

kept saying: 'Perhaps one of them will have a son.' She kept watch till Bega Begam's 'Aqīqa was born. Then she kept an eye on Maywa-jān. Ten months went by. The eleventh also passed. Maywa-jān said: 'My maternal aunt was in Mirzā Ulugh Beg's¹ *haram*. She had a son in the twelfth month; perhaps I am like her.' So they sewed tents and filled pillows.² But in the end everyone knew she was a fraud.

His Majesty who had gone towards Chanāda (Chunār), returned safe and sound.

My lady who was Māham Begam, gave a great feast. (22b) They lit up the *bāzārs*.³ Before that time people used to illuminate the *bāzārs* (only). Then she gave orders to the better class and to the soldiers also to decorate their places and make their quarters beautiful, and after this illumination became general in India.

. . . a jewelled throne,⁴ ascended by four steps, and above it gold-embroidered hangings, and laid on it a cushion and pillows embroidered in gold.

The covering of the pavilions and of the large audience tent was, inside, European brocade, and outside, Portuguese cloth. The tent-poles were gilded; that was very ornamental.

(My lady) had prepared a tent-lining and a *kannat*⁵ and *sar-i-kannat* of Gujrātī cloth-of-gold, and a ewer for rose-water, and candlesticks, and drinking-vessels, and rose-water sprinklers,—all of jewelled gold.

With all her stores of plenishing, she made an excellent and splendid feast.

¹ This will be Bābar's paternal uncle, known as *Kābutī*.

² *i.e.*, made all preparations. Perhaps *khīrgāhā dokhta* is not 'sewed tents,' but 'pitched tents.' Cf. *zamīn-doz*.

³ I am very doubtful as to the meaning of the following paragraph. It can hardly be true that India waited for Māham to instruct it in the art of illumination or decoration. I have conjecturally read that, whereas formerly only *bāzārs* were made to look festive, she had other houses adorned.

⁴ Here follows a list of arrangements, plenishing and gifts for the feast. There are here and at p. 123 *ff.* many difficult words in it.

⁵ Ar., a pent over a doorway, a veil, an umbrella. Perhaps *qanāt*, a screen, an enclosure for tents, the tent walls.



THE EMPEROR HUMĀYŪN (مُلْكُ الْهَمَايُونِ).

(INJURED IN TRANSMISSION.)

[To face p. 112.]

makānī, Biban¹ and Bāyazīd advanced from the direction of Gaur. On the news of this, his Majesty at once left Āgra and moved to meet them. He defeated them, and then went to Chanāda (Chunār),² took it, and thence returned to Āgra.

My lady, who was Māham Begam, had a great longing and desire to see a son of Humāyūn. Wherever there was a good-looking and nice girl, she used to bring her into his service. Maywa-jān, a daughter of Khadang (? Khazang), the chamberlain (*yasāwal*),³ was in my employ. One day (after) the death of his Majesty *Firdaus-makānī*,⁴ my lady said: 'Humāyūn, Maywa-jān is not bad. Why do you not take her into your service?' So, at her word, Humāyūn married and took her that very night. (22a)

Three days later Bega Begam⁵ came from Kābul. She became in the family way. In due time⁶ she had a daughter, whom they named 'Aqīqa. Maywa-jān said to Lady (*Aka*) Māham Begam, 'I am in the family way, too.' Then my lady got ready two sets of weapons, and said: 'Whichever of you bears a son, I will give him good arms.' Then she packed up the arms, and got ready gold and silver walnuts. She procured also the (special) arms of a Mughal commander, and was very happy, and

¹ Text, Bibban. Biban and Bāyazīd were two distinguished Afghān chiefs and supporters of the fallen Lodī dynasty. The defeat named here occurred at Daura, on the Guntī, 1531 (937H.).

All who love the story of an adventurous life, chequered through character of individuals in a marked degree, should fill out Gul-badan's brief narrative from Mr. Erskine's life of Humāyūn.

² 1532 (938H.). Taken from Shīr Shāh late in 1532 (939H.).

³ An attendant on a man of rank, who carries a gold or silver staff (Johnson, Pers. Diet., *s.v.*); chamberlain in the service of Khāns of Tūrkiṣtān (Zenker, *s.v.*) Gul-badan's use of the word (81b) would allow a more extended sense.

⁴ Text has also *dar hayāt khud*. This is not the only instance of a similar redundant expression.

⁵ Bega had had one son, Al-amān. She is known in the later histories as Hājī Begam, but she made her pilgrimage in 972H.. She was captured at Chausa in 1539 (946H.) by Shīr Shāh; and most writers give her at this date the brevet title of Hājī. It is probable that *Bega* was not her personal name. It is the title of a lady of rank, and answers to *beg*.

⁶ Text, *b'ad az yak sal*, which, read literally, spoils the story.

tomb, for the support of the men of learning (*ulamā*) and the reciters who were attached to it.

My lady made an allowance of food twice daily: in the morning an ox and two sheep and five goats, and at afternoon prayer-time five goats. She gave this from her own estate during the two and a half years that she remained in the prison of this world.

During my lady's life I used to see his Majesty in her residence. When she fell into bad health, she said to me: 'It will be very hard that when I am gone, the Emperor Bābar's daughters should see their brother in Bibī Gul-barg's¹ house.' Just as though her words were in the royal heart and mind, his Majesty used always, so long as he was in Hindūstān, to come to our house. He used to visit us and showed us kindness and affection and favour without stint. He used to come to the house of this insignificant one, and there would come Māsūma Sultān Begam, and Gul-rang Begam, and Gul-chihra Begam,² etc.—all the married ladies—and pay their duty to him. (21b)

In short, after the death of my royal father and my lady, his Majesty, in the fulness of his affection, showed this broken one such favour, and spoke with such boundless compassion to this helpless one, that she did not know she was orphaned and headless.³

During the ten⁴ years after the death of his Majesty *I'rdāus-makānī* that his Majesty *Jannat-āshyānī* was in Hind, the people dwelt in repose and safety, and obedience and loyalty.⁵

Six months after the death of his Majesty *I'rdāus-*

¹ Cf. *post.* 29b, and 'Biographical Appendix,' *s.n.*.

² These three were her half and full sisters respectively.

³ Gul-badan was about eight at her father's death. At three she had been adopted by Māham Begam.

⁴ Really about nine.

⁵ This rose-coloured picture accords neither with the facts nor with the narrative of Gul-badan. It may be that some limiting word has slipped out; *e.g.*, 'in Āgra,' or 'the people of the country,' in opposition to the dispossessed Afghāns, conquerors of earlier date, or Bābar's people, *i.e.*, household.

his welfare. On Friday, December 29th, 1530 (Jumāda I. 9th, 937H.), the Emperor Humāyūn mounted the throne, and everyone said: 'May all the world be blessed under his rule.' (20b)

After that he came to visit his mothers and sisters and his own people, and he made inquiry after their health and offered sympathy, and spoke with kindness and commiseration. He was pleased to order: 'Let each keep the office, and service, and lands, and residence which he has had, and let him serve in the old way.'

On the same day Hindal Mīrzā, having come from Kābul, paid his homage to the Emperor, who received him with kindness, and was very happy, and bestowed on him many things from the treasures left by their father.

After my royal father's death, there were the good works and consecrated days of the first assembly¹, at his tomb.² His Majesty named Muḥammad 'Alī 'asas³ its guardian, and ordered the appointment of sixty good reciters of the whole Qurān and readers with good voices, so that the congregational prayers might be said five times daily and the whole Qurān recited, and prayer offered for the soul of the royal dweller in Paradise (*Firdaus-makānī*). (21a) The whole of Sīkrī—now known as Fathpūr—together with five *laks* charged on Bayāna, was given as an endowment to the

¹ *ma'rika*. Raverty (Afghan Diet.) gives as the first meaning of this word 'a party of ambassadors, or persons sent to make peace between two tribes'; and, secondly, as 'the business of making peace, or an arrangement between two tribes.' Lane and other writers render it 'battle-field' and 'battle,' etc. Steingass adds 'hubbub, turmoil' (modern colloquial). Gul-badan uses it for the common social assemblies she names, and here for the gathering of relations at a tomb.

² Bābar's body was laid first in the Rām or Arām Bāgh (Garden of Rest), on the opposite side of the river from the present *Taj-mahāll*. Later it was taken to Kābul. Mr. Erskine (B. & M., I. 517 *et seq.*) quotes a charming passage from Burns' 'Travels in Bokhārā' (II. 121 *et seq.*), which describes Bābar's self-chosen resting-place. He follows this by an eloquent estimate of Bābar's character which makes clear his regret in bidding farewell to the great and vivid personality he has so admirably set before his readers.

³ *i.e.*, of the night-guard. I believe he was the brother of Māham Begam.

to him. Be of one heart and one mind with him. I hope to God that Humāyūn also will bear himself well towards men.

‘Moreover, Humāyūn, I commit to God’s keeping you and your brothers and all my kinsfolk and your people and my people; and all of these I confide to you.’

At these words hearers and onlookers wept and lamented. His own blessed eyes also filled with tears.

When his family and the people within the *haram* heard of these occurrences, they were stupefied and overwhelmed, and cried and lamented.

Three days later he passed from this transitory world to the eternal home. The death took place on Monday, December 26th, 1530 (Jumāda I. 5th, 937H.). (20a)

‘They brought out our paternal aunt¹ and our mothers² on the pretence that the doctors were coming to look. All rose. They took all the begams and my mothers to the Great House.’

Black fell the day for children and kinsfolk and all. They bewailed and lamented; voices were uplifted in weeping; there was utter dejection. Each passed that ill-fated day in a hidden corner.

The death was kept concealed. After a time Araish Khān,—he was an amir of Hind,—said: ‘It is not well to keep the death secret, because when such misfortunes befall kings in Hindūstān, it is the custom of the *bāzār* people to rob and steal; God forbid that the Mughals not knowing, they should come and loot the houses and dwelling-places. It would be best to dress someone in red, and to set him on an elephant, and to let him proclaim that the Emperor Bābar has become a dervish and has given his throne to the Emperor Humāyūn.’ This his Majesty Humāyūn ordered to be done. People were at once reassured by the proclamation, and all offered prayers for

¹ Khānzāda Begam.

² Bābar’s wives.

³ Perhaps ‘palace,’ and the sense may be that they did not go to their separate residences but remained nearer to the dead.

luck, for our remedies are of no avail. We hope that God, the most Holy, will soon give one from His invisible treasures.'

When they felt his Majesty's pulse, they came to the opinion that there were symptoms of the same poison as that given him by Sultān Ibrāhīm's mother. It was in this way: that ill-fated demon (the mother) gave a *tōla* of poison to one of her maids, and said: 'Take this and give it to Ahmad the taster and tell him to put it in some way or other into the special dishes prepared for the Emperor.' And she promised him large rewards. The ill-fated demon did this although his Majesty used to call her "mother," and had assigned her place and lands with every favour, and had been kindly pleased to say: 'Consider me as in the place of Sultān Ibrāhīm.' But as ignorance prevails amongst those people, she did not regard his kindnesses. The (fitting) hemistich is well known:

'Everything reverts to its original type,
(Whether pure gold, or silver, or tin).'²

To cut short the story: the cook (Heaven having made him blind and deaf,) spread the poison which had been brought and given to him, on the Emperor's bread only, and so little was eaten. But the symptoms of this illness were like that one's, seeing that day by day he lost strength and became more and more emaciated. (19*b*) Every day the disorder increased and his blessed countenance changed.

Next day³ he called his chiefs together and spoke after this wise: 'For years it has been in my heart to make over my throne to Humāyūn Mīrzā and to retire to the Gold-scattering Garden. By the Divine grace I have obtained all things but the fulfilment of this wish in health of body. Now, when illness has laid me low, I charge you all to acknowledge Humāyūn in my stead. Fail not in loyalty

¹ Her son, who died fighting Bābar at Pānīpat.

² Pers. and Hind. Proverbs, T. Roebuck, Calcutta, 1824, p. 124, and Mems., 13.

³ (?) after Humāyūn's arrival.

Dearest lady, the smiling one,¹ came, and they said to her: 'The Emperor spoke in this manner, and it has occurred to him in such a way. It now remains to know your pleasure. Let it be as you wish.' She said the same and, 'God grant blessing and peace! His idea is very good.' My *chīcha*² herself and Badī'u-l-jamāl Begam and Āq Begam, both of whom were paternal aunts of his Majesty, were conducted into the hall. Having raised an estrade³ and spread carpets and chosen a propitious hour, Māham's *nanacha* made both *sullāns* bow the knee⁴ in order to exalt them to the rank of sons-in-law.

Meantime his Majesty's disorder of the bowels increased. The Emperor Humāyūn broke down again when he saw his father's condition worsen, and called the doctors, and said to them: 'Think it well over and find some remedy.' (19a) Having consulted together, they said: 'Small is our

¹ *tabassum kunān*.

² This Tūrkī word presents great difficulty.

Vambéry has *ŷicha*, Kieghiz, mother, and *chīcha*, aunt (inferentially maternal); Shaw, *chīchā*, Qāzzaq, mother. P. de Courteille, Dict., *chīcha*, an elder sister. The word has in Samarqand the meaning 'maternal aunt.'

It occurs again in the text (23a), and is used for Gul-badan's sisters, the brides of this page (19a); so that it may be right (spite of the singular number) to read 'my elder sisters themselves'—*i.e.*, the brides. But it might be 'my mother.'

The word occurs at least once in the Memoirs. (Ihm., 446; Ers., 387.) It is preceded by one which Ihminsky writes *yanka*, and Erskine *Bikeh* (*Bega*). The letters of both words might be identical and the points only decisive. Shaw says *yangā* is an elder brother's wife; Vambéry, *belle-sœur*, *Schwagerin*; and Erskine (208 n. .), bridesmaid, by which, I believe, is meant one who leads the bride to the bridegroom—an exactly appropriate use here, since Ḥabība *yangā* brings her daughter Ma'sūma to marry Bābar. (N.B.—Shaw writes *yangā* and *chīchā*, while Vambéry and others have a final 'round *hā*.)

But if the *chīcha* of Mems., 387, is to be read 'elder sister,' Bābar can apply it only to Khānzāda Begam (elsewhere called by him *aulugh ŷgāchī* (Ihm., 116.); and this would, I believe, make the reading of *Bikeh* (*Bega*) difficult, since Khānzāda could not be called anything less than *Khānam*. The same objection would apply to the reading of *chīcha* as mother or as maternal aunt. This inclines one to read *yanka*, and not *bikeh*, at Mems., 387; and the Zainab of the sentence may be granddaughter (*nabīra*), through the female line, of the *belle-sœur*, or *bridesmaid*, of Khānzāda Begam. But nothing is clear as to the relationship.

³ Text, *ṣufā dāda*. Perhaps, content was given to all, but *ṣuffa*, estrade, fits better with the following *basāt*.

⁴ *Zānū zanā'inda*, literally, 'striking the knee.' Mems., 204 n. .

The whole time my royal father kept repeating: 'Where is Hindāl? What is he doing?' Just at this time some-one came in and said: 'Mīr Bardī Beg, the son of Mīr Khurd Beg,¹ conveys his obeisance.' My royal father, full of agitation, sent for him at once and asked: 'Where is Hindāl? When will he come? What trouble waiting gives!' (18a) Mīr Bardī said: 'The fortunate prince has reached Dihlī; he will wait on you to-day or to-morrow.' On this my royal father said to Mīr Bardī Beg: 'Ill-fated little fellow! I have heard that they married your sister in Kābul, and you in Lāhōr.² It is because of the wedding festivities that you have (not)³ sooner brought my son, and so my weary waiting has been very long.' He asked: 'How tall has Hindāl Mīrzā grown?' and 'What is he like?' As Mīr Bardī was wearing one of the mīrzā's dresses, he showed it and said: 'This is a robe of the prince which he bestowed on his servant.' His Majesty called him nearer and said: 'Let me see how tall and how big Hindāl has grown.'⁴ He kept repeating, 'Alas! a thousand times alas! that I do not see Hindāl,' and asking everyone who came in: 'When will Hindāl come?'

During his illness, he laid a command on my lady, and said: 'Marriages ought to be arranged for Gul-rang Begam and Gul-chihra Begam. (18b) When the royal aunt, my elder sister,⁵ honours me with a visit, tell her that I say it has occurred to me to give Gul-rang to Isān-tīmūr Sultān and Gul-chihra to Tūkhta-būghā Sultān.'⁶

¹ Hindāl's guardian from birth (1519-1530). He had previously been Bābar's *bakāwal* (house-steward). One of his sons, Khwāja Tāhīr Muḥammad, served under Humāyūn and Akbar, and was *mīr farīghat* (master of comfort). He may be the Mīr Bardī (qy. a child's sobriquet, Master Full-of-fun) of this episode. Tāhīr's son, Bāqī, was a sewer, i.e., table-decker (*sufra-chī*).

² Hindāl, with whom doubtless Mīr Bardī and his father were travelling, was on his way from Badakhshān to the court.

³ The text has no negative.

⁴ Hindāl was now about eleven years old, so Mīr Bardī must also have been a boy.

⁵ Khānzāda Begam—*aka-jānam*—dearest lady.

⁶ Isān (Ishān, or Yussun) was the ninth, and Tūkhta-būghā the tenth, son of Ahmad Khān, Bābar's maternal uncle. They were uncles of Gul-badan's own husband, Khizr Khwāja.

cherished child may have his heart's desire and live long, and I desire the kingdom for him and not for the others, because he has not his equal in distinction.'

'During Humāyūn's illness¹ his Majesty walked round him and turned his face (in intercession) to his Reverence, Murtaza 'Alī Karīmu-l-lāh. He kept up that going-round from the Wednesday and made intercession from the Tuesday, in anxiety and deep dejection. The weather was extremely hot and his heart and liver burned. While going round he prayed, saying in effect: 'O God! if a life may be exchanged for a life, I who am Bābar, I give my life and my being for Humāyūn.'²

That very day he fell ill, and Humāyūn poured water on his head, and came out and gave audience. (17b) Because of his illness, they carried my royal father within, and he kept his bed for two or three months.

As he grew worse, a messenger was sent to summon his Majesty Humāyūn, who had gone towards Kalinjar. He came post-haste, and on paying his duty to the Emperor, noticed that he was very feeble. Filled with compassion, he began to break down, and kept saying to the attendants: 'How has he come to such a lamentable pass all at once?' He sent for the doctors, and said to them: 'I left him well. What has happened all at once?' They said this and that in reply.

¹ The account of Bābar's self-surrender which follows is somewhat puzzling to translate, but the sense is clear and the important statements are in accordance with other sources.

² One of Kehr's (Ilminsky's) 'fragments' (which, if it be not Bābar's own, it is not improbable was added to the *Tūzūk* by Jahāngīr) tells this story in Bābar's person. After rejection of the suggestion to sacrifice for Humāyūn's life the great diamond (? the *Koh-i-nūr*), the narrative continues (P. de C., II. 460.): 'J'entrai dans la chambre où il se tenait, et je tournai trois fois autour de lui, en commençant par la tête et en disant, "J'assume sur moi tout ce que tu souffres." En même instant je me sentis tout alourdi, tandis que lui se trouvait léger et dispos. Il se leva en pleine santé, et moi je m'affaissai, accablé de malaise.'

Faith in the rite of circumambulation still prevails in Persia. Bābar, it is clear, believed his devotion to have borne fruit. (Cf. Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, s.v. Intercession. For Karīmu-l-lāh, see Badāyūnī, *Bib. Ind. Text*, III. 191.).



BĀBAR IN PRAYER, DEVOTING HIMSELF FOR HIS SON.

[To face p. 109.]

rarity of the world and unique of the age. As her lamentation passed due bounds, his Majesty said to my lady and the begams: 'Come, let us make an excursion to Dholpūr.' He himself went comfortably and pleasantly by water, and the begams also begged to go by boat.

Just then there came a letter from Maulānā Muḥammad Farghārī (Parghālī) in Dihlī, saying: 'Humāyūn Mīrzā is ill and in an extraordinary state. Her Highness the begam should come at once to Dihlī, for the mīrzā is much prostrated.'¹ (16*b*)

My lady was very much upset on hearing this news, and started for Dihlī, like one athirst who is far from the waters. They met in Mathura. To her experienced eye he seemed ten times weaker and more alarmingly ill than she had heard he was. From Mathura the two, mother and son, like Jesus and Mary, set out for Āgra. When they arrived, this insignificant one went with her own sisters to visit that royal angel of goodness.

He was then growing weaker and weaker. Every time he came to his senses, his pearl-dropping tongue asked for us, and said: 'Sisters, you are welcome! Come, and let us embrace one another. I have not embraced you.' It might be three times that he raised his head and that his jewel-dropping tongue let fall these uplifting words.

When his Majesty came and saw how it was, his light-revealing countenance at once became sad and pitiful, and he began more and more to show signs of dread. (17*a*) On this my lady said: 'Do not be troubled about my son. You are a king; what griefs have you? You have other sons. I sorrow because I have only this one.'² His Majesty rejoined: 'Māham! although I have other sons, I love none as I love your Humāyūn. I crave that this

¹ Cf. *Bābar-nāma*, Ilminsky, 502 *et seq.*, and P. de Courteille, II. 457 *et seq.*, where is one of the supplementary fragments included in Kehr's *Bābar-nāma* (*Tūzūk*) and possibly taken from the Bukhārā MS. (Cf. Notes on the Tūrki texts of the *Bābar-nāma*, A. S. Beveridge. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1900.)

² All Māham's other children died in childhood.

royal father put up in it a *tūr-khāna*,¹ where he used to sit and write his book.²

I and Afghānī *āghācha* were sitting in the front of the lower storey when my lady went to prayers. I said to Afghānī *āghācha*: 'Pull my hand.' She pulled, and my hand came out. My strength went and I cried. (15*b*) Then they brought the bone-setter and when he had bound up my hand, the Emperor went to Āgra.

After his arrival, word was brought that the begams were on the way from Kābul. My royal father went as far as Naugrām to give honourable reception to my dearest lady (*aka-jānam*),³ who was my oldest paternal aunt and my royal father's eldest sister. All the begams who had come with her, paid their duty to the Emperor in her quarters. They were very happy and made the prostration of thanks, and then set off for Āgra. The Emperor gave houses to all the begams.

A few days later he made an excursion to the Gold-scattering Garden (*Bāgh-i-sar-afshān*). There was a place in it for ablution before prayers. When he saw it, he said: 'My heart is bowed down by ruling and reigning; I will retire to this garden. As for attendance, 'Tāhir the ewer-bearer will amply suffice. I will make over the kingdom to Humāyūn.' On this my lady (*akām*) and all his children broke down, and said with tears: 'God keep you in His own peace upon the throne many, many years, and may all your children after you reach a good old age!' (16*a*)

A few days later Alwar Mīrzā fell ill. His illness led to an affection of the bowels, which grew worse and worse in spite of all that the doctors could do, and at last he passed from this transitory world to the eternal home. His Majesty was very sad and sorry, and Alwar's mother, Dil-dār Begam, was wild with grief for the child, who was a

¹ "Perhaps a space enclosed by a low railing." (Mems., 202 n.) Possibly and suitably, a mosquito-room (*ḡaur*, net). (cf. Khwānd-amīr, B.M. Or. 1,762, and Add. 30,774, ff. 25-114.)

² The *Tūzūk-i-bābarī*.

³ Khānzāda Begam.

too. (14b) I, not knowing, wished to get up, but Khalīfa raised objections, and said: 'She is your old serving-woman. There is no need to rise for her. Your father has exalted this old servant (? himself) by giving such an order¹ about him. So be it! what power have slaves?'

From Khalīfa I accepted 6,000 *shāhrukhīs* and five horses, and Sultānam gave me 3,000 and three horses. Then she said: 'A hasty meal (*mā hazārī*) is ready. If you will eat you will honour your servants.' I consented. There was a raised platform in a pleasant spot, and a pavilion of red cloth with lining of Gujrātī brocade, and six canopies of cloth and brocade, each of a (differing) colour, and a square enclosure² of cloth with painted poles.

I sat in Khalīfa's quarters. The meal drew out to almost fifty roast sheep,³ and bread and sherbet and much fruit. Having at length eaten my breakfast, I got into my litter and went and paid n. duty to my royal father. (15a)

I fell at his feet; he asked me many questions, and took me for a time in his arms, and then this insignificant person felt such happiness that greater could not be imagined.

When we had been in Āgra three months, the Emperor went to Dholpūr. Her Highness Māham Begam and this lowly person also went. A tank had been made there, ten (*gaz*) by ten, out of one piece (of rock). From Dholpūr his Majesty went on to Sikrī. He ordered a great platform made in the middle of the tank, and when it was ready, he used to go and sit on it, or to row about. This platform still exists.

They also made a *chaukandī* in the Sikrī garden, and my

¹ (?) as that she should rise to greet him.

² Text, *chahār chūqa-ī-sarūparda*. Cf. *Notices et Extraits*, Quatremère, XIV. 498.

³ The 'fifty' sheep will not reduce by any reading I can suggest. Cf. *anglice* 'heaps of,' 'hundreds of,' etc. Perhaps the flock is a product of childish weariness recalled half a century later. Possibly one should read *panj āhār*, five foods, *i.e.*, courses, dishes. Gul-badan⁴ is now between five and six. Her doubt as to the reception due to Sultānam rings true, and Khalīfa's words suggest a little play-acting to please the small traveller; he treated her like a grown-up, and she tried to act due.

saddled but set out on foot. He met her near the house of Māham's *nanacha*.¹ She wished to alight, but he would not wait, and fell into her train and walked to his own house.²

At the time of her meeting his Majesty, she desired me to come on by daylight and pay my respects to him.

. . . nine troopers, with two sets of nine horses and the two extra litters which the Emperor had sent, and one litter which had been brought from Kābul, and about a hundred of my lady's Mughal servants, mounted on fine (*tīpūchāq*) horses,⁴ all elegance and beauty.⁵

My royal father's Khalifa⁶ with his wife Sultānam⁷ came as far as Naugrām⁸ to meet (us). * My *māmās*⁹ had made me alight at the Little Garden, and having spread a small carpet, seated me on it. They instructed me to rise when Khalifa came in, and to embrace him. When he came, I rose and embraced him. Then his wife Sultānam came in

¹ *dar pesh khūna nanacha Māham*. This might read 'in the advance camp.' Māham's *nanacha* appears thrice in the MS. : here and at 18*b* and 26*a*. She is clearly of the innermost circle. The word may be rendered 'dear little mother,' and is one of close affection.

² Cf. Mems., 423.

³ *tiqūz*. The 'Türks made kings' gifts by nines and attached superstitious reverence to the number.

⁴ A *tīpūchāq* horse, according to Shaw, is long-necked like a Türkman horse, and it seems also to be one with speed, beauty, and specially-trained paces. Vambéry says, 'ein fettes, gutes Pferd.'

⁵ The above passage is inserted without break in the text and suggests transcription from an imperfect MS. It may be an enumeration of the items of the cortège which followed Maham with Gul-badan.

⁶ Sayyid or Khwāja Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Alī *Barlās* and Bābar's *vazīr*. His brother, Junaid *Barlās*, married Shahr-bāuū, a half-sister of Bābar.

⁷ Clearly an intimate. There were close relations, as has been said, between this *Barlās* family and Bābar. Cf. Biographical Appendix, *s.n.* Sultānam.

⁸ Some four miles from Āgra and on the east of the Jamna. The royal palace was not yet built on the western bank. Cf. Rājputāna Gazetteer, III. 274.

⁹ Steingass translates 'mother,' 'matron,' and 'old women.' One *māmā* is named later, 'Fakhru-n-nisā', my *māmā*.' (26*a*) She was the mother of Nadīm Khwāja *kūka*. She is several times mentioned, and it appears from a MS. belonging to Colonel Hanna which Mr. Beveridge has examined, that she was mother-in-law of the celebrated Māham *anaga* who was Nadīm's wife.

other, may be hampered in his comings and goings, but all may move unmolested and free from interference.'

In the night¹ before the battle word was brought that Qāsim Husain Sultān,—a grandson of Sultān Husain Mīrzā through a daughter, 'Āyisha Sultān Begam,—had come to within ten *kōs* (of the royal camp) on his way from Khurāsān. (13*b*)

This news delighted his Majesty greatly. He asked, 'How many men are with him?' When he heard 'thirty or forty,' he at once sent off 1,000 troopers, all armed and equipped, at midnight, so that they might march in again with Qāsim Husain Sultān, and in this way the enemy and outsiders be let know that reinforcements had come in good time. Everyone who heard the plan thought it a good one.

Next morning, which was March 16th, 1527 (Jumāda II. [13th], 933H.), his Majesty arrayed battle against Rānā Sangā on the skirts of the hill of Sikrī, where now Pathpūr has been built² and peopled. By the Divine grace he was victorious and became an avenger of the cause of God.³

A year later my lady (*akām*), who was Māham Begam, came from Kābul to Hindūstān. I, this insignificant one, came with her in advance of my sisters, and paid my duty to my royal father. When my lady reached Kūl(-jalālī—*i.e.*, 'Alighar), his Majesty had sent two litters with three horsemen. (14*a*) She went on post-haste from Kūl to Āgra. His Majesty had intended to go as far as Kūl-jalālī to meet her. At evening-prayer time some one came and said to him: 'I have just passed her Highness on the road, four miles out.' My royal father did not wait for a horse to be

¹ Bābar says that Qāsim had come earlier and with 500 men. Muḥ. Sharīf, the 'rascally fellow' and 'evil-minded wretch,' was with him. (Mems., 352.)

² How beautifully built may, in small part, be seen by visiting the Oriental section of the South Kensington Museum and there examining the architectural reproductions, the drawings of Mr. W. B. Carpenter, the photographs, etc. The South Kensington Museum and the British Museum furnish numerous illustrations for Gul-badām Begam's MS., and add to it the charm of life and reality.

³ *Ghāzī*. Bābar now assumed this title, because he had vanquished non-Muhammādans.

in this state, he thought over the whole position. As the enemy was close at hand, this device occurred to his blessed mind; he ordered the remnant of what remained over and above deserters and enemies, to gather together. One and all came—amirs and khāns and sultāns; plebeian and noble, low and high. Then he addressed them, and said: ‘Do you not know that there lies a journey of some months between us and the land of our birth and our familiar city? If our side is defeated, (God preserve us from that day! God forbid it!) where are we? where is our birthplace? where our city? We have to do with strangers and foreigners. It is in every way best for each man to set resolutely before himself the two alternatives: if we win, we are avengers of the cause of God; if we lose, we die martyrs. In either fate is our salvation; each is a step and upward stage in greatness.’

To this they all agreed. They swore by the divorce of their wives and on the Holy Book; they recited the *fātiha*, and said, ‘O King! God willing, we will not spare ourselves in sacrifice and devotion, so long as there are breath and life in our bodies.’¹ (13*o*)

Two days before the battle his Majesty renounced wine, and, indeed, he forswore all forbidden things. Following his example, 400 young men of name, who had given proof of manliness and one-mindedness and friendship, also renounced these things when he did. His Majesty broke up all forbidden utensils,—vessels of gold and of silver, goblets and flasks, etc.; and he gave them to the poor and needy.

He also sent abroad *firmāns* with the announcement: ‘We exempt (you) from all dues and octroi and tithe on corn, and from all illegal imposts, so that no one, trader or

¹ Mr. Erskine thus gives Bābar’s words: ‘Every man dies. God only survives unchangeable. He who comes to life’s feast must drink the parting cup of death. How much better to die with honour than to live with infamy!’

Perhaps, as Gul-badan says, Bābar touched also the thought of *hotā*, and this would be recorded by the woman.

palace, give it precedence, and carry it out with might and main.'

He commanded buildings to be put up in Āgra on the other side of the river,¹ and a stone palace to be built for himself between the *ḥaram* and the garden. He also had one built in the audience court, with a reservoir in the middle and four chambers in the four towers. On the river's bank he had a *chaukandī*² built. (12a)

He ordered a tank made in Dholpūr, ten by ten,³ out of a single mass of rock, and used to say, 'When it is finished, I will fill it with wine.' But as he had given up wine before the fight with Rānā Sangā, he filled it with lemonade.

A year after Sultān Ibrāhīm's death, the rānā⁴ appeared from the Mandū (or Hindū) side with a countless host. Amīrs and rājas and rānās, every one of those who had come earlier and paid duty to his Majesty, now became an enemy and went and joined the rānā, until Kūl-jalālī and Sambhal and Rāprī—every *pargana*,—and rāīs and rājas and Afghāns became hostile. Nearly two *laks* of cavalry assembled.

At this time, Muḥammad Sharīf, the astrologer, said to the royal soldiers, 'It would be best for the Emperor not to fight, for the constellation *Sakkiz Yildoz* (Eight Stars) is opposite.' Amazing perturbation fell upon the royal army. They became exceedingly anxious and troubled,⁵ and showed signs of cowardice. (12b) When his Majesty saw his army

¹ *i.e.*, opposite the fort.

² 'A building on the roof which has a door on each of the four sides.' Vullers, 602. Badāonī uses *ghurfa*, upper room, as an equivalent. Cf. Elliot's History of India, V. 347 and 503.

³ About 20 feet by 20 feet. (Meins. 398 n.)

⁴ This decisive battle was fought on March 16th, 1527, on the skirts of the hill of Sīkrī, at Khānwa. Akbar's *prænomen* of Fathipūr—the City of Victory—was given to Sīkrī in 1573 to commemorate the Gujrāt campaign.

⁵ When the fight had been won, Bābar soundly rated Muḥammad Sharīf, gave him money, and dismissed him to the place from which he had emerged, apparently only to cause trouble. He had come to India with a royal kinsman from Kābul, and to Kābul in 1519 from Khost (Māham's home).

to all the mīrzās and sultāns and amīrs. He sent letters in all directions, urgently saying, 'We shall take into full favour all who enter our service, and especially such as served our father and grandfather and ancestors. If such will come to us, they will receive fitting benefits. Whoever there may be of the families of *Sāhib-qirān* and Chingīz Khān, let them turn towards our court. The most High has given us sovereignty in Hindūstān; let them come that we may see prosperity together.'

Seven¹ daughters of Sultān Abū-sa'īd came (to Hindūstān): Gūhar-shād Begam, and Fakhr-jahān Begam, and Khadīja Sultān Begam, and Badi'ū-l-jamāl Begam, and Āq Begam, and Sultān Bakht Begam.

(Also) Zainab Sultān Khānam, daughter of his Majesty's maternal uncle, Sultān Mahmūd Khān, and Muhibb Sultān Khānam,² daughter of *Ilācha* Khān (Lamāda), his Majesty's younger maternal uncle.

In short, all the begams and khānams went, ninety-six persons in all, and all received houses and lands and gifts to their heart's desire. (11b)

All through the four years that (my father) was in Āgra he used to go on Fridays to see his paternal aunts. One day it was extremely hot, and her Highness my lady (*Ākām*) said, 'The wind is very hot, indeed; how would it be if you did not go this one Friday? The begams would not be vexed.' His Majesty said, 'Māham! it is astonishing that you should say such things! The daughters of Abū-sa'īd Sultān Mīrzā, who have been deprived of father and brothers! If I do not cheer them, how will it be done?'

To the architect, Khwāja Qāsim, his Majesty gave the following order: 'We command a piece of good service from you. It is this: whatever work, even if it be on a great scale, our paternal aunts may order done in their

¹ Six only named.

² Wife of Mīrzā Haider Dughlāt, the historian.

nurses and foster-brethren and ladies, and to all who pray for me.' The gifts were made according to the list.

Three happy days they remained together in the Audience Hall Garden. They were uplifted by pride, and recited the *fātiḥa*¹ for the benediction and prosperity of his Majesty, and joyfully made the prostration of thanks.²

The Emperor sent by Khwāja Kilān a large *ashrafī*,³ which weighed three imperial *sīr*, that is, fifteen *sīr* of Hind, for . . . 'Asas.⁴ He said to the Khwāja: 'If 'Asas asks you, "What has the Emperor sent for me?" say, "One *ashrafī*,"' as there really was only one. 'Asas was amazed, and fretted about it for three days. His Majesty had ordered that a hole should be bored in the *ashrafī*, and that 'Asas should be blindfolded and the *ashrafī* hung round his neck, and that then he was to be sent into the *haram*. The hole was bored and the *ashrafī* hung round his neck. He was quite helpless with surprise at its weight, and delighted and very, very happy. He took it in both hands, and wondered over it and said, 'No one shall get my *ashrafī*.' Each begam, too, gave (? him) ten or twelve *ashrafī*, so he had seventy or eighty. (11a)

After Khwāja Kilān Beg had started for Kābul, the Emperor made gifts in Agra to his Majesty Humāyūn and

¹ The first chapter of the Qurān.

² In this prostration the forehead touches the ground.

³ Perhaps from the Lodī treasury. (Cf. J.A.S.B. Proceedings, 1883; Thomas, 423; Richardson's Ar. & Per. Dict., s.v. *sikka*; Memoirs of the Mughal Empire, Jonathan Scott, 3 and 3 n.)

⁴ Lit. a night-guard. The words preceding 'Asas offer much difficulty. They may be read *ba 'ammū*,—to the paternal uncle of 'Asas. But the story is of 'Asas, the night-guard and not of his uncle. Perhaps *'ammū* is a clerical error for *'amah*, bewilderment, misleading, and this would suit the story well. Mr. Beveridge has suggested to me to read *'Umarī*, i.e., an old servant of 'Umar Shaikh. This, too, would be appropriate, for the victim of the hoax is clearly an old man.

The title 'Asas is applied several times by Bābar. One 'Asas was a boon companion and partook of Bābar's vow before the battle of Khānwa. (Mems. 283 and 354; Firishta, Pers. Text, Briggs I. 449.) Gul-badan names one (20b) as entrusted with the care of Bābar's tomb,—Muḥḥ 'Alī 'Asas. I think he was brother to Māham Begam, and the gover. or of Kābul whom Kāmraḥ murdered in 1547.

Sultān Ibrāhīm, to my elder relations¹ and sisters and each person of the *haram*. You take them. I shall write a list, and you will distribute them according to it. (10a) You will order a tent with a screen to be set up in the Garden of the Audience Hall for each begam,² and when a pleasant meeting-place has been arranged, the begams are to make the prostration of thanks for the complete victory which has been brought about.

‘To each begam is to be delivered as follows: one special dancing-girl of the dancing-girls of Sultān Ibrāhīm, with one gold plate full of jewels—ruby and pearl, cornelian and diamond, emerald and turquoise, topaz and cat’s-eye—and two small mother-o’-pearl trays full of *ashrafīs*, and on two other trays *shāhrukhīs*,³ and all sorts of stuffs by nines—that is, four trays and one plate. Take a dancing-girl and another plate of jewels, and one each of *ashrafīs* and *shāhrukhīs*, and present, in accordance with my directions, to my elder relations the very plate of jewels and the self-same dancing-girl which I have given for them. I have made other gifts;⁴ convey these afterwards. (10b) Let them divide and present jewels and *ashrafīs* and *shāhrukhīs* and stuffs to my sisters and children and the *harams*⁵ and kinsmen, and to the begams and *āghās*⁶ and

¹ *walīyu-n-nīmatān*, lords of beneficence. Gul-badan’s application of it is to ‘benevolent ladies,’ i.e., the numerous aunts. It is a title of respect for seniors.

² I think each begam was to encamp with her own establishment and within her own enclosure (*sarāparda*), and not in hasty camp-fashion of community of quarters. This would exalt the assembly.

The *sarāparda* or enclosing canvas wall, run at optional distance round tents, was, it is stated in the *Ma’āsiru-r-raḥīmī*, invented by Bairam Khān-i-khānān, and if this is true, it must at this date have been a quite modern convenience.

³ It is waste of time to try to estimate the amount of these money gifts, made as they were in coins of uncertain value and recorded, probably on hearsay, more than fifty years after bestowal. Mr. Erskine puts the *shāhrukhī* at from 10d. to 1s., Steingass, s.v. *ashrafī*, gives for its value about 16 *rupīs*, presumably of undegenerated rank.

⁴ Qy., for the elder relations.

⁵ Presumably of his kinsmen and of officers whose families were with Bābar’s own in Kābul.

⁶ This word seems to describe women who were heads of household departments and not merely the guardians of *harams*.

arrayed battle at Pānīpat¹ against Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of Sultān Sikandar, son of Bahlūl *Lodī*. By God's grace he was victorious, and Sultān Ibrāhīm was killed in the fight.

His victory was won purely by the Divine grace, for Sultān Ibrāhīm had a *lak* and 80,000 horse, and as many as 1,500 head of fierce elephants; (9b) while his Majesty's army with the traders and good and all (*badr* (?) *bad*, bad) was 12,000 persons and he had, at the outside, 6,000 or 7,000 serviceable men.

The treasures of five kings fell into his hands. He gave everything away. The amīrs of Hind represented that in Hindūstān it was thought disgraceful to expend the treasure of bygone kings, and that people rather added and added to it, while his Majesty, on the contrary, had given all away.²

Khwāja³ Kilān⁴ Beg asked leave several times to go to Kābul. He said: 'My constitution is not fitted for the climate of Hindūstān. If leave were given, I should tarry awhile in Kābul.' His Majesty was not at all, at all willing for him to go, but at last gave permission because he saw him so very urgent. He said: 'When you go, I shall send some of the valuable presents and curiosities of Hind which fell into our hands through the victory over

¹ 'A far-reaching, almost illimitable level tract, broken only by insignificant undulations. Here and there, where the shallow soil is moistened from some niggardly watercourse, grow sparse grasses and stunted thorn-bushes. But, for the most part, the eye falls only on the uniform yellowish-gray waste of sterile earth. Everywhere empty silence reigns, and it would almost seem as if this desert had been designed for the battlefield of nations.' (Emperor Akbar, P. v. Noer., trs. A.S.B. I. 74.)

Thrice in modern times a decisive battle has been fought out here: (1) by Bābar against Ibrāhīm and the Lodīs, 1526; (2) by Akbar against the Indian Afghāns in 1556; and (3) by Alunad Shāh Durrānī against the Marāthās in 1761.

² Bābar distributed the treasure on the 11th or 12th of May, 1526, and left himself so little that he was dubbed *qalāḍar*.

³ M. Garcin de Tassy says, in his 'Mémoire sur la Religion Musalmane' (46 n.) that khwāja, like sayyid, is a title for a descendant of Muhammad. Shaw's *Türkī Dictionary* states that khwāja is applied to the offspring of a sayyid by a woman of another family, also to their descendants. I find many instances where both titles are applied to the same man.

⁴ One of Bābar's most admirable followers and friends, and perhaps a relation. He was one of seven brothers, sons of Maulānā Muhammad *Sadru-d-dīn*, who spent their lives in Bābar's service.

and my royal father and my Lady came back to Kābul¹ (926H.—1520).

After a time his Majesty set out for Qilāt and Qandahār.² He was victorious at once in Qilāt, and went on to Qandahār and kept its garrison shut up for a year and a half. Then, by the Divine favour and after great fighting and skirmishing, he captured it. Much gold fell into his hands, and he gave moneys and camels to his soldiers and the people of the army. Qandahār he bestowed on Mirzā Kāmran, and himself set off for Kābul.

His advance camp having been set up,³ he crossed the hill of Yak Langa, and gloriously alighted in the valley of Dih-i-ya'qūb on Friday, Šafar 1st, 932H. (November 17th, 1525), when the sun was in Sagittarius. (9a) He spent the following day there, and on the next set forth, march by march, for Hindūstān. In the seven or eight years since 925H. (1519)⁴ the royal army had several times renewed the attempt on Hindūstān. Each time it used to conquer lands and districts, such as Bhīra, Bajaur, Sālkūt, Dīpālpūr, Lāhōr, etc., up to the fifth time, when on Šafar 1st, 932H., his Majesty went, march by march, from his glorious encamping in Dih-i-ya'qūb towards Hindūstān. He conquered Lāhōr and Sirhind, and every country that lay on his path.

On Friday, Rajab 8th, 932H. (April 20th, 1526), he

¹ Humāyūn was now thirteen years old. He was young to be sent so far as Badakhshān. That his parents went with him is one of Gul-badan's life-giving touches. *Akīm* may now well have shown her boy to her father and her kinsfolk in Khost. (Memoirs of Bāyazīd, I.O. MS., 26a.)

² Held now by Shāh Beg *Arghūn*, father of Shāh Husain, Humāyūn's later enemy in Sind. *Firishta* gives three years as the duration of the siege, Khāf Khān four years, and Mirzā Haidar five years. The occurrence unfortunately coincides with one of the gaps in the Memoirs. This was Bābar's culminating attempt on Qandahār; his first being in 1505,—this one seems to have ended in 1522 (928H.).

³ Gul-badan, by a sudden transition, passes over some three years, and, as it seems, using her father's Memoirs, enters on the account of his last and successful expedition to Hindūstān. Yak Langa is a hill between Kābul and Butkhāk, and on the road to Jalālābād.

⁴ Text, 935H.; clearly a slip.