

ment with him, and the Emperor was left alone, as before, with his own people.

He sent brave Shaikh 'Alī Beg (*Jalāūr*) and Muzaffar Beg *Turkmān* towards the large district of Jājkā (*Ḥāj-kān*). (49*b*) Mīrzā Shāh Husain sent a force to attack him, and there was a famous fight. At last Muzaffar Beg was routed and fled, and Shaikh 'Alī Beg (*Jalāūr*) was killed and perished with all his men.¹

A squabble arose between Khālid Beg² and Tarsh Beg, a brother of Shāham Khān *Jalāūr* and his Majesty turned all his favour to Tarsh Beg. So Khālid Beg deserted and went with all his men to Mīr Shāh Husain. Then the Emperor ordered Khālid Beg's mother, Sultānam, to prison and this made Gul-barg³ Begam angry. Then he forgave Sultānam and gave her leave to go to the blessed Makka with Gul-barg Begam. Soon after this Tarsh Beg also deserted. The Emperor cursed him, and said: 'For his sake, I dealt harshly with Khālid Beg, who on this account left the circle of the faithful for the circle of the disloyal. Tarsh Beg will die young.' So it was! Fifteen days later, a servant killed him with a knife as he lay sleeping in a boat. When the Emperor heard of it he grew sad and thoughtful. (50*a*) Shāh Husain Mīrzā brought boats up the river to near Jūn, and his men and the Emperor's often fought on board, and many were killed on both sides. Day by day there were desertions to Shāh Husain. In one of these fights was killed Mullā Tāju-d-dīn whom his Majesty held in the greatest favour as a pearl of knowledge.

There was a squabble between Tardī Muḥammad Khān and Mu'nīm Khān. Mu'nīm Khān consequently deserted.

¹ A stubborn fight, and fateful for Humāyūn. It occurred in November, 1543.

² Son of Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Alī *Khalīfa Barlās* and of Sultānam who appears to be Gul-badan's former hostess (14*a*).

³ Daughter of Khalīfa, and as such sister or half-sister of Khālid, and daughter or stepdaughter of Sultānam. She is, I believe, the Gul-barg of earlier episodes and a wife of Humāyūn.



INCIDENTS FOLLOWING THE BIRTH OF AKBAR.

At the top, on the right, are Hamida-bānū and the child ; on the left, the news is announced with sound of castanets and tambourines.

In the middle, the hour of birth is being communicated to the astrologers.

At the foot, the news is being given to Humāyūn by Tardi Beg, and is welcomed by music and dancing.

[To face p. 158.]

there was born his imperial Majesty, the world's refuge and conqueror, Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar (*Ghāzī*). The moon was in Leo. It was of very good omen that the birth was in a fixed Sign, and the astrologers said a child so born would be fortunate and long-lived. The Emperor was some thirty miles away when Tardī Muḥammad Khān took the news to him. He was highly delighted, and by way of reward and largesse (*niṣār*) for the tidings he forgave all soever of Tardī Muḥammad Khān's past offences. He gave the child the name he had heard in his dream at Lāhōr, the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar.

On leaving this place, the Emperor went towards Bhakkar with as many as 10,000 men who had gathered round him, people of the rānā and of the outlying tribes and Sūdmas (Sodhas) and Samīchas. (49*a*) They reached the district of Jūn, where there was one of Shāh Husain's servants with some troopers. •He fled.¹ Here there was the Mirror Garden, a very pleasant and enjoyable place where the Emperor alighted. He assigned its villages (? of Jūn) in *jāgīr* to his followers.

It is a six days' journey from Jūn to Tatta. The Emperor was as much as six² months in Jūn, and brought his family and people and the whole 'Umrkot party there.³ The Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar was six months old when they took him to Jūn. The party which had come from various places with the royal family and the *ḥaram* now broke up. As for the rānā, he marched off at midnight for his own country, on account of a coolness⁴ caused by some talk between him and Tardī Muḥammad Khān.⁵ All the Sūdmas and Samīchas went off by agree-

¹ Cf. B. & H., II., 256, for stories of the taking of Jūn.

² Other writers say nine.

³ Hamīda and her baby were good travellers. They left 'Umrkōt when the child was under five weeks old (November 20th), and joined Humāyūn early in December (1542).

⁴ *shukr-rangī*. I do not find this word in dictionaries, and translate tentatively on the analogy of *shukr-āb*, a tiff.

⁵ Other writers give Khwāja Ghāzī as the second in the quarrel.

his own water-bottle. When everyone had drunk his fill, they marched on again at afternoon prayer-time.

After a day and a night they reached a large tank. The horses and camels went into the water and drank so much that many died. There had not been many horses, but there were mules and camels. (48a) Beyond this place water was found at every stage on the way to 'Umrkōt,¹ which is a beautiful place with many tanks.

The rānā² gave the Emperor an honourable reception, and took him into the fort, and assigned him excellent quarters. He gave places outside to the amirs' people. Many things were very cheap indeed; four goats could be had for one *rupī*. The rānā made many gifts of kids and so on, and paid such fitting service that what tongue could set it forth?

Several days were spent in peace and comfort.

The treasury was empty. Tardī Beg Khān had a great deal of money, and the Emperor having asked him for a considerable loan, he lent 80,000 *ashrafīs* at the rate of two in ten.³ His Majesty portioned out this money to the army. He bestowed sword-belts and *cap-à-pie* dresses on the rānā and his sons. Many people bought fresh horses here.

Mīr Shāh Husain had killed the rānā's father. For this, amongst other reasons, the rānā collected 2,000 or 3,000 good soldiers and set out with the Emperor for Bhakkar.⁴ (48b)

In 'Umrkōt he left many people, and his family and relations, and also Khwāja Mu'azzam to have charge of the *haram*. Hamīda-bānū Begam was with child. Three days after his Majesty's departure, and in the early morning of Sunday, the fourth day of the revered Rajab, 949H,⁵

¹ The little desert town must indeed have seemed a haven after the terrible journey, and not least so to the young wife who some two months later became the mother of Akbar. Humāyūn reached 'Umrkōt on August 22nd, 1542 (Jumāda I. 10th, 949H.).

² Text, *passim*, *ra'nā*. The 'Umrkōt rānā's name was Parsād.

³ (?) 20 per cent. Cf. Mems., 138.

⁴ After a stay of seven weeks in 'Umrkōt. ⁵ October 15th, 1542.

Several more (of the royal troop) hit others with arrows ; the infidels turned to flee, and the fight was won. They brought in several prisoners alive. Then the camp went slowly, slowly on ; but his Majesty was far ahead. Those who had recited the *jātiha* came up with the camp.

There was a mace-bearer named Biḥbūd. They sent him galloping after the Emperor, to say : ‘ Let your Majesty go slowly. By Heaven’s grace, a victory has been vouchsafed, and the infidels have fled.’ Biḥbūd himself was taken to the presence, and conveyed the good news.¹

His Majesty dismounted, and a little water even (*ham*)² was found, but he was anxious about the amīrs, and said : ‘ What has happened to them ?’ Then horsemen appeared in the distance, and again there was a cry : ‘ God forbid ! Māldeo !’³ His Majesty sent a man for information, who came running back and said : ‘ Ishān-tīmūr Sulṭān, and Mīrzā Yādgar, and Mu’nim Khān are all coming, safe and sound.’ They had missed their way. Their return rejoiced the Emperor, who rendered thanks to God.

Next morning they marched on. For three days they found no water. (47*b*) On the fourth, they came to some very deep wells, the water of which was extraordinarily red. The Emperor halted and alighted near one of the wells ; Tardī Beg Khān was at another ; at a third, Mīrzā Yādgar, and Mu’nim Khān, and Nadīm *kūka* ; and at the fourth, Ishān-tīmūr Sulṭān, and Khwāja Ghāzī, and Raushan *kūka*.

As each bucket came out of the wells into reach, people flung themselves on it ; the ropes broke, and five or six persons fell into the wells with the buckets. Many perished from thirst. When the Emperor saw men flinging themselves into the wells from thirst, he let anyone drink from

¹ And also, tied to his girths, two heads of foes which he flung at Humāyūn’s feet.

² to brim of the cup of joy.

³ These cries remind one that even now Humāyūn must have had with him a huge contingent of helpless beings, women and children and non-combatants.

my horse.' It would seem that Nadīm¹ Beg heard that his Majesty was giving his horse to the begam and thinking of riding a camel, for he mounted his own mother on a camel and gave her horse to the Emperor.

His Majesty took a guide from this place, and mounted and rode for 'Umrkōt. It was extremely hot; horses and (other) quadrupeds² kept sinking to the knees in the sand, and Māldeo was behind. On they went, thirsty and hungry. Many, women and men, were on foot. (46*b*)

On the approach of Māldeo's troops, the Emperor said to Īshān(Īsān)-tīmūr Sultān and to Mu'nīm Khān³ and a number of others: 'You all come slowly, and watch the enemy till we have gone on a few miles.' They waited; it grew night, and they missed their way.

All through that night the Emperor went on, and at dawn a watering-place was found. For three days the horses had not drunk. He had dismounted when a man ran in, shouting: 'The Hindūs are coming up in numbers, mounted on horses and camels.' Then the Emperor dismissed Shaikh 'Alī Beg (*Jalāir*), and Raushan *kāka* and Nadīm *kāka*, and Mīr Payanda Muḥammad, brother of Muḥammad Walī, and many others.

'They recited the *fātiḥa*, and his Majesty said: 'Go, fight the infidels!' He thought: 'Īshān-tīmūr Sultān, and Mu'nīm Khān,⁴ and Mīrzā Yādgar,⁵ and the rest whom we left behind, have been killed or captured by these people who have now come to attack us.' He mounted and left the camp with a few followers.

Of the band which his Majesty had sent out to fight after reciting the *fātiḥa*, Shaikh 'Alī Beg struck the Rājput captain with an arrow, and cast him from his horse. (47*a*)

¹ The husband of Māham *anaga*, Akbar's celebrated nurse. (R.A.S.J., January, 1899, art. Māham *anaga*, H. Beveridge.) His mother was Fakhru-n-nisā'. Cf. Gul-badan, 26*a* and 71*a*.

² Perhaps ponies only. Text, *chūrūā*.

³ Gul-chihra's husband.

⁴ The well-known *Khān-i-khūnān* of Akbar's reign.

⁵ Perhaps 'Uncle Yādgar' (*ṭaghāi*), the father of Bega Begam. Yādgar-nāshir was not here, but still in Sind.

rāja was in Jodhpūr, and sent armour and a camel's-load of *ashrafīs*, and greatly comforted his Majesty by saying: 'You are welcome! I give you Bikanīr.' The Emperor halted with an easy mind, and despatched *Atka Khān* (Shamsu-d-dīn *Ghaznawī*) to Māldeo, and said: 'What will his answer be?'¹

In the downfall and desolation in Hind, Mullā Surkh, the librarian, had gone to Māldeo, and had entered his service. (45*b*) He now wrote: 'Beware, a thousand times beware of advancing. March at once from wherever you are, for Māldeo intends to make you prisoner. Put no trust in his words. There came here an envoy from Shūr Khān who brought a letter to say: "By whatever means you know and can use, capture that king. If you will do this, I will give you Nagōr and Alwar and whatever place you ask for."' *Atka Khān* also said when he came: 'This is no time for standing.' So at afternoon prayer-time the Emperor marched off. When he was mounting, they captured two spies and brought them bound before him. He was questioning them when suddenly they got their hands free, and one snatched a sword from the belt of Muhammad *Gird-bāz*² and struck him with it, and then wounded Bāqī *Ghulīārī*. The other at once unsheathed³ a dagger and faced the bystanders, wounded several and killed the Emperor's riding-horse. They did much mischief before they were killed. (46*a*) Just then there was a cry, 'Māldeo is here!' The Emperor had no horse fit for Hamīda-bānū Begam. He may have asked for one for her from Tardi Beg,⁴ who apparently did not give it. He then said: 'Let the camel of Jauhar, the ewer-bearer, be got ready for me. I will ride it, and the begam may have

¹ Presumably to *Atka Khān*'s message from Humāyūn.

² (?) *gird-bāzū*, strong-limbed.

³ Doubtful translation; *az mayīn yak kashīda*.

⁴ This excellent officer is frequently a scapegoat. Our bogam, however, imputes her blame tentatively. For estimate of his character see B. & H., I. and II., *s.n.*. Jauhar brings Raushan Beg into a similar story of this terrible journey.

come near Bhakkar,¹ do not let him in. Bhakkar may remain your holding. I am with you; I will give you my own daughter.' The mīrzā believed him and did not allow the Emperor to enter the fort, but wished to make him go on, either by force or fraud.

His Majesty sent a messenger to say: 'Bābā,² you are as a son to me. I left you in my stead, so that you might help me in case of need. What you are doing is done by the evil counsel of your servants. Those faithless servants will be faithless to you also.' Whatever his Majesty urged had no effect.³ Then he said: 'Very well! I shall go to Rāja Māldeo.⁴ I have bestowed this country on you, but Shāh Husain will not let you keep it. You will remember my words.' Having said this to the mīrzā, the Emperor marched away by way of Jisalmīr, towards Māldeo. He reached Fort Dilāwar (Dirāwal), on the rāja's frontier, a few days later. (15a) He stayed there two days. Neither corn nor grass was to be had. He then went to Jisalmīr, and on his approach the rāja sent out troops to occupy the road, and there was fighting. The Emperor and some others went aside off the road. Several men were wounded: Alūsh⁵ Beg, brother of Shāham Jalā'ir and Pīr Muḥammad the equerry, and Raushang the wardrobe-keeper, and some others.⁶ At length the royal troops won and the infidels fled into the fort. That day the Emperor travelled 60 *kos* (cir. 120 miles), and then halted on the bank of a reservoir.

Next he came into Sitalmīr, where he was harassed all day till he reached Pahlūdī, a *pargana* of Māldeo. The

¹ The mīrzā was at Rūhrī and had not possession of the fort. Cf. B. & H., II., 226, for a good account of his treachery and credulity.

² (?) 'My dear boy'—the Persian word of endearment. The relative position and ages of Humāyūn and Yādgār nāṣir make 'father' inappropriate.

³ In this extremity Humāyūn turned his thoughts towards Makka.

⁴ Rāja of Jūdpūr (Mārwar), who had proffered help.

⁵ Var., Lūsh and Tarsh,—all three names of such disagreeable import as to suggest that they are either nicknames or were bestowed to ward off evil influences. Perhaps *ālūs* should be read. Cf. App. s.n..

⁶ Muqīm *Harāwī*, father of Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, took part in this engagement.

which is six or seven days' journey from Tatta.¹ Schwān has a strong fort, in which was Mīr 'Alīka, a servant of his Majesty the Emperor.² There were several cannon, so no one could possibly go near. Some of the royal soldiers made trenches, and got near and gave him ('Alīka) advice, and said: (44a) 'Disloyalty is not well at such a time,' but Mīr 'Alīka did not agree with them. Then they made a mine and cast down a tower, but they could not take the fort. Corn became dear and many men deserted. The Emperor spent six or seven months there.

Mīrzā Shāh Husain treacherously laid hands on the royal soldiers in all directions, and made them over to his people, and said: 'Take them and throw them into the salt sea.' Three³ or four hundred would be gathered into one place and flung into boats and thrown into the sea, till as many as 10,000 were cast forth.

⁴As after this there were few men even with the Emperor, (? Shāh Husain) filled several boats with cannon and muskets, and came from Tatta against him. Schwān is near the river. (? Mīr 'Alīka) hindered the coming of the royal boats and provisions, and sent to say: '(?) I am maintaining my loyalty. March off quickly.' Having no remedy, the Emperor turned to Bhakkar.

When he came near and before he could reach it, Mīr (Shāh) Husain *Samandar* had sent word to Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir: (44b) 'If the Emperor, when he is retreating, should

¹ Semblance of relevance can be given to this statement only by reference to other writers. Humāyūn had intended to go to Tatta at this time, and was diverted from the journey by a slight success of arms. He then besieged Schwān.

² Certainly not so, for 'Alīka was an Arghūn and follower of Shāh Husain. Perhaps Gul-badan wrote or intended to convey that 'Alīka had served Bābar as once all the Arghūns had done. Perhaps she has confused the import of the story that Mīr 'Alīka when sent by Shāh Husain to take command of Schwān, actually passed through Humāyūn's lines and the bāzār without recognition as an enemy.

³ Text, thirty—*sīsad*. No wonder Humāyūn's force vanished! He is said to have left Hindūstān, *i.e.*, Lāhor, with a following of 200,000. This presumably included Kāmrān's party, and was made up of soldiers and women, children, traders, servants, etc.. At this time Humāyūn had lost both Hindāl's and Yādgār-nāṣir's troops.

⁴ The narrative becomes much confused here.

will not go. Go yourself and tell her.' When Subhān Qulī went and spoke, the begam replied: 'To see kings once is lawful; a second time it is forbidden. I shall not come. On this Subhān Qulī went and represented what she had said. His Majesty remarked: 'If she is not a consort (*na mahram*), we will make her a consort (*mahram*).'

To cut the story short: For forty days the begam resisted and discussed and disagreed. At last her highness my mother, Dil-dār Begam, advised her, saying: 'After all you will marry someone. Better than a king, who is there?' The begam said: 'Oh yes, I shall marry someone; but he shall be a man whose collar my hand can touch, and not one whose skirt it does not reach.' Then my mother again gave her much advice. (43b)

At last, after forty days (discussion), at mid-day on Monday (fault) Jumidu-l-awwal (*sic*) 948II. (September, 1541), and in Pātr (*sic*), his Majesty took the astrolabe into his own blessed hand and, having chosen a propitious hour, summoned Mīr Abū'l-baqā and ordered him to make fast the marriage bond. He gave the mīr two laks of ready money for the dower¹ (*nikāḥāna*), and having stayed three days after the wedding in Pātr, he set out and went by boat to Bhakkar.

He spent a month at Bhakkar and he sent Mīr Abū'l-baqā to Sultān *Bhakkarī*. The mīr fell ill while away, and went to the mercy of God.²

His Majesty then gave Mīrzā Hindāl leave to go to Qandahār, and he dismissed Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir to his own place, Lār. He himself went towards Seāwān³ (Sehwān),

¹ Perhaps the ladies romance a little here. Humāyūn was certainly at a loss for money now and later.

² This is not a historic account of the death. He was sent to Yādgār-nāṣir and was shot while crossing the river on his return to Rūhrī by adherents of Shāh Husain. His death caused great grief to Humāyūn. (B. & H., II., 222.)

³ At the end of September, 1541. Hindāl's leave is a sisterly gloss on his acceptance of an invitation to Qandahār given by its governor, Qarācha Khān.

Bābā Dost is related to us. It is fitting that you should give me his daughter in marriage.' Mīrzā Hindāl kept on making objections, and said: 'I look on this girl as a sister and child of my own. Your Majesty is a king. Heaven forbid there should not be a proper alimony, and that so a cause of annoyance should arise.'

His Majesty got angry, and rose and went away. Then my mother wrote and sent a letter, saying: 'The girl's mother has even before this been using persuasion.² It is astonishing that you should go away in anger over a few words.' He wrote in reply: 'Your story is very welcome to me. Whatever persuasion you may use, by my head and eyes, I will agree to it. As for what they have written about alimony, please Heaven, what they ask will be done. My waiting eye is on the road.' My mother fetched his Majesty, and on that day she gave a party. When it was over, he went to his own quarters. (13a) On another day he came to my mother, and said: 'Send someone to call Hamīdā-bānū Begam here.' When she sent, the begam did not come, but said: 'If it is to pay my respects, I was exalted by paying my respects the other day. Why should I come again?' Another time his Majesty sent Subhān Qulī, and said: 'Go to Mīrzā Hindāl, and tell him to send the begam.' The mīrzā said: 'Whatever I may say, she

¹ This looks like a side-glance at the wasted fortunes of royalty. No kingdom! No revenues! Whence then the dowry? It is clear from the sequel that the important point was being pressed.

Jauhar says that Hamīdā had been already asked in marriage, but not betrothed or perhaps promised. Her objections to marry Humāyūn seem personal, and may indicate preference for another and dislike for him. She is said to have been fourteen years old and Humāyūn was thirty-three, an opium-eater, and much married already. Her objections, whatever their true basis, must have been strong or they could hardly have survived, for Gul-badan to record, through the many years of prosperity and proud motherhood which her husband's renewed sovereignty in India and her son's distinction secured to her.

Behind Gul-badan's story of the wooing of Hamīdā there were doubtless many talks over 'old times' when the royal authoress was freshening her memory for her literary task, begun (it seems probable) when she was about sixty-five and Hamīdā some few years younger.

² *Mādar-i-dūkhṭar az in ham peshtar nāz mīkanad.* Perhaps, 'caressed the idea.'

Shaikh 'Abdu-l-ghafūr,¹ to ask: 'How much longer will you be? What prevents you from coming? (42a) Things have come to such a pass that there is inconvenience, and many of my men are deserting.' The reply was: 'My daughter² is promised to Mīrzā Kāmran, and a meeting with me is impossible. I could not wait on you.'

As at this time Mīrzā Muḥammad Hindāl crossed the river, some said he might be going to Qandahār.³ On hearing this his Majesty sent several people after him to make inquiry and to say: 'It is reported that you plan going to Qandahār.' When questioned, the mīrzā said: 'People have given a wrong impression.' On this the Emperor came⁴ to see her Highness my mother.

The mīrzā's *haram* and all his people paid their respects to his Majesty at this meeting. Concerning Hamīda-bānū Begam, his Majesty asked: 'Who is this?' They said: 'The daughter of Mīr Bābā Dost.' Khwāja Mu'azzam⁵ was standing opposite his Majesty, who said: 'This boy will be one of my kinsmen (too?).'⁶ Of Hamīda-bānū he said: 'She, too, is related to me.' (42b)

In those days Hamīda-bānū Begam was often in the mīrzā's residence (*maḥall*). Another day when his Majesty came to see her Highness my mother, he remarked: 'Mīr

¹ Humāyūn's treasurer (*mīr-i-māl*) whose official functions must now have been of the least pressing.

² The admirable Māh-chūchak who insisted upon accompanying the blinded Kāmran to Makka. As her peer in compassion may be commemorated Chilmā Beg *kūka*. (B. & H., II., 418.)

³ He encamped at Pāt (text, Paṭr), about twenty miles west of the Indus and about forty miles north of Schwān. Pāt is in the *sarkār* of Sīwīstān, a little to the east of the highroad to Hyderābād, and not far north of Meānī, the scene of Napier's victory of 1843. I am indebted to Major-General Malcolm R. Haig for the information that Pāt is 'now a ruin, having been destroyed in the latter part of the eighteenth century when two Kalhora chiefs of Sīnd called in the Afghāns to quell domestic troubles.'

⁴ Leaving his troops to prosecute the siege of Bhakkar, and passing through Dārbīla where was his cousin, Yādgar-nāṣir. From the wording it might be supposed that Gul-badan was with her mother in Pāt, but I believe she was in Kābul at this time.

⁵ Cf. Appendix, *s.n.* Hamīda-bānū.

⁶ (?) interrogative, but the preceding verb is *guftand*, and not *pursī-dand*.

and many men. His Majesty sent him a banner and kettledrums, and a horse, and a head-to-foot suit, and asked for boats and also for corn. After a time Bakhshū *Babūchā* got together and sent about a hundred boats, full of corn too, for the royal service,—a proper attention which pleased the Emperor very much. He divided the corn amongst his people, and crossed the water¹ safe and sound. May mercy be shown to Bakhshū for his dutiful service!

After a weary journey, they reached Bhakkar at last. The fort is in the middle of the river and very strong. The governor, Sultān Mahmūd (*Bhakkarī*),² had fortified himself in it. (41b) The Emperor alighted safe and well over against the fort, near which was a garden³ made by Mīrzā Shāh Husain *Samandar*.⁴

At length his Majesty sent Mir Samandar to Shāh Husain Mīrzā with this message: 'We have come into your territory under compulsion. May your country be blessed to you! We shall not take possession of it. Would to Heaven you would yourself come and pay us your respects, and do us the service which is our due! We intend to go to Gujrāt, and should leave you your own country.' By tricks and wiles, Shāh Husain kept his Majesty as much as five months in Samandar; then he sent a person to wait on him, and to say: 'I am arranging my daughter's wedding-feast, and I send (someone) to wait on you. I shall come (later).' His Majesty believed him, and waited still three months. Sometimes there was corn to be had, sometimes not. The soldiers killed and ate their horses and camels. Then his Majesty sent again, by

¹ The Gāra, near Uch.

² Foster-brother of Shāh Husain *Arghūn*, and the man for whom Sīdī 'Alī *Rais* negotiated terms with Humāyūn in 1555.

³ A delightful garden, the *Chār-bāgh* of Rūhrī (Lūhrī), on the left bank of the Indus. Shāh Husain felt no anxiety as to military operations after hearing that Humāyūn had camped here. *Chār-bāgh* seems to denote a royal and private garden.

⁴ 'A place in Hindūstān from which aloes are brought.' (Steingass, *s.v.*) Cf. *Samandūrī*, aloe-wood, of the *Āin*. (Blochmann 80.) Samandar seems an equivalent for Sīnd.

The Emperor was pleased to say: 'With my brothers' concurrence, I shall go to Badakhshān. (40b) Let Kābul remain the fief of Mīrzā Kāmran.' But Mīrzā Kāmran would not consent to (his Majesty's) going to Kābul,¹ and said: 'In his lifetime the Emperor *Ẓirāus-makānī* gave Kābul to my mother (Gulrukh Begam). It is not right (for you) to go to Kābul.'

Then said his Majesty: 'As for Kābul, his Majesty *Ẓirāus-makānī* often used to say, "My Kābul I will give to no one; far from it! Let none of my sons covet it. There God gave me all my children, and many victories followed its capture." Moreover, this expression of opinion is recorded many times in his *Ẓāqī'a-nāma*. What was the good of my showing kindness to the mīrzā from civility and brotherliness, if he now keep on talking in this way!'

Let his Majesty talk as he would, pacifying and conciliating, the mīrzā resisted more and more. When he saw that there was a large following with Mīrzā Kāmran, and that the mīrzā was in no way willing for him to go to Kābul, he had no resource but to move towards Bhakkar and Multān. Having arrived in Multān, he halted one day. (41a) A small quantity of corn was obtained in the fort and having divided that little amongst his men, he marched on till he came to the bank of a river which was seven rivers in one.² He stood distracted. There were no boats, and he had a large camp with him. Then there came word that Khawāṣ Khān,³ with several amīrs, was coming up behind.

There was a Balūchī named Bakhshū (*sic*) who had forts

¹ Kāmran may well have feared that Humāyūn would get no further than Kābul on his way to Badakhshān.

² *i.e.*, the Indus. The begam's 'seven' is interesting. Cf. 'Sketch of the Hindūstānī Language,' C. J. Lyall, p.1 n. . 'Hindo represents an earlier *Hindau*, being the modern Persian for the ancient *Hendava*, *i.e.*, a dweller in the country of the *sapta hindū* (Sk. *sapta sindhu*), or "seven rivers," now called, with the omission of two (probably the Saraswati and Drishadwati or Ghaggar) the Panj-āb.'

³ A follower of Shīr Khān.

In those days Bibī Gūnwar¹ was with child. Everyone said: 'A son will be born.' In that same garden of Dost *munshī* and in the month of Jumāda'u-l-awwal, a daughter was born whom they named Bakhshī-bānū.

At this time his Majesty appointed Mīrzā Haidar to take Kashmir. Meantime, news was brought that Shīr Khān was there. A wonderful confusion followed, and the Emperor decided to march off next morning. (40a)

While the brothers were in Lāhōr, they conferred and took counsel and asked advice, but they did not settle on any single thing. At last the news was: 'Shīr Khān is here.' Then, as there was no help for it, they marched off at the first watch of the day (9 a.m.).

The Emperor's wish was to go to Kashmir, where he had sent Mīrzā Haidar *Kāshgharī*; but news of the mīrzā's success had not yet come, and people counselled: 'If your Majesty were to go to Kashmir, and the country was not conquered at once, it would—with Shīr Khān in Lāhōr—be a very difficult time.'

Khwāja Kilān Beg² was in Sīālkōt, and disposed to serve his Majesty. With him was Mū'yid Beg, who wrote: 'The khwāja greatly wishes to serve you and would come, but he has Mīrzā Kāmran to consider. If your Majesty would come quickly, his help would be made easy in an excellent way.' The Emperor at once took arms and equipment, and set out to go to the khwāja, and joined company with him and brought him along.³

however, the coming child's mother had to be of the same descent, since Humāyūn's claim to rank as of the saint's lineage required no prophetic announcement. Indeed this story seems to cast doubt on that claim. Akbar's mother, Hamīda, was of the line of Ahmad of Jām. So, too, was Bega (Hājī) Begam. Another of the same family was Bābū or Bānū *āghā*, wife of Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad of Nishāpūr.

¹ To give value to Ahmad's prophecy, Bibī Gūnwar ought also to have traced back to him. She does not seem to have been a woman of rank. The girl now born was at least the third child of Humāyūn, there having been Al-anān and 'Aqīqa, children of Bega Begam and now both dead.

² The well-known old servant of Bābar and now one of Kāmran's chief amīrs.

³ The begam's story here does not agree with that of Mr. Erskine's authorities. Mū'yid Beg is the ill-adviser of the march from Bengal to Chausa.

will be an entertainment, and Shīr Khān's envoy will be present. If I may sit on a corner of your Majesty's carpet, so that there may be distinction between me and my brothers, it will be a cause of my exaltation.'¹

Hamīda-bānū Begam says it was his Majesty who wrote and sent the following verse to the mīrzā.² I had heard that he sent it to Shīr Khān by the envoy. This is the verse :

‘Although one's image be shown in the mirror,
It remains always apart from one's self.’ (396)
‘It is wonderful to see one's self in another form :
This marvel will be the work of God.’

When Shīr Khān's ambassador arrived he paid his respects.

The Emperor's blessed heart was cast down. He fell asleep in a sad mood, and saw in a dream a venerable man, dressed in green from head to foot and carrying a staff, who said : ‘Be of good cheer ; do not grieve ;’ and gave his staff into the royal hand. ‘The most high God will give you a son who shall be named Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar.’ The Emperor asked : ‘What is your honourable name ?’ He answered : ‘The Terrible Elephant,³ Ahmad of Jām ;’ and added : ‘Your son will be of my lineage.’⁴

¹ For an account of Kamrān's odious and fruitless treachery see B. & H., II. 200 *et seq.*. The meaning of his message to Humāyūn is not clear to me. Perhaps he wished to show the envoy that he was not on the level of Hindāl and Askarī, but able to claim recognition as a ruler and as Humāyūn's equal. Perhaps it was a hint to Humāyūn that he must recognise Kamrān's equality in the lands in which the latter had been supreme while he himself ruled in Dillī.

At this time Humāyūn was strongly advised to put Kamrān to death. He refused, but later on and after a dreary waste of good nature, his filial piety had to yield to the common-sense of his victimized followers and allow the blinding.

² At the time when the verse was written Hamīda was not married. The discussion in 1587 (*circa*) of a ‘point’ between the ladies is a living touch to the old MS. Which was likely to be right,—Hamīda who might later have heard the story from her husband, or Gul-badan who was in Lāhōr? Gul-badan puts the difference of opinion gently but does not surrender, and leaves her readers to draw their own inferences.

³ *Zinda-fīl*.

⁴ Humāyūn was of the lineage of Ahmad of Jām through his mother Māham. (A. N., *Bib. Ind.*, ed. I. 121.) To give force to the prophecy,

and brought what was wanted for the princes and the amīrs.

His Majesty alighted in Khwāja Ghāzī's garden near Bībī Hāj-tāj.¹ Every day there was news of Shīr Khān; and during the three months that the Emperor was in Lāhōr word was brought day after day: 'Shīr Khān has advanced four miles,' 'six miles,' till he was near Sirhind.

One of the amīrs was named Muzaffar Beg. He was a Tūrkmān. The Emperor sent him with Qāzī 'Abdu-l-lāh to Shīr Khān to say: 'What justice is there in this? I have left you the whole of Hindūstān. Leave Lāhōr alone, and let Sirhind, where you are, be a boundary between you and me.' (396) But that unjust man, fearless of God, did not consent, and answered: 'I have left you Kābul. You should go there.'

Muzaffar Beg marched at once, and sent on an express to say: 'A move must be made.' As soon as this message came, his Majesty set off. It was like the Day of Resurrection. People left their decorated places and furniture just as they were, but took with them whatever money they had. There was thankfulness to God, because mercifully a ford was found across the Lāhōr water (Rāvī) where everyone crossed. His Majesty halted a few days on the river's bank. Then an ambassador came from Shīr Khān. The Emperor had decided to see him next morning, when Mīrzā Kāmran made a petition, saying: 'To-morrow there

¹ Abū'l-fazl says that Hindā's quarters were in Khwāja Ghāzī's garden, and Humāyūn's in Khwāja Dost *munshī's*.

Bībī Hāj, Bībī Taj, Bībī Nūr, Bībī Hūr, Bībī Gūhar, and Bībī Shābaz are said to have been daughters of 'Aqīl, brother of 'Alī (Muhammad's son-in-law). They were famous for piety and asceticism. After the murder of Imām Husain at Kerbela, these ladies left Syria for India in obedience to a secret intimation. They alighted outside Lāhōr at the place named by Gul-badan and where their shrine now is. They converted many of the townspeople to their faith, and thus angered the, presumably Hindū, governor. He sent his son to command their departure, but the son fell under their influence, and remained near them. This still more angered his father, who went out against them and their followers with an armed force. The ladies prayed that their honour might be preserved, and they not be seen by strange men. Immediately the earth opened and swallowed them. (*Khazīna' u-l-asfiyā*; II. 407.)

Just now the Emperor said to Mīrzā Hindāl: ‘Aqīqa Begam disappeared in that first interregnum (*fitrat*¹), and I repented extremely, and said: “Why did I not kill her in my own presence?” Now, again, it is difficult to convey women with us.’ Mīrzā Hindāl answered: ‘What it would be to your Majesty to kill a mother and a sister, speaks for itself! So long as there is life in me, I will fight in their service. I have hope in the most high God, that,—poor fellow as I am,—I may pour out my life’s blood for my mother and my sisters.’

Then the Emperor set out for Fathipūr (Sīkrī) with Mīrzā ‘Askarī and Yādgar-nāsir Mīrza and the amīrs who had come safely off the battlefield.²

Mīrzā Hindāl sent on before him³ her Highness his mother, who was Dil-dār Begam, and his own sister, Gulchihra Begam, and Afghānī *āghācha*, and Gul-nār *āghācha*, and Nār-gul *āghācha*, and the amīrs’ wives and families, etc.. He was marching along when the Gawārs pursued him in great numbers. (38b) Some of his troopers charged and defeated them. An arrow struck his horse.⁴ There was much fighting and confusion. Having saved the helpless women from the bond of the Gawārs, he sent on (to Lāhōr) his mother and sister, and many of the amīrs’ people, etc., and went to Alwar. Here he got together tents and pavilions and numerous requisites, and then started for Lāhōr. He arrived in a few days,

¹ *i.e.*, battle of Chausa. *Fitna* would read more easily here. Perhaps behind *fitrat* is the notion of relaxation in effort, or of an interval between two periods of good fortune.

² Amongst them was Haidar Mīrza, who describes the fugitives as ‘broken and dispirited, and in a state heartrending to tell.’ Sīkrī must have rubbed salt into their wounds, since it recalls Bābar’s triumph. Their halting-place there was his garden, a token of his genius for living.

³ The known enemy, Shīr Khān, was in the rear. With Hindāl’s marriage-feast fresh in mind, one may give a thought to Sulṭānam. She was probably of this party, since her husband’s contingent was with Humāyūn, and he was not on his *jāgīr* of Alwar.

⁴ *Asp i-mubārik*, (?) the horse which had the happiness to bear him. Perhaps *asp* is a mistake for some word to which ‘blessed’ would be a more fit adjective.

Lāhōr), come all of you on^e stage.' When one stage was reached, he began to declare, on his oath: 'I will not let you go.' Then he took me by main force, with a hundred weepings and complaints and laments, away from my mothers, and my own mother and my sisters, and my father's people, and my brothers, and parted us who had all grown up together from infancy.¹

I saw that the Emperor's command also was in the affair. I was helpless. (37*b*) I wrote a suppliant letter, saying: 'I never expected your Majesty to cut off this insignificant one from your service, and to give her to Mīrzā Kāmran.' To this humble note he sent a compassionate answer (*salām-nāma*), to this effect: 'I had no heart to part with you, but the mīrzā persisted, and was miserable, and begged very hard, and I was obliged to trust you to him. For just now there is important work² on hand. God willing, I will send for you when it is settled.'

When the mīrzā was starting, many people, amīrs and traders and so on, made preparation with the intention of letting their wives and families march under his escort to Lāhōr. When we reached (the city) news came of a battle on the Ganges, and that defeat had befallen the royal army.³

At least there was this limit to misfortune,—his Majesty and his brothers came safely through the peril.⁴ Our other relations⁵ came from Āgra by way of Alwar to Lāhōr. (38*a*)

¹ It must be remembered that Gul-badan's husband, Khizr Khwāja, was a brother of Āq Sultān (Yasīn-daulat), Kāmran's son-in-law, and Kāmran may have had other motives than affection for desiring her presence, *e.g.*, the attraction of her husband's contingent.

² The opposition of Shīr Khān, soon to be closed at Kanauj. Gul-badan's enforced departure with Kāmran saved her a painful and hazardous flight.

³ May 17th, 1540 (Muharram 10th, 947H.). Mīrzā Haider gives an admirable account of it as 'the battle of the Ganges.' Gul-badan's full brother, Hindāl, led the van at Kanauj, and defeated Shīr Khān's son, Jalāl. Hindāl was a successful general. 'Askari, Kāmran's full brother, was defeated by Khawās Khān.

⁴ As at Chausa, so at Kanauj, Humāyūn was nearly drowned. Here he was saved by Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī, whose wife, under the sobriquet of *Jī-jī anaga*, became a nurse of Akbar.

⁵ They were convoyed by Hindāl. See *infra*.

By the Divine mercy he grew better. He suspected that the Emperor's mothers,¹ by his Majesty's advice, had given him poison. His Majesty came to hear of this, and instantly went to see the mīrzā and swore that he had never had such a thought, nor given such an order to any one. Nevertheless, Mīrzā Kāmran's heart was not purged. Afterwards he got worse, day after day, and he lost power of speech.

When news came that Shīr Khān had left Lakhnau, the Emperor marched towards Kanauj, and left Mīrzā Kāmran in Āgra to act for him. In a few days the mīrzā heard that he had made a bridge of boats and crossed the Ganges. On this, he himself marched out of Āgra towards Lāhōr.²

We had settled down³ when he sent⁴ a *farmān* like a king's, and said: 'You⁵ are commanded to go with me to Lāhōr.' He must have said⁶ to his Majesty about me something of this sort: 'I am very ill and very miserable and lonely, and I have no one⁷ to sympathize with me. (37a) If you will order Gul-badan Begam to go with me to Lāhōr, it will be a real favour and kindness.' For his sake his Majesty will have said: 'She shall go.' Two or three days after the Emperor had gone towards Lakhnau, the mīrzā sent a *farmān*,⁸ in royal style, to the effect: 'Most assuredly you will come with me.' Then my mother must have said: 'She has never travelled apart from us.' He replied:⁹ 'If she has not travelled alone, do you also go with her.' He sent as many as 500 troopers and trusty grooms, and both his foster-father and his foster-brother, and said (to my mother): 'If she may not go with me (to

¹ *i.e.*, Bābar's widows.

² A treacherous defection.

³ The royal family, after the Emperor's and the mīrzā's departure.

⁴ Perhaps from his first halting-place outside the city.

⁵ Clearly Gul-badan.

⁶ Before either brother left Āgra.

⁷ *i.e.*, of his kinsfolk, and especially of his women kinsfolk.

⁸ This, I think, is the one already named.

⁹ *īshān farmudanā*. This seems to mean Humāyūn, and to refer the following speech back to the earliest discussion of the project of Gul-badan's journey at the time Humāyūn was still in Āgra. The whole episode is confused in narrative.

news: 'She has come to see me!' Muḥammad Hindāl Mīrzā made his mother happy by giving her honourable meeting. He came with her from Alwar, and paid his duty to his Majesty.¹ About Shaikh Bahlūl he said: 'He used to send arms and military appurtenances to Shīr Khān. When this was ascertained, I killed the shaikh on account of it.'

To put it briefly: in a short time came news that Shīr Khān had come near Lakhnau.

In those days his Majesty had a certain servant, a water-carrier. (36*a*) As he had been parted from his horse in the river at Chausa and this servant betook himself to his help and got him safe and sound out of the current, his Majesty now seated him on the throne. The name of that menial person we did not hear, some said Nizām, some said Sambal. But to cut the story short, his Majesty made the water-carrier servant sit on the throne, and ordered all the amīrs to make obeisance to him. The servant gave everyone what he wished, and made appointments. For as much as two days the Emperor gave royal power to that menial. Mīrzā Hindāl was not present at his court;² he had taken leave, and had again gone to Alwar with the intention of getting arms ready. Neither did Mīrzā Kāmran appear. He was ill, and sent to say to his Majesty: 'Gifts and favours of some other kind ought to be the servant's reward. What propriety is there in setting him on the throne? At a time when Shīr Khān is near, what kind of affair is this to engage your Majesty?'

In those days Mīrzā Kāmran's illness increased amazingly. He became weak and so thin that his face was not in the least his own, and there was no hope of his life. (36*b*)

¹ Hindāl was received in the presence of Kāmran and other kinsmen. Humāyūn said to Kāmran: 'You know who is to blame! Why did Hindāl rebel?' Kāmran passed on the question to Hindāl himself, who, with profound shame, pleaded that being young he had listened to bad advice, and begged forgiveness. (Erskine's notes on Stewart's Jauhar, B. M. Add. 26,608.)

² Lit., in that ass mbly.

consumed by a hundred thousand regrets and cares, and have said: "Why did I take her with the army?"

A few days later he came to see my mother. He had with him the Holy Book. He commanded the attendants to retire¹ for awhile, and they rose and there was privacy. Then he said to *ājām* (Dil-dār Begam) and this insignificant one, and to Afghānī *āghācha*, and Gul-nār *āghācha*, and Nār-gul *āghācha*, and my nurse (*anaya*): 'Hindāl is my strength² and my spear;³ the desirable light of my eyes, the might of my arm, the desired, the beloved. May what I do be right! What shall I say to Mīrzā Muḥammad Hindāl about the affair of my Shaikh Bahlūl? What was to be has been! Now there is no anger in my heart against Hindāl. If you do not believe it' . . . He had lifted up the Holy Book when her Highness my mother, Dil-dār Begam, and this poor thing snatched it from his hand. All cried, 'May what you do be right! Why do you say such things?'

Then again he spoke: 'How would it be, Gul-badan, if you went yourself and fetched your brother, Muḥammad Hindāl Mīrzā?' (35*b*) Her Highness, my mother, said: 'This girlie (*dukhtarak*) is young. She has never made a journey (alone). If you approved, I would go.' His Majesty said: 'If I give you this trouble, it is because it is clearly incumbent on fathers and mothers to feel for their children. If you would honour him with a visit, it would be a healing-balm applied for us all.'

Then he sent Mīr Abū'l-baqā⁴ with her Highness my mother, to fetch Mīrzā Hindāl. At once on hearing this

¹ *kināra kardand*. This metaphor recalls the arrangement of carpets in Persian rooms, with the carpet proper in the centre, an upper end (*sur-andāz*) and borders (*kināra*). 'Go aside' might be a good rendering.

² *qūl*, Mongolian,—main body of an army.

³ Ar. *qanūt*.

⁴ Here and in the apostrophe to Gul-badan I have allowed the *man* to indicate the affection Humāyūn had for his half-sister and for the revered shaikh. It might be, however (as at 'Now there is no anger,' *cf.* text), the simple first person.

⁶ B. & H., II., *s.n.*.

go to Āgra, and not think of establishing yourself in Dihlī.' (34b)

Mīrzā Kāmran gave heed to Mir Faqr-'alī's words, and bestowed on him a head-to-foot dress. He then seized Mīrzā Hindāl and came to Āgra. He visited the tomb of *Firdaus-makānī*,¹ saw his mother and sisters, and halted in the Rose-scattering² Garden.

At this time Nūr Beg brought word of his Majesty's coming.³ As Mīrzā Hindāl was excluded from the presence because of the murder of Shaikh Bahlūl, he went to Alwar.⁴

A few days after his Majesty's arrival, Mīrzā Kāmran came from the Rose-scattering Garden and paid his respects to him. We paid our respects on the evening of the day he came. He took notice of this insignificant one, and was kindly pleased to say: 'I did not know you at first, because when I led the army (whose footprints are victorious⁵) to Gaur Bangāla, you wore the high cap (*tūq*), and now when I saw the muslin coif⁶ I did not recognise you. And oh, my Gul-badan, I used very often to think of you, and was sometimes sorry, and said: "I do wish I had brought her!" But at the time of the disaster (*fiṭrāt*) I was thankful I had not, and I said: (35a) "Thank God I did not bring Gul-badan!" For although 'Aqīqa⁷ was young, I have been

¹ Bābar's remains then had not been conveyed to Kābul in 1539.

² (?) Gold-scattering. Mr. Erskine calls it so, and it is likely to be that already mentioned by Gul-badan more than once.

³ Retreating from Chausa.

⁴ His own *jāgīr*.

⁵ *ḡafr-aḡar*. This, after Chausa, can only be a precative of Gul-badan's.

⁶ This change appears to indicate that Gul-badan, who is about eighteen or nineteen years old, has been married. The Persian has *lachaq qaṣāba*, without conjunction. Steingass and Johnson describe the *lachaq* as a square mantle worn by women, doubled into a triangle, but here the description given in the *Burhān-i-qāṭi* is more apropos, *i.e.*, a square of stuff folded cornerwise and put upon the head so that the corners tie under the chin. It is often (*l.c.*) elaborately embroidered in gold. *Qaṣāba* appears to have the same meaning as *lachaq*.

⁷ Cf. p. 33b.

child, and Shād Bibī, all three¹ (*sic*) of whom were of his Majesty's *haram*. Of these several people, he never heard even a word, as to whether they were drowned or what became of them. In spite of all possible inquiry and search, what had become of them was never found out.

His own illness² dragged on for forty days, and he then grew better.

At this time, when Khusrau Beg (*kūkhultāsh*), and Diwānā Beg, and Zahīd Beg, and Sayyid Amīr, had come on in advance of his Majesty, news again arrived that the mīrzās, Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā and his sons, had come to Kanauj. (31a)

After Shaikh Bahlūl's murder, Mīrzā Hindāl went to Dihlī. He took with him Mīr Faqr-'alī and other well-wishers to frustrate and disperse the mīrzās. The mīrzās fled, and came into the Kanauj quarter. Mīr Faqr-'alī brought Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir to Dihlī. As there was neither friendliness nor confidence between Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir, Mīrzā Hindāl, when Mīr Faqr-'alī made this mistake, sat down out of sheer annoyance and besieged Dihlī.³

When Mīrzā Kāmran heard these things, there arose in him also a desire of sovereignty. With 12,000 fully equipped horsemen he went to Dihlī. Mīr Faqr-'alī and Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir closed the city gates on his approach. Two or three days later, Mīr Faqr-'alī, having made an agreement, went and saw Mīrzā Kāmran. He represented: 'The news heard of his Majesty and Shīr Khān may be so and so.'⁴ Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir, from thought of his own interest, does not wait on you. The advisable course at this crisis is, that you should lay hands on Mīrzā Hindāl,

¹ Perhaps the copyist has omitted a name; perhaps, as a child of Humāyūn, 'Aqīqa is ' of the *haram*.'

² From his wound or from distress of mind. The 'forty days' suggest the ceremonial term of mourning.

³ The whole of the above paragraph it would be safest to hide with Hindāl under his sister's charitable cloak. For a historical account of the time, see B. & H., II., Book IV., Cap. IV.

⁴ Clearly the ill news of the rout at Chausa.