half-sister, Āq Begam. The marriage was not happy. Two or three years later Zainab died of small-pox.

Mems., 30.

CXCIX. Zainab-sultān Khānam Chaghatāi Mughal.

(No. 19.)

Daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Khān *Chaghatāi Mughal*; favourite wife of Sultān Sa'īd Khān *Kāshgharī*, her first cousin; aunt of Shāh Muḥammad Sultān whom Muḥammadī *Barlās* put to death; mother of Ibrāhīm who was born 930H. (1524), Sa'īd's third son and favourite child, of Muḥsin, and of Maḥmūd Yūsuf.

On her husband's death in 939H. (July, 1533), she was banished by her stepson Rashīd, and went with her children to Kābul where she met Ḥaidar Mirza and where she was under the protection of Kāmran.

Gul-badan mentions her in the guest-list, and places her name as present at the Mystic Feast (1531), but this can hardly be right. She could easily have been at the marriage festivities in 1537.

Tār. Rash., E. & R., 146, 375, 383, 467.

Gul-badan, 11a, 24b.

CC. Zainab-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

Gul-badan describes her as the paternal aunt or great-aunt (*'ama*) of Humāyūn. Bābar had no such sister, and no Zainab is mentioned by Gul-badan as a daughter of his grandfather Abū-sa'īd. An Āq Begam,

CXCV. Ūzūn-sultān Khānam Chaghatāi Mughal.

(?) Pers. *uzūn*, or *ūzūn*, ample, increase.

Daughter of Shīr 'Alī Khān *Oghlan Chaghatāi*; sister of Wais Khān and Makhdūma Khānam; paternal aunt of Yūnas Khān; wife of Amīr Sayyid 'Alī *Dughlāt*; mother of Muḥammad Ḥaidar *Dughlāt* 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.

Tār. Rash., F. & R., 64, 87, 88.

CXCVI. Yādgār-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 8.)

Pers. *yādgār*, 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 Yādgār (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-latif *Uzbeq*, 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.

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 *haram* a year or eighteen months after her marriage. Gul-badan mentions a begam of this name as at Hindāl's wedding-feast ; whether she is *Ulūs āghā* promoted, I have no means of knowing.

Mems., 14.

Gul-badan, 26a.

CXCIII. Ūmīd āghācha Andijānū.

Pers. *umūd*, 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 *kuṣūm*, plumpness.

Grand-daughter of Gul-badan Begam and a member of the Haj of 983H..

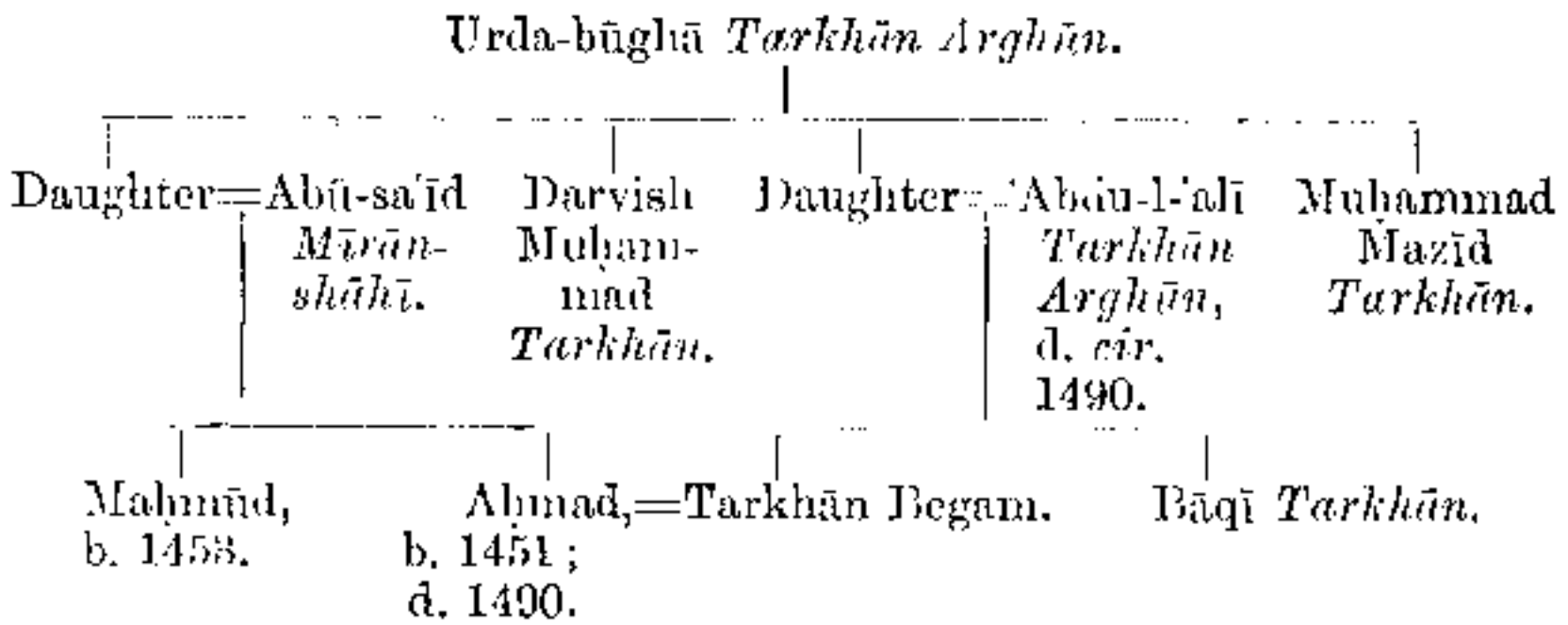
Akbar-nāma, III. 145.

CLXXXIX. Tarkhān Begam.

This is a title, and not a personal name.

In Bābar's time, according to Mr. Erskine (Mems., 24 n.), the ancient title of *Tarkhān* had come to belong to a particular family or clan. This may be well seen by consulting Professor Blochmann's *Āin-i-akbarī*, 361, where the genealogical table of the Arghūns of Tatta shows the title to have become hereditary in their branch of the Arghūns.¹

The Tarkhān Begam whose name stands above this notice was linked with these Tarkhān Arghūns in the way shown below. She married her first cousin, Ahmad *Mīrān-shāhī*, and Qūtūq Begam was her foster-sister.



Mems, 22, 24.

Āin-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 361.

B. & H., I. and II. *s.n.* Sind, Arghūn, etc..

CXC. Tarkhān Begam and Bega.

Gul-badan, 75b.

(Tarsūn-sultān, Yūn, *q.v.*)

¹ Professor Blochmann (*l.c.*) states that 'Abū-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 Mahmūd Khān and his sons had crept in here. Shaibānī drove Bāqī out of his late father's government of Bukhārā.

marriage to Awīq. Haidar Mirzā throws some light, and it seems that when Shaibānī had murdered her brother, Mahmūd Khān, Awīq left him and joined the Uzbek Qazāqs, his own people, and Sultān-nigār followed him into Mughalīstān.

She had two daughters by Awīq, one of whom married 'Abdu-l-lāh *Qūchūn* and died a young wife, and the other married Rashīd Sultān *Chaghatāi*.

On Awīq's death, Sultān-nigār was married to his brother Qāsim, presumably in consonance with the Turkī custom of *yang-lik*.

With Qāsim's death, the khānship of the *Qazāqs* devolved on Sultān-nigār's stepson (*i.e.*, Awīq's by a co-wife) named Tāhir. 'He was,' says Haidar, 'very much attached to her, and even preferred her to the mother who had given him birth.'

What follows is full of colour and feeling. Nigār-sultān showed her appreciation of Tāhir's affection, but petitioned him, saying: 'Although you are (as) my child, and I neither think of nor desire any son but you, yet I wish you to take me to my nephew, Sultān Sa'īd Khān. For I am grown old, and I have no longer the strength to bear this wandering life in the deserts of Uzbekīstān. Take me where I may enjoy some quiet and repose.' She then offered to mediate for him and to obtain the support for him of the Mughal Khāqāns against his foes. Tāhir accordingly escorted her to the Mughalīstān borders, and with her waited upon Sa'īd. 'The latter, from love of his aunt, rose, saying that although his rising to receive Tāhir was contrary to the rules of Chingīz (their common ancestor), yet that he did it out of gratitude because Tāhir had brought his aunt.'

Sultān-nigār died of a hæmorrhage in the summer of 934H. (1528).

Mems., 13, 14, 20, 31, 99, 105.

Tār. Rash., E. & R., s.n.

wife 'Ayisha, third daughter of Saltān 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.

Tār. 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 *Chaghatai Mughal*.

Daughter of Yūnas Khān *Chaghatai* 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 *Uzbek Qazāqs*. Her story is somewhat confused in the Memoirs (13 and 14) by a double mention of her

CLXXXVI. Sultānam Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*. (No. 12.)

Daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā.

A Sultānam of this parentage is mentioned by Bābar (Mems., 22), by Haīdar (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 Ahmad Mīrzā. (Mems., 22.) She was the child of Qūtūq (Katak) Begam. She married her cousin 'Alī, son of Mahmūd Mīrzā. 'Alī was murdered by Shaibānī (*cf. s.n. Zulra*) 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 Mahdī Sultān. By this style the histories mention the Uzbek chief who was associated with Hamza (Khamza) Sultān. But this Mahdī 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 Mahdī Sultān may be the father of 'Adil Sultān; or he may be Mahdī Muḥammad Khwāja.

(2). Sultānam, daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā, married Muḥammad Husain *Dughlāt* in the autumn of 1503. She was given to her husband by Khusrau Shah who describes her as daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā *wa padshāh-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 Husain *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

Wais Mīrzā, the son of Miāngī Bāyqrā Mīrzā.' (Mems., 181.)

Barādar kilānash ba pīsar miāngī Bāyqrā Mīrzā Sultān Wais Mīrzā dāda būd. (*Waq'āt-i-bābarī*, Persian text, B.M. Or. 16,623, 123b.)

Āghā sī Bāyqrā Mīrzā nīnak ortānchū oghalī Sultān Wais Mīrzāgha chūqārīb aidī. (*Tūzūk-i-bābarī* or *Bābar-nāma*, Turkī text, B.M. Add. 26,324, f. 52b, and Ilmīnsky, 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 *mūyān*. Redhouse gives for the *ortānchū 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.

Habībū-s-siyār, 327 *et seq.*

Also the places mentioned in the notice above.

CLXXXIV. Shāh-zāda Khānām Mīrān-shāhī.

Daughter of Sulaimān Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* and Hāram Begam. She was betrothed to Humāyūn in 958H. (1551), but the affair went no further.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1898, art. *Lāyazīd biyāt*, H. Beveridge.

B. & H., II, 397.

(*Cf.* appendix *s.n.* Hāram and Fatīma.)

CLXXXV. Sultānam Begam Bāyqarā.

For meaning of *Sultānam*, *cf.* app. *s.n.* Māham.

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqarā* and Chūlī Begam *Azāk*; her father's eldest girl and her mother's only child. She married, first, her cousin Wais, son of her father's elder brother Bāyqarā, and, secondly, 'Abd al-baqī Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*. By her first marriage she had a son, Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā, and a daughter who married Isān-qulī *Shaibāni*, younger brother of Yilī-bārs Sultān. Through her son Muḥammad she was ancestress of those numerous rebel Bāyqarās whom history knows as 'the mirzās.'

When the Uzbegs took Harāt in 1507 (913H.) she went to Khwārizm, and there her daughter was married. On April 12th, 1519 (Rabī' II. 12th, 925H.), Bābar records her arrival with her daughter in Kābul. He gave her the Garden of Retirement (*Bāgh-i-khilwat*) for her residence, and waited upon her with the ceremony due to an elder sister. He bowed and she bowed; he advanced, they embraced; and having established this form of greeting, they kept to it.

Sultānam started from Kābul for India in 1527 with a grandson (her sons had six sons), but she died at the Indus and her body was taken back to Kābul for burial.

There are curious discrepancies of the texts in [†] passage about Sultānam which occurs at Mem^c

The first point to note is contained
'Her elder brother gave her in'

Yādgār-nāṣir Mīrzā, in 1540 and after the *débaclé* in Hindūstān, for when Yādgār-nāṣir had fled from Sind to Kāmraṅ in Qandahār (a traitor cast aside by his employer, Shāh Husain *Arghūn*), Kāmraṅ sent ambassadors to Shāh Husain 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.

Albar-nāma, 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'īd Mīrzā *Mīraṅ-shāhī*; mother of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā.

The news of her death in Andijān reached Bābar in 907H. (1501).

Mems., 20, 99.

CLXXXIII. Shāh-zāda Begam and Sultānam Khānam

Ṣafawī.

The daughter of kings.

Sister of Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia. Her protection of the Emperor Humāyūn during his sojourn in Persia is named by many of the historians.

Gul-badan, 58a, 58b.

Kīchal, she was the wife of Sharafu-d-dīn Husain.
(*Cf.* Kīchak.)

She was at the Mystic Feast.

Gul-badan, 24*b*.

CLXXIX. Shāh Khānam. (No. 17.)

Daughter of Badī'u-l-jamāl Begam.

Gul-badan, 24*b*.

CLXXX. Shahr-bānū Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

(?) *Ar. shahr*, the moon, the new moon.

Daughter of Sulṭān Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* ;
wife of Sulṭān Husain 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 Husain. 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-sulṭān.

Of her subsequent history nothing seems recorded.
(*Cf.* *Mīngli-bī āghācha.*)

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,

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, Mirzā 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 Mirzā 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 Mirzā Khān.

The latter went on in advance to Qilā'-zafar. The ladies and their escort were at once attacked and plundered by robber bands in the employ of the ruler of Kāshghar, Abū-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

CLXXVII. Shāh Begam Badakhshī.

The princess of royal blood.

She was one of six daughters of Shāh Sultān Muḥammad, King of Badakhshān, the last of a long line of hereditary rulers of his country who claimed descent from Alexander of Macedon. Her mother was a sister of Sultān Sanjar *Barlās*.

She was given in marriage to Yūnas Khān *Chaghatai* and was the mother of Maḥmūd and Ahmad Khāns and of Sultān-nigār and Daulat Khānams. She was widowed in 892H. (1487), and survived Yūnas more than twenty years.

She dwelt in Mughalīstān with her elder son, Maḥmūd, the then Khāqān of the Mughals, from the time of Yūnas' death until about 911H. (1505-6). Then 'base advisers provoked a quarrel between the mother and son—a son so obedient that he had never even mounted for a ride without her permission. . . . They [the base advisers] decided to send Shāh Begam to Shāhī Beg Khān to solicit a country for herself, because she found living in Mughalīstān distasteful. . . . Now, as the Begam was a very sensible woman, she went under this pretext, and thus left her son before those base advisers could bring about an open rupture, which would have caused endless scandal and reproach to herself. The rumour was that she had gone to entreat Shāhī Beg Khān while she was really enjoying in Samarqand the company of her children.' (*Tar. Rash*, E. & R., 180.)

Shāhī Beg did not permit her to remain in Samarqand but banished her to Khurāsān. From Khurāsān she went with other connections and relations to Bābar in Kābul. They arrived early in 911H. (June, 1505), during the ceremonial mourning for Bābar's mother, Shāh Begam's stepdaughter. With Shāh Begam was Ḥaidar Mīrzā's father and also Bābar's aunt, Mihr-nigār. Ḥaidar says that Bābar gave the party a warm welcome and showed them all possible

of Muṣāhib Khān, son of Khwāja Kilān (Bābar's friend).

Aīn-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 421, 533.

CLXXIV. Sarv-qad and Sarv-i-sahī.

Straight as a cypress; Pers. *sarv*, a cypress, and *qad*, form, or *sahī*, erect.

Sarv-i-sahī, to use Gul-badan's word, was a singer and reciter. She belonged to the households both of Bābar and Humāyūn, and was subsequently married, with full *nisbat*, to Mu'nim Khān-i-khānān.

She acted as go-between of Mu'nim and Khān-i-zamān ('Alī Qulī *Uzbek-i-shaibānī*) during the rebellion of the latter—probably in the tenth year of Akbar, and Bāyazīd calls her a reliable woman and the *haram* of the Khān-i-khānān. She sang on the way to Langhān 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, 82*a* (inserted in the translation after 73*b*).

Bāyazīd, I.O. MS., 122*b*, 147*b*.

Akbar-nama, Bib. Ind. ed., III. 145.

CLXXV. Shād Begam Bāyqarā. (No. 28.)

Daughter of Haidar Bāyqarā and Bega Mīrān-shāhī; wife of 'Adil Sulṭān.

Gul-badan, 25*a*.

Mems., 180.

CLXXV (a). Shād Bībī.

Wife of Humāyūn; lost at Chausa.

Gul-badan, 33*b*.

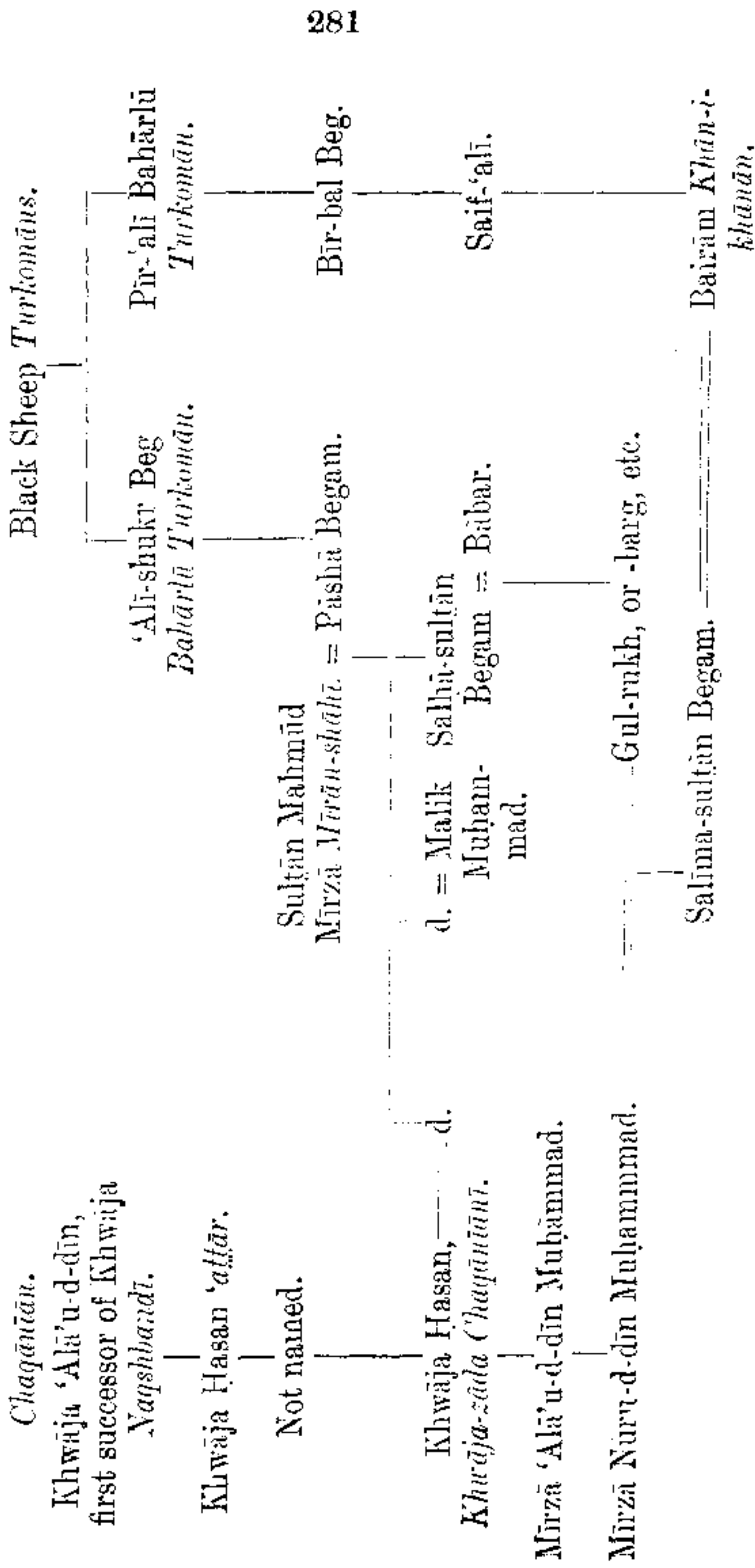
CLXXVI. Shāham āghā.

(?) My queen; from Pers. *shāh*, king, ruler.

Of the *haram* of Humāyūn. She went with Gul-badan Begam to Makka in 983H.

Aīn-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 441.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF SALĪMA-SULTĀN CHAĠĀNĪNĪ.



The genealogical table on the next page illustrates Salīma-sultān's descent, and the following dates bear also upon the topic :

Pāshā married Maḥmūd	873H.—1469.
Bayasanghar born	882H. 1477.
Maḥmūd died	900H.—Jan. 1495
Bābar married Zainab, d. of Maḥmūd ... *	910H.—1504.
Zainab died	913H.-914H.—1507-8.
Sālḥā'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, 7 <i>a</i> .)	

CLXXI. Salīma Khānam Chaghatai Mughal.

Daughter of Khizr Khwājā, but whether also of Gul-badan is not recorded.

She went with Gul-badan to Makka in 983H. (1575).

Ain-i-akbari, Blochmann, 441.

CLXXII. Salīqa-sultān Begam (Āq Begam) Mīrān-shāhī.

(Hunsky, 25, reads Sālḥa.) The princess of excellent disposition ; Ar. *salīqa*, of good disposition, and *sultān*, pre-eminence.

Daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mirzā *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.

Mujāhid¹ (who is named in the *Tabaqāt-i-akbari* as commander of² 1,000, but is not in the *Ain*) was a son

akbarī witnesses to the Hindūizing action to which Moslim custom and thought have submitted. Adult remarriage was no reproach to Islām in Salīma's day.

It does not, however, seem correct to accept Jahāngīr's statement that Salīma-sultān was sixty only at death. To have betrothed her as a baby and to have married her to a man of, at least, middle-age at five, is not in harmony with the Muḥammad custom of Humāyūn's day. Moreover, Jahāngīr himself speaks of her as married (*kad-khudā*) to Bairām. She is said by Abū'l-faḥr to have been betrothed (*nāmzād*) by Humāyūn, and married (*sipurdan*) by Akbar to Bairām Khān.

Badāyūnī's words indicate adult and not child marriage; *sābiqā dar ḥabāla-i-Bairām Khān Khān-i-khānān bud, b'ad azūn dakhil-i-ḥaram-i-pādshāhī shūd.*

After the murder of Bairām in 968H. Salīma-sultān was married by Akbar. She was probably a few years his senior.

In 983H. she made her pilgrimage with Gul-badan. Particulars of the expedition are given in the Introduction to this volume.

Her name appears in the histories as a reader, a poet who wrote under the pseudonym of *makhfi*, and as pleading with Akbar for Salīm's forgiveness.

Her death is chronicled by Jahāngīr who heard of it on Zū'l-qa'da 2nd, 1021H. (December 15th, 1612). He gives particulars of her birth and descent, and of her marriages; and he states that she was sixty at the time of her death. By his orders her body was laid in a garden which she herself had made.

Jahāngīr praises her both for her natural qualities and her acquirements. She creates an impression of herself as a charming and cultivated woman.

Gul-badan, (?)26a.

Akbar-nāma s.n..

Badāyūnī, Lowe, 13, 216, 389.

Tūzūk-i-jahāngīrī, Sayyid Ahmad, Aligarh, 113.

Khāfī Khān, *Bib. Ind.* ed., I. 276.

Āin-i-akbarī, Blochmann, s.n..

Darbār-i-akbarī, 736.