

When his Majesty reached the river's bank, he stopped, bewildered as to the crossing, and said: 'How to cross without boats!' Then came the rāja (Bīrbahān) with five or six horsemen and led him through a ford. For four or five days his people were without food or drink. At last the rāja started a bāzār, so that the people of the army lived some days in comfort and repose. The horses also were rested. Many men who were on foot bought fresh mounts. In short, the rāja rendered fitting and dutiful services. Later on his Majesty gave him leave to go, and at the hour of mid-day prayer came himself, safely and comfortably, to the bank of the Jamna. The army crossed at a ford they had found. A few days later they came to Karra, where corn and grass were plentiful, because it was his Majesty's own country. (33b)

When his people were rested, he went on to Kalpī, and then marched on to Āgra.

Before his arrival in Āgra, he heard news that Shīr Khān was coming (from) the direction of Chausa. Great anxiety fell upon his people.

Of many who were in that rout (at Chausa) there was never heard, in any way soever, news or sign. Amongst them were 'Āyisha Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Husain Mirzā¹ (*Bāyqarā*); and Bachaka, who was a *khalīfa* of my royal father;² and Bega-jān *kūka*; and 'Aqīqa Begam;³ and Chānd Bībī, who was seven months with

the misadventures which culminated in the defeat. This—the rout at Chausa—occurred near to where the Sōn falls into the Ganges and at Chūpat Ghat, on June 27th, 1539 (Safar 9th, 946H.). The statement of Humāyūn's visit to Chunār, I do not find elsewhere. Chunār was then held by royalists. The Arail named is presumably that near Allāhābād.

¹ Wife of Qāsim Husain Sultān *Uzbek*, whose timely arrival gave Bābar so much satisfaction. (13a) Qāsim had been Governor of Patna (32b), but, from the circumstance of his wife's being at Chausa, would seem to have left it with Humāyūn.

² A Bachaka, who was a *khalīfa* of Bābar's household, escaped with him from Samarqand in 1501 (907H.), some thirty-eight years before the Chausa episode. *Khalīfa*, as applied to a woman, denotes a servant or slave who exercises surveillance over other women-servants, and has charge of rooms,—an upper maid-servant.

³ Bega Begam's daughter, who will have been about eight years old.

ments and military stores in an underground place, and would have loaded them on carts and sent them to Shīr Khān and the mīrzās.¹ Mīrzā Hindāl would not believe it, so Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad was sent to inquire into the matter. He found the armour and accoutrements, and had *Bandagī* Shaikh Bahlūl killed.² The Emperor, on hearing news of it, set out for Āgra.

He was coming by that side of the Ganges (*i.e.*, the left bank) opposite Mungīr, when his amīrs represented: 'You are a great king! Return by the way you came, lest Shīr Khān should say: "Forsaking his road of advance, he took another of retreat."' ³ The Emperor returned to Mungīr, and brought many of his people and his family by boat up the river as far as Hajīpūr-Patna.

When he went (to Bengal) he had left Qāsim (Iḥusain Sultan Uzbek) there. Now came news of Shīr Khān's approach. Whenever there was fighting, the royal troops won.

Just now Bābā Beg (*Jalāīr*) came from Jaunpūr and Mīrak Beg from Chanāda (Chunār), and Mughal Beg from Oudo. (33a) As these three amīrs joined the Emperor, corn became dear.

Then,—such was God's will,—they had halted without precaution, when Shīr Khān came and fell upon them. The army was defeated, and many kinsmen and followers remained in captivity. His Majesty's own blessed hand was wounded. Three days he remained in Chunār, and then came to Arāil.⁴

cannot have believed the accusation. Perhaps, however, her long friendship with Nūru-d-dīn's daughter Salīma would make her pen discreet in blaming his murder of the shaikh.

¹ The rebels mentioned on p. 23b.

² For the probable facts, *cf.* B. & H., II. 162 *et seq.*.

³ It was Mu'yīd Beg *Duladai Barlūs* who urged this foolish point of honour, and who thus led to the disaster at Chausa. He was a cruel man as well as one ignorant in military matters. He was a favourite of Humāyūn, but the Emperor's followers rejoiced when he died.

⁴ Gul-badan's brevity (natural enough even if she were more historic in method) is somewhat misleading. Mr. Erskine allows one to follow

to Garhū.' There was fighting, and Jahāngīr Beg was wounded and many men were slain.

When the Emperor had spent three or four days in Kohlgānū (Colgong), it became advisable for him to march on and halt near Garhū. He marched forward, and when he came near Garhū, Shīr Khān and Khawāṣ Khān fled by night, and he entered Garhū next day. Thence he went to Gaur Bangāla, and took it.

He was nine months in the far-away country of Gaur, and named it Jannatābād.¹

He was comfortably and safely in Gaur, when news came that some of the amirs had deserted and joined Mīrzā Hindāl.²

Khusrau Beg³ (*kūkaltāsh*) and Zahīd Beg⁴ and Sayyīd Amīr⁵ paid their respects to the mīrzā, and said: 'The Emperor has gone comfortably far away, and the mīrzās, Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā and his sons, Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, have again raised their heads,' and continually keep showing themselves in company.' (32b)

Just at this time the asylum of shaikhs, the servitor (*bandagī*) Shaikh Bahlūl, hid⁷ armour and horse-accoutre-

¹ City of Paradise. The demoralizing effects of life in Gaur were felt under Akbar. Humāyūn, with his empire crumbling around him, was now (as Jauhar testifies) 'so much devoted to pleasure and sensual enjoyment that, after the first month, he was never seen, as he was always shut up in a private apartment of the palace.' Naturally, Gul-badan's next item of narrative is of rebellion,—this time by her own brother, Hindāl.

² He was only nineteen, and the crown may well have seemed at anyone's service. The date is 1538 (945II.). Humāyūn in Gaur was cut off from his capital by Shīr Khān.

³ Bābar first names him in 1507-8 as coming from Harāt. There are two men named Khusrau *kūkaltāsh* by Bābar, but they were not contemporaries. One died in 1502-3, before the other came upon the scene.

⁴ Husband of the sister of Bega Begam, Humāyūn's wife. He was put to death by Mīrzā Kāmrān at Ghaznī in 1547.

⁵ Sayyīd Nūru-d-dīn Mīrzā, the father of Salīma Sultān Begam, and the husband of a daughter of Bābar. Cf. App. *s.n.* Gul-rang.

⁶ Hindāl had recently defeated them. (Erskine, II. 89 *et seq.*) For causes of Hindāl's rebellion, and for Bega Begam's part in it, see Erskine's Jauhar, *l.c.*, p. 13.

⁷ Some words seem to be omitted, *e.g.*, 'was accused of.' Gul-badan

was a tumult, and Mirzā 'Askarī's people left Ahmadābād and came to the Emperor. They represented to him that Mirzā 'Askarī' and Yādgār-nāṣir Mīrzā had conspired, and wished to go to Āgra. On hearing this, he himself was forced to go; he left the important affairs of Gujrāt [(?) its pacification], and turned away and went to Āgra. Here he spent as much as a year.²

He then went to Chanāda (Chunār), and took it,³ and also Benares. Shīr Khān was in Charkanda,⁴ and made an offer of service, saying: 'I am your old servant. Give me a place with a fixed boundary in which I may establish myself.'

His Majesty was considering this, when the king of Gaur Bangāla⁵ came wounded and a fugitive. For this reason he gave no attention (to Shīr Khān), but marched towards Gaur Bangāla. Shīr Khān knew that his Majesty had gone there, and went himself also with a large detachment of horse, and joined his son (Jilāl Khān), who was in Gaur with his servant Khawāṣ Khān. Shīr Khān sent them out, and said: 'Go and fortify Garhī.'⁶ (32a)

Both came and occupied Garhī. His Majesty had written to Jahāngīr Beg: 'Advance a stage, and go up

Humāyūn now relapsed into an evil mood of feasting and indolence. He remained near Champānīr, and affairs entered on a recurrent phase. There was complete relaxation of discipline.

Gul-badan's 'we had settled down' (*nishīsta budīm*) allows the inference that she and other ladies had joined the camp. A later instance will be found of the inopportune presence of women and children with the army. But it may mean merely 'we were comfortably awaiting events' in Āgra.

¹ He was thinking of having the *khutba* read in his own name in Āgra. Such an aspiration in Humāyūn's brothers was encouraged by his own abdications of sovereignty.

² A fatal year which allowed Shīr Khān to gather force. Gul-badan's recital of the historical events of this time has no value.

³ Shīr Khān.

⁴ Jhārkand.

⁵ Sayyid Maḥmūd Shāh. He had been defeated by Shīr Khān. (Cf. Erskine's notes on Stewart's Jauhar, B. M. Add. 26,608, p. 12.)

⁶ 'The gate of Bengal,' a pass between it and Bihār, and which has a hill on one hand and the Ganges on the other. It is the Teria garhī or Tilia gulley of our maps.



SHĪR SHĀH AFGHĀN.

[To face p. 133.]

his Majesty resolved to pursue him. Sultān Bahādur left Champānīr and went towards Ahmadābād.¹ His Majesty took the country of Ahmadābād also, and portioned out the whole of Gujrāt to his men. Ahmadābād he bestowed on Mīrzā 'Askarī,² Bahrūch on Qāsim Husain Sultān,³ and Patan on Yādgār-nāṣir Mīrzā.⁴

He himself, with a small following, went from Champānīr to visit Kanbāyat⁵ (Cambay). A few days later there came a woman with news, and said: 'Why are you sitting here? The men of Kanbāyat have gathered, and will fall upon you unless your Majesty rides off.' The royal amīrs attacked the rabble,⁶ and got them into their hands and cut them in pieces. (31*b*)

His Majesty then went to Baroda, and from there towards Champānīr.⁷ We had settled down, when there

¹ Taking his treasure with him, Sultān Bahādur fled before Humāyūn to Champānīr, Ahmadabad, Cambay and Dū.

² Humāyūn's half-brother.

³ Grandson, through a daughter, of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqarā*; on his father's side an Uzbek.

⁴ Humāyūn's first cousin, the son of Bābar's half-brother Nāṣir. He was a posthumous child. Mr. Beveridge has drawn my attention to the fact,—of which there are other examples,—that he is called Yādgār, a souvenir, of Nāṣir, his father.

⁵ This excursion preceded the allotment of fiefs. Gul-badan's way of putting the pursuit of Bahādur is borne out by some other writers. This was Humāyūn's first sight of the sea, and the spectacle seems to have been more in her mind than was Bahādur. Akbar's first sight of the sea is also commemorated in the histories.

⁶ Abū'l-fazl calls them Bhils and Gawārs. (H.B. I. 309.) They were rude tribesmen acting in Bahādur's interests. Maternal affection saved the small royal camp. The 'woman' had a son a slave in it, and she purchased his freedom by revealing the designs of her fellow-tribesmen. Although Cambay had not furnished the assailants, it paid in fire and pillage for the attack. It lay near, was an enemy's town, and such an incident as the onslaught of the Bhils would not allow of fine distinction of race and person.

⁷ Behind this dull statement is a stirring episode. Humāyūn took Champānīr after a four months' blockade, by night escalade of a rock so nearly perpendicular that seventy or eighty iron spikes had to be driven in to allow ascent. Thirty-nine men climbed up. Bairām Khān was the fortieth, Humāyūn the forty-first of the three hundred who mounted. Such a Bābar-like episode makes regret the keener that Humāyūn's life was ruined and stained by his slavery to a drug. The loot of Champānīr was enormous; it had been regarded as impregnable, and was full of treasure. It was taken in 1536 (943 H.).

went to prayers. At the first watch of the day he came out and sent for his sisters and the begams, and for Dil-dār Begam, and Afghānī *āghācha*, and Gul-nār *āghācha*, and Meywa-jār and Āghā-jān, and the nurses (*anaqahā*). We all went, and he said not a word, so everyone knew he was angry. Then after a little he began: 'Bibī, what ill-treatment at my hands did you complain of this morning?' and: 'That was not the place to make a complaint. You all (*shumā*) know that I have been to the quarters of the elder relations (*walī'u-n-ni'matān*) of you all (*shumāyān*). It is a necessity laid on me to make them happy. Nevertheless, I am ashamed before them because I see them so rarely. It has long been in my mind to ask from you all a signed declaration (*sijlī*), and it is as well that you have brought me to the speaking-point. I am an opium-eater. If there should be delay in my comings and goings, do not be angry with me. Rather, write me a letter, and say: "Whether it please you to come or whether it please you not to come, we are content and are thankful to you."'

Gul-barg Begam wrote to this effect at once, and he settled it with her.¹ Bega Begam insisted a little, saying: 'The excuse looked worse than the fault.'² (31a) We complained in order that your Majesty might lift up our heads by your favour. Your Majesty has carried the matter to this point! What remedy have we? You are Emperor.' She wrote a letter and gave it to him, and he made it up³ with her also.

On February 18th, 1534 (Sha'bān 14th, 941 H.), he set out from the Gold-scattering Garden and marched for Gujrāt, to fall upon Sultān Bahādur. They confronted one another at Manhasūr (Mandsūr); a battle was fought, and Sultān Bahādur, on his defeat, fled to Champānīr. Then

¹ *ba Gul-barg Begam daryāftand.*

² A familiar proverb. Cf. Steingass, 840, s.v. 'azr.

³ *daryāftand.* Gul-badan frequently uses this word as meaning to embrace and to greet, a sense not mentioned by Johnson or Steingass. The *ba* of the earlier instance (note 1.) induced me to give it the notion of coming to an understanding. Cf. 16b.

order. When they had put up the pavilions (*khāima*) and tents (*khar-gāh*) and the audience tent (*bār-gāh*), the Emperor came to see the camp and the splendid set-out, and visited the begams and his sisters. As he had dismounted somewhat near Ma'sūma Sultān Begam's (tent), he honoured her with a visit. All of us, the begams and my sisters were in his society. (30a) When he went to any begam's or sister's quarters, all the begams and all his sisters used to go with him. Next day he came to the tent¹ of this lowly person, and the entertainment lasted till the third watch² of the night. Many begams were there, and his sisters, and ladies of rank (*begahā*) and of position (*āghāhā*), and other ladies (*āghāchahā*), and musicians and reciters. After the third watch his Majesty was pleased to command repose. His sisters and the begams made resting-places (*takīa*) in his presence.³

Bega Begam woke (us) up, and said: 'It is time for prayers.'⁴ His Majesty ordered water for ablution⁵ made ready where he was, and so the begam knew that he was awake. She began a complaint, and said to him: 'For several days now you have been paying visits in this garden, and on no one day have you been to our⁶ house. Thorns have not been planted in the way to it. We hope you will deign to visit our quarters also, and to have a party and a sociable gathering there, too. How long will you think it right to show all these disfavours to us helpless ones? We too have hearts. Three times you have honoured other places by visits, and you have run day and night into one in amusement and conversation.' (30b)

When she had finished, his Majesty said nothing, and

¹ *khāna*, lit., house.

² *paḥr*. Gul-badan names the Hindūstānī division of time into watches on which her father had commented as being a novelty to himself. (Mems., 331.)

³ It seems, as again later on, that they fell asleep where they were seated, on mattresses and provided with pillows.

⁴ The early morning prayers, about which the opinion is expressed that prayer is better than sleep.

⁵ *icaḡū*, ablution before prayers. Cf. Hughes, Dict. of Islām.

⁶ From what follows Gul-barg would seem to be the fellow-sufferer.

gold and silver vessels, and two other sets of nine horses, baggage animals, with velvet saddles and bridles; and brocade and Portuguese cloth, and Tūrki and Habshī and Hindī slaves,—in all, three sets of nine; and three head of elephants.

In his Majesty's leisure after the feast came news that the vazīr of Sulṭān Bahādur, Khurāsān Khān by name, had attacked Bayāna. His Majesty despatched Mīrzā 'Askarī, with several amirs, Mīr Faqr-'alī Beg and Mīr Tardi Beg, etc.. These went to Bayāna and fought and defeated Khurāsān Khān.¹ (29*b*) The Emperor set out for Gujrāt shortly afterwards, in prosperity and safety. It was on the 15th of the revered Rajab 941H.² that he quite decided to go himself to Gujrāt. He set up his advance camp in the Gold-scattering Garden, and there spent a month while the forces were gathering in.

On court days, which were Sundays and Tuesdays, he used to go to the other side of the river. During his stay in the garden, *ājam* (Dil-dār Begam) and my sisters and the ladies (*ḥavanān*) were often in his company. Of all the tents, Ma'sūma Sulṭān Begam's was at the top of the row. Next came Gul-raug Begam's, and *ājam*'s was in the same place. Then the tent of my mother,³ Gul-barg Begam and of Bega Begam⁴ and the others.

They set up the offices (*kār-khānahū*) and got them into

¹ Mīzā Maqūm, Khurāsān Khān.

² January 29th, 1535. Abū'l-faẓl gives Jumāda I., 941H. (November, 1534) as the time for collecting the troops. Perhaps the begam's date is that of departure, a day liable to postponement when Humāyūn was in pleasant quarters.

³ It may be that the copyist has transferred the words 'my mother' from a quite usual place,—preceding or following the *ājam* of the previous sentence. They are inappropriate to Gul-barg Begam; at least, I have never seen them used to describe a brother's wife, and such I believe this Gul-barg to be. We know of a 'Bibī Gul-barg,' mentioned somewhat condescendingly (21*a*) by Māham Begam; I incline to take Gul-barg there and here as Khalifa's daughter, and the former wife of Mīr Shāh Husain *Arghūn*. Cf. Appendix, *s.n.* Gul-barg.

⁴ This is, I think, Humāyūn's wife and the mother of 'Aqīqa. The object of Gul-badan's enumeration of the tents seems to be desire to show that Bābar's daughters and widow had places of honour higher than Humāyūn's family.

one of emerald, one of turquoise, one of topaz, and one of cat's-eye.

Again: of necklaces, nine; and one embroidered collar and bordering, and four short jackets¹ with ball-trimming (*takma-dār*), and one pair of ruby earrings and another of pearls, three fans,² and one royal umbrella.

One *dirakht*³ and two *khutb*³ and other furniture and effects, and household goods and chattels and workshops⁴ of all sorts. (29a) Khānzāda Begam gave everything she had collected, and she arranged a feast such as had not been made for any other child of my royal father. She planned it all and carried it all out.

. . . nine *tipōchūq* horses, with jewelled and gold-embroidered saddles and bridles; and gold and silver vessels and slaves,⁵ Turkī and Circassian and Arūs (? Rūs) and Abyssinian,—of each (race) a royal gift of nine.

What my royal father's brother-in-law⁶ (Mahdī Khwāja) gave to the mirzā was a set of nine *tipōchūq* horses, with jewelled and gold-embroidered saddles and bridles; and

¹ *chār qartījī*; a suggested rendering only. Johnson gives *kartī* (*qartī*) as a short beddice reaching to the hips, and the *qar* recurs in other words, having the sense of a body garment; e.g., *qarṭaq*, a short-sleeved jacket; *garza*, a woman's vest.

² *pankha*.

³ I find no help as to these words in the dictionaries. My only suggestion as to their possible meaning is too slightly based to be of value. It is this: In the South Kensington Museum, Oriental Section, I have seen tall lamp-stands so shaped that they recall the *Quṣb* pillar outside Dihli. That such stands would be a part of good household furnishing the South Kensington Museum allows us to suppose. We have our 'tall lamps,' our 'pillar lamps,' and also our 'branched candle-sticks,' which may be a term parallel to *dirakht*, a tree.

⁴ *kar-khūnahā*. These may be the kitchen and its plenishing; the goldsmith's, with his tools, furnaces, and appliances; the perfūmer's, etc.. Cf. *Ann.* Blochmann, and *Tār. Rash.*, E. & R., 470.

⁵ *ghulāmān*, which I have rendered slaves, because they were a gift. But I know no warrant for such servitude as is thus implied.

⁶ *yazna*, which is explained by Vambéry and Steingass as 'husband of the king's sister.' Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad styles Mahdī Khwāja *damād*, which Meninsky and Steingass explain as 'husband of the king's sister' and 'son-in-law.' I do not find *yazna* rendered son-in-law by any of the dictionaries. To read *yazna* 'brother-in-law of the king' agrees with the detailed statement of Mahdī's relation to Bābar made by Bāyazīd *bīyā'*. Cf. Appendix, s.n. Khānzāda.

as though she were her child. Sultānam was two years old when Khānzāda Begam took charge of her. She (Khānzāda) loved her very much, and thought of her as a brother's child of her own. She made a most entertaining and splendid feast.

A *kūshka*¹ and hangings (*adṣaqa*)² and five divans and five pillows for the head (*gīstūq*), and one large pillow and two round ones (*galūla*); and girdles (*qūshqa*) and veils (*naqāb*), together with a tent³ . . . with three gold-embroidered cushions and head-to-foot dresses for a prince, with collar and bordering of gold embroidery, and bath-wrappers (*janūa*) and napkins (*rāpāk*) and embroidered towels (*rūmāl*) and an embroidered mantle (*qūrposh*) to be worn over the armour.

For Sultānam Begam: nine jackets (*nīm-tana*)⁴ with garniture of jewelled balls,⁵ one of ruby, one of cornelian,

¹ M. Quatremère uses this word twice with perhaps two meanings. (Notices et Extraits, XIV, 324, 325 and 406-8.) At p. 408 he translates it *kiosques*, and it seems to be a building. At pp. 324 and 406 he leaves it untranslated. (Here it may have the sense given by Gul-badan.) It is named amongst items prepared for ambassadors at a post-house. These are: '*kat*, trône; *bastar*, estrade; . . . *kushka*; *jīnlīk*; *sandalī*, siège,' etc. Gul-badan might intend to name a canopy or screen for a sleeping-place in a large room or a movable kiosk with sleeping comforts.

² Cf. 22b.

³ A word follows *tent* which I cannot make out. It resembles *j-(h, ch)-l-gh* (no vowels).

⁴ *nīm-tana*, i.e., demi-corps. Like many of Gul-badan's words, this is marked by Steingass as 'modern colloquial.' Apropos of this, Dr. Fritz Rosen says in the preface of his *Modern Persian Colloquial Grammar*, that the Persian of Irān differs 'in every respect' from the Persian of India. The Persian of Gul-badan allows one to feel at home with the *vazīr* of Lonkurān, and with Dr. Rosen's own book. Perhaps the difference he indicates is between the literary and colloquial. Gul-badan's Persian, however, is presumably that of contemporary Irān, and her teachers were probably Persian born. Dr. Rosen's remark appears to require some restriction.

⁵ *tukma* (*dūr*), usually translated *buttons*; but the button is so associated with the button-hole as to suggest a fastening. A dressmaker might say 'ball-trimming.' Globular buttons were and are placed round the neck and hem of a boddice. The *vazīr* of Lonkurān ordered a jacket with garniture of twenty-four gold buttons, smaller than a hen's and larger than a pigeon's. Vests trimmed with 'buttons' (Mems.) are repeatedly named by Bābar as gifts.

honour were put on,¹ and gifts bestowed, and head-to-foot dresses given to the comfit-eaters and others.

On the margin of the tank was a room (*tālār*)² fitted with talc windows, and young people sat in the room and players made music. Also a woman's bāzār³ had been arranged, and boats had been decorated. In one boat was made (?) the semblance of six people (*kasī*) and six alcoves (*kanj*); in (another) an upper room, and below it a garden with amaranthus and cockscombs and larkspurs⁴ and tulips. In one place there were eight boats, so that there were eight pieces.⁵

In short, everyone was astonished and amazed who beheld what gift of contrivance the great God had bestowed on the blessed mind of his Majesty. (28b)

THE DESCRIPTION OF MĪRZĀ HINDĀL'S (MARRIAGE) FEAST IS
AS FOLLOWS:⁶

Sultānam Begam (*i.e.*, the bride) was a sister of Mahdī Khwāja.⁷ My father's brother-in law (*yazna*) had no child except Ja'far Khwāja, and there was no child (?) of Khānzāda Begam).⁸ Dearest lady had taken care of Sultānam

¹ It was now that 12,000 *khil'ats* are said to have been distributed. In this passage Gul-badan twice uses the expression *sar u-pāi*. Perhaps one might say that the 'young people' were given new clothes from head to foot, and so shake off the fetters of the rigid *khil'at*, *sar-u-pāi*, and 'honorary dresses.'

² The dictionaries I have seen, explain *tālār* as a saloon built of wood and supported on four columns, and this is appropriate here. Le Strange and Haggard (*Vazīr of Lonkurān*) say, 'Alcove or chamber in which a ruler sits to give public audience and hear suitors.' It is raised above the level of the (*e.g.*) courtyard, so that petitioners are below the *hakīm*. Approaching this meaning is the 'throne' of the dictionaries.

³ Cf. *Āin*, Blochmann, 276; *Khushroz*, or Day of Fancy Bāzārs.

⁴ *nā-firmān*, stubborn, (?) because they will break and not bend. Balfour (*Cyclopædia*) and Forbes (*Hind. Diet.*) give larkspur; Fallon, poppy. An account of the boats, etc., may be read in B.M. MS. Add. 30,774, where is a translation by Sir H. Elliott's *munshī* from Khwānd-amīr.

⁵ *parcha*. Perhaps flower-gardens; perhaps Fr. *pièce*. Cf. *Un appartement de deux, trois pièces*.

⁶ Jauhar's date for this is 944H. (1537).

⁷ Many difficulties gather round this name. Cf. Appendix *s.n.* Mahdī Khwāja.

⁸ The copyist has perhaps omitted one *āka-janūm*.

gave to Hindū Beg and said: 'This is the share of Dominion; give it to the mīrzās and chiefs and vazīrs and soldiers.' (27b)

He gave in the same way to Mullā Muḥammad Farghārī (Parghālī) and said: 'This is the share of Good Fortune. Give it to those who are eminent and respectable, and to theologians and religious men, to ascetics and graybeards, and dervishes and devotees, and the poor and the needy.'

Concerning one tray of *ashrafīs* and two of *shāhrukhīs* he said: 'This is the portion of Pleasure. This is mine. Bring it forward.' They did so. He said: 'What need is there to count?' First he himself vouchsafed his blessed hand and said: 'Let them take to the begams on one small tray *ashrafīs* and on another *shāhrukhīs*. Let each person take her hands full.' What was left, that is two trays of *shāhrukhīs*,—which may have been 10,000,—and all the *ashrafīs*,—about 2,000—he gave in largesse, and scattered¹ first before the *walī 'a-n-nīmatān* (beneficent seniors), and then to those present at the entertainment. No one received less than 100 or 150, and those in the tank especially received very much. (28a) His Majesty was pleased to say: 'Dearest lady! if you approved, they might put water in the tank.' She replied: 'Very good,' and went herself and sat at the top of the steps. People were taking no notice, when all at once (?) the tap was turned and water came. (28a) The young people got very much excited. His Majesty said: 'There is no harm; each of you will eat a pellet of anise² and a bit of comfit³ and come out of there.' Upon this, everyone who would eat the comfit came out quickly. The water was as high as their ankles. To end the story, everyone ate the comfit and all came out.

Then the viands of the feast were set forth, and robes of

¹ *nīsār*. Again a word which, like *sāchaq*, would seem to fit the marriage feast better than the accession.

² *shīt*. The text has no points and would yield *seb*, apple; but anise is the better remedy against cold.

³ *ma'jūn*, any medical confection, but commonly an intoxicant. Here it may be some preventive of chill.

Facing west (was) the audience hall; facing east, the garden; on the third side and facing south, the large octagon; and on the side facing north, the small one. In these three houses were three upper rooms. One they named the House of Dominion,¹ and in it were nine military appurtenances, such as a jewelled scimitar and gilded armour, a broad dagger and a curved dagger, and a quiver, all gilt, and a gold-embroidered overmantle.² (27a)

In the second room, called the House of Good Fortune, an oratory had been arranged, and books placed, and gilded pen-cases,³ and splendid portfolios,⁴ and entertaining picture-books written in beautiful character.⁵

In the third room, which they called the House of Pleasure, were set out a gilded bedstead and a coffer of sandal-wood, and all imaginable pillows. Then in front were spread specially choice coverlets,⁶ and before these table-cloths, all of gold brocade. Various fruits and beverages had been got ready, and everything for merriment and comfort and pleasure.

On the feast-day of the Mystic House, his Majesty ordered all the mirzās and begams to bring gifts,⁷ and everyone did so. He said: 'Divide the gifts into three heaps.' They made three trays of *ashrafīs* and six of *shāhrukhīs*. One of *ashrafīs* and two of *shāhrukhīs* he

¹ As to this threefold classification, Elliot and Dowson, V., 119, may be consulted.

² Six articles only are separately named, but the *qūr* (translated armour) may be taken in the sense given to it in the *Āin* (Blochmann, 109.), and include four weapons, which makes the total the mystic nine. Cf. *Āin*, *l.c.*, and plates. (N.B.—The numbering of the weapons [*l.c.* p. 110.] does not agree with that of the plates. Plate X. should be consulted.)

³ *galam-dān*. Several such are to be seen at the S. K. M. They are boxes damascened or painted with pictures, about 10 inches by 3 inches, and contain writing implements. 'Gilded' does not seem an appropriate epithet. Perhaps the dictionaries define imperfectly.

⁴ *juz-dān*. Perhaps the beautiful book-covers of the day. Those having flaps might be called portfolios.

⁵ *muraqqa'*.

⁶ *nihālcha*. Placed, I presume, over carpets.

⁷ *sāchaq*. This word appears to have a special meaning of wedding-gifts, but Gul-badān uses it elsewhere more widely.

68. Māh-liqā *kūka*.
 69. Our nurses (*anaga*).
 70. Our *kūkas*.
 71. The begams' people and the wives of the amīrs.
 Those who were on the right.
- 73. Salīna Bega.
 74. Bībī Neka.
 75. Khānam *āgha*, daughter of Khwāja 'Abdu-l-lāh *Marwārīd*.
 76. Nigār *āgha*, mother of Mughal Beg.
 77. Nār Sultān *āgha*.
 78. *Āgha kūka*, wife of Mu'nim Khān.
 79. Daughter of Mīr Shāh Husain, (illegible) Bega.
 80. Kisak Māham.
 81. Kābulī Māham.
 82. Begī *āgha*.
 83. Khānam *āgha*.
 84. Sa'adat Sultān *āgha*.
 85. Bībī Daulat-bakht.
 86. Naṣīb *āgha*.
 87. (Illegible) Kābulī.

Other begas and āghas, the wives of the amīrs, sat on this hand, and all were present at the marriage feast. (26b)

This was the fashion of the Mystic House: (there was) a large octagonal room in which they gave the feast, over against this a small room, also octagonal. In both every sort of profusion and splendour appeared. In the large octagonal hall was set the jewelled throne, and above and below it were spread out hangings (*adsaqahāṭ*) embroidered with gold, and wonderful strings of pearls (*shadhīhā*) hung, each 1½ yards (*gaz*) in length. At the end of each string (*larī*) were two glass globes. There had been made and hung some thirty or forty strings.

In the small room, in an alcove, were set a gilded bedstead and *pān*-dishes,¹ and water-vessels and jewelled drinking-vessels, and utensils of pure gold and silver.

¹ This word excites curiosity as to the time when Gul-badan's people learned to eat *pān*.

42. Hanīfa Bega.

And the others who had sat¹ at the Emperor's left on embroidered divans.

43. Ma'sūma Sultān Begam.

44. Gul-rang Begam.

45. Gul-chihra Begam.

46. This insignificant one, the broken Gul-badan.

47. 'Aqīqa Sultān Begam.

48. Ājam, our mother, who was Dil-dār Begam.²

49. Gul-barg Begam.

50. Bega Begam. (26a)

51. Māham's *nanacha*.

52. Sultānam, the wife of Amīr (Nizāmu-d-dīn) *Khalīja*.

53. Alūsh Begam.

54. Nāhīd Begam.

55. Khurshīd *kūka*, and the children of my royal father's foster-brothers.

56. Afghānī *āghācha*.

57.³ Gul-nār *āghācha*.

58. Nāz-gul *āghācha*.

59. Makhdūma *āgha*, the wife of Hindū Beg.

60. Faṭīma Sultān *anaga*, the mother of Raushan *kūka*.

61. Fakhru-n-nisā' *anaga*, the mother of Nadīm *kūka*.

62. The wife of Muḥammadi *kūka*.

63. The wife of Mu'yid Beg.

64. The *kūkas* of his Majesty : Khurshīd *kūka*.

65. Sharīfu-n-nisā' *kūka*.

66. Fath *kūka*.

67. Rabī'a Sultān *kūka*.

¹ (?) At the Mystic Feast. Its left-hand guests have not been specified. There are no repetitions of names, although the list seems to give the guests at both feasts. Perhaps down to and including No. 36 the names are of begams who were at the first feast, and then went away. Then come 'our begams' of the right, whose home was near Humāyūn, and who were at both feasts.

² Cf. 23b n.

³ Nos. 57 and 58 are, perhaps, the two Circassians whom Shah Ṭahīnāsp sent as a gift to Bābar (Mems., 347.). Gul-nār is named in Ābū 'l-fazl's list of pilgrims who went with Gul-badan to Makka in 983H., and as being of Bābar's household. They (Nos. 57 and 58) are named also by Firishtā.

with the bow and arrow. They also played many musical instruments.

30. Gul Begam.
31. Fauq Begam.
32. Khān (? Jān) Begam.
33. Āfroz-bānū Begam.
34. Āgha Begam.
35. Fīroza Begam.
36. Barlās Begam.

There were other begams, very many, adding up altogether to ninety-six stipendiaries. There were also some others.

After the Mystic Feast (938 H.) came Mīrzā Hindāl's wedding-feast (Jauhar, 941 H.). Some of the begams already named went away,¹ and (of those) some had sat at the right hand in that assembly (*i.e.*, the Mystic Feast).²

Of our begams :

37. Āgha (*Āghā*,—*passim*, *āgha*), Sultān *āghācha*, mother of Yādgar Sultān Begam.
38. *Ātūn mānā*.
39. Salīma.
40. Sakīna.
41. Bibī Ḥabība.

thickness and unequal width, elongating on one side into a tongue. This elongation lies along the inner side of the thumb, and points towards the thumb-tip. In drawing, the thumb crooks round the string which pulls against the *zih-gīr*. The arrow is released by straightening the thumb, and the string then flies over the hard surface of the ring. The *zih-gīr* is of jade, crystal, ivory, brass, gold, etc.. Some are chased and carved, and some are jewelled. In December, 1898, a remarkable one was offered for sale at an auction in Edinburgh of Lord Dalhousie's collections and the jewels of his daughter, Lady S. G. Brown (Connemara). It is cut from a single emerald, and inscribed: '*Jihat zihgī: shāh-i-shāhān Nādir ṣāhib-qīrān bar taskhīr-i-hind az jawāhar-khāna intikhūb shud*' ('Selected for a thumb-ring for the king of kings and lord of happy conjunction Nādir, from the jewel-room or the conquest of Hind').

An interesting account of Persian archery is included in the 'Book of Archery,' G. Agar Hansard (Lond., 1840.). It, however, calls the *zih-gīr*, *safn*. *Safn* is the rough skin of a fish or lizard which is used to smooth the arrow-shafts. (Cf. Lane's Ar. Dict..)

¹ *Ba wilāyatī*. (?) to Kabul and other outside places.

² Perhaps this is an explanation of the paucity of right-hand wedding-guests.

21. Khānīsh, sister of Mīrzā Haidar and daughter of (a) maternal (great-)aunt of his Majesty.

22. Bega Kilān Begam.¹

23. Kīchak Begam.

24. Shāh Begam, mother of Dil-shād Begam, and daughter of Fakhr-jahān Begam (No. 1.), paternal (great-)aunt of his Majesty.

25. Kīchakna Begam.

26. Apāq (Āfāq) Begam, daughter of Sulṭān Bakht Bogam (No. 4.).

27. Mihr-līq (? Mihr-bānū) Begam, paternal aunt of his Majesty.

28. Shād Begam, grand-daughter of Sulṭān Husain Mīrzā, and daughter of a paternal aunt of his Majesty (? No. 22.).

29. Mihr-angez Begam, daughter of Muzaffar (Husain) Mīrzā, and grandchild of Sulṭān Husain Mīrzā. (25*b*) They had great friendship for one another (? Shād and Mihr-angez), and they used to wear men's clothes and were adorned by varied accomplishments, such as the making of thumb-rings² and arrows, playing polo, and shooting

¹ Probably the daughter of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā and mother of Shād Begam (No. 28.) by a son, Haidar, of Sulṭān Husain Mīrzā.

² Text *zih-gīrī tarāshī*, which might be experimentally rendered carving thumb-rings, a gentle art of the day. But if *wa* be inserted, each word would represent a separate accomplishment of the well-bred in knightly arts. These would be congenial to a lady who played polo (*chaugān*). Cf. Bābar's account of Haidar's accomplishments (Timin-sky, 14, Mems., 13, P. de C., 22.), and Haidar's own recital in his prologue to the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*.

I suggest to take *tārashī* (a word not used by Bābar or Haidar) as equivalent to the fletcher's (*auq*), or the 'making arrow-heads' (*paī'ār*), of Bābar.

Another possible reading has been suggested to me by Mr. Beveridge—(a)z *hikīrī tarāshī*, 'by cutting arrows.' *Hikīrī* is a Hindī name for cultivated reeds grown on low marshy grounds. (Wilson's Glossary, s.v., and Platt's Hindustānī Dict.) There is nothing improbable in Gul-badan's use of a Hindī word. Arrows were fashioned from these reeds and men-at-arms practised the art. Gujrāt reeds were exported for arrows to Persia. The omission of the *alif* of *az* is not infrequent in the MS..

A few words on the *zih-gīr* find fit insertion here. It is a thumb-ring worn on the right hand as a protection against the fret of the bow-string both in drawing and release. Persians, like the Japanese and Mongols and Chinese, drew with the thumb. The *zih-gīr* is of eccentric

5. Gūhar-shād Begam.

6. Khadīja Sulṭān Begam.

Upon another cushion sat our paternal aunts, the sisters of his Majesty, *Firdaus-makānī* :

7. Shahr-bānū Begam.

8. Yādgar Sulṭān Begam.

(N.B.—Other guests of the right follow).

9. 'Āyisha Sulṭān Begam, daughter of Sulṭān Husain Mīrzā.

10. Ulugh Begam, daughter of Zainab Sulṭān Begam, a paternal aunt of his Majesty.

11. 'Āyisha Sulṭān Begam.

12. Sulṭānī Begam, daughter of Sulṭān Ahmad Mīrzā, paternal (great-) uncle of his Majesty¹ and mother of Kilān Khān Begam. (25*a*)

13. Pega Sulṭān Begam, daughter of Sulṭān Khalil Mīrzā, paternal (grand-)uncle of his Majesty.

14. Māhan Begam.²

15. Begī Begam, daughter of Ulugh Beg Mīrzā *Kābulī*, paternal (grand-)uncle of his Majesty.

16. Khānzāda Begam, daughter of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Mīrzā; on her mother's side, grand-daughter of Payanda Muḥammad Sulṭān Begam, paternal (grand-)aunt of his Majesty.

17. Shāh Khānam, daughter of Badī'u-l-jamāl Begam (No. 2.).

18. Khānam Begam, daughter of Āq Begam (No. 3.).

19. Zainab Sulṭān Khānam, daughter of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān, eldest maternal (grand-)uncle of his Majesty.

20. Muḥibb Sulṭān Khānam, daughter of Sulṭān Ahmad Khān,— known as Ilācha Khān, the younger maternal uncle of the elder³ Emperor (Bābar).

¹ The words used of Sulṭānī do not grammatically apply to 'Āyisha, but I believe she is also a daughter of Sulṭān Ahmad Mīrzā and is Bābar's first wife, who left him under the influence of an elder sister, perhaps Salīqa Sulṭān (Āq Begam). Salīqa married a son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā, and may have acted under the evil impulses of the family quarrels which did so much to embitter, if also to stimulate, Bābar's early ambitions.

² This is not 'my lady,' whose death has been already recorded.

³ *kilān*; perhaps, great.

Majesty replied: '*B'ismu-l-lāh.*' When Mīrzā Hindāl was married, my lady (Māham) was living, but there was delay in arranging the feast. (Khānzāda Begam) said: 'The things for the Mystic Feast are also ready. Let us first celebrate this, and afterwards Mīrzā Hindāl's.' His Majesty said: 'Let whatever my royal aunt wishes be done.' She replied: 'May God bless it and make it good.'

DESCRIPTION OF THE HOUSE OF FEASTING WHICH WAS SET UP ON THE RIVER'S BANK, AND WHICH WAS CALLED THE MYSTIC¹ HOUSE:

First there was a large octagonal room with an octagonal tank in the centre, and again, in the middle of the reservoir, an octagonal platform on which were spread Persian (*wilāyatī*) carpets. (24*b*) Young men and pretty girls and elegant women and musicians and sweet-voiced reciters were ordered to sit in the tank.²

The jewelled throne which my lady had given for the feast was placed in the fore-court of the house, and a gold-embroidered divan³ was laid in front of it, (on which) his Majesty and dearest lady sat together.

On her right sat her paternal aunts, the daughters of Sultān Abū-sa'id Mīrzā:

- 1.⁴ Fakhr-jahān Begam.
2. Badī'u-l-jamāl Begam.
3. Āq⁵ Begam.
4. Sultān Bakht Begam.

¹ *Tilism*; Greek, *τέλεσμα*, talisman. Perhaps an epithet drifted from astrological phraseology. This feast commemorated the accession of Humāyūn. Cf. *Humāyūn-nāma*, trs. Sada-sūkh La'l (R.M. Add. 30,774, p. 76.): 'talismanic palace,' which may be the building named by Gul-badan. Cf. 'samite, mystic,' of Tennyson. Khwānd-amīr speaks at length of this feast in his *Humāyūn-nāma*, and calls the building in which it was held '*imārat-i-tilism*.'

² The sequel to this order follows later.

³ *tūshak*, (?) *anglice*, squab.

⁴ Translator's numbering. For details as to each woman cf. Appendix *s.n.*

⁵ This epithet,—the Fair,—is given to several persons, not all women; and in some instances the true name is also known—*e.g.*, Yasīn-daulat Sultān, Kāmārān's son-in-law, and Salīqa, daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā.

accompanied my mother.¹ This will have been before he went to Guāliār and began to build.²

At the end of the mourning for my lady, his Majesty went to D̄hli³ and began to build the fort of Dīn-panā.⁴ He then returned to Āgra.

Dearest lady⁵ (Khānzāda Begam) said to his Majesty : ' When will you make Mīrzā Hindāl's marriage feast ?' His

que Humāyūn, soit un fils [*i.e.*, Bārbūl], cadet par rapport à lui, l'aîné par rapport à mes autres enfants et trois filles, dont l'une était Mīhr-jān, il n'y en avait pas un qui ne fût mort en bas âge. Je souhaitais vivement de lui voir naître un frère ou une sœur. [*i.e.*, a child of Māham. There were other children of other wives.]

' Précisément à cette époque Dil-dār *āghācha* se trouvait enceinte. Je ne cessais de répéter, " Plût à Dieu que l'enfant qui va naître, sortit du même sein que Humāyūn ! " A quoi ma mère [*sic.* Türkī text, Ilminsky, 271, *ḥaḡrat wālida*] me répondait, " Si Dil-dār *āghācha* met au monde un fils, ne pourrais-je pas le prendre et m'en charger ? " " Rien de mieux, " faisais-je à mon tour.

' D'ordinaire les femmes ont la manière suivante de consulter le sort, quand elles veulent savoir si elles auront un fils ou une fille. Elles prennent deux morceaux de papier ; sur l'un elles écrivent, 'Alī ou Hasan, sur l'autre Fāṭima ; puis elles les placent dans deux boules de limon qu'elles mettent dans une coupe d'eau. Celles des deux qui s'ouvre la première, leur sert à prognostiquer l'avenir ; si elle renferme le nom d'un garçon, il y aura un garçon ; si c'est celui d'une fille, il y aura une fille, disent-elles. On employa cette méthode ; ce fut un enfant mâle qui en sortit. En recevant cette bonne nouvelle, j'écrivis aussitôt pour en faire part à ma mère [*sic.*]. Quelques jours plus tard, effectivement Dieu me donna un garçon. Trois jours après sa naissance et avant de l'annoncer, on enleva l'enfant, bon gré, mal gré, à sa mère et on l'apporta chez moi où on le garda. Lorsque j'en donnai avis à ma mère [*sic.*], celle-ci apprenant qu'elle avait obtenu l'objet de ses vœux, donna au jeune prince le nom de Hindāl, qui était pour nous de bon augure. Par cet arrangement cet enfant fût pour moi [? nous] à la fois un frère cadet (for Humāyūn) et un fils (for Māham and himself).

The words *ḥaḡrat wālida* cannot mean the mother of Bābar. She had been dead some fourteen years. They may be equivalent to *Sultān-wālida*—*i.e.*, the mother of the heir-apparent. Certainly it was Māham who adopted Hindāl. This initial misconception as to the identity of *Ḥaḡrat wālida* runs through the whole translation of this most interesting passage. According to Gul-badan, *Fūrūq* (born in 932H.) was Māham's son. Bābar names the birth. (Mems., 343.)

¹ *i.e.*, returned to her own mother's charge *i.e.*, Dil-dār's.

² An obscure passage. Humāyūn was building about this time. (Elliot, V. 126.)

³ Beginning of Zū'l-hijja, 939H. (June—July, 1533).

⁴ *Humāyūn-nāma*, Khwānd-amīr. (Elliot, V. 125.)

⁵ *Cf.* 15b n..

They let two months slip by in one another's company in Guāliār, and then set out for Āgra, which they reached in February, 1534 (Sha'bān, 940 H.).¹

In April (Shawwāl) my lady was attacked by a disorder of the bowels. On the 27th of the same month (13th Shawwāl) she passed from this transitory life to the eternal home.

The stamp of orphanhood was set anew on my royal father's children, and especially on me, for whom she herself had cared. I felt lonely and helpless and in great affliction. Day and night I wept and mourned and grieved. His Majesty came several times to comfort me, and showed me sympathy and kindness. I was two years old when her Highness my lady took me into her own house and cared for me, and I was ten when she departed from this life. (24a) I remained one year more in her house.² When I was eleven, and his Majesty went to Dholpūr, I

¹ This date cannot be right. The following are approximately correct for this time: Visit to Guāliār undertaken, Sha'bān, 939H. (February, 1533). Return to Āgra and Maham's illness, Shawwāl (April). Death of Māham, 13th Shawwāl (May 8, 1533). Forty days of mourning carries on the time to late in Zū'l-qa'da (June). Start for Dihlī, beginning of Zū'l-hijja,—after June 24. The building of Dīpanā was begun Muḥarram, 940H. (July, 1533).

² Māham had also adopted Hindāl. Bābar details the circumstances, but the abbreviation, as it seems, of the Persian text, has led to an error. (Memoirs, 250.) Those children of Bābar who died young, were not born in 'this year' (925H.), as will be seen in the fuller rendering of Ilminsky, 281, and of P. de C., II. 44: 'Après Humāyūn (b. 913H.) j'eus encore plusieurs enfants, nés de la même mère que lui, mais qui ne véquirent pas.'

We know from Gul-badan that these were Bārbūl, Mihr-jahān, and Ishān-daulat.

'Hindāl n'était pas encore venu dans le monde. Comme j'étais dans ces parages [Kehrāj, in Mandesh, and on his way to India], il m'arriva une lettre de Māham, dans laquelle elle me disait, "Sera-ce un fils ou une fille? Prononcez vous-même sur la part que me réserve la fortune; à moi de mettre l'enfant dans le monde [Etskine, 'I will regard the child as mine'] et de l'élever." Le vendredi, 26 du mois, toujours à ce même campement, j'adjugeai Hindāl à Māham [before birth], et je lui écrivis à ce sujet une lettre qui lui fut portée à Kābul par Yūsuf 'Alī rikāb-dār [courier] quoique Hindāl ne fût pas encore né.'

A passage now follows which, as is noted by P. de C., is neither in the Persian version of the Memoirs nor in the English translation:

'Pour bien comprendre tout ce qui a été dit plus haut, il faut savoir que jusqu'à cette époque, de tout les enfants nés de la même mère

with his sons, Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, made their escape a few days later.

There was perpetual disturbance from these people during the years we were in Hind.

When his Majesty returned from the campaign against Bīban and Bāyazīd, he was in Āgra¹ for about a year. He said to my lady: 'I am sad at heart in these days. If you approved, I would go with you to Guālār.'² Her Highness my lady, and my mother (*ājam*),³ and my sisters Ma'sūma⁴ Sultān Begam, whom we used to call Elder sister⁵ Moon, and Gul-rang Begam, whom we used to call Elder sister Rose,—we all were in Guālār in attendance on the beneficent ladies.⁶

As Gul-chihra Begam was in Oude, and her husband, Tūkhtā-būghā Sultān, went to the mercy of God, her attendants wrote to his Majesty from Oude and said: 'Tūkhtā-būghā Sultān is dead. (23*b*) What is the order about the begam?' His Majesty said to Mir Zāycha:⁷ 'Go and bring the begam to Āgra. We also are going there.'

At this time her Highness my lady said: 'If you approve, I will send for Bega Begam and 'Aqīqa, so that they also may see Guālār.' She despatched Naukār⁸ and Khwāja Kabīr, who brought them from Āgra.

¹ 'Occupied in dreamy speculations of false sciences'—*i.e.*, astrology. (B. & H., II, 14.) The date is 1534 (941H.).

² The histories tell us that the Guālār expedition was a military demonstration against Balādur Shāh of Gujrat. Khwand-amīr fixes its date as Sha'bān 939H. (February, 1533).

³ Taken as it is written, this name might be charmingly translated as 'Ma desirée,' but considered with other words in this text after which the enclitic *am* (my) is incorrectly written, it seems that prosaic 'my mother,' Tūrki, *achām*, is safer. In favour, however, of reading *ājam*, desire, is the wording on 25*b* (No. 48 of the guest-list), *ājam wālida-ī-mā*, our mother. *Ajam* occurs also at 29*b*.

⁴ Her husband, Muḥammad-zamān, is the rebel of this name just spoken of.

⁵ *Chūcha*; which I have rendered 'elder sister' to suit the actual relationship between Gul-badan and her two sisters. Cf. 18*b* n..

⁶ The aunts, presumably.

⁷ The Chief Astrologer.

⁸ Bābar names this man as being sent from India in charge of gifts to Kābul (Meus., 337.), and Gul-badan names him again (67*b*) as guardian of the begams' doorway in the citadel of Kābul.

twelve strings of camels, and twelve of mules, and seventy *tipūchāq* horses, and one hundred baggage horses. She gave special robes of honour to 7,000 persons. The festivities lasted several days.¹

At this time came news that Muḥammad-zamān Mīrzā² had killed the father of Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān *kūkī*,³ and was meditating rebellion. (23a) His Majesty sent to summon them⁴ to the presence, and having laid hands on them, imprisoned them in Bayāna, in charge of Uncle Yādgār. Uncle Yādgār's men sided with Muḥammad-zamān Mīrzā, and let him escape (1533—940H.). At this time it was ordered that Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā⁵ and Nai⁶ (Walī) Khūb Sulṭān Mīrzā should both be blinded. Nai Khūb Sulṭān lost his sight, but the man who had the blinding of Muḥammad Sulṭān did not injure his eyes.⁷ Muḥammad-zamān Mīrzā and Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā,

¹ The feast here credited to Māham Begam may be that of the first anniversary of Humāyūn's accession. Of this Gul-badan gives an account, minus such details as are set down here, at 21a *et seq.*

At the 'accession feast,' held December 19th, 1531, and thus not quite a year after the accession, it is said by Niẓāmu-d-dīn Ahmad that 12,000 robes were bestowed, 2,000 of these being 'special.' For details as to *khil'at*, *cf.* Memoirs, 274 n.

Lists are dull reading, unless each item calls up an image. It is easy to add splendour and beauty to Gul-badan's few poor words by looking at actual things of the kinds she names, as may be done in the Oriental Section of the South Kensington Museum. The links between Persia and India in her day and earlier and later were many and close. Many Persians born and bred in Persia or by descent formed part of the Mughal court. Persian art and manufacture were at their highest development, experts say, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The uncritical eye doubts if the products of those centuries, as exhibited in the examples England possesses, can be excelled for splendour and satisfying charm. With such things the personages of our begam's book surrounded themselves.

² Son of Badī'ū-z-zamān Mīrzā, and grandson of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā *Bāyqarā*, and husband of Ma'sūma, a daughter of Bābar. He was drowned in the Ganges at the rout of Chausā.

³ *Cf.* B. & H., II., *s.n.*

⁴ *Sic*; apparently the names of his fellow-rebels are omitted. They occur below.

⁵ Grandson, through a daughter, of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā *Bāyqarā*, and thus, a cousin of Muḥammad-zamān.

⁶ Called both Nai and Walī in the histories.

⁷ See Mr. Erskine's interesting note on blinding. (B. & H., II. 14 n.)