

CV. Khūb-nigār Khānam Chaghatāi 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 *Chaghatāi* and Isān-daulat *Qūchān*; wife of Muḥammad Husain *Dughlāt Hīšārī*; 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. Kash.*, E. & R., 117, 118, 153, 156, 197.

CVI. Khurshed kūkī. (Nos. 55 and 64.)

Pers., the sun, sunshine.

Gul-badan, 26a.

CVII. Kichak Begam Bāyqarā.

The small princess; Turkī, *kīchak*, small. The name is probably a sobriquet.

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqarā* and Pāyanda-sultān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*; wife of Maulānā Khwāja who was of the family of Sayyid Atā one of her father's best vazīrs.

Khwānd-amīr, reverses her marriage with that of her sister Bega, and makes her marry Bābar, son of Rab'ā.

Mems., 181.

*Ḥabību-s-siyār*, 327 *et seq.*

CVIII. Kichak Begam Termizī. (No. 23.)

Daughter of Mīr 'Alā'u-l-mulk *Termizī* and Fakhr-jahān *Mīrān-shāhī*; wife of Khwāja Mu'īn *Ahrārī*; mother of Mīrzā Sharafu-d-dīn Husain.

<sup>1</sup> The translation of the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* (E. & R., 159) has the statement that Khūb-nigār bore six sons (*farzandān*), 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.'

her in conformity with the custom of *yanga-lāk*.  
(Cf. *Jamāl āghā*.)

Mems., 30.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 330.

CI. Khān-zāda Begam Termizī.

Of the family of the Khāns of Termiz; wife of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*. She was a bride when Bābar was five, *i.e.*, in 893H. (1488) but, according to Turkī custom, was still veiled. Sultān Ahmad desired Bābar to pluck off the veil and run away, a little ceremony which it was supposed would bring him good luck when his time for marriage should come.

Mems., 23.

CII. Khān-zāda Begam Termizī (a.).

Daughter of the chief (*mīr-i-buzūry*) of Termiz; wife of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*; mother of Sultān Mas'ūd Mīrzā. She died apparently early in her married life. The mīrzā was greatly afflicted at her death.

Mems., 29, 30.

CIII. Khān-zāda Begam Termizī (b.).

Daughter of a brother of Khānzāda *Termizī (a.)*; grand-daughter of the chief of Termiz; wife of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā *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 Muzaffar Mīrzā *Bāyqrā*, and illegally taken by Shaibānī.

Mems., 224.

*Pavet de Courteille*, II., 10.

Khān-zāda's son by Shaibānī, Khurram-shāh, died a young man. Shaibānī divorced her because she leaned to her brother's side in disputed matters. He then gave her in marriage to a certain Sayyid Hada, who fell in the battle of Merv with Shaibānī himself (1510).

In 1511 and at the age of thirty-three, she was returned to Bābar by Shāh Ismā'il. At what date she married Mahdī Muḥammad Khwāja I am not able to say. It is probable that the marriage would take place within no long time after her return. As Mahdī is never described by Bābar in any way (as is his custom when a new actor comes upon the scene of his Memoirs), it is probable that Mahdī's joining Bābar and his marriage with Khān-zāda took place in the decade 1509-19, of which no record is known to survive.<sup>1</sup> Mahdī was with Bābar in 1519 (925H.), and is frequently mentioned subsequently.

There are many references to Khān-zāda by Gul-badan who frequently calls her Dearest Lady (*āka-janām*). She died at Qabal-chak in 1545 (952H.), aged about sixty-seven years, and after a life full of sorrows and chagrins.

Gul-badan, 3*b*, 15*b*, 18*b*, 23*b*, 24*b*, 27*b*, 28*b*, 50*b*, 62*b*, 63*a*.  
 Mems., 10, 98, 241 (Supplement).  
*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 117, 155, 175, 196, 239, 400.  
*Ḥabību-s-siyar*, under date 923H.  
 Khāfī Khān, I. 33 (here Khāna-zāda).

### C. Khān-zāda Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

Daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrān-shāhī and Khān-zāda *Termizī* II.; wife (1) of Abā-bakr *Dughlāt*, and mother by him of (?) Jahāngīr, Turāngīr, and Bustāngīr; (2) of Sayyid Muḥammad *Dughlāt* who married

<sup>1</sup> There are some indications that a record of this decade once existed.

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 Begām 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-jāida*). 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.

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 Mirzā *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 Kichak Begam [whose name is probably a sobriquet]. Sultān Mas'ūd Mirzā 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 sāṅgrā*, P. de C. *dans la suite*) 'married to Mullā Khwāja.'

A daughter of Husain Bāyqarā and of Bābā *aghācha*, 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 Mirzā.' Husain and Pāyanda's daughter would certainly rank as equal in birth to the daughters of Abū-sa'īd, since she was a full Tīmūrid.

The 'extreme attachment' of Mas'ūd to Kichak fits Musalmān marriage better than Musalmān courtship. It may be that, spite of Pāyanda's opposition, Mas'ūd married Kichak. The 'afterwards' of the *Memoirs* (*supra*) and the *de la suite* of Pavet de Courteille seem to demand some more definite antecedent than

Muharram 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'adat-yār *kūka*.

*Akbar-nāma*, Bib. Ind. ed., I. 44.

XCV. Khānam Begam. (No. 18.)

Daughter of Aq 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, Muhtarima, *q.v.*)

XCVI. Khānish āghā 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-fazl 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. 331.

XCVII. Khān Sultān Khānam and Sultānam Dughlāt.

Both these names appear to be titles, and not personal.

Daughter of Saniz *Mīrzā Dughlāt* and Jamāl *āghā*; full-sister of Abā-bakr.

XCII. Khadīja-sultān Begam *Chaghatāi Mughal.*

Fourth daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Khān *Chaghatāi*. After her father's death in 909H. (1503-4), Mīrzā Abā-bakr *Dughlāt* took possession of his capital, Aksu, in Farghāna, and with it of Khadīja-sultān, then a child. He however, says Mīrzā Ḥaidar, treated her kindly and when she was of age, he gave her in marriage to his son Jahāngīr who was her second cousin. She accompanied her husband, to her full-brother Sa'īd's court, shortly after 920H. (1514), and while in Kāshghar, Jahāngīr was murdered by an unknown hand, in Ya.ḡī-ḥiṣār. She then remained, respected and honoured, in her brother Sa'īd's family circle. In 923H. (1517) she was married to Shāh Muḥammad Sultān *Chaghatāi*, a grandson of Sultān Maḥmūd Khān, through Muḥammad, the only son of Maḥmūd who survived the massacre of sultāns by Shaibānī. The marriage of one of Khadīja's brothers, Aiman, was celebrated at the same time.

When Rashīd succeeded his father Sa'īd, in Kāshghar (939H.—July, 1533) Khadīja was badly treated by him. She was then ill and confined to bed, but Rashīd banished her and her children and made her start on the weary journey for Badakhshān. She died on the road after much hardship of travel. She left four children, Ismā'īl, Ishāq, Ya'qūb, and Muḥtarima. They went on to Kābul, and were there received with fatherly kindness by their uncle, Isān-tīmūr.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 161, 329, 352, 382, 451.

XCIII. Khadīja-sultān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī.* (No. 6.)

Daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* and paternal aunt of Bābar. I have not ascertained the name of her husband. She went to India in 934H. (1527), arriving in November, with Fakhr-jahān and their children. She planned to return with her sister and Bābar took leave of them both on

XCI. Khadīja Begam.

Presumably she was named after Muḥammad's first wife.

She was first a slave<sup>1</sup> of Sulṭān Abū-ʿaʿīd Mīrzā, and upon his death in 873H. (1469) she betook herself to Harāt and there became the wife of Sulṭān Husain *Bāyqarā*.

She had a daughter, known as Āq Begam, by Abū-saʿīd, 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 Khadīja 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 (Iluinsky), *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*.



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 āghācha.

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 āghā.

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 *Chaghatai* in 869 H.

(3) of Muḥammad Iḥaidar *Dughlāt*, and by him mother of Muḥammad Husain Mīrzā *Hiṣārī* (Iḥaidar's father) and Sayyid Muḥammad Mīrzā.

Her third marriage was made by the Mughal custom of *yangu-lik*, *i.e.*, marriage by a younger brother of an elder brother's widow. (*Cf.* Khān-zāda *Mīrān-shāhī*.)

*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.*)

'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.

struggles for supremacy of Humāyūn and Kāmran. She married Kāmran:

Gul-l'adan, 64b.

LXXXVI. Husn-nigār Khānam Chaghatāi Mughal.

The image of beauty; Ar. *husn*, beauty, and Pers. *nigār*, image.

Daughter of Isān-būghā *Chaghatāi* and niece of Yūnas Khān; sister of Dost-muḥammad and wife of Abā-bakr *Dughlāt Mughal*.

*Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 89, 99.

LXXXVII. Isān-daulat Khānam and Bogam Qūchīn Mughal.

Her name takes several forms. The *Babar-nāma*, Turkī text (B.M. Or. Add. 26,324), has a clearly pointed *Ishān*; Ilminsky has *Isān passion*. An early Persian MS. (B.M. Or. 3,714) has *Isān* and *Isan*.

The Memoirs have *Isan* in all but two instances (p. 12), where *Ais* is used. But Mr. Erskine's Persian text (B.M. Add. 26,200), which is presumably his authority, can (I venture to think, after comparing the words he renders *Ais* with those he renders *Isan*) yield *Isan* in all places. Where he reads *Ais* (pp. 10 and 141) the *nān* is not dotted; the letters closely correspond with those where it is dotted, and where he reads *Isan*.

The *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* (B.M. Or. 157) writes *Isān*.

The weight of authority is in favour of *Isān*.

Isān-daulat was Bābar's maternal grandmother and a daughter of Mīr Shīr-'alī Beg *Qūchīn* (*Kunjī*), chief of the *Sagharīchī tumān* (10,000) of the *Qūchīn* Mughals.

She married Yūnas Khān *Chaghatāi Mughal* when he was forty-one years old. He was born in 818H. (1415-16), so that the date of her marriage is, approximately, 1456. At this time Yūnas was made Great Khān of the Mughals.

Isān-daulat bore three daughters, who were named *Mihr-nigār*, *Qūt-liq-nigār*, and *Khūb-nigār*. She had many brothers, of whom three, *Shīram*, *Mazīd*, and

LXXXIV. Haram Begam Qibchāq Muḡhal.

Princess of the *Haram*. Her name has been transliterated by some European workers as *Kharram*, '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 Muḡhal*; and sister of Chakr 'Alī and Haidar Begs and of Māh Begam, a wife of Kāmran. She married Sulaimān Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*, son of Khān Mīrzā (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 biyat*, 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

be the expedition made by the ladies and chronicled by Gul-badan, to see the *rīwāj*. When Humāyūn, in November, 1554, set out for Hindūstān, she remained in Kābul.

Bāyazīd *bīyāt* mentions that at this time he fell under her displeasure, and was reprovved 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 Dihlī 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. Hamīda was with Gul-badan in the latter's last hours.

Abū'l-fazl says that when long fasts came to an end, the first dishes of dressed meat used to go to Akbar from his mother's house.

Hamīda 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, 66a, 74a, 78b, 83a.

*Akbar-nāma*, Bib. Ind. ed., s.n.

*Aīn-i-akbarī*. *Aīn*, 26, *Sufīyāna*, Blochinann, 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.

*wa tayammun ba Mirzā Hindāl sabq farn udand. Az ān jihat ba mā hamrā and.*

Erskine (II. 220) and Stewart (Jauhar, 31 n.) both say that Hamīda was married at fourteen years of age. The incidents of her wedded life are set down in Gul-badan Begam's book and in the *Akbar-nāma* and other sources; but having regard to her interesting personality, they may be enumerated here also.

She was married at 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 Ahmad's shrine. She was kindly treated by Shāh Tahmāsp and by his sister, and Gul-badan's details of the Persian episode can hardly have been learned from anyone but Hamīda. In 1544, in camp at Sabz-āwār, a daughter was born. She returned from Persia with the army given to Humāyūn by Tahmāsp, 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

passage except the one dealing with Ḥamīda's parentage. Mir Bābā Dost may be the man so named by Bābar (Mems., 262), and who was then with Humāyūn in the year of the birth of Hindāl (1519). He may also have gone with Humāyūn, Ḥamīda (? his own daughter) and Mu'azzam (? his son) to Persia, the *bakhshē* in the little party of exiles. He is mentioned by Abū'l-fazl not only where already noted, but, we believe, also amongst Hindāl's servants who were transferred to Akbar in 1551 (958H.).

Two men with the name 'Alī-akbar are mentioned under Akbar, but neither appears to be a *Jāmī*, or to warrant identification with Ḥamīda's reputed father. (Cf. *Āīn-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, s.u. 'Alī-akbar.)

Whether there was any relationship more close than that derived from common descent from Ahmad *Jāmī* between Māham Begam and Ḥamīda I am not able to say.

Ḥamīda was related to Bānū (Bābū) *āghā* who was the wife of Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad *Nishāpūrī* and a relation of Māham *anaga*. Bega (*Hajī*) Begam also had claim to descent from Ahmad *Jāmī*, so that the saint's posterity was numerous in Akbar's court, and included the Emperor himself.

To Gul-badan's account of the discussion which preceded Ḥamīda's marriage, there may be added the following passage from the *Tazkiratu-l-wāqī'āt* of Jauhar. (I.O. MS. No. 221 and B.M. MS. Add. No. 16,711, f. 82.) After Humāyūn has asked whose daughter Ḥamīda is, he is told, perhaps by Dil-dār, that she is of the line of his Reverence the Terrible Elephant, Ahmad *Jāmī*, and that her father, by way of blessing and benediction, has taught Mīrzā Hindāl, and that for this reason Ḥamīda is with the mīrzā's household.

The Persian (taken from the I.O. MS.) is as follows: *Pidar-i-īshān do sih kalma be jihat-i-tabarruk*



indefinite *khal*, maternal uncle, to describe the relation of Akbar and Mu'azzam.

(5). *The Ma'āsiru-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 Ahmad Jāmī. Humāyun had a dream which allowed him to know that the son prophesied in it by Ahmad would be of the latter's lineage. There is, I think, nothing said on this point of Mīr Bābā Dost, but saintly descent was claimed for Hamīda's father.

(7). Gul-badan gives one the impression (it is little more) that Mu'azzam was younger than Hamīda. He calls his sister *Māh-chūchām*, which may be read as 'Moon of my mother,' but also as 'Elder Moon-sister.' (*cf.* 18*b* n.) If he were Hamīda'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-fazl calls Mu'azzam Hamīda's *ukhuwwat-i-akhyāfi*,<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 Hamīda 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

<sup>1</sup> Steingass does not recognise the force of 'uterine,' since he renders *barādar-i-a'yānī* by 'uterine brother.'



and as Hamīda-bānū may be the daughter of one of Humāyūn's followers, I have inserted her name.

Northern Afghānistān, Yate, p. 349.

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 Ahmad *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 Ahmad 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 971H. (1540-41), the year preceding Hamīda's marriage, and was then with Hindāl. (*Akbar-nāma*, H. Beveridge, I. 360.)

(4). Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad and *Badāyūnī* contribute negative support to the identification by using the

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 Haidar (*etat.* 11) to come to him and Habība in Bukhārā, and thus saved him from a general massacre of Mughal sultāns.

When 'Ubaidu-l-lāh retreated to Turkistān (*cir.* 1511), Habība 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'īd. She reared one of Sa'īd's children, Rashīd whose mother was a 'tribeswoman,' Makhdūm *Qāluchī*, but he certainly did her training no credit. She was widowed in 939H. (July 9th, 1533), so that Gul-badan may be wrong in saying that she was at the Mystic Feast in 1531. She may have been a wedding guest in 1537.

*Tār. Rash.*, B. & R., 140, 192, 193, 206, 268, 451, 453.  
Gul-badan, 24b.

#### LXXXI. Hājī Begam Mīrān-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 *Hājī*, since she is so entered before the *haj* of 983H. (*Cf.* XIX., 'Āyisha-sultān.)

(*Hājī Begam, Bega, q.v.*)

(*Hājī Begam, Māh-chūchak Arghūn, q.v.*)

#### LXXXII. Hamīda-bānū.

Ar. *hamīda*, 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,

The story of her husband's rebellious pursuit and death (981H., 1573), and of her flight to the Dakhin with her son, is found at length in the histories.

She was living and visited by Jahāngīr in 1023H. (1614). (Cf. XIX. 'Āyisha-sultān.)

LXXVII. Gūn-war Bibī.

Wife of Humāyūn and mother of Bakhshī-bānū Begam.

Gul-badan, 39b.

LXXVIII. Habība Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

The beloved or desired princess.

Eldest daughter of Kāmran Mīrzā and probably of the daughter of Uncle (*taḡhāī*) Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā *Begchik* whom Kāmran married in 935H. (1528). She married Yasīn-daulat (the Fair Sultān) (*Chaghatāi Mughal*, a brother of Gul-badan's husband, Khizr, and her own second cousin. It may be that she married a second time after she was forcibly parted from Yasīn-daulat in 1551-52. (Cf. App. s.n. *Hājī Mīrān-shāhī*.)

Gul-badan, 64b, 65a, 78a.

LXXIX. Habība-sultān Begam Arghūn.

The desired of the desired; Ar. *habība*, beloved, desired, and *sultān*, pre-eminence, sway.

'Brother's daughter of Sultān Arghūn' (? Muqīm, Shāh Shujā'a, or a brother of Zū'l-nūn); wife of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*; and mother of Bābar's wife, Ma'sūma. Bābar gave her a name of affection, *yanga*. (Cf. Index, s.v..)

Mems., 22, 23, 208, 238.

LXXX. Habība-sultān Khānīsh Dughlāt. (No. 21.)

Daughter of Muḥammad Husain *Dughlāt* and Khūbnigār *Chaghatāi*; full-sister of Mīrzā Haidar; first cousin (maternal) of Bābar; wife (1) of 'Ubaidu-l-lāh *Uzbek*, and (2) of her cousin, Sa'id Khān *Chaghatāi*.

Khān who had reinforced Andijān under Bābar's orders, to Kāzan.

(c) In 920H. (1514) he accompanied Sa'īd 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 *ṭaghāwī* of Kāmran. (Mems., 274.) Bābar says here: 'Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā, the maternal uncle of Kāmran (Ilminsky, 311, *Kāmran-nūnak ṭaghāwī*), 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-rashūdī* 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-rashūdī* together, Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā *Begchik* is fairly-well identified with Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā, *ṭaghāwī* 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 Mīrān-shālū.

Daughter of Kāmran Mīrzā; wife of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqurā*; mother of Muzaffar Husain who married Sultān Khānam, Akbar's eldest daughter, and of Nūru-n-nisā' who became a wife of Salīm (the Emperor Jahāngīr).

<sup>1</sup> Something interesting as to the *Tūzūk-i-bābarī* (Turkī text of the Memoirs) may lie here. The period of Sa'īd's Kāshghar conquest falls in a gap of the *Tūzūk*. 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.)

Isār-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, Ahmad, 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 Yādgar *ṭaghāī*. (Mems., 388.)

Amongst contemporary *Begchik* amīrs are Sultān Alī Mīrzā and Yādgar 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* (*Dughlāt*). He is constantly on the scene, and the one fact not mentioned which it is desirable to know is, whose brother was he? Only with much trouble can a surmise as to his parentage be hazarded.

LXXI. Gul-'izār Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

The rosy-checked princess; Pers. *gul*, rose, and *'izār*, cheek, face.

Daughter of Bābar and Gul-rukh; full-sister of Kāmran and 'Askari.

Gul-badan names no marriage for her, but she may have been the wife of Yādgār-nāsir.

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-nāma*, 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 *haram*, and may have been one of the two Circassian (Cherkis) slaves (the other being Nār-gul) who were presented to the Emperor by Shāh Tahmāsp 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-nāma*, 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 *Chayhataī* Mughal, her father's first cousin, during the last days of her father's life and in 1530.

LXVIII. Gul-barg, or - izar, or -rang, or -rukh Mīrān-shāhī.

By these various names is mentioned the mother of Salīma-sultān Begam. There are difficult points as to her descent, which are discussed *s.n.* Salīma-sultān.

LXIX. Gul Begam. (No. 30.)

The rose princess.

She was at the Mystic Feast, and may be one of the various ladies of the rose who are entered *infra*.

Gul-badan, 25b.

LXX. Gul-chihra Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 45.)

The rosy-checked princess; Pers. *chihra*, face.

Daughter of Bābar and Dil-dār; their second child, and born between 1515 and 1517. She was full-sister of Gul-rang, Hindāl, and Gul-badan.

She married Bābar's first cousin (a son of his mother's brother Aḥmad), Sultān Tūkhta-būghā Khān *Chaghatū Mughal*. The marriage was arranged by Bābar, and took place in 937H. (end of 1530). She would then be about fourteen years old.

She was widowed *cir.* 940H. (1533), and nothing as to her remarriage is recorded until 956H. (1549), when she was over thirty years old. It is improbable that she remained a widow so many years. (*Cf.* App. *s.n.* Salīma-sultān.) In 956H. she entered upon what looks like a *mariage de raison* with 'Abbās Sultān *Uzbek*, just before Humāyūn set out on his expedition for Balkh. The bridegroom came to suspect that the Tīmūrid army was about to act against his own people and ran away. Probably he did not take Gul-chihra with him. Her name next appears in the histories when she accompanies Gul-badan and Hamīda to India in 964H. (1557).

Gul-badan, 6b, 16b, 18b, 23b, 25b, 29b, 38a, 65a.  
*Akbar-nūma*, *Bib. Ind. ed.*, *s.n.*



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., 387.

Gul-badan, 11a, 24b.

LXVI. Gul-badan Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*. (No. 46.)

*Cf.* Biographical Introduction and her own *Humā-yūn-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, 30b, 49b.

*Tārīkh-i-sī'd*, Mīr Ma'sūm.

B. & H., I. 385.



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 Timūr, and married Mansūr Mīrzā *Bāyqarā*. Their son Husain was therefore a double Timūrid, 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 Timūr; 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., 83 n.

LXIV. Gauhar-shād Begam *Dughlāt*.

Daughter of Muhammad *Dughlāt Hīṣārī*; wife of Amīr Yār (*sic*); son of Amīr Jān-wafā, who was *darogha* of Samarqand under Shāibānī in 906H. (1500) when Bābar took the city, and who was an