

bring men and labourers, etc., to your native land and cultivate it.'

Qāsim Beg,¹ who was in Kābul, sent a letter saying: 'Another prince has been born. I have ventured to write as an omen of the conquest of Hind and of taking its throne. As for the rest, the Emperor is master, whatever is his pleasure'² (let it be done). In an auspicious hour his Majesty named him Mīrzā Hindāl.

Having subdued Bajaur, his Majesty went towards the Bhīra country, and on his arrival made peace without plundering. He took four *laks* of *shāhrukhīs*³ and gave to his army, dividing them according to the number of his followers. He then set out for Kābul.⁴

Just now came a letter from Badakhshān saying: 'Mīrzā Khān is dead;⁵ Mīrzā Sulaimān is young; the Uzbegs are near; take thought for this kingdom lest (which God forbid) Badakhshān should be lost.' (sb) Until there should be thought taken, Mīrzā Sulaimān's mother⁶ had brought him (to the Emperor). Agreeably to this petition and their wish, the Emperor assigned to Mīrzā Sulaimān the lands and inheritance which had been his father's, and he gave Badakhshān to Mīrzā Humāyūn.

The mīrzā set out for his province. His Majesty and my Lady (*Ahām*) followed and also went to Badakhshān, and there spent several days together. The mīrzā remained

¹ Qāsim Beg *Qāchūn*, an ancient Beg of Andijān, and one of Bābar's best followers.

² Qy., as to the child's name. His true name was Muḥ. Nāṣir, but he is only known as Hindāl. He was Gul-badan's full brother, and was given, before birth, to Māham Begam, who had lost all her children younger than Humāyūn. Cf. 24a n.

³ Estimated by Mr. Erskine at about £20,000 sterling.

⁴ End of February, 1519. In his winning fashion Bābar relates that he forbade the news of his return to be taken to Kābul, and that there was therefore no time to put his boys, Humāyūn and Kāmrān, on horseback, and that they were carried out in the arms of the nearest servants to offer their duty on his return, to a place between the fort gates and the citadel.

⁵ *Cir.* 926H. (1520). Cf. *Mems.* 286 n., and *Tār. Rash.*, Ney Elias and Ross, 373 n.

⁶ Sultān N gār Khānam.

His Majesty at this time entrusted Kābul to Nāsir¹ Mīrzā, and set out² for Samarqand, taking with him his people and wives and children, who were Humāyūn Mīrzā, and Mihr-jahān Begam, and Bārbūl Mīrzā, and Ma'sūma Begam, and Kāmran Mīrzā. (7b)

With help from Shāh Ismā'il, he took Samarqand (October, 1511), and for eight (lunar) months the whole of Māwarā'u-n-nahr (Transoxiana) was in his power. Owing to want of co-operation in his brothers and to the opposition of the Mughals,³ he was defeated at Kūl Malik by 'U'baidu-l-lāh Khān. As he could not remain in those parts, he set out for Bañakhshān and Kābul, and put out of his head further thought of Māwarā'u-n-nahr.

He had become master of Kābul in 910H. (1504). He had always desired to go into Hindūstān, and had not carried out his wish because of the feeble counsels of his amīrs and the non-agreement of his brothers. When at length these were gone,⁴ and there remained no amīr such as could argue against it, he accomplished his desire.

Bajaur⁵ he took in two or three hours and ordered a general massacre.

On the same day the father of Afghānī *āghācha*,⁶ Malik Mansūr Yūsufzai, came in and paid his respects. (sa) His Majesty took his daughter in marriage and then gave him leave to depart. He bestowed on him a horse and a suit of honour befitting a ruler, and said to him: 'Go and

¹ Bābar's half-brother, son of Umīd, an Andijānī.

² January, 1511 (Shawwāl, 916H.).

³ For a more interesting cause of defeat, cf. B. & H., I. 321, *et seq.* 'U'baidu-l-lāh was Shaibānī's nephew. Kūl (Lake) Malik is in Bokhārā. Bābar was again defeated by the Uzbegs in this same year (1511).

⁴ *i.e.*, dead. Jahāngīr died in 1507 and Nāsir in 1515, both from drinking. This passage resembles Bābar's own words. (Mems. 309.)

⁵ Gul-badan is cor'usingly brief. Bajaur was attacked 925H. (1519) on the way to India, and its people put to the sword because they were 'rebels to followers of Islām' and addicted to infidel customs. (Mems. 246 *et seq.*)

⁶ The Afghān Lady. It is thus that Gul-badan always speaks of Bibī (Lady) Mubārīka, the Yūsufzai wife of Bābar. Pavet de Courteille defines *āghācha* thus: 'Se dit des femmes par opposition à begam et khānam; dame.' I do not in Gul-badan's work trace any disrespect attaching to '*āghācha*,' such as is indicated by '*conculine*,' as which it is sometimes translated.

Humāyūn, and Bārbūl Mīrzā, and Mihr-jān (jahān) Begam, and Ishān-daulat Begam, and Fārūq Mīrzā.¹

(2.) Ma'sūma Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā, died in childbed. The mother's name they gave to the daughter.

(3.) Of Gul-rukh Begam were born Kāmīrān Mīrzā, and 'Askarī Mīrzā, and Shāh-rukh Mīrzā, and Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā, and Gul-'izār Begam.

(4.) Of Dil-dār Begam were born Gul-rang Begam, and Gul-chihra Begam, and Hindāl Mīrzā, and Gul-badan Begam, and Alwar Mīrzā.²

In short, in taking Kābul he got a good omen. All his children were born there except two begams who were born in Khost, viz., Mihr-jān Begam, a daughter of Māham Begam, and Gul-rang, a daughter of Dil-dār Begam. (7a)

The blessed birth of the Emperor Humāyūn, the first-born son of his Majesty *Iradaus-makānī*, occurred in the night of Tuesday, Zū'l-qa'da 4th, 913H. (March 6th, 1508), in the citadel of Kābul, and when the sun was in the sign Pisces.

That same year his Majesty was pleased to order the amīrs and the rest of the world to style him emperor (*bādshāh*). For before the birth of the Emperor Humāyūn he had been named and styled Mīrzā Bābar. All kings' sons were called mīrzās. In the year of his Majesty Humāyūn's birth he styled himself *bādshāh*.

They found³ the date of the birth in *Sultān Humāyūn Khān*, and also in *Shāh-(i)-fīroz-qadr*.⁴

After children had been born to him, news came that Shāh Ismā'īl had killed Shāhī Beg Khān.⁵

(Cf. Vambéry's 'Cagataische Sprach-studien.') Bābar uses the word (Mems. 208.), and Mr. Erskine suggests to read 'My Lady.'

¹ Born 1525; died 1527. His father never saw him.

² Gul-badan or her copyist does not balance accounts. She says eighteen, and names sixteen children. This may be a clerical error only.

³ *i.e.*, by *abjad*. Cf. Steingass' Persian Dictionary, *s.v.* *abjad*.

⁴ 'The king, victorious in night.'

⁵ At Merv, December 2nd, 1510. Cf. B. & H., I. 302. On the removal of this formidable foe, Bābar again tried to regain his ancestral lands, but was still outmatched by the Uzbeks. Defeat by them led him to take a road of less resistance through Bajaur to Hindūstār

were holding Kābul. His Majesty sent a comforting and cheering letter (to his friends in the fort), and said: 'Be of good heart! I too am here. (6a) I will light a fire on the Hill of the Moon-faced Lady; do you light one on the Treasury, so that I may be sure you know of our coming. In the morning we will fall on the enemy, you from that side and we from this.' But he had fought and won before the people of the fort came out.

Mīrzā Khān hid himself in his mother's house; she was his Majesty's maternal aunt.² Mīrzā Muḥammad Husain was in his wife's house. She was his Majesty's younger maternal aunt. He flung himself down on a carpet, and in fear of his life cried to a servant, 'Fasten it up!' His Majesty's people heard of this. They took him out of the carpet and brought him to the presence. In the end, his Majesty forgave the mīrzās their offences, for the sake of his aunts. He used to go, in his old fashion, in and out of his aunts' houses,¹ and showed them more and more affection, so that no mist of trouble might dim their hearts. He assigned them places and holdings in the plain-country. (6b)

God the most High, having freed Kābul from the power of Mīrzā Khān, committed it to my royal father's care. He was then twenty-three years old² and had no child and greatly desired one. In his seventeenth year a girl³ had been born to him by 'Āyisha Sultān Begam, a daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā, but she had died in a month. The most high God blessed the taking of Kābul, for after it eighteen children were born. (1.) Of my Lady (*Akām*⁴) who was Māham Begam there were born his Majesty the Emperor

¹ Text, *khāna khālī khālahā'ī*. This I do not understand, as there were certainly no mothers' brothers present in Kābul now.

² He was twenty-three when he took Kābul from Muḥammad Muqīm Arghūn in 1504. Mīrzā Khān's rebellion took place two years later.

³ *Fakīru-n-nisā'*, the Glory of Women. 'She was my first child, and I was just nineteen. In a month, or forty days, she went to the mercy of God.' (Mems. 90.)

⁴ Written sometimes *Akām*, and sometimes *Akam*. The Tūrki *Akā* is used as a title of respect from a junior to a senior. It has also the sense 'elder brother,' which makes application to a woman doubtful.

interest. They set forth to him the inconvenience of winter, and said: 'Wait till it is over, and we will fight the Uzbegs.' But they could not in any way settle about the war. Eighty years' long had Sultān Husain Mīrzā kept Khurāsān safe and sound, but the mīrzās could not fill their father's place for six months. When his Majesty saw that they were careless² about his expenses and revenue, he went to Kābul on the pretext of seeing the places he had assigned to himself. (5b) Much snow had fallen that year. They took the wrong road. His Majesty and Qāsim Beg chose one³ because of its shortness, but the amīrs had given other advice, and when this was not taken, they all left him without a thought for him. He and Qāsim Beg and his sons made a road in two or three days by removing the snow, and the people of the army followed. So they reached Ghūrband. Some Hazāra rebels having met his Majesty here there was fighting; and cattle and sheep and goods without number belonging to the Hazāra fell into the hands of his people. Then they started for Kābul with their enormous booty.

At the skirts of Minār Hill they heard that Mīrzā Khān⁴ and Mīrzā Muḥammad Husain *Gūrkhān*⁵ had rebelled and

¹ A well-rounded number. Sultān Husain was born 842H. (1438), and died 911H. (1506). Bābar calls the joint-kingship of his sons a strange arrangement and one never heard of, and quotes Sa'dī's well-known couplet as applicable—'Ten darvishes can sleep on one rug, but one climate cannot hold two kings.'

² While on the Murgh-āb, Bābar agreed to winter in Khurāsān, and he went with the joint-kings to Herāt in order to see the 'sights' of that renowned city. He certainly worked hard, for he names some fifty-two which he saw in twenty days. The invitation to winter was repeated, but neither quarters nor suitable conveniences (? revenues) were allotted. Bābar delicately says he could not explain his real motive for not remaining, and left under pressure of necessity on December 24th, 1506, after snow had fallen along a route which was a month's ordinary journey.

It was during this absence from Kābul that he married Māham, Humāyūn's mother.

³ Through the Aimāq and Hazāra country, and south of his route to Herāt.

⁴ Sultān Wais, a son of Bābar's paternal uncle, Maḥmūd, and his maternal aunt (*i.e.*, his mother's half-sister), Sultān Nigār Khānam.

⁵ Father of Ḥaidar Mīrzā *Dughlāt*, author of the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*. He married Khūb-nigār, full-sister of Bābar's mother.

sought counsel of God. At length he set out to join the mīrzā. On the way news came that the mīrzā was dead. His Majesty's amīrs represented that, this being so, it was advisable to return to Kābul, but he replied: 'As we have come so far, we will carry our condolences to the princes.' In the end he went on towards Khurāsān.¹

When the princes² heard of the royal visit, they one and all set out to give him honourable meeting, except Badī'uz-zamān Mīrzā, who did not go because Barandūq Beg and Zū'l-nūn Beg—amīrs of Sultān Husain Mīrzā—said, in effect, that as his Majesty was fifteen years younger than Badī'uz-zamān Mīrzā, it was right that he should be the first to bow, (and that they should then embrace one another.) Qāsīm Beg³ rejoined: 'Younger he is by years, but by the *tūra*,⁴ he has precedence because he has more than once taken Samarqand by force of the sword.' (5a) At length they agreed that his Majesty should bow on coming in, and that Badī'uz-zamān should then advance to show him honour, and they should embrace. The mīrzā was not attending when his Majesty came in at the door; Qāsīm Beg clutched my royal father's girdle and pulled it, and said to Barandūq Beg and Zū'l-nūn Beg: 'The agreement was that the mīrzā should come forward and that then they should embrace one another.' The prince then advanced in great agitation and they embraced.

As long as his Majesty was in Khurāsān, each one of the princes showed him hospitality, and feasts were arranged, and excursions to all the gardens and places of

¹ Bābar set out in June, 1506 (Muharram, 912H.). Husain had died in May (Zū'l-hijja, 911H.), on his way northwards from Herāt, and at Babā Ilāhī. Word reached Bābar when he had already made a great journey and had crossed the Saighan and Dandān-shikan passes to Kāhinard. After receiving the news he marched some 800 miles to the mīrzās' camp on the Murgh-āb.

² Badī'uz-zamān and Muḥammad Muẓaffar Husain, sons of Sultān Husain Mīrzā. The meeting was on November 6th, 1506 (Jumāda II. 8th, 912H.).

³ Bābar's Prime Minister and (I believe) relation. He was of the Qūchīn tribe to which Bābar's grandmother, Aīs-daulat, belonged.

⁴ The Rules of Chingīz Khān. These are referred to again on points of etiquette.

to cross his country, he was watched and rudely driven out. Now he was pleased to command that Khusrau Shāh should take whatever his heart desired (of his (own)) jewels and golden vessels, and so he got leave to go to Khurāsān in kindness and safety, and took with him five or six strings of camels and five or six of baggage mules.¹ (4a)

His Majesty now set out for Kābul, which was occupied by Muḥammad Muqīm, a son of Zū'l-nūn Arghūn, and grandfather of Nāhīd Begam.² He had captured it after Ulugh Beg Mīrzā's³ death from Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-razzāq, son of his Majesty's paternal uncle (Ulugh Beg).

His Majesty reached Kābul in safety. Muḥammad Muqīm kept command for a few days, and then by pact and agreement made over charge to the royal servants, and went off with goods and chattels to his father in Qandahār. This was in the last ten days of Rabī II., 910H.⁴ Being now master of Kābul, his Majesty went to Bangash, took it at a blow, and returned to Kābul.

Her Highness, the khānam,⁵ his Majesty's mother, had fever for six days, and then departed from this fleeting world to the eternal home. They laid her in the New Year's Garden. His Majesty paid 1,000 coined *misqāl* to his kinsmen, the owners of the garden, and laid her there.

At this time urgent letters arrived from Sultān Husain Mīrzā, saying: (4b) 'I am planning a war against the Uzbegs. It would be excellent if you came too.' My royal father

scribe the time of her father's military incursions, made when he was trying to carve out a ruler's seat.

¹ The begam's brevity makes Bābar's capacity and forbearance seem alike remarkable. He had gathered a force, and safety was the condition of Khusrau's surrender (1504). Mr. Erskine writes (B. & H., I. 208.): 'Bābar, whose abhorrence of Khusrau was as deep as it was just, ordered his treasurer to send back the treasure, horses, and whatever had been presented to him, just as they were; although, says our author (Mīrzā Haidar), the King had only one horse suitable for a person of his rank, and that was used by his mother.'

² Through his daughter Māh Chūchak.

³ A son of Abū-sa'īd, known as *Kābulī*. He died 1502.

⁴ October, 1504. Bābar was now twenty-three, and had acquired more territory than his lost Farghāna.

⁵ Qutluq-nigār. She died June, 1505.

(ruled) in Khurāsān, nor Sultān Maḥmūd Khān, his maternal uncle,¹ who (ruled) in Kāshghar, sent him help. When none came from any quarter, he grew desperate.²

At this difficult time, Shāhī Beg Khān³ sent to say: 'If you would marry your sister Khānzāda Begam⁴ to me, (3b) there might be peace and a lasting alliance between us.' At length it had to be done; he gave the begam to the khān, and came out himself (from Samarqand).⁵ With 200 followers on foot, wearing long frocks on their shoulders and peasants' brogues on their feet, and carrying clubs in their hands,—in this plight, unarmed, and relying on God, he went towards the lanōs of Badakhshān (Badakhshānāt) and Kābul.⁶

Khusrau Shāh's⁷ people and army were in Kunduz and the Badakhshānāt. He came and paid his respects to his Majesty,⁸ my father, who, being as he was manly and kind and generous, did not in any way touch the question of retaliation, although Khusrau Shāh had committed such crimes as the martyrdom of Bayasanghar Mīrzā and the blinding of Sultān Mas'ūd Mīrzā, both of whom were sons of my royal father's paternal uncle. In addition to this, when in the early days of the forays,⁹ his Majesty chanced

bānū, Latif and Payanda. Husain is the well-known Mæcenas of Herāt (1438-1506).

¹ *taḡhāi*. Sultān Maḥmūd Khān was full-brother of Qutluq-nigār, Bābar's mother, so that here *taḡhāi* is exactly equivalent to our 'maternal uncle.' Maḥmūd is 'the Khān' and the 'elder Khān' of the Memoirs, and also *Jānakī* or *Khānakī* and *Jāngī*. He was murdered by Shaibānī in 1508.

² He was eighteen.

³ Abū'l-faḥ Muḥammad Shāhbakht Khān *Uzbek* (Shāhī Beg Khān and Shaibānī).

⁴ For details of her life and that of all other women named in this book and some other contemporary works, see Appendix.

⁵ Early in 907H. (July, 1501).

⁶ Muharram, 910H. (June, 1504).

⁷ A Qipchāq Türk, chief beg of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā, the father of Bayasanghar and Mas'ūd. He was put to death by Shaibānī's Uzbeks in 910H. (1505).

⁸ Brevet rank. Bābar was an exile from his own kingdom of Farghāna, and not yet master of Kābul.

⁹ *Türkī*, *qazzāqī*, from *qazzāq* (Cossack), the name of the nomads whom the Russians term Kirghiz. I think Gul-badan uses it to de-



AMĪR TĪMŪR (SĀHĪB-QIRĀN).

[To face p. 81.]

From his Majesty *Ṣāhib-qirānī*¹ down to my royal father there was not one of the bygone princes who laboured as he did. He became king in his twelfth² year, and the *khutba*³ was read in his name on June 10th, 1494,⁴ in Andijān, the capital of Farghāna. (3a)

For eleven full years his wars and struggles against the Chaghatai and Timūrid and Uzbek princes⁵ in Māwarā'un-nahr (Transoxiana) were such that the tongue of the pen is too feeble and weak to recount them.

The toils and perils which in the ruling of kingdoms befell our prince, have been measured out to few, and of few have been recorded the manliness, courage and endurance which he showed in battle-fields and dangers. Twice he took Samarqand by force of the sword. The first time my royal father was twelve years old, the second nineteen, the third time he was nearly twenty-two.⁶ For six months he was besieged⁷ (in Samarqand), and neither Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqā*, his paternal uncle,⁸ who

filled in. The *Tūzūk-i-bābarī* (Leyden and Erskine: Longman, Rees, etc., 1826.) will be referred to in these notes as the 'Memoirs' or 'Mems.'. Mr. W. Erskine's 'History of India under Bābar and Humāyūn' will be indicated by 'B. & H.'.

¹ *Lord of the fortunate conjunction, i.e., of Jupiter and Venus, a posthumous title of Timūr (1336-1405), from whom Bābar was fifth in descent.*

² Bābar was born February 14th, 1483 (Muharram 6th, 888H.). He therefore became king of Farghāna (Khokand) when 11½ years old.

³ The prayer and oration in which it is ordained that the name of the reigning sovereign should be recited. Cf. Dict. of Islām, Hughes, s.v.. The histories show that it was formerly so recited in India. The term 'Ruler of the Age' filled Victoria's place.

⁴ Ramzān 5th, 899H. [Text, 909H.].

⁵ The first and second of this triad of foes were near and elder kinsmen; the third was the Shaibānī of the histories.

⁶ Bābar occupied Samarqand three times. Twice he captured it, and the third time entered without a blow struck and amidst a popular welcome. The dates are respectively 1497, 1500, and 1511, and his age fifteen, seventeen, and twenty-nine.

⁷ By Shaibānī, after the second occupation.

⁸ *'ammū*. Husain was of the fourth, and Bābar of the fifth degree of descent from their common ancestor, Timūr. Bābar's father was (*anglice*) Husain's fourth cousin. As Husain was of an elder generation, Bābar calls him 'uncle.' If *'ammū* were ever used to denote an uncle by marriage, it would have triple application here, since Husain married in succession three paternal aunts of Bābar—Shahr-

NOTE ON THE PERSIAN TITLES.

Of these there are two :

1. '*Humāyūn-nāma*. Written by Gul-badan Begam, daughter of Bābar Pādshāh.' This is on the first fly-leaf, which is of paper differing in colour and texture from that of the body of the MS., and identical with that of four blank sheets which are bound up at the end of the MS., perhaps to allow of writing in the missing portion of the work.

2. 'Accounts of Humāyūn Pādshāh. Put together by Gul-badan Begam, a daughter of Bābar Pādshāh and a paternal aunt of Akbar Pādshāh.' This stands on the first folio of the MS., which by the original paging is folio 10, and by the British Museum marking folio 2 (*a*).

TRANSLATION

OF THE

ĪJUMĀYŪN-NĀMA OF GUL-BADAN BEGAM.