

APPENDIX A.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE WOMEN MENTIONED BY BĀBAR, GUL-BADAN, AND HAIDAR.¹

I. Āfāq (Āpāq) Begam.

Princess of the Universe ; Ar. *āfūq*, four quarters, universe, etc..

She is mentioned, without clue to her parentage, by Babar, as a wife of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqarā*. He mentions her again, with others of the mīrzā's widows, as seen in Harāt in 912H. (1506-7), and here his wording, both in the Turkī and the Persian texts, allows the inference that she is a daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'id *Mīrān-shāhī*. Mr. Erskine translates the passage thus : 'Pāyanda Sultān Begam, my father's sister, Khadīja Begam and the other (Turkī, *yena* ; Pers., *dīgar*) daughters of Sultān Abū-sa'id Mīrzā.'

When greeting the ladies, Bābar gave Āfāq precedence over Khadīja, and notes the fact. Khadīja was not a woman of birth.

Husain *Bāyqarā* married three daughters of Abū-sa'id, Shahr-bānū, Pāyanda, and Āfāq. The last bore him no child, but she reared and educated nine children of his by her own foster-sister, Bābā *āghācha*.

Early in 932H. (1525) she went from Harāt to Kābul and was received by Bābar (before his departure for India in November, 1525) with all possible respect and kindness. He gives the impression that

¹ This Appendix makes no pretence at completeness. It contains the gatherings in of work on Gul-badan Begam's *Humāyūn-nāma*.

rest who all bore the mark of Mīrzā Kāmran's hand, with one voice represented to his Majesty : ' Brotherly custom has nothing to do with ruling and reigning. If you wish to act as a brother, abandon the throne. If you wish to be king, put aside brotherly sentiment. What kind of wound was it that befell your blessed head in the Qibchāq defile through this same Mīrzā Kāmran? He it was whose traitorous and crafty conspiracy with the Afghāns killed Mīrzā Hindāl. Many a Chaghatai has perished through him ; women and children have been made captive and lost honour. It is impossible that our wives and children should suffer in the future the thrall and torture of captivity. (82b) With the fear of hell before our eyes¹ (we say that) our lives, our goods, our wives, our children are all a sacrifice for a single hair of your Majesty's head. This is no brother ! This is your Majesty's foe !'

To make an end of words, one and all urgently set forth : ' It is well to lower the head of the breacher of a kingdom.'

His Majesty answered : ' Though my head inclines to your words, my heart does not.' All cried out : ' What has been set before your Majesty is the really advisable course.' At last the Emperor said : ' If you all counsel this and agree to it, gather together and attest it in writing.' All the amirs both of the right and left assembled. They wrote down and gave in that same line (*misrā*) : ' It is well to lower the head of the breacher of the kingdom.' Even his Majesty was compelled to agree.

When he drew near to Rohtās, the Emperor gave an order to Sayyid Muḥammad : ' Blind Mīrzā Kāmran in both eyes.' The sayyid went at once and did so.

After the blinding, his Majesty the Emperor²

END OF THE MS.

¹ *bar jahannum*, which I take as an oath. Cf. *bar haq*.

² Here in the MS. volume follows folio 83, which I have conjectured should follow folio 73b, and have placed there.

monster, Mīrzā Kāmran had not come that night, this calamity would not have descended from the heavens.

His Majesty sent letters to his sisters in Kābul, and the city at once became like one house of mourning. Doors and walls wept and bewailed the death of the happy, martyred mīrzā.

Gul-chihra Begam had gone to Qarā Khān's house. When she came back, it was like the day of resurrection.¹ Through weeping and sorrow she fell quite ill and went out of her mind.

It was by Mīrzā Kāmran's evil fate that Mīrza Hindāl became a martyr. From that time forth we never heard that his affairs prospered. On the contrary, they waned day by day and came to naught and perished. (81*b*) He set his face to evil in such fashion that fortune never befriended him again nor gave him happiness. It was as though Mīrzā Hindāl had been the life, or rather the light-giving eye of Mīrzā Kāmran, for after that same defeat he fled straight away to Salīm Shāh, the son of Shīr Khān. Salīm Shāh gave him a thousand *rupis*.² Then the mīrzā told in what position he was, and asked help. Salīm Shāh said nothing openly in reply, but in private he remarked: 'How can a man be helped who killed his own brother, Mīrzā Hindāl? It is best to destroy him and bring him to naught.' Mīrzā Kāmran heard of this opinion and one night, without even consulting his people, he resolved on flight and got away, and his own men had not even a word of it. They stayed behind and when news of the flight reached Salīm Shāh, he imprisoned many of them.

Mīrzā Kāmran had gone as far as Bhīra and Khūsh-āb when Adam Ghakkar, by plot and stratagems, captured him and brought him to the Emperor. (82*a*)

To be brief, all the assembled khāns and sultāns, and high and low, and plebeian and noble, and soldiers and the

¹ Khwānd-amīr compares a hustle of people to the day of resurrection.

² A scornful measure of Kāmran's fall. The date is the end both of 1552 and of 959H..

merciless sword had touched my heart and eyes, or Sa ādat-yār, my son's, or Khizr Khwāja Khān's! Alas! a hundred regrets! Alas! a thousand times alas! (80b)

HEMISTICH.

O well-a-day! O well-a-day! O well-a-day!
My sun is sunk behind a cloud.

All may be said in a word: Mīrzā Hindāl gave his life freely for his sovereign.

Mīr Bābā Dost lifted him up and carried him to his quarters. He told no one, and fetched servants and placed them at the entrance and gave orders: 'Tell everyone who asks, that the mīrzā is badly wounded and that the Emperor forbids anyone to enter.'

Then he went and said to his Majesty: 'Mīrzā Hindāl is wounded.' The Emperor called for a horse; 'I will go and see him.' Mīr 'Abdu-l-ḥai said: 'He is badly hurt. It is not desirable that you should go.' He understood, and however much he tried,¹ he could not help it, he broke down.

Jūi-shāhī² was Khizr Khwāja Khān's *jāgūr*. The Emperor sent for him and said: 'Take Mīrzā Hindāl to Jūi-shāhī and care for his burial.' The khān took the camel's bridle,³ and when he was going away with weeping and lament and voice uplifted in grief, (sta) his Majesty heard of the mourning and sent him word: 'We must have patience! This sorrow touches my heart more closely than yours, but I do not give way because I think of our bloodthirsty, tyrannical foe. With him at hand, there is no help but patience.' Then the khān with a hundred regrets, miserable and stricken, conveyed the body to Jūi-shāhī, and there laid and left it.

If that slayer of a brother, that stranger's friend, the

shows that she mourned his loss many years. Her book lets us see a group of living and feeling men and women.

¹ *ḥafz kardand*. Perhaps as a matter of etiquette which demands composure in public.

² Text, Jūsāhī, the modern Jalālābād, on the road to Kābul.

³ *i.e.*, that of the camel which bore the corpse.

earlier services in one scale and the service of this night in the other. God willing! whatever claim you can make, you shall be exalted to its degree.¹ One by one he allotted their posts, and then called for his own cuirass and surtout, and high cap and helmet.

His wardrobe-keeper had lifted up the wallet when someone sneezed,² and he set it down for a while. Because of this delay, the *mīrzā* sent to hurry him. Then the things were brought quickly, and he asked: 'Why were you so long?' The man replied: 'I had lifted the wallet when someone sneezed, and I therefore put it down. So there was a delay.' (800)

The *mīrzā* replied: 'You were wrong. (You should have) said rather: "May there be a blessed martyrdom."' Then he went on: 'Friends all! be my witness that I abjure all forbidden things and all indecorous acts.' Those present recited the *fatḥiḥa* and prayed: 'May there be benediction.' He said: 'Bring my vest and cuirass and surtout.' He put them on and went out to the trenches to encourage and solace his men. Just then his *ṭabaqchī*,³ hearing his voice, cried: 'They are attacking me.' The *mīrzā*, hearing this, dismounted and said: 'Friends, it is far from brave to give no help when my servant is at the point of the sword.' He himself went down into the trench but not one of his followers dismounted. Twice he sallied from the trenches, and in this endeavour became a martyr.

I do not know what pitiless oppressor slew that harmless youth⁴ with his tyrant sword! Would to Heaven that

¹ Perhaps the notion of this sentence is, 'To-night's service will equal or outweigh previous services, and the lower to-night's scale is forced, the greater will be my largesse.'

² It is hardly necessary to say that sneezing is by many nations regarded as an omen of other things than catarrh.

³ Clerk of the scullery who has charge of plates and dishes, utensils which are often of value by material and by workmanship.

⁴ Hindāl was killed on *Zī'l-qa'dā* 21st, 958H. (November 20th, 1551). He was born before March 4th, 1519 (Mems., 258.), and was therefore in his thirty-third year.

Gul-badan always speaks of her brother with affection, and her story

there went Bega Begam, Hamīda-bānū Begam, Māh-chūchak Begam, and many others. I could not go because my son, Sa'ādat-yār, was ill at the time. One day his Majesty, attended by Mirzā Hindāl, was hunting near the mountain passes. They had very good sport. The Emperor went towards where the mīrzā was hunting and had made a very good bag. Following the rules of Chingiz Khān, the mīrzā proffered his game to the Emperor, for it is a rule of Chingiz Khān that inferiors should so act towards their superiors. In short, he gave the Emperor all his game. Then it occurred to him: 'There is still my sisters' portion. (79a) They shall not complain again. I will hunt once more and get them a share.' Again he busied himself in hunting, and had taken one head of game, and was returning, when someone sent by Mirzā Kāmran blocked the road, and shot an arrow at the unwitting mīrzā which struck his blessed shoulder. Acting on the thought 'God forbid my sisters and womenfolk should be upset by news of this,' he wrote off at once to say: 'Ill begun has ended well!¹ Do not be anxious, for I am getting better.' To finish the story: as it was hot, his Majesty went back to Kābul, and in the course of a year the arrow-wound got better.

A year later word was brought that Mirzā Kāmran had collected troops and was preparing for war. His Majesty also, taking military appurtenances, set out for the mountain passes (*tungayhā*) with Mirzā Hindāl. He went safe and well, and made his honouring halt in the passes. Hour by hour, and all the time, spies kept bringing news: 'Mirzā Kāmran has decided that an attack must be made to-night.' (79b) Mirzā Hindāl went to the Emperor and submitted his advice: 'Let your Majesty stay on this high ground, and let my brother (nephew) Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar *pādshāh* stay with you, so that careful watch may be kept on this height.' Then he called up his own men, and encouraged and cheered them one by one, and said: 'Put

¹ Repetition of a proverb already quoted.

Either at Chārikārān or Qarā-bāgh there was fighting with Mīrzā Kāmran and his Majesty's army was successful. The mīrzā fled to the mountain passes (*tanqayhā*) and Lamghānāt.¹

Āq Sultān (Yasīn-daulat) who was the mīrzā's son-in-law, said in effect to him (*gufta bāshād*): 'You are continually thwarting the Emperor. What is the meaning of it? It is not what should be. (78a) Either make your submission and obeisance to the Emperor or give me leave to go, so that men may distinguish between us.' Mīrzā Kāmran said fiercely: 'Have my affairs come to such a pass that *you* offer me advice?' Āq Sultān also spoke angrily, 'If I stay with you, my position will be unlawful,' and left him at once, and went with his wife (Habība) to Bhakkar. The mīrzā wrote to Mīrzā Shāh Husain, and said: 'Āq Sultān has displeased me and has gone away. If he comes to Bhakkar, do not let his wife be with him. Part them and tell him to go where he likes.' Shāh Husain Mīrzā at once, on receiving the letter, deprived Habība Sultān Begam of the company of Āq Sultān and let him depart for the blessed Makka.²

In the fight at Chārikārān, Qarācha Khān³ and many of Mīrzā Kāmran's well-known officers were killed.

'Ayisha Sultān Begam⁴ and Daulat-bakht *āghācha* were in flight for Qandahār, and were captured at the Khimār Pass, and brought in by the Emperor's people. Mīrzā Kāmran went to the Afghāns,⁵ and stayed amongst them. (78b)

From time to time his Majesty used to visit the orange-gardens. That year also, according to his old habit, he went to the mountain passes (*tanqayhā*) to see the oranges. Mīrzā Hindāl was in attendance, and of the ladies (*haramān*),

¹ Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad, 'mountains of Mandrūd.' B. & H., II. 393, 'by the Pass of Bādpaj towards the Afghān country.'

² Kāmran was the son-in-law of Mīr Shāh Husain *Arghūn*, and was therefore able to secure this interference with Āq Sultān's domestic affairs.

³ Cf. Elliot, V. 233.

⁴ Kāmran's daughter.

⁵ *i.e.*, Lamghān.

Since such was the Divine will, a barbarian,—inwardly blind, an ill-fated oppressor and ill-omened tyrant,—inflicted a wound on the Emperor. The blow reached his blessed head, and all his forehead and his dear eyes were stained with blood.

It was just like it was in the Mughal war when the blessed head of his Majesty *Ẓirāus-makānī*, the Emperor Bābar, was wounded by a Mughal, and his high cap and the turban wrapped round it were not cut, but his blessed head was badly hurt. His Majesty Humāyūn used to say with surprise: 'I wondered at it, for cap and cloth were whole, and yet the head was cut.'¹ The very same thing happened now to his own head.

After the rout in the Qibchāq defile, his Majesty went to Badakhshān, and Mīrzā Hindal, and Mīrzā Sulaimān, and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm came and waited on him. (77*b*) He went² to Kābul and the mīrzās were in attendance, friendly and united and at peace together, when Mīrzā Kāmran approached. His Majesty sent a message to Hāram Begam: 'Ask my *kīlīn*³ to send me the army of Badakhshān as quickly as possible and ready for service.' In a few days,—a very short time,—the begam had given horses and arms to some thousands of men. She herself superintended and took thought and she came with the troops as far as the pass. From here she sent them forward, and while she went back they went on and joined the Emperor.

¹ 'Tambol let fall a heavy sword-blow on my head. It is a singular fact that, though not a thread of my cap of mail was injured, yet my head was severely wounded.' (Mems., 266. Also 111.)

² Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad, 'after forty days.'

³ Cf. 77*a* n.. This story bears out Hāram's military reputation. Kāmran's power of attraction and Humāyūn's present risk can be gauged by the fact that even after the defeat at Chārīkārān some 1,500 horse were with the former, and many amīrs again went over to him.

It was now that the remarkable compact which effected Kāmran's downfall was made between Humāyūn and his amīrs. (B. & H., II. 338.) These swore fidelity by whatever oath would bind them and then, at the instance of Hājī Muḥammad Khān *kūka*, Humāyūn bound himself to,—do as he was told. The compact was effective. The amīrs were the long-suffering victims of Humāyūn's folly and their present turning was, he admitted, justifiable.

Instantly hands were laid on Begī āghā Bībī, condemned of fate to die, and she was torn in pieces. In consequence of this affair, Mīrzā Sulaimān and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm were displeased with Mīrzā Kāmran, or rather they became his enemies. (76*b*) They wrote to the Emperor that Mīrzā Kāmran wished to thwart him and that this could not be better seen than in his failure to go to Balkh with him.

After this the mīrzā, in Kūlāb,¹ could not find, in his terror-stricken thoughts, any better remedy than to become a darvish. He sent his son, Abū'l-qāsim (Ibrāhīm) to Mīrzā 'Askari, and betook himself to Tāliqān with his daughter 'Āyisha (Sultān Begam), and said to his wife (Muḥtarīma Khānam): 'Do you and your daughter follow me later. I will send for you to whatever place I settle on. Till then go and stay in Khost and Andar-āb.' The khānam was related to the Uzbek khāns, and some of her kinsfolk let the Uzbeks know: 'If you want booty, there are goods and men and women servants; take these, and let the lady go free, for if 'Āyisha Sultān Khānam's' nephew hears to-morrow (that she has been hurt), he will certainly be very angry with you.' By a hundred plans and wiles, and with a hundred anxieties, and without her goods, she got free from the Uzbek bondage, and reached Khost and Andar-āb. Here she stayed.

When Mīrzā Kāmran heard of the royal disaster in Balkh, he said: 'The Emperor is not so friendly to me as he was.' (77*a*) So he left Kūlāb, and went hither and thither.

At this time (1550) his Majesty came out from Kābul. When he reached the Qibchāq defile, he incautiously halted in a low-lying place, and Mīrzā Kāmran, coming from higher ground, armed and equipped, poured down foes upon him.

did not dare even to make war without her consent. Perhaps Kāmran's devotion extended to the armed force she disposed of. It was clearly in Tarkhān Bega's eye.

¹ In Kūlāb were the kinsfolk of his wife, Māh Begam, sister of Hāram Begam, daughter of Sultān Wais *Qibchāq*, and sister of Chakr 'Alī Khān.

² *i.e.*, across whose country she had to travel.

³ (?) Mughal Khānam.

delight, brought word that Mīrzā Hindāl had arrived at Kunduz safe and sound. His Majesty gave Mīrzā Sulaimān leave to go to his own place, Qila' -i-zafar, and came himself to Kābul (1550, 957H.).

While Mīrzā Kāmran was in Kūlāb, a woman named Tarkhān¹ Bega, who was a thorough cheat, showed him the way by saying: 'Make a declaration of love to Hāram Begam.² Good will come of it.' Acting on these words of an ill-judging adviser, he actually sent a letter and a kerchief³ to Hāram Begam by the hand of Begī āghā. This woman laid the letter and the kerchief before the begam and then set forth the mīrzā's devotion and passion. Hāram Begam said: 'Keep that letter and that kerchief now and bring them again when the mīrzās come home.' Begī āghā then wept, and moaned, and coaxed, and said: 'Mīrzā Kāmran has sent you this letter and this kerchief; he has loved you a long time, and you have no pity for him.' (76a) Hāram Begam began to show her disgust and violent anger, and at once sent off for her husband, Mīrzā Sulaimān, and her son, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm. She said to them: 'Mīrzā Kāmran must have come to think you are cowards, since he sends me a letter like this. Have I deserved to be written to in this way? He is as your elder brother, and I am to him as a younger brother's wife.⁴ Send off a letter for me about it and rebuke him. As for this wretch of a woman, tear her piece by piece. Let her be a warning to others that no man may cast the evil eye of sinful thought upon another man's womanfolk. What does such a man deserve who, the son of a mother, yet does such monstrous things, and who fears neither me⁵ nor my son?'

¹ This title indicates rank. A 'Tarkhān Begam' was wife of Sulṭān Ahmad Mīrzā. (Memoirs., 22.)

² or Khurram. One of her sisters was a wife of Kāmran.

³ What fascination may lurk in an embroidered kerchief can be guessed by inspecting the dainty examples in the South Kensington Oriental Section.

⁴ *kāhān*. Both here and at 77b this word seems to have wider meaning than is given by the Turkī and Persian dictionaries.

⁵ The begam's martial character spices this story, since her husband

day his men sallied out and drew up in battle array. The royal army carried off the victory, and Pīr Muḥammad's men tasted defeat and returned to the city. By the next morning the khān had come to think: 'The Čuaghataī are strong; I cannot fight them. It would be better to get out and away.' Just then the royal officers joined in representing that the camp had become filthy, and that it would be well to move to a desert place (*dasht*). His Majesty ordered them to do so.

No sooner were hands laid on the baggage and pack-saddles, than others raised a clamour and some cried out: 'We are not strong enough.' Since such was the Divine will, the royal army took the road without cause from a foe, without reason or motive.¹ The news of their march reached the Uzbegs and amazed them. Try as the royal officers would, they produced not a scrap of effect. It could not be hindered: the royal army ran away. (75a)

The Emperor waited a little, and when he saw that no one was left, he too had to go. Mīrzā 'Āskarī and Mīrzā Hindāl, not having heard of the confusion, rode up to the camp. They found no one and saw that the Uzbegs had gone in pursuit, so they too took the road and made for Kunduz. After riding a little way, his Majesty stopped and said: 'My brothers are not here yet: how can I go on?' He asked the officers and attendants whether anyone would bring him news of the princes. No one answered or went. Later on word came from the Mīrzā's people in Kunduz that they had heard of the disaster and did not know where the princes had gone. This letter upset the Emperor very much. Khizr Khwāja Khān said: 'If you approve, I will bring news.' 'God's mercy on you!' rejoined his Majesty. 'May they have gone to Kunduz!' (75b)

Two days afterwards the khwāja, to the Emperor's great

¹ From other sources we learn that the royalists were anxious on two grounds; (1) as to the threatened arrival of an overwhelming Uzbek force from Bukhārā, and (2) lest Kāmran should again take Kābul and have their families at his mercy. The last was perhaps the dominant motive for the flight without a pursuer.

distance (*bīrūn*), and from there wrote separate letters to Bega Begam and to Hamīda-bānū Begam and to Māh-chūchak Begam and to me and to all the begams,¹ saying: 'Becoming spokeswoman of your own fault, write apologizing for the trouble you have given. God willing, I shall say farewell and go to join the army either at Farza or Istālīf, and if not we shall travel apart.' (74a)

Then everyone wrote to apologize for having given trouble, and sent the letter for his holy and elevating service.

In the end his Majesty and all the begams mounted and rode by Lamghān to Bihzādī. At night each one went to her own quarters, and in the morning they ate (? alone), and at mid-day prayer-time rode to Farza.

Hamīda-bānū Begam sent nine sheep to the quarters of each one of us. Bibī Daulat-bakht had come one day earlier to Farza and had got ready plenty of provisions and milk and curd; and syrup and sherbet and so on. We spent that evening in amusement. In the early morning (we went) above Farza to where there is a beautiful waterfall. Then his Majesty went to Istālīf and passed three days, and then in 958H.² marched towards Balkh.

When he crossed the pass, he sent *farmāns* to summon Mīrzā Kāmīrān and Mīrzā Sulaimān and Mīrzā 'Askarī, and said: 'We are on the march to fight the Uzbegs; now is the time for union and brotherliness. You ought to come as quickly as possible.' Mīrzā Sulaimān and Mīrzā 'Askarī came and joined him. (74b) Then march by march they came to Balkh.

In Balkh was Pīr Muḥammad Khān,³ and on the first

¹ Humāyūn's comprehensive displeasure looks like a fit of temper directed against every and any one. It is possible, however, that a page which might describe other untoward matters besides unpunctuality, has been altogether lost. The sentence which now continues the story, places all the ladies, deprived of their evening of talk and amusement, in chastened solitude.

² B. & H., II. 368, has 956H. (1549), and other differences of detail.

³ Son of Jānī Beg, and uncle of the famous 'Abdu-l-lāh Khān *Uzbek*. He ruled till 974H. (1563-67).

royal tents nor the pavilions of the *begams* had arrived, but the *mihir-amez*¹ tent had come. We all, his Majesty and all of us, and Hamīda-bānū Begam sat in that tent till three hours past midnight and then we went to sleep where we were, in company with that altar of truth (Humāyūn).

Early next morning he wished to go and see the *rūwāj* on the Kōh. The begams' horses were in the village, so the starting-time passed before they came up. The Emperor ordered that the horses of everyone who was outside should be brought. When they came he gave the order: 'Mount.'

Bega Begam and Māh-chūchak Begam were still putting on their head-to-foot dresses, and I said to the Emperor: 'If you think well, I will go and fetch them.' 'Go,' he answered, 'and bring them quickly.' I said to the begams and to Māh-chūchak Begam and the rest of the ladies: 'I have become the slave of his Majesty's wishes. What trouble waiting gives!' I was gathering them all together and bringing them when he came to meet me and said: 'Gul-badan! the proper hour for starting has gone by. (83b) It would be hot the whole way. God willing, we will go after offering the afternoon prayer.' He seated himself in a tent with Hamīda-bānū Begam.² After afternoon prayers, there was the interval between two prayers before the horses arrived. In this interval he went away.³

Everywhere in the Dāman-i-kōh the *rūwāj* had put up its leaves. We went to the skirts of the hills and when it was evening, we walked about. Tents and pavilions were pitched on the spot and there his Majesty came and stayed. Here too we passed the nights together in sociable talk, and were all in company of that altar of truth.

In the morning at prayer-time, he went away to a

¹ Perhaps a tent of Humāyūn's invention, in the name of which *mihir* means *sun*. Cf. 'another of his (Humāyūn's) inventions was a tent which had twelve divisions, corresponding to the signs of the Zodiac. Every sign had a lattice through which the lights of the stars of dominion shone.' (*Akbar-nāma*, H. Beveridge I. 361.)

² Perhaps, a tent of Hamīda having come, he seated himself in it.

³ (?) the start was made to see the *rūwāj*.

‘When I join the army, I shall travel by the Koh-dāman, so that you may come out and see the *rūwāj* growing.’ It was at afternoon prayer-time that he rode out¹ (of Kābul) to the garden. Qulī Beg’s house where the begams were, was close by and overlooked it, and his Majesty pulled up as he passed, and all the begams saw him, and rose and made the *kōrnish*. (73b) Directly they had made this salutation, he beckoned with his own blessed hand, to say: ‘Come.’²

Fakhru-n-nisā’ *māmā* and Afghānī *āghācha* went on a little ahead. There was a stream in the lower part of the garden which Afghānī *āghācha* could not cross, and she fell off her horse. For this reason there was an hour’s delay.³ At last we set out with his Majesty. Māh-chūchak Begam not knowing, her horse went up a little.⁴ His Majesty was very much annoyed about this. The garden was on a height and the walls were not yet made. Some vexation now showed itself in his blessed countenance and he was pleased to say: ‘All of you go on, and I will follow when I have taken some opium and got over my annoyance.’ He joined us when we had, as he ordered, gone on a little. The look of vexation was entirely laid aside and he came with a happy and beautiful look in his face.

It was a moonlight night. (83a) We talked and told stories,⁵ and Mir (fault) and Khānīsh *āghācha* and Zārīf the reciter and Sarū-sahī and Shāham *āghā* sang softly, softly.

Up to the time of our reaching Laghmān, neither the

¹ Presumably from Kābul, and on the day of starting for Balkh *viā* the Koh-dāman.

² The ladies seem to have been waiting for this signal to start.

³ Probably to allow for the coming of a less unpropitious hour. This expedition to Balkh ended in a way calculated to attract notice to ill-omens such as the begam’s misadventures would seem.

⁴ *andak buland raft*. Perhaps the horse reared, the begam not knowing how to manage it; but the later and otherwise irrelevant sentence about the unfinished wall suggests that the begam went too high up the hill. The party is now on its way to see the *rūwāj* growing, and Humāyūn’s temper is tried by the various contretemps of the ladies’ cavalcade.

⁵ A folio of the MS. is, I believe, misplaced, and folio 83 should come in here. In the MS. volume this is the last folio.

how then, should I seek the hurt of my brothers? May God grant to you all the same divine and beneficent guidance, so that our agreement and concord may endure!' (73a)

There was wonderful cheerfulness and happiness because many officers and their followers met their relations again, for they too had been sundored because of their masters' quarrels. Nay! one might rather say they had thirsted for one another's blood. Now they passed their time in complete happiness.

On his return from Badakhshān the Emperor spent a year and a half in Kābul and then resolved to go to Balkh. He took up his quarters in the Heart-expanding Garden,¹ and his own residence was over against the lower part of the garden, and the begams were in Qulī Beg's house because it was close by.

The begams said to the Emperor over and over again: 'Oh, how the *rūwāj*² will be coming up!' He replied:

¹ *i.e.*, moved out of the city as a preliminary to marching.

² The following account of this plant is taken from Conolly's Travels, I., 213 n.. It is translated by him from the *Makhāzinu-l-adwiya* (Treasury of Medicines). '*Rūbās, rūvās, rūwāj* or *jigārī* (so named from a person of Nishāpūr who first discovered it) is a shrub two or three feet high, in appearance like beet (*salq*). In the middle are one or two short stems of little thickness; the leaves, which separate lengthwise like those of a lettuce, are downy and green, but towards the root, of a violet or whitish colour. The heart is white, delicate, juicy, acidulous and slightly astringent. Altogether the stalk is the size of a man's arm and when the plant is large every leaf has the size of a man's hand. Ard-shīr was named *Rūwand-dast* (rhubarb-hand) from the length of his hands. The root is called *rūwand* (rhubarb). The top is like the claw of a fowl. The flower is red, and the taste is subacid with a little sweetness. The seed is formed at the top of a long slender stalk which springs up annually in the centre of the plant. It grows where snow lies and in mountainous countries. The best grows in Persia. It is medicinally attenuating and astringent, gives tone to the stomach, and improves the appetite. A collyrium of the juice strengthens the eye and prevents opacity, and a poultice of it with barley-meal is a useful application to sores and boils. The juice of the *rūvās* is harsher than that of unripe grapes.' For mention of the name *rūwāj* see *Tabaqāt-i-akbarī*, Lucknow lith. ed., 215; *Tūzūk-i-jahāngīrī*, 47. Vullers, *s.v.*, etc.. Mr. Erskine writes (Mems., 138 n.): 'It is described as somewhat like beetroot, but much larger, red and white in colour, with large leaves that rise little from the ground. It is a pleasant mixture of sweet and acid. It may be the rhubarb, *rūwand*.'

One day at Kishm¹ they had set up² the tents and there was an assembly of the brothers, his Majesty the Emperor Humāyūn, and Mīrzā Kāmran, and Mīrzā 'Askārī, and Mīrzā Hindāl, and Mīrzā Sulaimān.³

His Majesty enjoined certain regulations⁴ which are fixed for interviews with kings, and said: 'Bring ewer and basin so that we may wash our hands and eat together.' He washed his hands and Mīrzā Kāmran washed his. By years Mīrzā Sulaimān (b. 920H.) had precedence of Mīrzā 'Askārī (b. 922H.) and Mīrzā Hindāl (b. 925H.). So, to show him respect, the two brothers set the ewer and basin first before him.

After washing his hands Mīrzā Sulaimān did something improper with his nose. Mīrzā 'Askārī and Mīrzā Hindāl were much put out, and said: 'What rusticity is this? (72b) First of all, what right have we to wash our hands in his Majesty's presence? but when he bestows the favour and gives the order, we cannot change it. What sense is there in these nose-wagging performances?' Then the two mīrzās went and washed their hands outside and came back and sat down. Mīrzā Sulaimān was very much ashamed. They all ate at one tablecloth.

At this gathering his Majesty graciously remembered this lowly person, and said to his brothers: 'Gul-badan Begam used to say in Lahōr: "I wish I could see all my brothers together!" As we have been seated together since early morning, her words have occurred to my mind. If it be the will of the most high God, may our assembly be kept in His own place! He knows without shadow that it lies not in my heart's depths to seek any Musalmān's ill;

¹ Abū'l-fazl says the meeting was at Ishkāmish, and this seems to agree with the movements of Humāyūn better than Kishm.

² *khārgā dokhta budand*. Certain tents are termed *dokhta*, sowed. They seem to have been large, and were laced together, whence, perhaps, *dokhta*.

For an interesting account of this historic family gathering see B. & H., II. 358 *et seq.*

³ 'Brother' by courtesy and custom; *anglice*, 'cousin.'

⁴ *Tūrā*, the Institutes of Chingiz Khān of which the begam makes other mention.

and brought something or other, and then left me alone.' Consider it as he might, he could only ask: 'What does this dream mean?' Then it occurred to him that, as a daughter had just been born, he would call her after the two, and taking *nisā'* from one, and *bakht* from the other, would run them together into *Bakht-nisā'*.

Māh-chūchak had four daughters¹ and two sons,—Bakht-nisā' Begam, and Sakīna-bānū Begam, and Amīna-bānū Begam, and Muḥammad Hakīm Mirzā, and Farrukh-fāl Mirzā. (71*b*) She was with child when the Emperor went to Hindūstān (1554), and bore a son, in Kābul, whom they named Farrukh-fāl Mirzā. A little later Khānish āghā had a son whom they named Ibrāhīm Sultān Mirzā.

The Emperor spent a full year and a half in Kābul, prosperously and happily, and in comfort and sociability.²

After taking flight from Kābul, Mirzā Kāmran went to Badakhshān, and there stayed in Tāliqān. One day the Emperor was in the Inner Garden,³ and when he rose at dawn for prayers, news came that many of the amīrs who formerly were with the mīrzā, had gone to him again. Amongst them were Qarācha Khān and Muṣāhib Khān, and Mubārīz Khān and Bāpūs.⁴ Many wretches fled by night and went to join the mīrzā in Badakhshān.

In a propitious hour the Emperor also started for Badakhshān. He besieged the mīrzā in Tāliqān, and after a time made him agree to submit and become obedient (72*a*) when he waited on the Emperor, who bestowed Kulāb on him, and gave Qila'-i-zafar to Mirzā Sulaimān, Qandahār (*sic*; (?) Kunduz) to Mirzā Hindāl, and Tāliqān to Mirzā 'Askarī.

¹ Gul-badan does not name Fakhru-n-nisā' who became the wife of Shāh 'Abū'l-ni'ālī and of Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī. Perhaps she is Bakht-nisā'.

² From 1547; but a term of one and a half years does not quite fit the facts. Humāyūn started for the north on June 12th, 1548. (B & H., II. 352.)

³ *ōrta-bāgh*.

⁴ Perhaps it may be taken as an indication of the degradation of 'home life' that Qarācha and Bāpūs again joined Kāmran, although the latter had exposed Qarācha's son and a wife of Bāpūs on the battlements, with the utmost dishonour, and had killed three of the latter's children and flung their bodies from the ramparts.

below. When all the city was asleep, there suddenly sounded (on the stair) a clashing and clinking of armour, so that we said to one another: 'What a noise!' Perhaps a thousand people were standing in front (of the fort). We were afraid, but all at once, without warning, off they went. Qarācha Khān's son Bahādur brought us word that the mīrzā had fled.¹

Having thrown a rope, they (or he) brought up Khwāja Mu'azzam by way of the wall.²

Our people and the begam's people and the rest who were outside, took away the door which had kept us fastened in. Bega Begam urged: 'Let us go to our own houses.' I said: 'Have a little patience. We should have to go by the lane and perhaps too someone will come from the Emperor.' At that moment 'Ambar Nāzir came and said: 'This is the royal order: "They are not to leave that place till I come."' In a little while the Emperor came and embraced Dil-dār Begam and me, and then Bega Bogam and Hamīda-bānū Begam, and said: 'Come quickly out of this place. (71a) God preserve His friends from such a house, and let such be the portion of His foes.' He said to Nāzir: 'Guard one side,' and to Tardi Beg Khān: 'Guard the other, and let the bogams pass out.' All came out, and we spent the evening of that day with the Emperor in perfect content till night became morning. We embraced Māh-chūchak Begam and Khānish *āghā* and those of the *haram* who had been with the Emperor on the campaign.

In Badakhshān Māh-chūchak had a daughter born. On the same night the Emperor had this dream: 'Fakhru-n-nisā', my *māmā*,³ and Daulat-bakht came in by the door,

¹ Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad says that Kāmran escaped by a hole fashioned for the purpose in the wall 'on Khizr Khwaja's' side. This suggests that Gul-badan's husband connived at the evasion, unless one remembers that Khizr Khwāja is a place outside Kābul.

² I do not understand this sentence. Either the followers of Kāmran drew the khwāja up into the fort-precincts to take him with them, he having displeasēd Humāyūn and being nearly connected with him, or the ladies had him drawn up. He was, it seems, not a prisoner. (67b)

³ Fakhru-n-nisā', the mother of Nadīm *kūka*, would seem from this to have been Humāyūn's own attendant in childhood.

Bālā-i-ḥiṣār. Mīrzā Kāmran's men used to fire from the town upon the Emperor on the 'Uqābain. The royal soldiers put Mīrzā 'Askarī to stand right in front and made fun of him.

Mīrzā Kāmran's men also used to make sallies from the fort, and on both sides many were killed. The royal troops were often the victors and then the others had not courage to come out. For the sake of his wives and children and the begams and the household, etc., the Emperor did not have the cannon fired nor did he place the large houses in difficulty. (70a)

When the long siege was ended, they (*i.e.*, the ladies) sent Khwāja Dost Khāwand *madārchī*¹ to his Majesty to say: 'For God's sake, do whatever Mīrzā Kāmran asks, and save the servants of God from molestation.'²

The Emperor sent for their use from outside nine sheep, seven flasks of rose-water, one of lemonade, and seven sets of nine dress-lengths³ and some made-up jackets.³ He wrote:⁴ 'For their sakes, I could not use force against the citadel, lest I should give an advantage to their enemies.'⁵

During the siege Jahān Sultān Begam who was two years old, died. His Majesty wrote: 'Some time or other, if we had used force against the citadel, Mīrzā Muḥammad Akbar would have disappeared.'

To finish the story: There were always people in the Bālā-i-ḥiṣār from evening prayer till dawn, and there was a continuous uproar. The night Mīrzā Kāmran went away,⁶ prayer-time passed and indeed bedtime came, and there was no noise at all. (70b)

There was a steep stair by which people came up from

¹ Follower of the Musalmān saint Madār.

² This message seems one from the imprisoned ladies. The khwāja to whom it was entrusted may now, as in the earlier siege of Kābul, have been Kāmran's envoy to Humāyun.

³ *pārcha* and *nāmcha dokhta*. There seems between these words an apposition which I render by the Englishwoman's colloquial terms.

⁴ Presumably to some kinsman or official to whom the gifts were consigned.

⁵ *i.e.*, by injuring the royal household.

⁶ April 27th, 1547 (Rabī' I. 7th, 954H.).

Afkan,¹ the father of Shīroya, so that they might go out and fight. We saw from above² how he went out with his drums beating, out beyond Bābā Dashtī, and we said, 'God forbid you should fight,' and we wept. (69a) When he reached the Afghāns' village (*Dih-i-Afghānān*), the two vanguards came face to face. The royal advance-guard at once drove off the mīrzā's³ and, having taken many prisoners, brought them to the Emperor. He ordered the Mughals to be cut to pieces.⁴ Many of the mīrzā's men who had gone out to fight were captured and some of them were killed and some were kept prisoners. Amongst them was Jūkī Khān, one of Mīrzā Kāmran's amīrs.

In triumph and glory and to the sound of music, the Emperor entered the 'Uqābain, with Mīrzā Hindāl in attendance and a splendid cavalcade. He set up for himself tents and pavilions and an audience hall.⁵ He gave Mīrzā Hindāl charge of the Mastān bridge,⁶ and stationed the amīrs one after another. For seven months he kept up the blockade.⁷ (69b)

It happened one day that Mīrzā Kāmran went from his own quarters to the roof (? of the citadel), and that someone fired a gun from the 'Uqābain. He ran and took himself off. Then he gave this order about the Emperor Akbar: 'Bring him and put him in front.'⁸ Someone let his august Majesty (Humāyūn) know that Mīrzā Muḥammad Akbar was being kept on the front, so he forbade the guns to be fired and after that none were aimed at the

¹ Son of Quch Beg, an amīr who lost his life in trying to protect Bega Begam at Chausa.

² From the citadel where the ladies were.

³ The begam underrates Humāyūn's victory. The struggle was fierce, renewed and stubborn.

⁴ Doubtful translation.

⁵ I think she merely wishes to say that Humāyūn camped out on the 'Uqābain, and did not take up quarters under a roof.

⁶ Under it flows the stream which issues from the defile of Dih-i-ya'qūb. Cf. *Āin*, Jarrett, I. 404.

⁷ Of the Bālā-i-ḥiṣār, the actual citadel.

⁸ Gul-badan's narrative does not support the story that Māham anaga exposed herself to save Akbar. This person,—who later on became so important,—is nowhere named by the begam as in charge of Akbar. Her husband, Nadīm *kūka*, is so named.

When he came near to Kābul, Mīrzā Kāmran sent for her Highness my mother and for me from the house,¹ and gave my mother orders to reside in the armourer's house. To me he said: 'This is your house as well as mine. You stay here.' 'Why,' I asked, 'should I stay here? I will stay with my mother.' He then went on: 'Moreover, write to Khizr Khwāja Khān and tell him to come and join me and to keep an easy mind, for just as Mīrzā 'Askari and Mīrzā Hindāl are my brothers, so is he. Now is the time to help.' I answered: 'Khizr Khwāja Khān has no way of recognising a letter² from me. I have never written to him myself. He writes to me when he is away, by the tongue of his sons. Write yourself what is in your mind.' At last he sent Mahdī Sultān³ and Shīr 'Alī to fetch the khān. From the first I had said to the khān: 'Your brothers may be with Mīrzā Kāmran, (but) God forbid that you should have the thought of going to him and joining them. (68b) Beware, a thousand times beware of thinking of separating yourself from the Emperor.' Praise be to God! the khān kept to what I said.

When the Emperor heard that Mīrzā Kāmran had sent Mahdī Sultān³ and Shīr 'Alī to fetch Khizr Khwāja Khān, he himself despatched Qambar Beg, the son of Mīrzā Hājī, to the khān, who was then in his own *jāgēr*, and said: 'Beware, a thousand times beware! Let there be no joining Mīrzā Kāmran. Come and wait on me.' The result of this auspicious message was that the khān set out at once for court, and came to the 'Uqābain (Hill of the two eagles) and paid his respects.

When the Emperor passed Minār Hill, Mīrzā Kāmran sent forward all his well-ordered soldiers under Shīr

¹ Presumably the brick and mud quarters of the ladies.

² *Suūd na dārād ki khat-i-marā shīnasad.* I understand that he had not seen her handwriting, and would not know whether a letter purporting to be hers was a forgery. Gul badan names one son only, Sa'adat-yār, as being her own. She is now about twenty-five

³ Brother of Khizr and of Yasīn-daulat (Āq Sultān).

these common people. He at once killed Uncle Muḥammad Alī¹ who was in the hot bath. He alighted at the college of Mullā 'Abdu-l-khālīq.

When the Emperor was starting for Qila'-i-zafar, he placed Naukār² at the door of the *ḥaram*. Mirzā Kāmran must have asked: 'Who is in the Bālā-i-ḥiṣār?' and someone must have said: 'It is Naukār.' Naukār heard of this and at once put on a woman's dress and went out. The mirzā's people laid hands on the doorkeeper of the fort, and took him to Mirzā Kāmran, who ordered him to be imprisoned. (67b) The mirzā's people went into the Bālā-i-ḥiṣār, and plundered and destroyed innumerable things belonging to the *ḥaram*, and they made settlement³ for them in Mirzā Kāmran's court (*sarkār*). He put the great begams into Mirzā 'Askarī's house and there he shut up a room with bricks and plaster and (?) dung-cakes, and they used to give the ladies water and food from over the four walls.⁴

In what was once Mirzā Yādgār-nāṣir's house he put Khwāja Mu'azzam⁵ and ordered his own wives and family to stay in the palace where the royal *ḥaram* and the begams once lived. He behaved very ill indeed to the wives and families of the officers who had left him for the Emperor, ransacking and plundering all their houses and putting each family into somebody's custody.⁶

When the Emperor heard that Mirzā Kāmran had come from Bhakkar and was acting in this way, he returned from Qila'-i-zafar and Andar-āb safe and sound to Kābul. Qila'-i-zafar he gave to Mirzā Sulaimān. (68a)

¹ Brother of Māham Begam.

² Probably the servant sent with gifts by Bābar from Agra to Kābul. The name looks like that of an Abyssinian. Is it 'new in work,' and a sobriquet given in youth and retained?

³ *zabt wa rabt*. Is this an indication of Gul-badan's opinion that Kāmran profited by the robbery of his relations? His cruelties at this time make theft look innocent. (B. & H., II. 336 *et seq.*)

⁴ The translation of this passage is doubtful.

⁵ An undue honour, perhaps prompted by the khwāja's disgrace with Humāyūn.

⁶ Probably for the exploitation so often named in the histories.

foot¹ dresses were bestowed. Peasants and preachers, the pious, the poor and the needy, noble and plebeian, low and high,—everybody lived in peace and comfort, passing the days in amusement and the nights in talk.

Then the Emperor went to Fort Victory (Qila'-i-zafar).² In it was Mīrzā Sulaimān, who came out to fight but could not stand face to face with his Majesty and so decided to run away. The Emperor then entered the fort safe and sound. Then he went to Kishm, where, after a little while, an illness attacked his blessed frame and he slept day and night.³ When he came to his senses, he sent Mun'im Khān's brother, Faḏā'il Beg, to Kābul, and said: 'Go! comfort and reassure the people of Kābul. Set them at ease in various ways.⁴ Let them not quarrel. Say: "It began ill, but has ended well."' (67a)

When Faḏā'il Beg had gone, he (Humāyūn) went one day nearer Kābul.⁵

False news having been sent to Mīrzā Kāmran in Bhakkar, he set out post-haste for Kābul. In Ghaznī he killed Zāhid Beg⁶ and then came on. It was morning; the Kābulīs were off their guard; the gates had been opened in the old way, and water-carriers and grass-cutters were going in and out, and the mīrzā passed into the fort with all

¹ Perhaps there is expressed here a difference of degree of honour in the *khī'lat* and *sar-u-pāī*.

² Sulaimān had not made submission to Humāyūn,—hence this expedition to Badakhshān.

³ He is said to have been insensible for four days. He was nursed by Māh-chūchak and Bibī Fātima, an armed woman (*ordū-beḡī*) of the *haram*. She was, it would seem, mother of Zuhra *āghā*, the wife of Khwāja Mu'azzam, and to save whose life Akbar nearly lost his own. (Elliot, V. 292; B. & H., II. 330 *et seq.*)

⁴ (?) As to his health, and their own safety from Kāmran's return, and the continuance of the situation as he had left it. The illness and convalescence lasted at least two months. He fell ill in Shāhdān, between Kishm and Qila'-i-zafar, and Qarācha Khān, his *vazīr*, behaved with decision and good sense, so that Humāyūn's authority was upheld.

⁵ Doubtful translation. Humāyūn is elsewhere said to have gone to Qila'-i-zafar to recruit, and Faḏā'il to have arrived in Kābul a few hours after the first news there of the illness. Perhaps one of these occurrences is behind this obscure statement.

⁶ Husband of Bega Begam's sister.

been wounded and killed at Chauṣa and Kanauj, or Bhakkar, or who were in the royal service during those intermissions,¹ he gave pension, and rations, and water, and land, and servants. In the days of his Majesty's good fortune, great tranquillity and happiness befell soldiers and peasants. They lived without care, and put up many an ardent prayer for his long life. (66a)

A few days later he sent persons to bring Hamīda-bānū Bogam from Qandahār. When she arrived, they celebrated the feast of the circumcision of the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar. Preparations were made, and after the New Year² they kept splendid festivity for seventeen days. People dressed in green,³ and thirty or forty girls were ordered to wear green and come out to the hills. On the first day of the New Year they went out to the Hill of the Seven Brothers and there passed many days in ease and enjoyment and happiness. The Emperor Muḥammad Akbar was five years old when they made the circumcision feast in Kābul. They gave it in that same large Audience Hall Garden.⁴ They decorated all the bāzārs. Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Yādgar-nāṣir, and the sultāns and amīrs, decorated their quarters beautifully, and in Boga Bogam's garden the begams and ladies made theirs quite wonderful in a new fashion.

All the sultāns and amīrs brought gifts to the Audience Hall Garden. (66b) There were many elegant festivities and grand entertainments, and costly *khilats* and head-to-

¹ Text, *faṭrathū*. The begam writes this word sometimes with a *tā* and sometimes with a *to'e*.

² *i.e.*, Persian era. Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad places the date of entry into Kābul by Humāyūn on Ramzān 10th, 953H., and says Akbar was then four years, two months and five days old. 'Some place the event in the year 952H., but God knows the truth.' It is strange that there should be doubt about a historical event occurring not more than fifty years before this resigned statement was made. Abū'l-faẓl gives Ramzān 12th, 952H. (November 17th, 1545), as the date of entry, which would fix the feast for March, 1546, when Akbar was three years and five months old. (Born October 15th, 1542.)

³ Probably in honour of the spring season.

⁴ This is the garden where the ladies rejoiced after the victory at Pānīpat. (10b) Hence, perhaps, the use of the word 'same.'