

marriage with Nūru-d-ān 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 Hamīda-bānū and Gul-badan to Hindūstan in 964H. (1557), and she was married at Jalindhar shortly after Šafar 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 *Bakārlū Turkomān*. Salīma-sultān was a Timūrid through Bābar, one of her grandfathers, and through Maḥmūd, one of her great-grandfathers.

A few words must be said about her age at the time of her marriage, because the question has been raised through Jahāngīr's statement that she died at the age of sixty in 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 *etat. 5*, and that her memory is thus cleared from the reproach of two marriages!

Whatever is concealed in Jahāngīr's 'sixty,' nothing is said to indicate that he desired to bring 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-*

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 (Moms., 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-fazl's statement that Nūru-d-dīn's marriage was made by *Firdaus-makānī*, whereas Gul-badan states that her father arranged two Chaghatai marriages for her sisters.

If we might read *Jannat-āshyānī* (Humāyūn) for *Firdaus-makānī* much would fall into place; the

CLXIX. Sālḥa-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī.*Cf. Salīma-sultān Chaqānīānī.*CLXX. Salīma-sultān Begam Chaqānīānī.

Daughter of Mirzā 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 Turkoman or Turk by descent, it has occurred to me that she may have borne a Turki name, and that the various forms it assumes in the Persian may have their origin in this.

As to her maternal parentage there are difficulties. From the *Ma'āsir-i-rahīmī*, under 1024H., the following information is obtained. Pāshā Begam *Bahārū Turkomān* married (873H., 1469) as her second husband, Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*. By him she had three daughters and one son: Bayasaughar (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-faḥl (*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 Iḥsan, 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-faḥl 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

jahān) lived 'unnoticed and rejected' with her after the death of Shīr-afkān.

*Āin-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, 309, 509.

CLXV. Ruqaiya-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

Daughter of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrān-shāhī and Makh-duma-sultān Begam (*Qarā-gūz*). She was a posthumous child. She fell into the hands of Jānī Beg *Uzbeq*, *cir.* 908-911. (1502-4), and bore him 'two or three' sons who died young. 'I have just received information that she has gone to the mercy of God.' The date of this entry in the Memoirs is about 935H. (1528-9).

Mems, 10.

CLXVI. Sa'ādat-bakht (Begam Sultān) Bāyqarā.

Of happy fortune; Ar. *sa'ādat*, happy, and Pers. *bakht*, fortune.

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqarā and Papa (Bābā) *āghacha*. She was married to Sultān Ma'sūd after the loss of his eyesight.

Mems., 182.

*Ḥabību-s-siyār*, 327 *et seq.*

CLXVII. Šāhib-daulat Begam Dughlāt.

The princess of good fortune; Ar. *šāhib*, enjoying, and *daulat*, fortune.

Sister of Mīr Jabār *Bardī Dughlāt*; wife of Sultān Ahmad Khān *Chaghatai*; mother of Manšūr, Bābājāk, Shāh Shaikh Muḥammad and Māham.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 125, 344.

CLXVIII. Sakīna-bānū Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

The princess guardian of tranquillity; Ar. *sakīna*, tranquillity of mind, and Pers. *bānū*, keeper.

Daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chūcha'; wife of Shāh Ghāzī Khān, son of Naqīb Khān *Qazwīnī*, a personal friend of Akbar.

Gul-badan, 71a.

Blochmann, 435, 449.

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 Manṣūr Mīrzā *Bāyqarā* and of Fīroza Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*, and thus doubly a Tīmūrid. She was full-sister of Bāyqarā and Husain Mīrzās and of Āka Begam. She married Ahmad 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.

Ilmsky, 203, 204, 208.

B.M. Turkī Add. 26,234, f. 48a and b; 53.

Other texts under 911H.

CLXII. Rabī'a-sultān Begam (*Qarā-qūz*) *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* and Qūtūq (Katak) *āghācha* (Begam); wife (1) of Sultān Mahmūd Khān *Chaghataī* and mother of Bābā Sultān, and (2) of Janī Beg *Uzbek* who married her after the murder of her father and her son by his cousin Shaibānī in 914H. (1508).

Mems., 22.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 114, 116.

CLXIII. Rajab-sultān *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Ar. *rajab*, fearing, worshipping. *Sultān* may here be a title.

Daughter of Sultān Mahmūd 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' (*ānūr-*

There is, however, this difference of statement. The Turkī texts write : *Bedka Begam ham mīrzā nīnak ākā-chī sī ādī*. P. de C. translates : *était aussi l'aînée 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*, *ākā-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* (*Husain*) and as having two sons, *Bābar* and *Murād* who were given in marriage to two daughters of *Husain*.

The Turkī texts do not describe *Rabī'a-sultān* in any way, or say that she was *Husain's* sister. They simply mention the marriages.

The Persian texts say of *Husain'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 *Husain's* own sister, have greater authority than most translations can claim for such additional information as is here given, because the Persian translation of the *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.

*Husain* 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

digiously attached' to her. She drank wine; her co-wives were neglected from fear of her. At length her husband put her to death, and 'delivered himself from his reproach.'

Mems., 22.

CLIX. Qūt-liq (Qutluq) Khānam Chaghatāi Mughal.

(?) The image of happiness; from Turkī *qūlla*, happy, and *liq*, endowed with.

Daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Khān *Chaghatāi*; wife of Jānī Beg Khān *Uzbeq*.

Her marriage was a sequel of victory by Shaibānī over her father. Cf. 'Āyisha (her sister).

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & B., 160, 251.

CLX. Qūt-liq-nigār Khānam Chaghatāi Mughal.

Second daughter of Yūnas Khān *Chaghatāi* and Isān-daulat *Qūchān*; chief wife of 'Umar, shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī*; half-sister of Maḥmūd and Aḥmad Khāns; mother of Khān-zāda and Bābar.

She accompanied her son in most of his wars and expeditions, and lived to see him master of Kābul. She died in Muḥarram, 911H. (June, 1505).

Mems., 10, 11, 12, 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 Turkhān*, and had two sons who served Sultān Husain.

These statements are contained also in the Turkī texts (B.M. Add. 26,324, and Ilmīnsky), and also in a considerable number of good Persian texts in the British Museum and Bodleian.

CLV. Pāyanda-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

(?) Of fixed pre-eminence; Pers. *pāyanda*, firm, stable, and Ar. *sultān*, pre-eminence.

Daughter of Abū-sa'īd Sultān Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī; paternal aunt of Bābar; wife of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqarā; sister of Shahr-bānū whom Sultān Husain Mīrzā divorced; mother of Haider Mīrzā Bāyqarā; of Āq, Kīchak, Bega, and Āghā Begams.

When the Uzbeks took Khurāsān, 913H. (1507-8), she went to 'Irāq, where 'she died in distress.'

Mems., 30, 180, 181, 182, 204, 208 and n., 223.

Gul-badan, 25a (here a *Muhammad* is inserted after Pāyanda in the name).

CLVI. Qadīr Khānam Qālmāq.

Daughter of Amasānjī Taishī Qālmāq and Makhdūma Khānam Chaghatai.

*Tār. Rus.*, E. & R., 91.

CLVII. Qarā-gūz Begam Bāyqarā.

The black-eyed princess. *Qarā-gūz* is a sobriquet, and I have not found her personal name.

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqarā and Pāyanda-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī; wife of Nāṣir Mīrzā, Bābar's half-brother.

Mems., 181.

(*Qarā-gūz* Begam, Rabī'a, *q.r.*)

(*Qarā-gūz* Begam, Makhdūma, *q.r.*)

CLVIII. Qūtūq āghācha and Begam.

Hainsky writes *Qūtūq*; Mems., *Katak*.

Foster-sister of *Terkhān* Begam; wife of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī; mother of four daughters: (1) Rabī'a (*Qarā-gūz*), (2) Salīqa (Āq), 'Āyisha (wife of Bābar, (4) Sultānam.

She was married 'for love,' and Ahmad was 'pro-



Ma'sūm, Farrūkh Ḥusain, Ibn Ḥusain, Ibrāhīm Ḥusain; of three daughters, Nizhād-sultān, Sa'ādat-bakht, and a third whose name Bābar does not give.

Mems., 181, 182, 183.

CLIV. Pāshā Begam Bahārlū Turkoṣnān 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 Šālḥa-sultān Begam and that she had a daughter by Bābar whose name was Gul-rukh; that Gul-rukh married Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad *Chaḡānīdānī*, and had by him Salīma-sultān Begam. Abū'l-faẓl says that a daughter of Pāshā by Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā was married to Khwāja Ḥasan *Khwāja-zāda*, and that on account of this connection *Firdaus-makānī* (Bābar) married Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn to his own daughter, Gul-barg Begam, and that Salīma-sultān Begam was the issue of this marriage.

(There are difficulties connected with the account here given of Šālḥa 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..

CXLIX. Nār-gul āghācha. (No. 58.)

(?) Red as a rose, pomegranate-red. For *nār* see *infra*. Pers. *gul*, a rose.

She was perhaps one of two Circassian slaves, of whom Gul-nār may be the other and who were sent to Bābar by Ṭahmāsp in 1526.

Mems., 347.\*

Gul-badan, 25*b*, 35*a*, 38*a*.

CL. Nār-sultān āghā. (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, 26*a*.

CLI. Nīgār āghā. (No. 76.)

Pers. *nīgār*, a mistress, a sweetheart.

Mother of Mughal Beg.

Gul-badan, 26*a*.

CLII. Nizhād-sultān Begam Bāyqarā.

The princess of highly distinguished race; Pers. *nizhād*, family, high-born; Ar. *sultān*, pre-eminence.

Eldes daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqarā and Bābā āghācha; wife of Sikandar Mīrzā, son of Bāyqarā Mīrzā who was her father's elder brother.

Mems., 182.

*Habību-s-siyār*, 387 *et seq.*

CLIII. Pāpā (? Bābā) āghācha.

Mr. Erskine writes *Papa*, and Ilminsky, perhaps following him, *Pāpā*. *Bābā*—*i.e.*, darling—would seem a more fitting name for one who is said to have been much beloved.

She was a low-born wife of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqarā 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

She is occasionally spoken of simply as 'Khānam.'

Gul-badan, 62b.  
*Akbar-nāma*, s.n..  
*Aīn-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, s.n..  
*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 451.  
*Cf.* Introduction.

#### CXLVII. Munauwar Sultān Begam *Bāyqrā*.

The illuminated princess; Ar. *munauwar*, bright illuminated.

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqrā* and Bābē *āghācha*; wife of Sayyid Mīrzā of Andekhud who appears also to have married her niece. She was famed for her beauty. The Memoirs and Ilminsky's text do not give her name, and I have found it in the *Ḥabību-s-siyār*. From this same work is derived the information that Sayyid Mīrzā is a name given to a son of Ulugh Beg Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Mems., 182.  
*Ḥabību-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-sīnd*, Mīr Ma'sūm.  
*Bādshāh-nāma* s.n. (fully used by Blochmann).  
*Aīn-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, s.n..  
*B. & H.*, I. 348, 351, 352, 385.

A brother of Mubārika, named Mīr Jamāl, accompanied Bābar to Hindustān in 1525, and rose to high office under Humāyūn and Akbar. Hindāl had a favourite follower of this name who passed, on his death, into Akbar's service. He may well be the Yūsufzai.

Gul-badan, 8a, 25b, 30a, 35a, 38a, 73b.

Mems., 250, 250 n., 251.

*Akbar-nāma*, Bib. Ind. ed., I. 315.

*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1901, art. An Afghān Legend, II. Beveridge.

(Mughal Khānam, 'Ayisha, *q.v.*)

#### CXLIV. Muḥibb-sultān.

The very loving khānam; Ar. *muḥibb*, a lover, one who loves, and *sultān*, pre-eminence.

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqarā and a 'handmaid' (*ghūncha-chī*).

Mems., 30.

#### CXLV. Muḥibb-sultān Khānam *Chaghatai Mughal*. (No. 20.)

Third daughter of Sultān Ahmad Khān *Chaghatai*; wife of Mīrzā Haidar *Dughlat*.

Gul-badan, 11a, 24b.

*Tar. Rash.*, E. & R., 161, 280,<sup>1</sup> 341.

#### CXLVI. Muḥtarima Khānam *Chaghatai Mughal*.

The honoured khānam; Ar. *muḥtarim*, respected, honoured.

Daughter of Shāh Muḥammad Sultān *Kashghari Chaghatai*, and Khadija Sultān *Chaghatai*; wife (1) of Kāmran, (2) of Ibrāhīm *Mīrān-shāhi*, the son of Sulaimān and Hāram.

<sup>1</sup> There is some error here in the translation, as its statements do not agree with known facts.

*Mīrān-shāhī* who brought her when she herself married Sultān Husain, and presented her to him.

She was mother of three sons: Abū-tūrāl, Muḥammad Husain, and Farīdūn Husain; and of two daughters: Bairām (or Maryam) and Fāṭima.

Mems., 181, 182, 183.

*Habību-s-siyār* (lith. ed.), 327 *et seq.*

CXLII. Mīng-līq kūkaltāsh.

She escaped from Samarqand with Bābar's mother on its capture by Shaibānī in 907H. (1501).

Mems., 98.

CXLIII. Mubārīka Bibī; Afghānī āghācha. (No. 56.)

*Ar. mubārīka*, blessed, fortunate.

She was a daughter of Shāh Mansūr *Yūsufzai*, and was married by Bābar at Kehrāj on January 30th, 1519 (Muḥarram 28th, 925H.). The alliance was the sign and seal of amity between him and her tribe. A charming account of her and her marriage is given in the *Tārīkh-i-ḥafīz-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. Hafīz 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 Hafīz 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.

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 Ḥaidar 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, Mīhr-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.

Mīhr-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 Ūzbeq.

A low-born wife (*ghūncha-chī*) of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā *Bāyqarā*. The *Ḥabību-s-siyār* calls her a Turk and a purchased slave (*namlūqa*) of Shahr-bānū Begam

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 *Uzbeq* 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, 390, 395, 397, 399.

*Tār. Kūchūm*, E. & R., s.n. Kuchum and Sultān and 206 n..

Muhammadan Dynasties, Stanley Lane-Poole, 273.

### CXXXIX. Mihr-jahān or -jān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Sun of the world or of life; Pers. *mīhr*, 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 Muḡhal*.

The image of affection, or a very sun.

Eldest daughter of Yūnas Khān *Chaghataī* and Isān-daulat (*Qūchūn, Kunjī*); born *cir.* 860H. (1455-56); wife of Sultān Almad 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

CXXXV. Maywa-jān.

Fruit of life; Pers. *maywa*, fruit, and *jān*, life.

Daughter of Khazang *yasāwal* and a servant of Gul-badan Begam; an inferior wife of Humāyūn.

Gul-badan, 21*b*, 22*a*, 30*a*.

CXXXVI. Mihr-angez Begam. (No. 29.)

The princess who commands affection; Pers. *mihr*, affection, and *angez*, commanding, raising.

Daughter of Muẓaffar Husain Mirzā *Bāyqarā*; granddaughter of Sultān Husain *Bāyqarā* and Khadīja.

She was accomplished after the fashion of gentlemen-at-arms and she played polo.

She was married by 'Ubaidu-l-lāh *Uzbeq* when Harāt was taken by Shaibānī (913H., June, 1507).

She was at the Mystic Feast in 1531.

in, 2*b*, 25*b*.  
*siyār*, 397 *et seq.*

CXXXVII. Mihr-bānū Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*. (? No. 27.)

The beloved; Pers. *mihr*, affection, and *bānū*, possessing.

Daughter of 'Umar Shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī* and of Umīd *Audijānū*; full-sister of Nāsir and Shahr-bānū; born *cir.* 886H. (1481-82).

Gul-badan mentions a Mihr-līq Begam (No. 27.) who was a paternal aunt of Humāyūn, as being at the Mystic Feast. This may be Mihr-bānū. No aunt named Mihr-līq is mentioned elsewhere, and *līq* and *bānū* have the same sense.

Gul-badan, 25*a*.  
Mems., 10.

CXXXVIII. Mihr-bānū Khānam.

I think she is a relative of Bābar, and she may be the daughter of 'Umar Shaikh and Umīd, and thus Bābar's half-sister. (See *infra*. From her title of Khānam,



CXXX. Makhdūma-sultān Begam.

Daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā *Mīrāp-shāhī* and Zuhra Begī *āghā Uzbek*; elder sister of Sultān Alī Mīrzā. 'She is now in Ladakhshān.' (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.

Hidden, 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, 231, 429 Supplement.

CXXXIV. Ma'sūma-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 43.)

Daughter of Bābar and Ma'sūma; wife of Muḥammad-zamān Mīrzā *Bāyqrā*.

Gul-badan, 6b, 23a, 25b, 29b.

*Akbar-nāma*, s.n.

Mems., 22, 395, 429 Supplement.

CXXVI. Makhdūma Begam (Qarā-gūz).

Wife of 'Umar Shaikh *Mūrān-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 *Mūrān-shāhī*.

Mems., 10, 14.

CXXVII. Makhdūma-jahān.

The mistress of the world; Ar. *makhdūma*, mistress, and Pers. *jahān*, world.

Mother of Sulṭān Bahādūr *Gujrātī*.

B. & H., II. 96.

CXXVIII. Makhdūma Qāluchī.

A wife of Sa'īd Khān *Chaghatāi*; 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 *Chaghatāi Mughal*; sister of Wais Khān; wife of Amāsānji *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 Amāsānji become a Musalmān, and Makhdūma continued the work of her husband's conversion and that of his tribe.

She named one of her daughters Karīm *Bardī* in affection and respect for the Dughlāt amīr of this name.

Mems., 409.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 67, 91.

XXIII. Māh-chūchak Begam Arghūn.

Daughter of Shāh Ḥasan and Māh-chūchak *Arghūn* and her father's only child; wife of Kām'rān; married 953H. (1546). Her wifely fidelity is commemorated by the historians. She went with Kām'rān to Makka after his blinding, and attended him until his death, October 5th, 1557. She survived him seven months.

*Tārīkh-i-sind*, Mīr Ma'jūn, in the account of Shāh Ḥasan's family.

CXXIV. Māh-chūchak Begam.

Sister of Bairām *Oghlān* and of Farīdūn Khān *Kābulī*.

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, Fakhrū-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 Kābul in 1564.

Gul-badan, 71a, 71b, 73b, 78b, 83a.

Jauhar, Mr. William Irvine's MS., Part II., Chapter II.

Bāyazīd, I.O. MS., 72a.

Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, 27th year of Akbar.

*Badāyūnī*, Lowe, 54 *et seq.*

*Āin-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, *s.n.*

CXXV. Makhdūma āghā. (No. 59.)

The Lady *āghā*; Ar. *makhḍūma*, lady, mistress.  
Wife of Hindū Beg.

Gul-badan, 26a.

CXXI. Māh-chachaḡ Khalīfa.

She is mentioned by Bāyazīd as interceding for him with Ḥamīda-bānū. She may be a servant (*khalīfa*).

J. R. A. S., October, 1898, art. Bāyazīd *bīgāt*, H. Beveridge p. 16.

CXXII. Māh-chūchak Begam Arghūn, Ḥājī Begam.

The word *chūchak* presents difficulties. Izminsky writes *chūchiḡ*; Bāyazīd, *chachaḡ*; Gul-badan, *chūchak* and *jūj k*; the Memoirs, *chuchak*. Mr. Blochmann and Mr. Lowe transliterate, *jūjak*. There is a Turkī word *jūjuḡ*, but its meaning of sweet savoured is less appropriate for a woman's name than a word which, spite of vowel variation it seems safer to take from the Persian; viz. *chachak*, a rose, and *chachak*, *chuchak*, a lovely check, a mole.

Daughter of Mirzā Muḥammad Muqīm Arghūn and of Bibī Zarīf Khātūn; wife (1) of Bābar's *kāhālāsh* Qāsim; (2) of Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn of Sind (died 963H.); (3) of 'Īsā Tarkhān Arghūn of Tatta and Sind.

By Qāsim, she was mother of Nāhīd Begam and by Shāh Ḥasan of his only child, Chūchak or Māh-chūchak, Kāmran's wife.

She had an interesting story which Mr. Erskine tells at length. (B. & H., I. 348 *et seq.*)

On the death of 'Īsā (975H.) his son and successor, Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān, who was a madman, ill-treated Māh-chūchak and Nāhīd who was then visiting her. This led to a plot against him, but in the end Māh-chūchak was imprisoned by him and starved to death. (*Cf. s.n. Nāhīd.*)

Mems., 233.

B. & H., I. 348 *et seq.*

*Tārīkh-i-sind*, Mīr Ma'sūm, in the account of Shāh Ḥasan's family.

*Aīn-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, 420.

Izminsky, 273.

Bābar married Māham in Harāt when he visited that city after Sultān Husain Mirzā'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, 423, 428 n..

Gul-badan, 4a, 6b, 7a, 8b, 11b, 13b, 14b, 16a, 16b, 17a, 18b, 21a and b, 22a and b, 23a and b, 24b.

*Akbar-nāma*, 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 Chaghatāī Mughal.

Second daughter of Sultān Ahmad Khān *Chaghatāī* and full-sister of Mansūr Khān. Their mother was Şahib-daulat *Dughlat*, sister of Mīr Jabār *Bardī Dughlat*. Māham married Builāsh Khān *Uzbek Kazāk*, son of Awīq.

Ḥaidar Mirzā names her as a hostage given, with her mother, by her brother Mansūr to his half-brother Sa'īd at a time of their meeting in 1516. She had two other full-brothers, Bābājāk and Shāh Shaikh Muḥammad.

*Tār. Rash.*, N. E. & R., 160, 344.

#### CXX. Māh Begam Qibchāq Mughal.

The moon princess; Pers. *māh*, moon.

Daughter of Sultān Wais *Qibchāq Mughal* and sister of Ḥaram Begam; wife of Kāmran Mirzā.

Gul badan, 64b.

of Kāmran; and Bega (*Hāfi*) Begam is the daughter of Uncle Yādgar.

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 Muhammad 'Alī *faqhāi* 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 Muhammad '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*, *qārchū*, *Qārchūn*, and without a more complete good Turkī text no opinion can be formed as to his identity.

Gul-badan says that *Ākā* (Māham) was related to the owners of the New Year's Garden in Kābul, and this was made by Ulugh Beg *Kābulī Mīrān-shāhī*.

Abū'l-fazl says Māham was of a noble Khurāsān family, related to Sultān Husain Mīrzā (*Bāyqāra*), and, like Hamīda-bānū Begam, was of the line of Shaikh Ahmad *Jāmī* (*az dūdman-i-a'yān wa ashraf-i-Khurāsān and, wa ba Sultān Husain Mīrzā nisbat-i-khwesh dārand*. Perhaps *nisbat-i-khwesh* implies blood-relationship on the father's side.

Gul-badan speaks of Māham's Mughal servants, but a Chaghataī, a Begchik, a Qūchūn 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.

CXVII. Māham Begam : *ākā* and *ākām* (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. 320, Māham 'Alī Qulī Khān.)

Whether māham is to be classed with sultānam, khānam, began, shāham, I am unable to say.

Sir Douglas Forsyth (*Mission to Yarkand*, 84) translates khānam and began 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-ālī*, 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*, *ṭayḥāī* 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*, slash-face) are named as being three of the eight brothers or half-brothers of Gul-rukḥ, the mother

CXIII. Laṭīfa-sultān āghācha.

Of pre-eminent delicacy or gentleness; Ar. *laṭīfa*, delicate, and a jest, and Ar. *sultān*, sway.

*Chār-shambihū*, a Wednesday wife, of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqarā; mother of Abū'l-ḥasan and of Muḥammad Muḥsin (*kepek*, round-shouldered).

The *Ḥabību-s-siyār* says she was a relation of Jahān-shāh (? *Turkomān* or *Barlās*). She was dead before 912H. (1506).

Mems., 179, 183.

CXIV. Laṭīf Begam Duladāi Barlās.

Grand-daughter of Ahmad Hājī Beg; wife (1) of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*; (2) of Hamza Sultān *Uzbeq*, and by him mother of three sons who fell into Bābar's hands at Hīṣār, and were released by him.

Both her grandfather Ahmad and his paternal uncle, Janī Beg *Duladāi*, were amirs of her first husband.

Mems., 23.

CXV. Māh-afroz Begam.

The princess who outshines the moon; Pers. *māh*, moon, and *afroz*, dazzling, illuminating.

She was a wife of Kāmran and mother of *Hājī* Begam. Two of Kāmran's wives are not known by their personal names, Hazāra Begam and the daughter of Uncle 'Alī Mīrzā *Begchik*. Mah-afroz may be one of these.

Gul-badan, 64b.

CXVI. Māham anaga.

Nurse of Akbar; wife of Nadīm *kūka*; mother of Bāqī and Adham *kūkas*. Cf. Bābū *āghā*. Much of her story is given in the Introduction to this volume.



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..

*Ain-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, 322.

CIX. Kīchak māham. (No. 80.)

Cf. s.n. Māham for meaning of the word.

She is named as at Hindāl's wedding.

Gul-badan, 26b.

CX. Kilān Khān Begam.

This is clearly not a personal name. Pers. *kilān*, elder, great, and Turkī *khān*, a title.

Daughter of Sultānam Begam *Mīrān-shāhī* and grand-daughter of Sultān Ahmad 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* (935H., 1528-29).

B. & H., II. 131, 132, and authorities there cited by Mr. Erskine.

CXII. Lāl-shād Khānam Chaghatāī Mughal.

Perhaps, with a lip like the gleam of a ruby; Pers. *lāl*, ruby, and *shād*, gleam, happy.

Eldes daughter of Sultān Ahmad Khān *Chaghatāī* and of a 'slave' (*amm-i-walī*).

'Although she was outside the circle of distinction, she was finally married to Muhammad Amīr Mīrzā *Dughlāt*.'

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 161.