

who planned to go to Tatta and Bhakkar. In Khizr Khān Hazāra's country, which lies on the way to Bhakkar, he married Habība Begam to Āq Sultān and entrusted her to him, while he himself went on.

The victorious Emperor dismounted in triumph in the Bālā-i-hisār when five hours of the night of Ramzān 12th had passed,—prosperously and with safety and good luck.¹ All those followers of Mīrzā Kāmīrān who had been promoted to the royal service, entered Kābul with drums beating (November, 1545).

On the 12th of the same month, her Highness my mother, Dil-dār Begam, and Gul-chihra Begam, and this lowly person paid our duty to the Emperor. For five years we had been shut out and cut off from this pleasure, so now when we were freed from the moil and pain of separation, we were lifted up by our happiness in meeting this Lord of beneficence again. Merely to look at him eased the sorrow-stricken heart and purged the blear-eyed vision. (65b) Again and again we joyfully made the prostration of thanks. There were many festive gatherings, and people sat from evening to dawn, and players and singers made continuous music. Many amusing games, full of fun, were played. Amongst them was this: Twelve players had each twenty cards and twenty *shāhrukhīs*. Whoever lost, lost those twenty *shāhrukhīs*, which would make five *misqāls*.² Each player gave the winner his twenty *shāhrukhīs* to add to his own.³

To widows and orphans, and kinsfolk of men who had

¹ The hour was probably fixed by astrological counsel. Abū'l-fazl, who may follow the begam's statement, says that the entry took place on the 12th; other writers name the 10th. The only reason for dwelling on the point is the agreement of Abū'l-fazl and Gul-badan.

² One *shāhrukhī* was about ten pence. Four *shāhrukhīs* made one *misqāl*.

³ Mr. Erskine says that the earliest mention of cards as made known to him by an Oriental writer is when Bābar sends some to Shāh Husain *Arghūn* who was 'very fond' of them, by Mīr 'Alī, the armour-bearer, in 933H. (1526-27). No doubt such an easy means of speeding the hours was known to the ladies of Bābar's family as early as to anyone else, and Gul-badan is perhaps merely describing a new game

They advised the Khimār¹ Pass as the best route. On Ramzān 9th, 951H. (the third week of October, 1545), his Majesty ordered a halt in that pass. News of this went to Mīrzā Kāmran on the same day and disturbed him greatly. He had his tents taken out very quickly and encamped in front of the Guzar-gāh.² (64b)

On the 11th of the same month, the Emperor ordered a halt in the valley of (?) Tīpa, and Mīrzā Kāmran³ also came and drew up opposite to fight. Then all his amīrs deserted and were exalted by kissing the royal feet. Even Bāpūs⁴ who was one of his well-known officers, deserted him with all his following and was exalted by kissing the royal feet. The mīrzā was left solitary and alone. 'No one remains near me,' he thought, so he throw down and destroyed the door and the wall of the house of Bāpūs⁵ which was near, and went softly, softly past the New Year's Garden and the tomb of Gul-rukh Begam,⁶ dismissed his 12,000 troopers, and went off.

When it was dark, he went on in the same direction to Bābā Dashti,⁷ and halted near a piece of water, and sent back Dostī kūka and Jūki kūka to fetch his eldest daughter Habība, and his son Ibrāhīm Sulṭān Mīrzā, and Hazāra Begam⁸ who was the brother's child of Khizr Khān (Hazāra), and Māh Begam⁹ who was sister of Hāram (Khurram) Begam, and Māh-afroz, mother of Hājī Begam,¹⁰ and Bāqī kūka.¹¹ (65a) This party went with the mīrzā,

¹ (?) *himār*, the Ass's Pass.

² (?) The Ferry Garden, or perhaps Bābar's burial-place.

³ Not in person, I believe. His troops were under Qāsim *Barlās*.

⁴ Governor (*atalāq*) of Yasīn-daulat (Āq Sulṭān), the betrothed husband of Habība.

⁵ Mr. Erskine says that Kāmran escaped by a breach opened in a wall. He went by way of Bīnī-ḥiṣār to Ghaznī, where 'Askarī still was.

⁶ (?) His mother.

⁷ The Desert Father; perhaps a shrine in a lonely spot. (*Cf.* Khwāja Khizr, *infra*, 70b.)

⁸ A wife. ⁹ Probably a wife.

¹⁰ Brevet rank at this time. She made one pilgrimage in 983H. (1576). She may, however, have gone earlier with her blinded father, but not so early as 1545.

¹¹ (?) The elder brother of Adham and son of Māham *anaga*. Māham *anaga* would be in Kābul now.

he had never made a hostile raid,¹ and now, all at once, when he heard of his Majesty's approach, desire to break forth (? hunt) seized him, and he went into the Hazāra country.² (63b)

Mīrzā Hindāl, who had chosen the darvish's corner (in Kābul), now heard of the Emperor's return from 'Irāq and Khurāsān, and of his success in Qandahār. He saw his chance, and sent for Mīrzā Yādgār-nāşir, and said: 'The Emperor has come to Qandahār, and has been victorious. Mīrzā Kāmran sent Khānzāda Begam to sue for peace, but the Emperor did not agree to his sort of peace. The Emperor sent Bairām Khān as his envoy, and Mīrzā Kāmran did not agree to what he proposed. Now the Emperor has given Qandahār to Bairām Khān and has set out for Kābul. Come now, let us, you and I, plan and agree together, and scheme how to betake ourselves to his Majesty.' Mīrzā Yādgār-nāşir agreed, and the two made their plan and compact. Mīrzā Hindāl said: 'You make up your mind to run away and when Mīrzā Kāmran hears of it, he will certainly say to me: "Mīrzā Yādgār-nāşir has gone off; go and persuade him to come back with you."' (64a) You go slowly, slowly on till I come. Then we will go as quickly as we can and pay our respects to the Emperor.'

Having so settled it, Mīrzā Yādgār-nāşir ran away. The news went to Mīrzā Kāmran, who came back at once to Kābul and sent for Mīrzā Hindāl and said: 'Go and persuade Mīrzā Yādgār-nāşir to come back.' Mīrzā Hindāl mounted at once, and joined Mīrzā Yādgār-nāşir with all speed. Then they travelled post-haste for five or six days, when they were honoured by paying their duty to the Emperor.

¹ *tākht raftan*. I do not know what the begam wishes to say. Kāmran had made hostile raids to Badakhshān and against the Hazāras. One might read 'hunting expedition.'

² He had a Hazāra wife. Perhaps the passage about Kāmran's hostile raid or hunting is merely an introduction to Hindāl's plan of escape. (Cf. B. & H., II. 314, 315, for this story.)

When Mīrzā Kāmran was sure that the Emperor was approaching Qandahār, he went to Dearest Lady and cried, and was very humble, and said with countless pains:¹ 'Go you (May your journey be safe!) to Qandahār to the Emperor and make peace between us.'

When she left (Kābul) she made over the Emperor Akbar to Mīrzā Kāmran, who gave him into the care of (Muhtarīma) Khānam. Then she travelled as fast as possible to Qandahār. The Emperor besieged Mīrzā Kāmran² and Mīrzā 'Askarī for forty days in the city, and he sent Bairām Khān on an embassy to Mīrzā Kāmran.³ (63a) Mīrzā 'Askarī grew dejected and humble, admitted his offences, and came out and paid his duty to the Emperor, who then took possession of Qandahār (September 4th, 1545). He bestowed it upon the son of the Shāh, who in a few days fell ill and died.⁴ When Bairām Khān⁵ arrived, it was given into his charge.

The Emperor left Hamīda-bānū Begam in Qandahār and set out after Mīrzā Kāmran. Dearest Lady, Khānzāda Begam, went with him, and at Qabal-chak⁶ she had three days of fever. The doctors' remedies were of no avail, and on the fourth day of her illness she passed to the mercy of God. At first she was buried at Qabal-chak, but three months later her body was brought to Kābul and laid in the burial-place of my royal father.⁷

During several years that Mīrzā Kāmran was in Kābul,

¹ of persuasion.

² The context shows that this is wrong, and so do the histories.

³ Bairām saw Akbar in Kābul, and also Hindāl, Sulaimān, Hāram, Ibrāhīm and Yādgār-nāshir, all under surveillance. The embassy reached Kābul before Khānzādā left, and she travelled with Bairām on his return to Humāyūn.

⁴ He was an infant.

⁵ The begam's chronology is faulty here. Bairām had returned before the capitulation.

⁶ For location of this place cf. *Akbarnāma* H. B., I. 477 n.. It seems to have been in the mountain district of Tīrī, between the basins of the Halmand and the Arghand-āb.

⁷ Khānzāda, Mahdī (her husband) and Abū'l-ma'ālī are buried in the same spot.

as a brother.' Then the two sovereigns again became of one mind, and made clean heart to one another.

The two wrong-doers were excluded from the presence, and were made over to the Shāh, who, when opportunity occurred, got possession of those rubies,¹ and, as to the men, ordered: 'Let them be kept in custody.'²

His Majesty's time in 'Irāq was (now) spent happily. In various ways the Shāh showed good feeling, and every day sent presents of rare and strange things. (62a)

At length the Shāh despatched his own son and khāns and sultans and amīrs with his Majesty to help him, together with good arms and tents, folding and audience tents; and *chatr* and *tāq* and *shamiāna*, excellently wrought, and all sorts of the things necessary and fit for a king, from the mattress-warehouse and the treasury and the workshops and kitchen and buttery. In a propitious hour those two mighty sovereigns bade one another farewell, and his Majesty left that country for Qandahār.³

At the time of his departure, he asked pardon from the Shāh for the offence of those two faithless ones (Khwāja Ghāzī and Raushan *kūka*), and, having himself forgiven them, took them with him to Qandahār.

When Mīrzā 'Askarī heard (1545) that he was on his way from Khurāsān and approaching Qandahār, he sent the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar to Mīrzā Kāmran in Kābul, who gave him into the care of Dearest Lady, Khānzāda Begam, and our paternal aunt. (62b) He was two and a half years old when she received him into her charge. She was very fond of him, and used to kiss his hands and feet, and say: 'They are the very hands and feet of my brother the Emperor Bābar, and he is like him altogether.'⁴

¹ (?) those already bartered away.

² They were, it would seem, let down by tent-ropes into the celebrated underground prison of Sulaimān's *Diwān*. (Jauhar, Stewart, 72.)

³ Humāyūn again indulged his love of travel and sights, and delayed so long in Persian territory that the Shāh, coming unexpectedly upon him, angrily turned him off without ceremony.

⁴ The child was just over three. It was now that he and Bakhshī-bānū travelled together to Kābul in the snow.

puts under his head or his arm.' Khwāja Mu'azzam saw the meaning of this, and made up his mind for certain that the rubies were with Khwāja Ghāzī, and were kept in his high cap. He came and represented to his Majesty: 'I have found trace of those rubies in Khwāja Ghāzī's high cap. In some way I will steal them from him. (61a) If he should come to your Majesty and seek redress against me, let your Majesty say nothing to me.' The Emperor listened, and smiled.

Khwāja Mu'azzam then repeatedly played off tricks and little jokes and pleasantries on Khwāja Ghāzī, who came and set it forth to the Emperor. 'I am a lowly man,' said he, '(?but) I have a name and a position. What does the boy Khwāja Mu'azzam mean by playing off these tricks and jokes, and making fun of me in this foreign land, and insulting me?' His Majesty said: 'On whom does he not? He is young. It often comes into his head to do terrifying and ill-bred things. Do not take it to heart. He is only a boy.'

Another day, when Khwāja Ghāzī was seated in the reception-room, Khwāja Mu'azzam, pretending an accident, filched his cap from his head. Then he took out the matchless rubies, and laid them before his Majesty and Hamīda-bānū Begam. His Majesty smiled, and the begam was delighted, and said, 'Bravo!' and 'Mercy be upon you.' (61b)

Khwāja Ghāzī and Raushan *kūka*, in shame at their deed, made secret communications to the Shāh, and carried their talk so far that his heart was troubled. His Majesty saw that the Shāh's intimacy and confidence were not what they had been, and at once sent some of whatever rubies and other jewels¹ he possessed as a gift to him, who then said: 'Khwāja Ghāzī and Raushan *kūka* are in fault; they turned my heart from you, and truly I used to regard you

¹ It was now that Humāyūn gave to the Shāh the 'diamond which had been obtained from Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's treasury,' *i.e.*, the *Koh-i-nūr*. (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1899, art. 'Bābar's Diamond,' H. Beveridge.)

from its lightness in her hand that it had lost weight, and said so. (60a) The Emperor asked: 'How is this? Except you and me, no one knows about them. What can have happened? Who has taken them?' He was astonished.

The begam said to her brother, Khwāja Mu'azzam: 'So and so has happened. If at this pinch you will act the brother to me and will make inquiry in some way quietly, you will save me from what one may call disgrace. Otherwise, as long as I live, I shall be ashamed in the royal presence.'

Khwāja Mu'azzam said: 'One thing occurs to me! I, who am so closely connected with his Majesty, have not the means to buy even a poor pony,¹ but Khwāja Ghāzī and Raushan *kūka*² have each bought themselves a *tipūchāq* horse. They have not paid the money for them yet. This purchase is not without a ray of hope.'

The begam answered: 'O brother! now is the time for brotherliness! That transaction must certainly be looked into.' Khwāja Mu'azzam answered: 'O elder moon-sister!³ tell no one about it. Heaven willing, I have hope that the right will be righted.' (60b)

He went out, and inquired at the house of the horse-dealers: 'For what price did you sell those horses? When is the money promised? What security has been given for the payment?' The dealers answered: 'Both men promised us rubies, and took the horses.'

From them he went to the khwāja's servant, and said: 'Where is the khwāja's wallet, with his honorary dress and his clothes?⁴ Where does he keep it?' The servant answered: 'My khwāja has no wallet and no clothes. He has one high cap which, when he goes to sleep, he

¹ Text, *tātū*.

² Jauhar states that amongst other disaffected persons these two men, and a third, Sultān Muḥammad, the spearman (*nazabāz*), had just returned from Makka, and were of Kāmran's party. Gul-badan makes it seem probable that Jauhar's statements apply only to Sultān Muḥammad. (Cf. list of companions of Humāyūn on his journey, 55b.)

³ *māh chīcham*. Cf. 18b n..

⁴ *nārī wa parī*.

dūstān. When a thing is found in two *dāng*, it is clear it will be found better in four.'

Shāh Sultānam said also, in reply to her own paternal aunt, and in confirmation of the begam's words: 'Aunt, it is strange that you ask, "Where are two *dāng*? where are four *dāng*?" It is clear anything would be found better and more wonderful (in four than in two).'

They passed the whole day very well in sociable festivity. At the time of eating, all the amīrs' wives stood and served, and the Shāh's ladies placed¹ food before Shāhzāda Sultānam.

Moreover, they were hospitable² with all sorts of stuffs, embroidered and others, to Hamīda-bānū Begam, as was incumbent and fitting. The Shāh went on in advance³ and was in his Majesty's quarters till the prayer before sleep. (5*b*) When he heard that Hamīda-bānū Begam had arrived, he rose from the presence and went home. To such a height of pleasantness and kindness was he amiable!

Raushan *kāka*, spite of his former fidelity and services, was now faithless, in that foreign and perilous country, about some valuable rubies. These used to be kept in the Emperor's amulet-case (*tumār*⁴), and of this he and the begam knew and no one else. If he went away anywhere, he used to give the amulet-case into her charge. One day she was going to wash her head, so she bundled the case up in a handkerchief, and put it on the Emperor's bed. Raushan *kāka* thought this a good chance to steal five rubies. Then he agreed with Khwāja Ghāzī, and trusted them to him, meaning by-and-by to barter them away.

When the begam came back from washing her head, the Emperor gave her the amulet-case, and she at once knew

¹ *māndand*, used transitively; also at 4*a*.

² *mihmūnī kardand*. (?) In the way of gifts, or perhaps by lavish decoration.

³ *i.e.*, from the place of entertainment to the town.

⁴ Also *tūmūr*, an amulet-case of gold or silver suspended on the neck

behind her brother. His Majesty said (to Hamīda-bānū): 'There was a woman riding behind the Shāh at the hunt. She stood with her reins held by a white-bearded man. People told me it was Shāhzāda Sultānam, the Shāh's sister.' (58*b*) In short, the Shāh showed the Emperor much hospitality and courtesy, and laid a charge (on his sister) to show motherly and sisterly hospitality and sympathy (to Hamīda-bānū Begam).¹

One day, when Shāhzāda Sultānam had entertained the begam, the Shāh said to her: 'When (next) you offer hospitality, let it be arranged outside the city.' It was on a beautiful plain, rather more than four miles out, that they pitched tents (*khaima*) and folding-tents (*khirya*) and an audience-tent (*bāryā*), and also set up *chatr*² and *tāq*.³

In Khurāsān and those parts they use enclosing screens (*sarāparda*), but they do not put them at the back. The Emperor set up an all-round screen after the Hindū fashion (*hindūāna*). Having pitched the tents, the Shāh's people put coloured chicks (*cheghhā*) all round. His kinswomen and his paternal aunt were there, and his sisters and the ladies of his *haram*, and the wives of the khāns and sultāns and amīrs, about 1,000 women in all splendour and adornment.

That day Shāhzāda Sultānam asked Hamīda-bānū Begam: (59*a*) 'Are such *chatr* and *tāq* met with in Hindūstan?' The begam answered: 'They say two *dāng*⁴ with respect to Khurāsān, and four *dāng* with respect to Hin-

¹ An obscure passage in the text, and conjectural only in translation. The Persian words I have rendered 'motherly and sisterly' are *mūdarāna wa khwāharāna*. On this same page occurs *hindūāna*; at 43*b*, *nikāhāna*, and at 62*a*, *pādshāhāna*.

² (?) umbrella-shaped tents.

³ round-topped tents or balconies, or arched erections.

⁴ or *dīnak*. Hazzarding a guess, the meaning 'quarter of the world' seems fittest to select from the several of *dāng* or *dīnak*. Others conceivably applicable are 'a small grain' (*anglice*, peppercorn in this connection), and the sixth of anything (*anglice*, the colloquial 'fraction'). Doubtless my difficulty is none to those experienced in colloquial Persian.

Hamīda's ready use of a colloquial phrase to express that the reputedly greater contains the less is neat and diplomatic.

nobles and grandees, low and high, great and small. All came to the Halmand to meet the Emperor.¹

The Shāh sent all his brothers to meet his Majesty,— Bahrām Mīrzā, and Alqās Mīrzā, and Sām Mīrzā. All came and embraced him, and escorted him with full honour and respect. As they drew near (the Shāh) his brothers sent him word, and he also came riding to meet the Emperor. They embraced. (58a) The friendship and concord of those two high-placed pāshas was as close as two nut-kernels in one shell.² Great unanimity and good feeling ensued, so that during his Majesty's stay in that country, the Shāh often went to his quarters, and on days when he did not, the Emperor went to his.

In Khurāsān³ his Majesty visited all the gardens and the flower-gardens, and the splendid buildings put up by Sultān Husain Mīrzā, and the grand structures of olden days.

There was hunting eight times while he was in 'Irāq, and each time trouble was taken for him also. Hamīda-bānū Begam used to enjoy the sight from a distance in either a camel or a horse litter. Shāhzāda Sultānam,⁴ the Shāh's sister, used to ride on horseback, and take her stand

¹ He had crossed the river without receiving invitation or permission, because of Kāmārūn's threatened approach. The incidents of Humāyūn's visit to Persia are very entertaining. (B. & H., II. 275 *et seq.*)

² A figure of speech too compact to leave room for the facts. The intercourse of the pāshas was dramatic with human passion and foible. Much of the story would be distasteful to Gul-badan's family pride and vexatious to her orthodoxy.

³ Not only in Khurāsān but on and off the route to Tahmāsp's summer quarters where the pāshas met, did Humāyūn visit noteworthy places. He saw Harāt as his father had done, and later his devious journey took him to Jām, where he saw the shrine of his own and of Hamīda's ancestor, the 'Terrible Elephant, Almad. He visited the tomb of the Founder of the Safī dynasty at Ardabīl, and the date of his visit (1544) makes it probable that he trod that 'Holy Carpet' of Ardabīl which had been woven in 1540 for the shrine and which now attracts our respectful admiration in the Oriental Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum (S. K. M.).

⁴ This lady afforded Humāyūn vital assistance in Persia, and even pleaded for his life when it was in the balance. She was highly esteemed by Tahmāsp, and had influence in state affairs.

or rather for one hair of it. (57a) Go where you wish. God protect you! Mirzā 'Askarī may do what he likes.' The Emperor gave him a ruby and a pearl and some other things.

At dawn he marched to honour Fort Bābā Hājī¹ by a visit. He reached it in two days. It belongs to the Garm-sir,² and lies on the river (Halmand). There are many sayyids there, and they waited on the Emperor and showed him hospitality.

Next morning Khwāja 'Alāwalu-d-dīn (Jalālu-d-dīn) Maḥmūd,³ having left Mirzā 'Askarī, came with an offering of a string of mules, and one of horses and tents, etc., whatever he had. Once more the royal heart was at ease. Hājī Muḥammad Khān *kūkī*⁴ brought thirty or forty troopers and offered a string of mules.

Being helpless because of the disunion of his brothers⁵ and the desertion of his amīrs, it now seemed best to the Emperor,—with reliance on the Causer of causes,—to decide upon going to Khurāsān.⁶ (57b)

After many stages and a journey of many days, he came to parts adjacent to Khurāsān. When Shāh Tahmās (*sic*) heard that he had reached the Halmand, he remained sunk in wonder and thought, and said: 'The Emperor Humāyūn has come to our frontier by the perfidious revolution of the firmament,—the firmament unpropitious and crooked of gait! The Lord, whose existence is necessary, has led him here!'

He sent all sorts of people to give honourable reception,

¹ Fort of the Pilgrim Father.

² *i.e.*, a warm climate, a winter habitation in low ground, and cultivated fields.

³ He was a revenue-collector of the mīrzā.

⁴ Son of Bābā Qūshka, an intimate of Bābar.

⁵ Kāmran was master of Kābul and Ghazni, Qandahār, Khutlān and Badakhshān. 'Askarī was attached to his full-brother's fortunes, and Hindāl was a prisoner in Kābul. Shīr Shāh ruled Bābar's Indian Empire, and Shāh Husain was in Sind. Certainly there seemed no 'crack' to hold Humāyūn. The date is December, 1543.

⁶ *i.e.*, on his way to Persia proper. Humāyūn's messenger to the Shāh was Chupī Bahādur. (55a and n.)

They grew very hungry and feeble. (56a) The Emperor gave orders to kill a horse. There was no cooking-pot, so they boiled some of the flesh in a helmet, and some they roasted. They made fires on all four sides, and with his own blessed hand the Emperor roasted some meat which he ate. He used to say: 'My very head was frozen by the intense cold.'

Morning came at last, and he pointed to another mountain, and said: 'There are people on that; there will be many Bilūchis there; and there we must go.' On they went, and reached the place in two days. They saw a few houses near them, and a few savage Bilūchis whose speech is the tongue of the ghouls of the waste.

The Emperor halted on the skirt of the mountain. There were about thirty people with him. The Bilūchis saw him, and collected and came near. He had settled comfortably in his tent, so they knew from far off that he was halting. They said to one another: 'If we seize these people and take them to Mīrzā 'Askarī, he will certainly give us their arms, and many gifts besides.' (56b)

Ḥasan 'Alī, the chamberlain, had a Bilūchi wife who understood what the ghouls of the waste were saying, and who made it known that they meant mischief. Early in the morning the Emperor thought of marching on, but they said: 'Our chief is not here. When he comes, you shall go.' Besides this, the time had become unsuitable, and so the whole night was spent there in strict watchfulness.

Part of the night had gone when the chief arrived. He waited on the Emperor, and said: 'A *farmān* has come from Mīrzā Kāmran and Mīrzā 'Askarī, in which it is written: "It is reported that the Emperor may visit your dwellings. If he does, beware!—a thousand times beware!—of letting him go. Seize him and bring him to us. You can keep his goods and horses. Take him to Qandahār." As I had not seen your Majesty, I at first had this evil thought, but now I will sacrifice my life and the lives of my family, I have five or six sons, for your Majesty's head,

came in. Then he took possession of the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar, and gave him in charge to his wife Sulṭānam,¹ who showed him much kindness and affection. He made all the royal followers march, saying: 'Go to Qandahār.'

His Majesty, when he left, took the road to the mountains. He went eight miles, and then travelled as fast as possible.² (55b) He had with him Bairām Khān, Khwāja Mu'azzam, Khwāja Nāzī, Nadīm *kūka*³ and Raushan *kūka*, and Hājī Muḥammad Khān, and Bābā-dost the paymaster, and Mīrzā Qulī Beg *chūlī*,⁴ and Haidar Muḥammad the master of the horse, and Shaikh Yūsuf *chūlī*, and Ibrāhīm the chamberlain, and Hasan 'Alī, the chamberlain, and Ya'qūb the keeper of the armoury, and 'Ambar the superintendent and the royal agent (*mulk-mukhtār*), and Sambal captain of a thousand, and Khwāja Kasak.⁵

Khwāja Ghazī says:⁶ 'I also was in attendance.' This company went with the Emperor, and Hamīda-bānū Begam says,⁶ 'There were as many as thirty people,' and that of women there was, besides herself, the wife of Hasan 'Alī, the chamberlain.

The prayer before sleep had passed before they reached the foot of the mountains. The snow lay deep, so there was no road to go up by. Their minds were full of anxiety lest that unjust creature, Mīrzā 'Askarī, should follow them. At last they found a way up, and climbed it in some sort of fashion. They were all night in the snow, and (at first) there was neither wood for fire nor food to eat.

¹ I believe she was in Qandahār, and that she received the child on his arrival there.

² Perhaps he rode four kos, and then, having waited for Hamīda, hurried on.

³ His wife, Māham *anaga*, remained behind with Akbar. With Akbar was also *Atha* Khān (Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad) and his wife, Jī-jī *anaga*.

⁴ Humāyun's sobriquet for those who went to Persia with him; from *chūl*, a desert. Others in this list might claim it.

⁵ Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad puts the number of the party at twenty-two.

⁶ The tense used suggests conference and talking over. Jauhar says that Khwāja Ghazī joined Humāyun in Persia from Makka. This looks like a contradiction of Jauhar.

but if not, it will be clear to your Majesty that nothing is to be gained by going. 'You have few followers. What, then, will happen?'

Kasak came and reported this. The Emperor was stupefied and bewildered, and said: 'What is to be done? Where am I to go?' They all consulted together. (54b) Tardī Muḥammad Khān and Bairām Khān gave it as their opinion that it was impossible to decide to go anywhere but to the north and Shal-mastān,¹ the frontier of Qandahār. 'There are many Afghans in those parts,' they said, 'whom we shall draw over to our side. Mīrzā 'Askarī's people, too, will join us.'

Having settled it in this way, they recited the *fātiḥa* and went, march by march, for Qandahār. Near Shal-mastān they halted in a village named Ranī (? Raḥī), but as it had snowed and rained, and was extremely cold, they determined to go on to Shal-mastān. At afternoon prayer-time an Uzbek youth, mounted on a sorry and tired-out pony, came in, and cried out: 'Mount, your Majesty! I will explain on the way; time presses. There is no time to talk.'² The Emperor mounted the very hour the alarm was given, and went off.

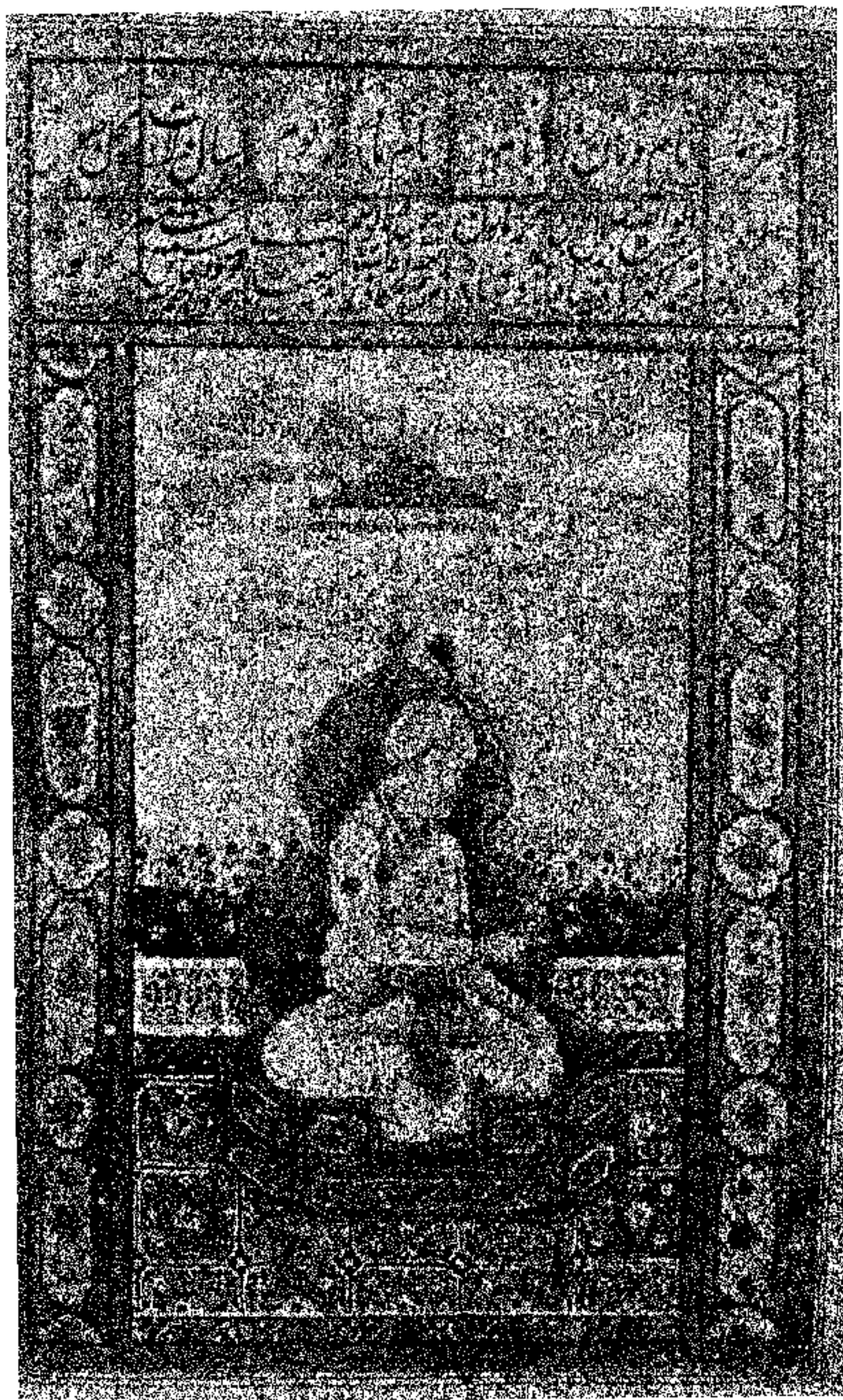
He went two arrows' flight, and then sent Khwāja Mu'azzam and Bairām Khān to fetch Jamīda-bānū Begam. (55a) They went and mounted her, but there was not a chink of time in which to take the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar. Just when the begam left the camp to join his Majesty, Mīrzā 'Askarī came up with 2,000 troopers. There was an outcry, and when he heard it, he entered the camp³ and asked: 'Where is the Emperor?' People said: 'He went hunting long ago.' So the mīrzā knew that his Majesty had gone away just as he himself

¹ Approximately Quetta. The route seems to have been over the Bolan.

² The youth was Chupī Bahādūr, a former servant of Humāyūn.

Gul-badan's story differs in some details from that told by other writers.

³ Late in 950H. (1543). The little Akbar reached Qandahār on December 15th, 1543.



THE EMPEROR ANBAR
(ARSH-ĪSHYĀNĪ).

[To face p. 164.]

tie of father and son¹ between you and Allāh-dost, write and ask him in what way Mīrzā Kāmran stands towards me, and what he will do if I go into his neighbourhood.' (53b) He also gave this order to Khwāja Kasak: 'Go to Siwī, and ask Mīr Allāh-dost whether he thinks it advisable for me to come to Kābul.' The khwāja set out, and the Emperor said: 'We will not march till you have returned.'

When the khwāja came near Siwī, Mahmūd, the head-camel-driver, caught him, and asked: 'Why are you here?' 'To buy horses and camels,' he answered. Mahmūd ordered: 'Feel under his arm and search his cap. Heaven forbid that he should have brought a letter to win over Allāh-dost and Babā Jūjuk.' They searched, and brought out the letter from under his arm. He had no chance to twist it into a fold.' Mahmūd took it and read it, and, not letting the khwāja go, forthwith conveyed Allāh-dost and Babā Jūjuk into the fort, and with various roughnesses made them swear: 'We had no knowledge of his coming here.' (54a) (?) He has taken the initiative;² and 'Khwāja Ghazī is related to us and he was with Mīrzā Kāmran,' and this is why he has written.' Mahmūd decided to send all three to Shāh Husain, and Mīr Allāh-dost and Babā Jūjuk spent the whole night smoothing him down and entreating him, and in the end they were set free.

Mīr Allāh-dost sent 3,000³ pomegranates and 100 quinees for his Majesty's use, and wrote no letter, because he was afraid it might fall into the wrong hands. By word of mouth he sent to say: 'If a letter should come from Mīrzā Askarī or the amīrs, it would not be bad to go to Kābul;

¹ Probably a spiritual relationship; that of religious teacher and disciple.

² (?) to toss it secretly into a corner.

³ *sabq khawānda ast.* 'Perhaps Kasak as a pupil has said his lessons to us,' i.e., to Allāh-dost.

⁴ He had been Kāmran's *diwān* up to the time when the royal family left Lāhōr, and he joined Humāyūn when the brothers parted for Sind and for Kābul.

⁵ Text, *sīstād*, but perhaps only 500 should be read.

At length the Emperor went on board boats, with kinsfolk and family, army and the rest, and travelled for three days on the great river. At the frontier of Shāh Husain Mīrzā's territory is a village called Nuāsī.¹ Here they halted, and his Majesty sent Sultān Qulī, the head-camel-driver, to fetch the camels. Sultān Qulī brought a thousand, all of which his Majesty gave to his amīrs, and soldiers, and others, ordering them to be apportioned.

The camels were such that one might say they had not known city, or load, or man for seven, or rather seventy, generations. As horses were few, many people took camels to ride on, and what were left were assigned for the baggage. Every camel which was mounted, at once flung its rider to the ground, and took its way to the jungle. (53a) Every pack-camel, when it heard the sound of horses' feet, jumped and bounded and tossed off its load, and went off and away to the jungle. If a load was fixed so fast that, jump as it would, it could not get it off, it carried it away and ran with it into the jungle. This was the way the Emperor started for Qandahār. Some 200 camels must have gone off like this.

Shāh Husain Mīrzā's head-camel-driver Maḥmūd was in Sīwī (Sībī), and when the Emperor came near, he strengthened the citadel and retired into it. His Majesty came prosperously to within twelve miles' distance. Then word was brought that Mīr Allāh-dost and Bābā Jūjūk² had arrived in Sīwī from Kābul two days earlier, and were going on to (visit) Shāh Husain Mīrzā. By them Mīrzā Kāmran had sent a dress of honour, and *tipāchāq* horses, and much fruit, and they were to ask for Mīrzā Shāh Husain's daughter.³

The Emperor said to Khwāja Ghāzī: 'As there is the

¹ Runāi, B. & H., II. 262. The text is clear.

² Both these names may be sobriquets. Abu'l-fazl names Shaikh 'Abdu-l-wahab as Allāh-dost's companion. (A. N., *Bib. Ind.* ed. I. 189 *et seq.*)

Jūjūk is perhaps the Tūrki 'sweet-savoured,' and an epithet of 'Abdu-l-wahab, a lawyer with persuasive tongue.

³ The daughter has already been named as promised.



HYMN OF PRAISE FOR AKBAR'S BIRTH.

Of especial interest are the faces of the open-mouthed singers. Hamida-bānū is probably the featureless person on the estrade.

[To face p. 162.]

months. At last he settled it in this way: 'Very well! the Emperor is now far away. . Read the *khutba* in my name and when he comes back, read it in his.' As the siege had drawn out to great length, and people had gradually come to cruel straits, there was no help for it; the *khutba* was read. (52a) He gave Qandahār to Mīrzā Askarī and promised Ghaznīn to Mīrzā Hindāl. When they reached Ghaznīn, he assigned the Lamghānāt and the mountain passes (Tangayhā)¹ to the mīrzā, and all those promises were false.²

Mīrzā Hindāl went off to Badakhshān, and settled down in Khost and Andar-ab. Mīrzā Kāmran said to Dil-dār Begam: 'Go and fetch him.' When she arrived, the mīrzā said: 'I have withdrawn myself from the turmoil of soldiering, and even³ Khost is a hermitage. I have quite settled down.' The begam answered: 'If you intend to lead the darvish-life, even³ Kābul is a hermitage. Live where your family and kinsfolk are. That is the better plan.' Then she made him come, and for awhile he lived as a darvish in Kābul.

About this time, Mīr Shāh Husain sent to the Emperor to say: 'The course favouring fortune is for you to march for Qandahār. That is the better plan.' His Majesty was willing, and replied: 'Horses and camels are scarce in my camp; give me some to travel with to Qandahār.' (52b) Shāh Husain Mīrza agreed, and said: 'There are a thousand camels on the other side of the river, which I will send to you as soon as you have crossed.'

[If words by Khwāja Kasak (? Kīsīk), kinsman of Khwāja Ghāzī, are recorded about the journey from Bhakkar and Sind, they are copied from the writings of the said Khwāja Kasak.⁴]

¹ (?) The *Tangī* of Rudyard Kipling.

² The *Tārīkh-i-badāyunī* states that Ghaznīn was given to Hindāl and then taken away, and Mr. Erskine comments on this as probably untrue. (B. & H., II. 265 n.) Gul-badan here supports 'Abdu-l-qadīr.

³ 'as good as any other place' is perhaps the import of the *ham*.

⁴ We surmise that this is a gloss of Gul-badan, who has copied from a diary or writings of Khwāja Kasak. This name may be the *Tūrki kīsīk*, a guard, a sentinel. No Persian word seems appropriate.

me the honour of going to Qandahār and advising Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Kāmran. (51a) Tell them that the Uzbeks and the Turkmāns are near them, and that the best plan is to be friends amongst themselves. If Mīrzā Kāmran will agree to carry out what I have written to him, I will do what his heart desires.'

Mīrzā Kāmran came to Qandahār four days after the begam's arrival.¹ Day after day he urged: 'Read the *khutba* in my name'; and again and again Mīrzā Hindāl said: 'In his life-time his Majesty *Firdaus-makānī* gave his throne to the Emperor Humāyūn and named him his successor. We all agreed to this, and up till now have read the *khutba* in his name. There is no way of changing the *khutba*.'² Mīrzā Kāmran wrote to her Highness, Dil-dār Begam:³ 'I have come from Kābul with you in mind. It is strange that you should not once have come to see me. (51b) Be a mother to me as you are to Mīrzā Hindāl.' At last Dil-dār Begam went to see him, and he said: 'Now I shall not let you go till you send for Mīrzā Hindāl.' Dil-dār Begam said: 'Khānzāda Begam is your elder kinswoman, and oldest and highest of you all. Ask her the truth about the *khutba*.' So then he spoke to *Āka*. Her Highness Khānzāda Begam answered: 'If you ask me! well! as his Majesty *Firdaus-makānī* decided it and gave his throne to the Emperor Humāyūn, and as you, all of you, have read the *khutba* in his name till now, so now regard him as your superior and remain in obedience to him.'

To cut the matter short, Mīrzā Kāmran besieged Qandahār and kept on insisting about the *khutba* for four

historian after Bābar's death,—a singular fact and matched by the similar disappearance of the great Khalīfa. Abū'l-faẓl names his tomb. Cf. App. s.n. Khānzāda.

¹ She had a weary journey from Jūn to Qandahār, and Kāmran had another, but less toilsome, from Kābul. Kāmran kept Hindāl besieged, but there seems to have been a good deal of communication between besiegers and beleaguered.

² Our memory is better than the begam's, and we remember that Hindāl found no difficulty in changing the *khutba* to his own name in Dihlī.

³ She would be probably with her son Hindāl in the fort.



MATCH IN CELEBRATION OF AKBAR'S BIRTH.

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Very few amīrs remained; amongst them were Tardī Muḥammad Khān and Mīrzā Yādgār and Mīrzā Payanda Muḥammad and Muḥammad Walī and Nadīm *kūka* and Raushan *kāka* and Khadang¹ the chamberlain. Then there was word brought: 'Bairām Khān has reached Jājkā (Hāj-kān) on his way from Gujrāt.' The Emperor was delighted, and ordered Khadang and others to give him honourable meeting.

Meantime Shāh Husain Mīrzā had heard of Bairām Khān's coming and sent to capture him. Bairām Khān rashly went into a hollow, and there they fell upon him. (50b) Khadang the chamberlain was killed. Bairām Khān and the rest escaped, and the khān came and paid his respects to the Emperor.

At this time letters arrived (addressed to) Mīrzā Hindāl for his Majesty from Qarācha Khān, saying: 'You have been long near Bhakkar, and during the whole time Shāh Husain Mīrzā has given no sign of good-will but the reverse. By Heaven's grace, an easy way is open, and it is best for the Emperor to come here (to Qandahār). This is really advisable. If he will not come, come you yourself without fail.' As his Majesty's coming was delayed, Qarācha Khān went out and met Mīrzā Hindāl, and made over the town to him (in the autumn of 1541).

Mīrzā 'Askarī was in Ghaznīn, and to him Mīrzā Kāmran wrote: 'Qarācha Khān has given over Qandahār to Mīrzā Hindāl. Qandahār must be considered.' His idea was to take it from Mīrzā Hindāl.

On hearing of these things, his Majesty came to his aunt Khānzāda Begam,² and said with great urgency: 'Pray do

¹ Probably the father of Maywa-jūn. Bairām arrived April 12th, 1543 (Muharram 7th, 950H.).

² From this it would seem that Khānzāda was in Sind with Humāyūn. No other writer, I believe, mentions this or the embassy on which she is now sent. The Uzbegs and Turkmāns do not appear apropos here. If, as Gul-badan says,—and her authority is good,—Khānzāda now went to Qandahār, she will have gone on to Kābul, possibly with Hindāl after he surrendered the town to Kāmran. Of Mahdī Khwāja, Khānzāda's husband, I find no mention made by any