

LVI. Fāṭima Sultān āghā.

Ar. *Fāṭima*, a name given presumably in honour of the Prophet's daughter. The meaning of *sultān* here is not apparent. It does not seem as, e.g., in *Daulat-sultān*, safe to consider it as a part of a compound word, and to read *Fāṭima-sultān*. Nor from the bearer's parentage does it suit to take it as a title, implying that she is of the *sultāns* of her tribe.

There are points in the use of the word *sultān* which require fuller discussion than is practicable here. One *Fāṭima Sultān* and her sister *Bairām* (*Maryam*) were the children of *Husain Bāyqarā* by an Uzbek servant of one of his royal wives. They are not given any further title, but their brothers are *mīrzās*.

Daughter of the chief of a Mughal *tumān* (10,000 men); first wife of 'Umar Shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī*; mother of his second son, *Jahāngīr* who was two years the junior of *Bābar*.

Mems., 10, 14.

LVII. Fāṭima Sultān anāya and Bibī. (No. 60.)

Mother of *Raushan kūka* and of *Zuhra*, wife of *Khawāja Mu'azzam*. *Bāyazīd biyāt* speaks of her as the *ordū-begī* of *Humāyūn's ḥaram*, a title which *Blochmann* translates 'armed woman.'

She was at *Hindāl's* marriage feast; she helped to nurse *Humāyūn* in 1546; and was an envoy to *Ḥaram Begam* for marriage negotiations; and she appears in *Akbar's* reign when her daughter is murdered.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1898, art. *Memoirs of Bāyazīd biyāt*, H. Beveridge.

Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī, Elliot, V. 291.

Ākbar-nāma, Bib. Ind. ed., s.n.

Gul-badan, 26a.

LVIII. Fāṭima Sultān Bāyqarā.

Daughter of *Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqarā* and of *Mīngli-bī āghācha Uzbek*; wife of *Yādgār Muḥammad Mīrzā Shāh-rukhī* (died 875—1470-71). She was dead before 912H. (May, 1506).

Mems., 182.

Ḥabību-s-siyār, 327 et seq.

She went to India in 1526, the first year of Bābar's occupation, with her sister Khadīja, and stayed there nearly two years. She took leave of Bābar before starting on her return journey to Kābul on September 20th, 1528 (Muharram 5th, 935H.). She was again in Āgra and at the Mystic Feast in 1531.

Gul-badan, 11a, 24b.

Mems., 374, 382.

P. de Courteille, II. 453. (This is a fragment, supplied by Kehr and Ilminsky, which has the appearance of memoranda and which concerns a period already and variously written of in the *Bābar-nāma* of Kehr and contained in the Memoirs of Mr. Erskine.)

Āin-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 322.

LIII. Fakhru-n-nisā'.

The ornament of womanhood; Ar. *fakhr*, ornament, and *nisā'*, woman.

She was a daughter of Bābar and 'Āyisha-sultān, and his first child, born when he was nineteen. She died when about a month old.

Mems., 90.

Gul-badan, 6b.

LIV. Fakhru-n-nisā' anaga and wāmā.

Mother of Nadīm *kāka*; mother-in-law of his wife, Māham *anaga*.

She and Nadīm are several times mentioned by Gul-badan.

Gul-badan, 26a, 46a, 71a, 73b.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1899, art.

Māham *anaga*, II. Beveridge.

Akbar-nāma, *Bib. Ind.* ed., s.n. Nadīm.

LV. Fakhru-n-nisā' Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 61.)

Daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chūchak; sister of Muḥammad Ḥakīm; wife (1) of Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī and (2) of Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī. (Cf. Bakhtu-n-nisā'.)

Akbar-nāma, *Bib. Ind.* ed., s.n..

Āin-i-akbarī, Blochmann, s.n..

Badāyunī, Lowe, 72.

rukhi's¹ son tells nothing, since the chief factors in the adoption, *i.e.*, Māham's loss of her own children and wish to adopt, may have become operative only when they were put into practice in 1519.

Five children of Dil-dār are mentioned by Gul-badan: Gul-rang, born between 1511 and 1515; Gul-chihra; Abū-n-nāṣir Muḥammad (Hindāl), born 1519; Gul-badan, born 1523; and Alwar, who died in India in 1529.

She is very frequently written of by her daughter; some other authors give of her a clear and pleasant impression; and she is always spoken of with respect and as a good and sensible woman.

Gul-badan, 6*b*, 16*a*, 23*a*, 25*b*, 29*b*, 30*a*, 35*a*, 35*b*, 38*a*, 42*a*, 50*b*, 51*b*, 65*a*, 70*b*.

Jauhar, Stewart, 30, 31.

Huinsky, 281.

Akbar-nāma, *Bib. Ind.* ed., *s.n.*.

B. & H., II, 164, 220, 302.

L. Dil-shād Begam.

The Heart-rejoicing Princess; Pers. *dil*, heart, and *shād*, rejoicing.

Daughter of Shāh Begam and grand-daughter of Fakhr-jahān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*. Of her paternal descent nothing is recorded.

Gul-badan, 24*b*.

LI. Dūdū Bībī.

Wife of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh *Lohānī*, Afghān King of Bihār; mother of Sultān Jalālu-d-dīn; regent for her son in his minority from 1529.

B. & H., *s.n.*.

LII. Fakhr-jahān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*. (No. 1.)

The world's ornament. Ar. *fakhr*, ornament, and Pers. *jahān*, world.

She was a daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā; a paternal aunt of Bābar; the wife of Mīr 'Alā'u-l-mulk *Termezī*; and mother of Shāh and Kīchak Begams.

¹ For *erratum* in my Introduction as to Gul-rukhi, *cf.* App. *s.n.*.

XLIX. Dil-dār Begam. (No. 48.)

The Heart-holding Princess; Pers. *dil*, heart, and *dār*, holding.

Neither her husband, Bābar nor her daughter, Gul-badan gives any clue to her parentage. Her marriage is not spoken of in the Memoirs; it, as well as Gul-rukh's, probably occurred in the missing decade of 1509-19. If Bābar held the view that four wives were a lawful number, Dil-dār, of whatever parentage, may be counted amongst them, since in 1509 Māham only remained of his earlier wives, 'Āyisha, Zainab, and Ma'sūma having disappeared from the household by death or divorce.

Dil-dār is mentioned once in the Turkī text of Kehr and Ilminsky, and then as *āghācha*. I am too ignorant of the import of this word in the domestic circle to venture to draw from its use an inference as to social status. It, however, as used by Bābar and by Gul-badan, supports Pavet de Courteille's definition of a 'lady' in contradistinction to a 'begam,' and does not convey reproach to the woman as its occasional English rendering (concubine) does.

The *Akbar-nāma* (Bib. Ind. ed., II. 62) makes use of the words 'Dil-dār *āghācha* Begam,' and adds *āghā* as a variant (cf. App., s.n. *āghā*). Gul-badan always styles her mother begam, and sometimes *ḥazrat*. In enumerating her father's children and their mothers, she does not mention the parentage of any wife besides Ma'sūma *Mirān-shāhī*, a Tīmūrid, but no deduction as to the lower birth of the others can be drawn safely from this, and there is some ground for supposing that Dil-dār was of *Mirān-shāhī* birth. (Cf. *infra*, p. 277.)

Perhaps some indication of non-royal birth is given by Māham's forcible adoption of Dil-dār's son in 1519, but I am too ignorant of the *nuances* of Muhammadan etiquette to venture on assertion or even on opinion in such a matter. That Māham did not take Gul-

Daulat-sultān to his son Tīmūr. She bore him a daughter, and she remained in his *haram* until Bābar took possession of Samarqand in 917H. (1511), and she joined him. She went south with him in 1513, and remained several years in Badakhshān with another nephew, Mīrzā (Wais) Khān who behaved to her like a son.

Another nephew; Sa'īd, her own brother Ahmad's son, then invited her, with costly gifts, to visit him in Kāshghar. She made the long and difficult journey; joined him in Yarkand; and with him she spent the rest of her life.

Bābar mentions that her foster-brother brought him news and letters from her in 925H. (September 8th, 1519). In the same year Mansūr, Sa'īd's eldest brother, went to Kāshghar to visit her, his 'beloved aunt.'

The Persian text of the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* says that Mansūr went so that by looking at her kind face his grief for the loss of his father might be mitigated. The Bible Society's Turkī version reads: 'Being prompted thereto by the extreme warmth of his affection for her.' Both statements illumine her character. The second seems the more appropriate, since the death of Sultān Ahmad Khān took place in 909H. (1503) and Mansūr's visit in 926H. (1520).

There is no mention of her remarriage, and her story is that of an affectionate and leisured aunt.

Mems., 14, 99, 105, 274.

Tār. Kash., E. & R., 108, 117, 156, 160, 351, 352, 356.

XLVIII. Daulat-sultān (?) *Sakanj* Begam.

Sakanj I cannot explain. B. M. Add. 24,090 (44b) has no points, and the word may be S-k-n-gh. B. M., Or. 137 (48a) has k-m-n-j or b-k-n-j. The Turkī (Bible Society's MS. translations) has Daulat.

Daughter of Amīr Shaikh Nūru-d-dīn *Qibchāq Mughal*, governor of Turkistān; wife of Wais Khān *Chaghatāi Mughal*.

Tār. Rash., E. & R., 64 and 64 n.

She may be the Daulat-bakht *āghācha* of the preceding notice.

Gul-badan, 26b, 71a, 74a.

XLV. Daulat-kitta (?) Arghūn.

Kitta I find only as a Turkī word, meaning noble, powerful. With it the name would be a mongrel of Arabic and Turkī. Perhaps Daulat-giti might be read.

She was a servant in Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm *Arghūn*'s house, and was an intermediary in effecting the elopement of her master's daughter, Māh-chūchak *Arghūn*, from Kābul. Mr. Erskine tells the story admirably.

B. & H., I. 348 *et seq.*, and the sources there referred to.

XLVI. Daulat-nigār Khānam Chaghataī Mughal.

Good-fortune itself; the very image of felicity. Ar. *daulat*, and Pers. *nigār*, effigy, image.

Daughter of Isān-būghā Khān *Chaghataī*; wife of Muḥammad Ḥaidar Mīrzā *Dughlāt*.

Tār. Rash., E. & R., 88.

XLVII. Daulat-sultān Khānam Chaghataī Mughal.

Ar. *daulat*, fortune, and *sultān*, sway. In many proper names, *sultān* does not appear to be a title, but rather to indicate the sway or dominance of the quality imputed by the first word of the name; e.g., *Latīf-sultān*, *Daulat-sultān*. In giving these names, one might suppose the prophetic notion to be that the first child should be a regnant delight and the second a prevailing felicity.

Youngest child of Yūnas Khān *Chaghataī* and Shāh Begam *Badakhshī*; half-sister of Bābar's mother; wife by chance of battle, of Tīmūr Sultān *Uzbeq*; mother by him of a daughter.

In 907H. (1501-2) she was in Tāshkand, and Qūt-līq-nigār Khānam went to visit her after thirteen or fourteen years of separation. Bābar, dejected and an exile, joined the family party in the next year. In 909H. (1503) Shaibānī sacked Tāshkand and forcibly married

Iqbāl-nāma adds the interesting detail that she was deported from India, and that on her enforced journey to Kābul she drowned herself in the Indus.

Mems., 347.
Gul-badan, 19a.

XLII. Chūli Begam Azāk.

The Desert Princess; Pers. *chūl*, desert. The Memoirs have *Jūli*, but the meaning of *chūli* (which looks like a sobriquet) suits the descent of the begam better than anything which can be extracted from *jūli*. Iminsky writes *Jūli*, but for this the Mems. a.c. his possible warrant. B.M. Pers. Or. 16,623, f. 123, l. 7., has a clearly-pointed *chūli*; also on f. 124b.

Chūli (Jūli) Begam was a daughter of a beg of the Azāks, and married Sultān Husain *Bāyqarā* before he conquered Khurāsān in 878H. (1473). She was the mother of Sultānām, his eldest girl and her only child, and she died before 912H. (1506).

Mems., 181, 182.
Habību-s-siyār, 327 *et seq.*

XLIII. Daulat-bakht āghācha.

(?) The lady of happy horoscope (*bakht*).

She may be the mother of Kāmran's daughter 'Āyisha, with whom she was in flight for Qandahār. (Cf. 'Āyisha.)

Gul-badan, 78b.

XLIV. Daulat-bakht Bībī. (No. 85.)

She was clearly an active and working member of Humāyūn's household. She appeared to him in a dream (71a), and her name formed a part of Bakhtun-nisā's. She went on before the main body of begams when they visited the waterfall at Farza, and saw to the commissariat. She is named as being at Hindāl's marriage feast.

XXXVII. Lega Sultān Begam Mārri.

Daughter of Sanjar Mīrzā of Marv; first wife of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqrā; mother of Badī'u-z-zamān Mīrzā. 'She was extremely cross-tempered, and fretted the mīrzā beyond endurance, till, driven to extremities by her insufferable humour, he divorced her. What could he do? He was in the right:

A bad wife in a good man's house,
Even in this world, makes a hell on earth.

May the Almighty remove such a visitation from every good Moslim; and God grant that such a thing as an ill-tempered, cross-grained wife be not left in the world.'

There is no later record of her.

Mems., 181, 182.

XXXVIII. Bega Sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 13.)

Daughter of Sultān Khalīl Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī; grand-daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'īd; first cousin of Bābar.

Gul-badan, 24b.

XXXIX. Begam Sultān.

Daughter of Shaikh Kamāl. Died 945H. (1538).

Beale's 'Oriental Biography,' s.n..

(Begam Sultān, Sa'ādat-bakht, q.v..)

XL. Begī Sultān āghācha.

Inferior wife (*chāhar-shambihī*) of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqrā.

Mems., 183.

XLI. Buwā Begam.

Mother of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lōdī Afghān. She attempted to poison Bābar in December, 1526 (933H.) in the manner which is told in most of the histories. The

other ladies when Humāyūn made his expedition to recover Hindūstān, and she came with Hamīde, Gul-badan, and the rest to join Akbar in 964H. (1557). After this she built her husband's tomb near Dihlī, and became its faithful attendant.

Akbar is said to have been much attached to her, and she was to him like a second mother. She went to Makka in 972H. (1564-65), and returned three years later. One thing raises the question whether this was her first pilgrimage, *viz.*, the fact that all the sources, except Gul-badan's, call her *Hājī* Begam. Why is she singled out to bear this title? It had been earned by many royal ladies before any one of the trio of great writers under Akbar had put pen to paper. The same unexplained distinction is conferred by the histories on a daughter of Kāmār. In both these cases a renewed pilgrimage might serve as the explanation of the distinction.

Bega Begam died in 989H. (1581), shortly before Gul-badan's return from Makka. She had almost certainly passed her seventieth year, and was perhaps still older. Abū'l-fazl says that her affairs were settled by one Qāsim 'Alī Khān. He also records a visit of Akbar to her in her last illness, as well as an earlier visit of hers to him made from Dihlī in 981H. .

Gul-badan, 22a, 23b, 29b, 30b, 78b, 83a.

Mems., 388, 390.

Akbar-nāma, Bib. Ind. ed., index, s.n..

Āin-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 465. (Confusion has been made here with Kāmār's daughter.)

Badāyūnī, Lowe, 308 n. .

History of the Afghāns, Dorn, I. 103.

XXXVI. Bega *Kilān* Begam. (No. 22.)

She was at the Mystic Feast. No clue is given to her identification. The '*kilān*' of her title indicates a pre-eminence which would suit Bega *Mīrān-shāhī*, daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā. (*Cf. supra.*)

Gul-badan, 24b.

congratulatory letter to the young father. Al-amān died in infancy.

Bega came to India after Bābar's death (December, 1530), and her second and last-mentioned child, 'Afīfa ('Aqīqa) was born in 1531.

In 1534 (*circa*) Gul-badan's story (29*b*, 30*b*) shows Bega as resenting neglect by Humāyūn who accepts invitations to his sisters' quarters in camp in preference to hers and Gul-barg's. Some impressions of this story make one question whether the Bega it tells of is Humāyūn's wife or another. But the circumstances that she is associated with a wife, Gul-barg; that Gul-badan does not speak of her as being other than the 'Bega Begam' of the home circle; Humāyūn's allusions to the elder kinswomen; and the absence of the deference customary to an elder woman, seem sufficient justification for identifying the complaining Bega with the wife. (Gul-badan, it may be observed, mentions one other Bega Begam—*i.e.*, *Mīrān-shāhī*, daughter of Ulugh Beg *Kābulī*.)

Bega was with Humāyūn during the idleness of his decadence in Bengal, and with her was her sister, the wife of Zahīd Beg. Zahīd offended Humāyūn, and Bega tried in vain to obtain his forgiveness.

She was captured at Chausa by Shīr Khān, and here she lost her little girl, 'Aqīqa. The historians all call her *Hājī* Begam in recording her capture; it is only Gul-badan who calls her Bega Begam. She was returned in safety to Humāyūn under the escort of Shīr Khān's best general, Khawāṣ Khān. How soon she was returned I am not able to say. Support is to be found for the view that she was sent to Āgra directly after Humāyūn's arrival there, and also for the view that she was not returned to him until after a considerable time had elapsed. I do not know whether she went to Sind with the exiles or was sent later direct to Kābul. She was in Kābul with the royal family after 1545. She remained there with the

and in which she was. Husain became apprehensive about the spring rains and patched up a peace, the seal of which was Bega's marriage with his son Haidar, her first cousin through his mother, Pāyanda-sultān. The betrothal took place outside the fort, with assistance of such music as could be procured, and later when the bride was taken to Harāt, the marriage was celebrated with the splendour loved by Husain and befitting a Timūrid alliance. Haidar was a full Timūrid; Bega was one on her father's side, and probably as a Termizī sayyida's daughter, drew through her also a strain of the same blood.

Haidar died before his father; *i.e.*, before 912H. (April, 1506).

Mems., 30, 38, 180.

Gul-badan, (?) 24b, No. 22.

XXXV. Bega (Hājī) Begam (?) Begchik Mughal. (? No. 50.)

She was a daughter of Uncle (*ḡaghāw*) Yādgār Beg who was, I think, a brother of Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā, father of Kāmran's wife, Gul-rukh. Abū'l-faḡl calls Bega Begam *dukhtar-i-ḡaghāw-i-wālida-i-Jannat-āshyānī*. Yādgār and 'Alī *Begchik* are both styled *Mīrzā*, but this elevation is due, it seems, to their alliances with the royal house. Haidar calls their brothers *mīrs*.

Bega married Humāyūn, her first cousin, and she was the wife of his youth. It is out of harmony with the custom of his house that his chief wife should be of less than royal descent. So far as I have been able to trace the matter, he never made an equal marriage. Gul-barg *Barlās*, 'Khalīfa's' daughter, whose second husband he was, had best claim to high birth.

The first son, perhaps first child, of Bega and Humāyūn was Al-amān, born 934H. or 935H. (1528) when his father was about twenty-one and was in Badakhshān. Bābar has commemorated his birth both by mentioning it and by preserving his own

or, as we may call her with Jauhar for the sake of clearness, the Bībī, must therefore have remained behind the rest of the royal family. This may have occurred in one of two natural ways. She might have stayed in Āgra under the protection of one of the religious families and safeguarded by pious duty to Bābar's tomb, until Shīr Khān gave permission to remove the body and a safe escort for her journey to his frontier; or she may even have been in Bengal and at Chausa with Humāyūn, and, like Bega (*Hājī*) Begam, have been made captive. It would harmonize with Shīr Khān's known actions if he had allowed Bābar's widow to remove his bones, and if he had aided her pious task.

Tūzūk-i-jahāngīrī, lith. ed., 51.

Humāyūn-nūma, Jauhar, Pers. text, s.a. 951H. (November, 1545).

B. & H., II. 325 n.

XXXIII. Bega Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 15.)

This Bega was a daughter of Mīrzā Ulugh Beg *Mīrān-shāhī* who was king of Kābul and known as *Kābulī*. She was Bābar's first cousin, and may be that daughter of her father who married Muḥammād Ma'sūm Mīrzā *Bāyqarā*. Gul-badan styles her 'ama, paternal aunt, of Humāyūn; *anglice*, she and he were first cousins, once removed. She was at the Mystic Feast in December, 1531.

Gul-badan, 24b.

Mems., 180.

XXXIV. Bega Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (? No. 22. Bega Kilān Begam.)

Daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā and Khānzāda II. *Termizī*; wife of Haidar Mīrzā *Bāyqarā* and mother of Shād Begam (No. 28).

In 901H. (1496) Sultān Husain *Bāyqarā* was besieging Hiṣār which was held for Bega's brother Mas'ūd,

Mīrzā of Hājī Tarkhān who was her first cousin and the son of Rabī'a-sultān (Beḍka) *Bāyqarā*.

Khwānd-amīr says that she married 'Khwāja Māulānā.' This may be a second marriage or a confusion with Kīchak, her sister.

Mems., 177, 181.
Habību-s-siyār, 327 et seq.,

XXXII. Bega Begam and Bibī.

The Emperor Jahāngīr, when in his Memoirs enumerating the gardens of Kābul, mentions one which belonged to Bega Begam, a widow of his father's grandfather, *i.e.*, Bābar. Which of Bābar's wives is indicated by this title cannot be said with certainty.

Jauhar has a story of Kāmran's want of consideration for 'Bega Begam,' in which the points useful here are that on the day in 1545 when Humāyūn took Kābul from Kāmran, he asked for food from Bega Begam, and he said of her that she was the very person who had brought Bābar's bones and laid them in Kābul.

These two references of Jahāngīr and Jauhar are probably to the same lady. Of Bābar's wives, Bibī Mubārīka (*Afghānī āghācha*) appears to me the most suitable to the time and task.

Bābar's body was still in its Āgra tomb in 1539. (*Gul-badan*, 34*b.*) Māham was then dead; Dil-dār's movements exclude her from consideration; Gul-rukh, if living, will have left Āgra with her son Kāmran before the Tīmūrid exodus was enforced by defeat at Kanauj; Bibī Mubārīka remains, the probable and appropriate agent for fulfilling Bābar's wish as to the final disposition of his body. She lived into Akbar's reign, and her character and respected position in the household add to the sum of probability that she would discharge this duty.

Bābar's body was not removed till after the *fiṭrat*, *i.e.*, the Tīmūrid downfall and exodus. Bega Begam,

Of Fakhru n-nisā it is recorded that she married Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī *Termezī* and Khwāja Ḥasan *Naqsh-bandī*.

Gul-badan, 71a.

Khāfī Khān (*Bib. Ind. ed.*), I. 226.

Badāyunī, Lowe, 72.

Akbar-nāma, s.n.

Aīn-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 322.

XXVIII. Bakht-sultān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*. (No. 4.)

Daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* and mother of Āfāq (No. 26). She went to India shortly after its conquest by Bābar, and was at the Mystic Feast.

Mems., 387.

Gul-badan, 11a, 24b, 25b.

XXIX. Barlās Begam. (No. 36.)

There is no clue given by which to identify this lady. Others who were, like herself, at the Mystic Feast might, by tribal descent, be styled *Barlās*.

Gul-badan, 25b.

(Bedka, Rabī'a, q.v.)

XXX. Bega āghā.

Bega is perhaps not a personal name. It appears to be a feminine of *beg*, but its application is not always to the daughters of *begs*, as may be seen by the instances here given. For a confusion of *bega* and *yanga* cf. App. s.n. Zainab.

A messenger of Mīrzā Kāmran to Ḥaram Begam.

Gul-badan, 75b.

XXXI. Bega Begam *Bāyqrā*.

Daughter of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā *Bāyqrā* and Pāyanda-sultān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*; full sister of Ḥaidar *Bāyqrā*; first cousin of Bābar; wife of Bābar

XXVI. Bakhshī-bānū Begam.

Princess Good-fortune. Pers. *bakhshe*, fortune, and *bānū* (*vān*), possessing.

She was a daughter of Humāyūn and of Gūnwar Bībī, and was born in Jumāda I., 947H. (September, 1540), the year of the Tīmūrīd exodus from India. She fell into the hands of her uncle 'Askarī with her father's camp and the baby Akbar in 1543. In 1545 she was sent with Akbar in the depth of winter from Qandahār to Kābul. In 957H. (1550), and when ten years old, she was betrothed by her father to Ibrāhīm, son of Sulaimān and Hāram. Ibrāhīm (b. 1534) was six years older than Bakhshī-bānū, and he was killed in 1560, leaving her a widow of twenty. In the same year she was given in marriage by Akbar to Mīrzā Sharafu-d-dīn Husain *Ahrārī*.

Gul-badan, 39b.

Akbar-nāma, s.n.

XXVII. Bakhtu-n-nisā' Begam.

Felicity of womanhood; Pers. *bakht*, felicity, fortune, and *nisā'*, woman.

She was a daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chūchak, and was born in 957H. (1550). Gul-badan says that she received her name in accordance with Humāyūn's interpretation of a dream. There is, however, ground for thinking that she and Fakhru-n-nisā', both mentioned in the histories as daughters of Māh-chūchak, are one and the same person. Gul-badan enumerates three daughters of Māh-chūchak, and says that there were four. It is her habit to state, in such matters, one more than she names. She mentions Bakht, but not Fakhr.

Of Bakhtu-n-nisā' it is recorded in the histories that she came from Kābul to India with her son Diwālī, after the death of Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakīm, her brother (993H.—1584-85) and that she was concerned in a reconciliation effected by Salīma-sultān Begam between Akbar and Salīm.

in 1539, and the two references may well be to the same woman.

Mems., 98.
Gul-badan, 33b.
Ilninsky, 116.

XXIII. Badī' u-l-jamāl Khānam Chaghatāi Mughal.

The khānam of rare beauty; Ar. *badī'*, astonishing, rare; *jamāl*, beauty.

Daughter of Sa'īd Khān *Chaghatāi Mughal*, ruler of Kāshghar; and first cousin, once removed, of Bābar. She married Baush Sultān of the Uzbek Kazāks. On her father's death, her brother Rashid insisted upon her divorce, and then gave her in marriage to Muḥammadī *Barlās* whom Ḥaidar Mīrzā styles 'a peasant.'

Tār. Rash., F. & R., 453.

XXIV. Badī' u-l-jamāl Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 2.)

She was a daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*. She went to India during Bābar's life; was at the double wedding of his daughters, and at the Mystic Feast in 1531.

Mems., 387.
Gul-badan, 11a, 18b, 24b.

XXV. Bairām (Maryam) Sultān.

Ilninsky calls her Bairam; Khwānd-amīr, Maryam. The Mems. give her no name.

She was the elder daughter of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā *Bāyqarā* and Mīngli-bī *āghācha Uzbek*. She married Sayyid 'Abdu-l-lāh Mīrzā of Andikhūd (a Tīmūrid through his mother). She bore a son, Sayyid Birka, who served Bābar.

Ilninsky, 209.
Mems., 181.
Ḥabību-s-siyār, 327 *et seq.*

appears in the biography of poetesses by Fakhrī *amūrī*. Mirzā Haidar says that some of her children and of two other Mughal khānams (Daulat and Qūt-liq) who were forcibly married at the same time, were living and reigning in Transoxiana at the time of his writing the *Tārīkh-i-rashūdī*. She is, I think, the 'Āyisha named by Gul-badan on 76b.

Tār. Rash., 160, 192, 193.

Gul-badan, 76b.

Jawāhiru-l-'ajāib. Fakhrī *amūrī* (Bodleian MS.).

XXI. Bābū āghā (Māmā āghā).

Professor Blochmann writes the name *Bābū*; but *Bābā*, darling, or *Bānū*, lady, would seem more appropriate for a Persian woman.

She was the wife of Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān *Nishāpūrī* and was related to Hamīda-bānū Begam *Jāmī*, Akbar's mother. Abū'l-fazl calls her Māmā āghā. He says that she was a good woman, and that on her death Akbar went to her house and offered condolence because of her relationship to his mother.

Shihābu-d-dīn was *damād* of Māham *anaga*, and as *damād* is presumably used here in its more common sense of 'son-in-law,' Bābū āghā would seem to be a daughter of Māham *anaga*.

Akbar-nāma, *Bib. Ind.* ed., III. 716.

Aīn-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 333.

XXII. Bachaka Khalīfa.

Gul-badan, Bachaka; *Mems.*, Bachaka; Ilminsky, Bīchkā. Vambéry (*Chaghatāische Sprachstudien*) has an appropriate word, *beček*, Chok. (? Kokand), *zierrath*; ornament. The name is presumably Chaghatāi Turkī, as the bearer of it was an old family servant of a Farghāna household.

Bachaka was a head woman-servant (*khalīfa*) of Bābar's household, and was one of two women who escaped with his mother and him from Samarqand in 1501. There was a Bachaka whom Gul-badan calls a 'khalīfa of my royal father,' lost at Chausa

ed., III. 145) are included 'Hājī and Gul-'izār, *farzand-in* of Mīrzā Kāmran.'¹ We have already the three names required by Firishta and Khāfi Khān, *i.e.*, Gul-rukḥ, Ḥabība and 'Āyisha. Gul-'izār is 'superfluous.' Perhaps *farzandān* may be read 'offspring,' and she may be a granddaughter. Or Ḥabība or 'Āyisha may have predeceased Kāmran, and for this reason three girls only be specified by historians who wrote of the time of his death.

Which one of the daughters was the Hājī Begam of 983H. is not clear.² It would seem that this was her second pilgrimage, since she is enrolled as Hājī before starting. Kāmran's daughters may have gone—one or all—to Makka after his blinding and during the four years of his life there. Of the three, Gul-rukḥ is the only one of whom it is on record that she was widowed in 983H., and therefore quite free to make the *Haj*. Ibrāhīm Husain died in 981H. (1573).

Hājī Begam was visited by Akbar and she died in 991H. (1583).

Gul-badan, 77a, 78a.
Akbar-nāma, III. 145, 373, 375.

XX. 'Āyisha-sultān Khānam and Khātīm, Mughal Khānam, Chaghatāi Mughal.

Daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Khān. In 909H. (1503) she, together with other ladies of her father's household, was captured by Shaibānī and was married by him. She bore him a son, Muḥammād-rahīm Sultān. She wrote Turkī verses, and her name

¹ Mr. Boveridge tells me that a MS. *Akbar-nāma* belonging to the R.A.S. has *wa* (and) before *farzandān*, but it does not seem practicable to read this.

² Professor Blochmann (*Āin*, p. 465, No. 187) has (by a slip of reference numbering) confused Hājī Begam, daughter of Kāmran, with Hājī Begam, Bega Begam, widow of Humāyūn. The latter died in 989H. before Gul-badan's party returned. Bega Begam went to Makka in 972H..

badan meant this note as to parentage to apply to both begams (Nos. 11 and 12). (Cf. App. s.n. Sultān.)

Gul-badan, 6b, 24b.

Mems., 22, 78, 90.

XIX. Āyisha-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

Daughter of Kāmran Mīrzā.

Firishta (lith. ed., 241) and Khāfi Khān (I. 122) say that Kāmran left one son and three daughters.

The son is called Ibrāhīm by Gul-badan, and in the early part of the *Akbar-nāma*. (*Bib. Ind.*, ed., I. 226.) Later the A. N. and other sources call him Abū'l-qāsim, which may be a hyonymic (*kunyat*).

As to the three girls, Firishta, without naming them, gives the information that:

No. 1 married (a) Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā (*Bāyqarā*).

No. 2 ,, (b) Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-raḥman Mughal.

No. 3 ,, (c) Fakhru-d-dīn *Mashhadī* who died in 986H. or 987H. (No. 88 of Blochmann's list. *Ām-i-akbarī*, p. 406).

Khāfi Khān's information coincides with Firishta's verbally as to No. 3, and actually as to No. 1 and No. 2. For Ibrāhīm can be described as a son of a 'paternal uncle,' if these words are used in the wide sense given to them by contemporary writers. So, too, can 'Abdu-r-raḥman, if he be No. 183 of Blochmann's list—a Dughlāt Mughal and cousin of Mīrzā Haidar.

If we take the girls' names from other sources we can (conjecturally in part) fill up the table.

1. Gul-rukh is known in history as the wife of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqarā*.

2. Kāmran's eldest daughter, Hābiba, was forcibly parted from her husband, Āq Sultān, in about 1551-52, and this would allow re-marriage to (b) or (c). Āq Sultān went to Makka from Sind 1551-52 (*cir.*), and his name disappears thenceforth.

3. 'Āyisha may also have married (b) or (c).

In the list of the pilgrims of 983H. (*A. N. Bib. Ind.*

a kinsman of Qāsim Sultān, and by whom she had 'Abdu-l-lāh Sultān *Uzbek* who entered Bābar's service.

'Āyisha was at the Mystic Feast in 1531, and she was lost at Chausa in 1539 (946H.).

Khwānd-amir gives 929H. (1522-23) as a date at which 'Āyisha was in Qāsim Sultān's *haram*, but this does not agree with Bābar's narrative. His entry that 'Abdu-l-lāh was in his service and although young, acquitting himself respectably, cannot at latest have been made after 1530. From 1522 to 1530 is all too short for widowhood, remarriage, birth of 'Abdu-l-lāh, and his growth to respectable military service.

Gul-badan, 24b, 33b.

Mems., 182.

Ḥabību-s-siyār, lith. ed., 327 et seq.,

XVIII. 'Āyisha-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (? No. 11.)

Third daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī and Qūtūq (Katak) Begam. She was a first cousin of Bābar, and his first wife. They were betrothed in Samarqand when he was five years old, 894H. (1488-89), and married in Sha'bān, 905H. (March, 1500), at Khojand during the 'troubles' *i.e.*, conflict with Khwānd-amir Shāh and Aḥmad Tambol. Bābar says that at first he had no small affection for 'Āyisha and that it declined. She was the mother of his first child, Fakhru-ṭ-nisā' (born 907H., 1501). She left Bābar before the overthrow (*wirānī*) of Tāshkand by Shaibānī in 909H. (1503), being influenced by the 'machinations' of her elder sister, probably Salīqa, who was married to one of those many kinsmen who tried to overthrow the boy-king of T'arghāna.

Gul-badan mentions an 'Āyisha Sultān Begam (No. 11) as being at the Mystic Feast, without describing her. The following entry (No. 12) is that of Sultānī, a daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā, and described as being such. It seems likely that Gul-

XV. 'Aqīqa ('Afifa) Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*. (No. 47.)

Her name may be 'Aqīqa, a cornelian, etc., or 'Afifa, a chaste, modest woman. Our begam's MS. allows both readings. I have used the first but the second seems the more appropriate in sense.

She was a daughter of Humāyūn and Bega and second child of both parents. She was born in Āgra in 1531. It is only from her aunt Gul-badan that anything is known of her. She went to Guālār with her mother in (?) 1534; she was at Hindāl's feast in 1537, and she was lost at Chausa on June 27th, 1539.

Gul-badan, 22a, 23b, 25, 33b, 34b.

XVI. *Ātān māmā*. (No. 38.)

An *ātān* is a teacher of reading, writing, and embroidery, etc. *Māmā* seems to be the title of old women-servants.

Bābar mentions an *ātān* in 1501. He met her at Pashāghar whither she had come on foot from Samarqand and where she again joined her old mistress, Bābar's mother, Qutluq-nigār Khānam. She had been left behind in the city after Shaibānī's capture of it because there was no horse for her to ride.

Gul-badan mentions an *ātān māmā* as at Hindāl's wedding feast, and as *māmā* seems to be used for old servants, it is possible that she is the woman mentioned by Bābar.

Gul-badan, 26a.
Mems., 99.

XVII. 'Āyisha-sultān Begam *Bāyqarā*. (No. 9.)

Ar. 'aish, joy, and *sultān*, sway, pre-eminence. Cf. App. s.n. Daulat.

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqarā* and Zobaida *āghācha* of the Shaibān sultāns. 'Āyisha married, (1) Qāsim Sultān *Uzbeq*, a Shaibān sultān, and by him became the mother of Qāsim Husain Sultān *Uzbeq*, an amīr of Bābar and Humāyūn; (2) by *yanga-lik* (cf. App. s.n. Jāmal), Būran Sultān,

XII. Āq Begam Bāyqarā.

Turki, āq, fair. The word is frequently a sobriquet and the bearer's personal name is occasionally known; e.g., Yasin-daulat, Āq Sultān; Salīqa Begam, Āq Begam. But frequently the personal name is not traceable.

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqarā and Pāyanda Sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī; first cousin of Bābar; wife of Muḥammad Qāsim Arlat.¹ She had one daughter, known as the Black-eyed (*qarā-gūz*) Begam.

Mems., 181.

XIII. Āq Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 3.)

Āq Begam was a daughter of Abū-sa'īd Mīrān-shāhī and Khadija. She was one of the several paternal aunts of Bābar who went to India at his invitation. She reached Āgra in October, 1528 (Safar, 935H.), and was met by her nephew. She was present at the double wedding of Gul-rang and Gul-chihra in 1530 (937H.), and was probably at Bābar's death-bed. She was at the Mystic Feast on December 19th, 1531 (Jumāda I. 9th, 938H.).

Gul-badan, 11a, 18b, 20a, 24b.
Mems., 179, 182, 387.

XIV. Āq Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

Third daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī and Khānzāda Begam Termizī; and first cousin of Bābar. The Memoirs do not mention her marriage or (as usual alternative) early death. She was full sister of a wife of Bābar, Zainab.

Mems., 30.

(Āq Begam, Salīqa, q.c.c.)

¹ Muḥammad Qāsim was a Tīmūrīd through his grandmother, Bega Begam, the sister of 'Abdu-l-qāsim Bāba' qalandar, King of Khurāsān (died 1457).

IX. Āī Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Turkī, *āī*, moon. Her name is not mentioned in the Memoirs, but is so by Ilmīnsky (Mems., 30; Ilmīnsky, 34, line 7 from foot).

She was the fourth daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā *Mīrānshāhī* and Khānzāda *Termizī* II.; and wife of Jahāngīr Mīrzā, half-brother of Bābar. She was betrothed in 901H. (1495-96), married in 910H. (1504-5), bore one daughter, and was widowed not later than 914H. (1508-9).

Mems., 30, 128.

Pavet de Courteille, I. 57, 262.

X. Āka Begam *Bāyqarā*.

Āka is clearly a title; her personal name I have not found. Her sister who is styled *Bedka*, appears to be named Rūbī'a-sultān.

Daughter of Maṣṣūr Mīrzā *Bāyqarā* and Fīroza Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*, full and elder sister of Sultān Husain Mīrzā. Bābar states (Mems., 176, 177) that she married (his uncle) Sultān Aḥmad Mīrza, and had a son, Kīchak Mīrzā (the young or small prince). But he does not mention her, either as *Āka* or otherwise, amongst Aḥmad's wives (Mems., 22), and he says that Aḥmad had two sons who died young. Kīchak, however, lived to change his military occupations for literature.

It is singular that a marriage of the oldest *Mīrān-shāhī* of his generation with the oldest *Bāyqarā* girl should not have been entered in Aḥmad's biographical notice.

Mems., 22, 23, 176, 177.

(Ālūsh—Anūsh—Begam, *Ūlūs*, *q.v.*)

XI. Amīna Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Ara., *amīn*, faithful.

Daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chūchak.

Gul-badan, 71a.

V. Āghā Begam Bāyqarā.

She was a daughter of Sultān Husain Mirzā Bāyqarā and of Pāyanda Sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī. Her descent being so high through both parents, her name *Āghā* rises above its frequent application to wives of less degree. Here it may have the meaning of *chief* or *great*. She married her cousin Murād who was a son of Rābī'a-sultān Begam (Bedka). The *Ḥabību-s-siyār*, 327 *et seq.* (lith. ed.), states that she died before she reached maturity, but this does not agree with Bābar's statements. The *Ḥabīb* places her death earlier than 912H. (1506).

Mems., 181.

Ḥabību-s-siyār, lith. ed., 327 *et seq.*

VI. Āghā kūka. (No. 78.)

Wife of Mun'im Khān ; at Hindāl's Feast (1537).

Gul-badan, 26a.

VII. Āghā-sultān āghācha. (No. 37.)

(?) The lady of chief honour.

She was a wife of 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā (died 1494), and mother of Yādgar Sultān Begam (Bābar's half-sister). She was present at Hindāl's marriage feast (1537), and probably at the Mystic Feast, in 1531. She is classed amongst 'our begams.'

Gul-badan, 25b.

Mems., 10, 14.

VIII. Āghā-sultān Sultānam Dughlat.

She was a daughter of Muḥammad Ḥaidar Mirzā Dughlat, and therefore aunt of the author of the *Tārīkh-i-rashūdī*. She married 'Abdu-l-qadūs Beg Dughlat in Kāshghar, after 877H. (1472-73). Her husband was alive in 900H. (1494-95), and was governor of Khost for Sultān Maḥmūd Mirzā Mīrān-shāhī.

Mems., 27.

Tār. Rash., E. and R., 95, 103.

she was an affectionate and devoted woman, and says that her tender care of her husband in illness surpassed that of all the other ladies of the *haram*.

News of her death reached Bābar when he was besieging Chandīri in 934H. (January, 1528).

Mems., 182, 183, 204.

II. Āfāq Begam. (No. 26.)¹

She was a daughter of Sultān-bakht Begam; her father's name has not yet come to my knowledge; she was a grand-daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā.

Bābar mentions the arrival of a daughter of Sultān-bakht Begam in Agra in 935H. (October, 1528), and Gul-badan supplies the name Āfāq by naming an Āfāq of this parentage as at the Mystic Feast in 938H. (1531).

Gul-badan. Persian text, 25b.
Mems., 387.

(*Afghānī āghācha*, the Afghān lady. See Mubārīka Bībī.)

III. Afroz-banū Begam. (No. 33.)

Pers. *afroz*, dazzling, illuminating, and *bānū*, (?) a form of *bān* (*ban*), which in composition means holding, possessing. Also a prince or chief.

Nothing is said to identify her. She was at the Mystic Feast (1531).

Gul-badan, 25b.

IV. Āghū Begam. (No. 34.)

Turkī, *āghā*, a title of honour, and Ar. *sultān*, sway, pre-eminence. Steingass classes the word *āghū* as Persian. It may be *āka*, lady. The dictionaries do not apply it to women.

Mentioned as at the Mystic Feast in 1531. She may be *Bāyqarā* (*infra*).

Gul-badan, 25b.

¹ Numbers so entered are those of Gul-badan's guest-list, 24b *et seq.*