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THE BĀBUR-NĀMA IN ENGLISH

(MEMOIRS OF BABUR).

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OTHER ORIENTAL WORKS

HENRY BEVERIDGE* (*primus*), Advocate —

A Comprehensive History of India 3 vol. London and Glasgow, 1862.

HENRY BEVERIDGE* (*secundus*), Indian Civil Service, retired —

Akbar-nāma trs. (Persian), Calcutta, 1894–1921.

ANNETTE SUSANNAH BEVERIDGE —

Kaiser Akbar trs. (German), Calcutta, 1890.

Humayun-nāma Pers. text ed. and trs. RAS. 1902. (Out of print.)

Bibi Brooke's **Key of the Hearts of Beginners** trs. (Persian), London, 1908.

Notes on the MSS. of the Bābur-nāma (Turki), *JRAS.* 1900–2–5–6–7–8–9.

The Bābur-nāma Facsimile edited and indexed for the Gibb Trust, London, 1905.

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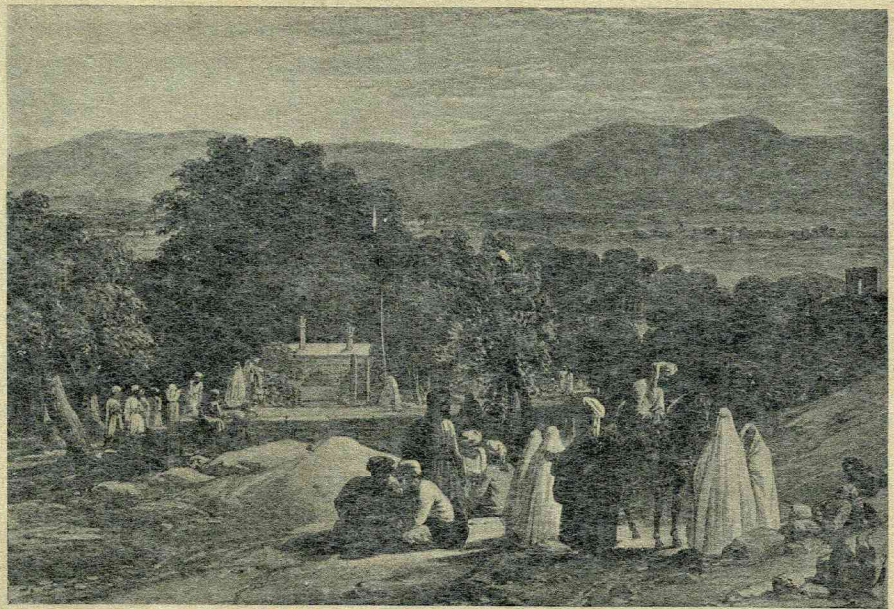

View from above Babur's Grave and Shah-jahan's Mosque.

To face p. 367.]

MINISTRY OF CULTURE · GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

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The Bābur-nāma in English

(Memoirs of Bābur)

1599.

BY

Ẓahiru'd-dīn Muḥammad Bābur Pādshāh *Ghāzī*

Translated from the original Turki Text

BY

ANNETTE SUSANNAH BEVERIDGE.

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This work
is dedicate to
Bābur's
fame.

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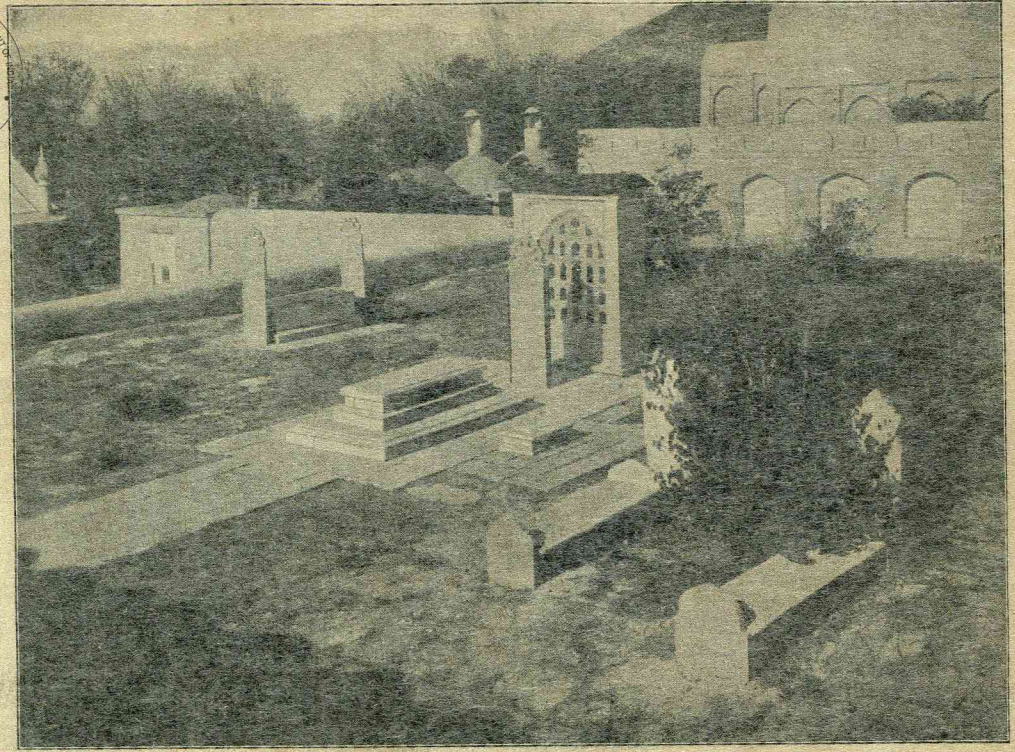

[To face p. 445.]

Babur's Grave.

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908 AH.—July 7th 1502 to June 26th 1503 AD.—Bābur comments on The Khān's unprofitable move—his poverty and despair in Tāshkīnt—his resolve to go to Khitāī and ruse for getting away—his thought for his mother—his plan not accepted by The Khān and Shāh Begīm—The Younger Khān (Aḥmad) arrives from Kāshghar—is met by Bābur—a half-night's family talk—gifts to Bābur—the meeting of the two Khāns—Aḥmad's characteristics and his opinion of various weapons—The Khāns march into Farghāna against Jahāngīr's supporter Tambal—they number their force—Bābur detached against Aūsh, takes it and has great accretions of following—An attempt to take Andijān frustrated by mistake in a pass-word—Author's Note on pass-words—a second attempt foiled by the over-caution of experienced begs—is surprised in his bivouac by Tambal—face to face with Tambal—his new *gosha-gīr*—his dwindling company—wounded—left alone, is struck by his gift-sword—escapes to Aūsh—The Khān moves from Kāsān against Andijān—his disposition of Bābur's lands—Qambar-i-'alī's counsel to Bābur rejected—Bābur is treated by the Younger Khān's surgeon—tales of Mughūl surgery—Qambar-i-'alī flees to Tambal in fear through his unacceptable counsel—Bābur moves for Akhsī—a lost chance—minor actions—an episode of Pāp—The Khān's do not take Andijān—Bābur invited into Akhsī—Tambal's brother Bāyazīd joins him with Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī*—Tambal asks help from Shaibānī—On news of Shaibānī's consent the Khāns retire from Andijān—Bābur's affairs in Akhsī—he attempts to defend it—incidents of the defence—Bābur wounded—unequal strength of the opponents—he flees with 20–30 men—incidents of the flight—Bābur left alone—is overtaken by two foes—his perilous position—a messenger arrives from Tambal's brother Bāyazīd—Bābur expecting death, quotes Niẓāmī—(the narrative breaks off in the middle of the verse) 157–182

Translator's Note.—908 to 909 AH.—1503 to 1504 AD.—Bābur will have been rescued—is with The Khāns in the battle and defeat by Shaibānī at Archīān—takes refuge in the Asfara hills—there spends a year in misery and poverty—events in Farghāna and Tāshkīnt—Shaibānī sends the Mughūl horde back to Kāshgar—his disposition of the women of The Khān's family—Bābur plans to go to Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* in Khurāsān—changes his aim for Kābūl 182–185

[End of Translator's Note.]

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SECTION II.—KĀBUL

910 AH.—June 14th 1504 to June 4th 1505 AD.—Bābur halts on an alp of Ḥiṣār—enters his 22nd (lunar) year—delays his march in hope of adherents—writes a second time of the stinginess of Khusrau Shāh to himself—recalls Sherīm Taghāī *Mughūl's* earlier waverings in support—is joined by Khusrau Shāh's brother Bāqī Beg—they start for Kābul—Accretions of force—their families left in Fort Ajar (Kāhmard)—Jahāngīr marries a cousin—Bāqī advises his dismissal to Khurāsān—Bābur is loyal to his half-brother—Jahāngīr is seduced, later, by disloyal Begchīk chiefs—Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* summons help against Shaibānī—Despair in Bābur's party at Ḥusain's plan of "defence, not attack"—Qambar-i-'alī dismissed to please Bāqī—Khusrau makes abject submission to Bābur—Mīrzā Khān demands vengeance on him—Khusrau's submission having been on terms, he is let go free—Bābur resumes his march—first sees Canopus—is joined by tribesmen—Khusrau's brother Walī flees to the Aūzbegs and is executed—Risks run by the families now fetched from Kāhmard—Kābul surrendered to Bābur by Muqīm *Arghūn*—Muqīm's family protected—**Description of Kābul** (pp. 199 to 277)—Muqīm leaves for Qandahār—Allotment of fiefs—Excess levy in grain—Foray on the Sulṭān Mas'ūdī Hazāra—Bābur's first move for Hindūstān—Khaibar traversed—Bīgrām visited—Bāqī Beg prevents crossing the Sind—and persuades for Kohāt—A plan for Bangash, Bannū and thence return to Kābul—Yār-i-husain *Daryā-khānī* asks for permission to raise a force for Bābur, east of the Sind—Move to Thāl, Bannū, and the Dasht—return route varied without consulting Bābur—Pīr Kānū's tomb visited—through the Pawat-pass into Dūkī—horse-food fails—baggage left behind—men of all conditions walk to Ghaznī—spectacle of the Āb-istāda—mirage and birds—Jahāngīr is Bābur's host in Ghaznī—heavy floods—Kābul reached after a disastrous expedition of four months—Nāṣir's misconduct abetted by two Begchīk chiefs—he and they flee into Badakhshān—Khusrau Shāh's schemes fail in Herāt—imbroglio between him and Nāṣir—Shaibānī attempts Ḥiṣār but abandons the siege on his brother's death—Khusrau attempts Ḥiṣār and is there killed—his followers revolt against Bābur—his death quenches the fire of sedition . . . 188–245

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911 AH.—June 4th 1505 to May 24th 1506 AD.—Death of Bābur's mother—Bābur's illness stops a move for Qandahār —an earth-quake—campaign against and capture of Qalāt-i-ghilzāī — Bāqī Beg dismissed towards Hindūstān.— murdered in the Khaibar—Turkmān Hazāra raided— Nijr-aū tribute collected.—Jahāngīr misbehaves and runs away—Bābur summoned by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* against Shaibānī—Shaibānī takes Khwārizm and Chīn Sūfī is killed—Death and biography of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (256 to 292)—his burial and joint-successors 246–293

912 AH.—May 24th 1506 to May 13th 1507 AD.—Bābur, without news of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* death, obeys his summons and leaves Kābul—Jahāngīr flees from Bābur's route—Nāṣir defeats Shaibānī's men in Badakhshān—Bābur, while in Kāhmard, hears of Ḥusain's death—continues his march with anxious thought for the Tīmūrid dynasty—Jahāngīr waits on him and accompanies him to Herāt—Co-alition of Khurāsān Mīrzās against Shaibānī—their meeting with Bābur—etiquette of Bābur's reception—an entertainment to him—of the *Chingīz-tūrā*—Bābur claims the ceremonial observance due to his military achievements—entertainments and Bābur's obedience to Muhammadan Law against wine—his reflections on the Mīrzās—difficulties of winter-plans (300, 307)—he sees the sights of Herī—visits the Begīms—the ceremonies observed—tells of his hitherto abstention from wine and of his present inclination to drink it—Qāsim Beg's interference with those pressing Bābur to break the Law—Bābur's poor carving—engages Ma'ṣūma in marriage—leaves for Kābul—certain retainers stay behind—a perilous journey through snow to a wrong pass out of the Herīrūd valley—arrival of the party in Yaka-aūlāng—joy in their safety and comfort—Shibr-tū traversed into Ghūr-bund—Turkmān Hazāra raided—News reaches Bābur of conspiracy in Kābul to put Mīrzā Khān in his place—Bābur concerts plans with the loyal Kābul garrison —moves on through snow and in terrible cold—attacks and defeats the rebels—narrowly escaped death—attributes his safety to prayer—deals mercifully, from family considerations, with the rebel chiefs—reflects on their behaviour to him who has protected them—asserts that his only aim is to write the truth — letters-of-victory sent out — Muh. Ḥusain *Dūghlāt* and Mīrzā Khān banished—Spring excursion to Koh-dāman—Nāṣir, driven from Badakhshān, takes refuge with Bābur 294–322

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BĀBUR IN PRAYER, DEVOTING HIMSELF FOR HIS SON.

To face p. 702.

913 AH.—May 13th 1507 to May 2nd 1508 AD.—Raid on the Ghiljī Afghāns—separation of the Fifth (*Khams*)—wild-ass hunting—Shaibānī moves against Khurāsān—Irresolution of the Tīmūrid Mīrzās—Infatuation of Ẓū'n-nūn *Arghūn*—Shaibānī takes Herī—his doings there—Defeat and death of two *Bāī-qarās*—The Arghūns in Qandahār make overtures to Bābur—he starts to join them against Shaibānī—meets Ma'ṣūma in Ghaznī on her way to Kābul—spares Hindūstān traders—meets Jahāngīr's widow and infant-son coming from Herāt—The Arghūn chiefs provoke attack on Qandahār—Bābur's army—organization and terminology—wins the battle of Qandahār and enters the fort—its spoils—Nāṣir put in command—Bābur returns to Kābul rich in goods and fame—marries Ma'ṣūma—Shaibānī lays siege to Qandahār—Alarm in Kābul at his approach—Mīrzā Khān and Shāh Begīm betake themselves to Badakhshān—Bābur sets out for Hindūstān leaving 'Abdu'r-razzāq in Kābul—Afghān highwaymen—A raid for food—Māhchuchak's marriage—Hindūstān plan abandoned—Nūr-gal and Kūnār visited—News of Shaibānī's withdrawal from Qandahār—Bābur returns to Kābul—gives Ghaznī to Nāṣir—assumes the title of Pādshāh—Birth of Humāyūn, feast and chronogram 323–344

914 AH.—May 2nd 1508 to April 21st 1509 AD.—Raid on the Mahmand Afghāns—Seditious offenders reprieved—Khusrau Shāh's former retainers march off from Kābul—'Abdu'r-razzāq comes from his district to near Kābul—not known to have joined the rebels—earlier hints to Bābur of this "incredible" rebellion—later warnings of an immediate rising 345–346

Translator's Note.—914 to 925 AH.—1508 to 1519 AD.—Date of composition of preceding narrative—Loss of matter here seems partly or wholly due to Bābur's death—Sources helping to fill the Gap—Events of the remainder of 914 AH.—The mutiny swiftly quelled—Bābur's five-fold victory over hostile champions—Sa'īd *Chaghatāī* takes refuge with him in a quiet Kābul—Shaibānī's murders of Chaghatāī and Dūghlāt chiefs 347–366

915 AH.—April 21st 1509 to April 11th 1510 AD.—Beginning of hostilities between Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī* and Shaibānī—Ḥaidar *Dūghlāt* takes refuge with Bābur.

916 AH.—April 11th 1510 to March 31st 1511 AD.—Ismā'īl defeats the Aūzbegs near Merv—Shaibānī is killed—20,000

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Mughūls he had migrated to Khurāsān, return to near Qūndūz—Mīrzā Khān invites Bābur to join him against the Aūzbegs—Bābur goes to Qūndūz—The 20,000 Mughūls proffer allegiance to their hereditary Khān Sa'īd—they propose to set Bābur aside—Sa'īd's worthy rejection of the proposal—Bābur makes Sa'īd The Khān of the Mughūls and sends him and his Mughūls into Farghāna—significance of Bābur's words, "I made him Khān"—Bābur's first attempt on Ḥiṣār where were Ḥamza and Mahdī *Aūzbeg*—beginning of his disastrous intercourse with Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī*—Ismā'īl sends Khān-zāda Begīm back to him—with thanks for the courtesy, Bābur asks help against the Aūzbeg—it is promised under dangerous conditions.

917 AH.—March 31st 1511 to March 19th 1512 AD.—Bābur's second attempt on Ḥiṣār—wins the Battle of Pul-i-sangīn—puts Ḥamza and Mahdī to death—his Persian reinforcement and its perilous cost—The Aūzbegs are swept across the Zar-afshān—The Persians are dismissed from Bukhārā—Bābur occupies Samarkand after a nine-year's absence—he gives Kābul to Nāṣir—his difficult position in relation to the Shī'a Ismā'īl—Ismā'īl sends Najm Ṣānī to bring him to order.

918 AH.—March 19th 1512 to March 9th 1513 AD.—The Aūzbegs return to the attack—'Ubaid's vow—his defeat of Bābur at Kūl-i-malik—Bābur flees from Samarkand to Ḥiṣār—his pursuers retire—Najm Ṣānī from Balkh gives him rendezvous at Tīrmīẓ—the two move for Bukhārā—Najm perpetrates the massacre of Qarshī—Bābur is helpless to prevent it—Najm crosses the Zar-afshān to a disadvantageous position—is defeated and slain—Bābur, his reserve, does not fight—his abstention made a reproach at the Persian Court against his son Humāyūn (1544 AD. ?)—his arrow-sped message to the Aūzbeg camp—in Ḥiṣār, he is attacked suddenly by Mughūls—he escapes to Qūndūz—the retributive misfortunes of Ḥisār—Ḥaidar on Mughūls—Ayūb *Begchīk's* death-bed repentance for his treachery to Bābur—Ḥaidar returns to his kinsfolk in Kāshghar.

919 AH.—March 9th 1513 to Feb. 26th 1514 AD.—Bābur may have spent the year in Khishm—Ismā'īl takes Balkh from the Aūzbegs—surmised bearing of the capture on his later action.

920 AH.—Feb. 26th 1514 to Feb. 15th 1515 AD.—Ḥaidar's account of Bābur's misery, patience and courtesy this year

in Qūndūz—Bābur returns to Kābul—his daughter Gulrang is born in Khwāst—he is welcomed by Nāṣir who goes back to Ghaznī.

921 AH.—Feb. 15th 1515 to Feb. 5th 1516 AD.—Death of Nāṣir—Riot in Ghaznī led by Sherīm Ṭaghāī *Mughūl*—quiet restored — many rebels flee to Kāshghar—Sherīm refused harbourage by Sa'īd Khān and seeks Bābur's protection—Ḥaidar's comment on Bābur's benevolence.

922 AH.—Feb. 5th 1516 to Jan. 24th 1517 AD.—A quiet year in Kābul apparently—Birth of 'Askarī.

923 AH.—Jan. 24th 1517 to Jan. 13th 1518 AD.—Bābur visits Balkh—Khwānd-amīr's account of the affairs of Muhammad -i-zamān Mīrza *Bāī-qarā*—Bābur pursues the Mīrzā—has him brought to Kābul—gives him his daughter Ma'ṣūma in marriage—An expedition to Qandahār returns fruitless, on account of his illness—Shāh Beg's views on Bābur's persistent attempts on Qandahār—Shāh Beg's imprisonment and release by his slave Saṃbal's means.

924 AH.—Jan. 13th 1518 to Jan. 3rd 1519 AD.—Shāh Beg's son Ḥasan flees to Bābur—stays two years—date of his return to his father—Bābur begins a campaign in Bajaur against Ḥaidar-i-'alī *Bajaurī*—takes two forts.

[End of Translator's Note.]

925 AH.—Jan. 3rd to Dec. 23rd 1519 AD.—Bābur takes the Fort of Bajaur—massacres its people as false to Islām—Khwāja Kalān made its Commandant — an excessive impost in grain — a raid for corn — Māhīm's adoption of Dil-dār's unborn child—Bābur marries Bībī Mubārika—Repopulation of the Fort of Bajaur—Expedition against Afghān tribesmen—Destruction of the tomb of a heretic qalandar —Bābur first crosses the Sind—his long-cherished desire for Hindūstān—the ford of the Sind—the Koh-i-jūd (Salt-range) — his regard for Bhīra, Khūsh-āb, Chīn-ab and Chīnīūt as earlier possessions of the Turk, now therefore his own—the Kalda-kahār lake and subsequent location on it of the Bāgh-i-ṣafā—Assurance of safety sent to Bhīra as a Turk possession—History of Bhīra *etc.* as Turk possessions—Author's Note on Tātār Khān *Yūsuf-khail*—envoys sent to Balūchīs in Bhīra—heavy floods in camp—Offenders against Bhīra people punished—Agreed tribute collected —Envoy sent to ask from Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* the lands once dependent on the Turk—Daulat Khān arrests and keeps

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the envoy who goes back later to Bābur *re infectâ*—news of Hind-āl's birth and cause of his name—description of a drinking-party—Tātār Khān *Kakar* compels Minūchihr Khān *Turk*, going to wait on Bābur, to become his son-in-law—Account of the Kakars—excursions and drinking-parties—Bhīra appointments—action taken against Hātī Khān *Kakar*—Description and capture of Parhāla—Bābur sees the sambal plant—a tiger killed—Gūr-khattrī visited—Loss of a clever hawk—Khaibar traversed—mid-day halt in the Bāgh-i-wafā—Qarā-tū garden visited—News of Shāh Beg's capture of Kāhān—Bābur's boys carried out in haste to meet him—wine-parties—Death and biography of Dost Beg—Arrival of Sulṭānīm *Bāī-qarā* and ceremonies observed on meeting her — A long-imprisoned traitor released—Excursion to Koh-dāman—Hindū Beg abandons Bhīra — Bābur has (intermittent) fever — Visitors from Khwāst—Yūsuf-zāī chiefs wait on Bābur—Khalīfa's son sends a wedding-gift — Bābur's amusement when illness keeps him from an entertainment—treatment of his illness—A Thursday reading of theology (*see* Add. Note p. 401)—Swimming—Envoy from Mīrzā Khān—Tribesmen allowed to leave Kābul for wider grazing-grounds—Bābur sends his first *Dīwān* to Pūlād *Aūzbeg* in Samarkand—Arrivals and departures—Punitive expedition against the 'Abdu'r-raḥman Afghāns—punishment threatened and inflicted (p. 405) on defaulters in help to an out-matched man—Description of the Rustam-maidān—return to Kābul—Excursion to Koh-dāman — snake incident — Tramontane begs warned for service—fish-drugging—Bābur's non-pressure to drink, on an abstainer—wine-party—misadventure on a raft—tooth-picks gathered—A new retainer—Bābur shaves his head—Hind-āl's guardian appointed—Aūzbeg raiders defeated in Badakhshān — Various arrivals — Yūsuf-zāī campaign — Bābur dislocates his wrist—*Varia*—Dilah-zāk chiefs wait on him—Plan to store corn in Hash-nagar—Incidents of the road—Khaibar traversed—Bārā urged on Bābur as a place for corn—Kābul river forded at Bārā—little corn found and the Hash-nagar plan foiled—Plan to store Pashāwar Fort — return to 'Alī-masjid — News of an invasion of Badakhshān hurries Bābur back through the Khaibar—The Khiẓr-khail Afghāns punished — Bābur first writes since dislocating his wrist—The beauty and fruits of the Bāgh-i-wafā—incidents of the return march to Kābul—Excursion to the Koh-dāman—beauty of its harvest crops and autumnal

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trees—a line offensive to Khalīfa (*see* Add. Note p. 416)—Humāyūn makes a good shot—Beauty of the harvest near Istālīf and in the Bāgh-i-pādshāhī—Return to Kābul—Bābur receives a white falcon in gift—pays a visit of consolation to an ashamed drinker—Arrivals various—he finishes copying 'Alī-sher's four *Dīwāns*—An order to exclude from future parties those who become drunk—Bābur starts for Lāmghān 367–419

926 AH.—Dec. 23rd 1519 to Dec. 12th 1520 AD.—Excursion to Koh-dāman and Kohistān—incidents of the road—Bābur shoots with an easy bow, for the first time after the dislocation of his wrist—Nijr-aū tribute fixed—Excursions in Lāmghān—Kāfir head-men bring goat-skins of wine—Halt in the Bāgh-i-wafā—its oranges, beauty and charm—Bābur records his wish and intention to return to obedience in his 40th year and his consequent excess in wine as the end approached—composes an air—visits Nūr-valley—relieves Kwāja Kalān in Bajaur—teaches a talisman to stop rain—his opinion of the ill-taste and disgusting intoxication of beer—his reason for summoning Khwāja Kalān, and trenchant words to Shāh Ḥasan relieving him—an old beggar loaded with gifts—the raft strikes a rock—Description of the Kīndīr spring—Fish taken from fish-ponds—Hunting—Accident to a tooth—Fishing with a net—A murderer made over to the avengers of blood—A Qoran chapter read and start made for Kābul—(here the diary breaks off). 420–425

Translator's Note.—926 to 932 AH.—1520 to 1525 AD.—Bābur's activities in the Gap—missing matter less interesting than that lost in the previous one—its distinctive mark is biographical—*Dramatis personæ*—Sources of information 426–444

926 AH.—Dec. 23rd 1519 to Dec. 12th 1520 AD.—Bābur's five expeditions into Hindūstān—this year's cut short by menace from Qandahār—Shāh Beg's position—particulars of his menace not ascertained—**Description of Qandahār-fort**—Bābur's various sieges—this year's raised because of pestilence within the walls—Shāh Beg pushes out into Sind.

927 AH.—Dec. 12th 1520 to Dec. 1st 1521 AD.—Two accounts of this year's siege of Qandahār—(i) that of the *Ḥabību's-siyar*—(ii) that of the *Tārīkh-i-sind*—concerning the dates involved—Mīrzā Khān's death.

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928 AH.—Dec. 1st 1521 to Nov. 20th 1522 AD.—Bābur and Māhīm visit Humāyūn in Badakhshān—Expedition to Qandahār—of the duel between Bābur and Shāh Beg—the Chihil-zīna monument of victory—Death of Shāh Beg and its date—Bābur's literary work down to this year.

929 AH.—Nov. 20th 1522 to Nov. 10th 1523 AD.—Hindūstān affairs—Daulat Khān *Lūdī*, Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* and Bābur—Dilawār (son of Daulat Khān) goes to Kābul and asks help against Ibrāhīm—Bābur prays for a sign of victory—prepares for the expedition—'Ālam Khān *Lūdī* (apparently in this year) goes to Kābul and asks Bābur's help against his nephew Ibrāhīm—Birth of Gul-badan.

930 AH.—Nov. 10th 1523 to Oct. 27th 1524 AD.—Bābur's fourth expedition into Hindūstān—differs from earlier ones by its concert with malcontents in the country—Bābur defeats Bihār Khān *Lūdī* near Lāhor—Lāhor occupied—Dībalpūr stormed, plundered and its people massacred—Bābur moves onward from Sihrind but returns on news of Daulat Khān's doings—there may have been also news of Aūzbeg threat to Balkh—The Panj-āb garrison—Death of Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī* and of Shāh Beg—Bābur turns for Kābul—plants bananas in the Bāgh-i-wafā.

931 AH.—Oct. 29th 1524 to Oct. 18th 1525 AD.—Daulat Khān's large resources—he defeats 'Ālam Khān at Dībalpūr—'Ālam Khān flees to Kābul and again asks help—Bābur's conditions of reinforcement—'Ālam Khān's subsequent proceedings detailed *s.a.* 932 AH.—Bābur promises to follow him speedily—is summoned to Balkh by its Aūzbeg menace—his arrival raises the siege—he returns to Kābul in time for his start to Hindūstān in 932 . . . 426–444

[End of Translator's Note.]

SECTION III.—HINDŪSTĀN

932 AH.—Oct. 18th 1525 to Oct. 8th 1526 AD.—Bābur starts on his fifth expedition into Hindūstān—is attacked by illness at Gandamak—Humāyūn is late in coming in from Badakhshān—Verse-making on the Kābul-river—Bābur makes a satirical verse such as he had forsworn when writing the *Mubīn*—attributes a relapse of illness to his breach of vow—renews his oath—Fine spectacle of the lighted camp at Alī-masjid—Hunting near Bīgrām—Preparations for ferrying the Sind—Order to make a list of all with the army,

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and to count them up—continuation of illness—Orders sent to the Lāhor begs to delay engagement till Bābur arrived —The Sind ferried (for the first time) and the army tale declared as 12,000 good and bad—The eastward march—unexpected ice—Rendezvous made with the Lāhor begs—Jat and Gūjūr thieves—a courier sent again to the begs—News that 'Ālam Khān had let Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* defeat him near Dihlī—particulars of the engagement—he takes refuge with Bābur—The Lāhor begs announce their arrival close at hand—Ibrāhīm's troops retire before Bābur's march—Daulat Khān *Lūdī* surrenders Milwat (Malot)—waits on Bābur and is reproached—Ghāzī Khān's abandonment of his family censured—Jaswān-valley—Ghāzī Khān pursued —Bābur advances against Ibrāhīm *Lūdī*—his estimate of his adversary's strength—'Ālam Khān's return destitute to Bābur—Bābur's march leads towards Pānīpat—Humāyūn's first affair succeeds—reiterated news of Ibrāhīm's approach —Bābur's success in a minor encounter—he arrays and counts his effective force—finds it under the estimate—orders that every man in the army shall collect carts towards Rūmī defence—700 carts brought in—account of the defences of the camp close to the village of Pānīpat—Bābur on the futility of fear; his excuses for the fearful in his army—his estimate of Ibrāhīm's army and of its higher possible numbers—Author's Note on the Aūzbeg chiefs in Hisār (918 AH. 1512 AD.)—Preliminary encounters—Battle and victory of Pānīpat—Ibrāhīm's body found—Dihlī and Āgra occupied by Bābur — he makes the circuit of a Farghāna-born ruler in Dihlī—visits other tombs and sees sights—halts opposite Tūghlūqābād—the *khuṭba* read for him in Dihlī—he goes to Āgra—Author's Note on rulers in Gūālīār—The (Koh-i-nūr) diamond given by the Gūālīār family to Humāyūn — Bābur's dealings with Ibrāhīm's mother and her entourage—**Description of Hindūstān** (pp. 478 to 521)—Revenues of Hind (p. 521)—Āgra treasure distributed—local disaffection to Bābur—discontent in his army at remaining in Hindūstān—he sets the position forth to his Council—Khwāja Kalān decides to leave—his and Bābur's verses on his desertion—Bābur's force grows locally —action begun against rebels to Ibrāhīm in the East—Gifts made to officers, and postings various—Bīban *Jalwānī* revolts and is beaten—The Mīr of Bīāna warned—Mention of Rānā Sangā's failure in his promise to act with Bābur—Sangā's present action—Decision in Council to leave Sangā

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933 AH.—Oct. 8th 1526 to Sep. 27th 1527 AD.—Birth announced of Bābur's son Fārūq—incomplete success in casting a large mortar—*Varia*—Humāyūn summoned from the East to act against Sangā—Plundering expedition towards Biāna—Tahangar, Gūālīār and Dūlpūr obtained—Ḥamīd Khān *Sārang-khānī* defeated—Arrival of a Persian embassy—Ibrāhīm's mother tries to poison Bābur—**Copy of Bābur's letter detailing the affair** — his dealings with the poisoner and her agents—Humāyūn's return to Āgra—Khw. Dost-i-khawānd's arrival from Kābul — Reiterated news of the approach of Rānā Sangā—Bābur sends an advance force to Biāna—Ḥasan Khān *Miwātī*—Tramontane matters disloyal to Bābur—Trial-test of the large mortar (p. 536)—Bābur leaves Āgra to oppose Sangā—adverse encounter with Sangā by Biāna garrison—Alarming reports of Rājpūt prowess—Spadesmen sent ahead to dig wells in Madhākūr *pargana*—Bābur halts there—arrays and moves to Sīkrī—various joinings and scoutings—discomfiture of a party reconnoitring from Sīkrī—the reinforcement also overcome—The enemy retires at sight of a larger troop from Bābur—defence of the Sīkrī camp Rūmī fashion, with ditch besides—Continued praise of Rājpūt prowess—Further defence of the camp made to hearten Bābur's men—20–25 days spent in the above preparations—arrival of 500 men from Kābul—also of Muḥ. Sharīf an astrologer who augurs ill for Bābur's success—Archers collected and Mīwāt overrun—Bābur reflects that he had always wished to cease from the sin of wine — verses about his then position — resolves to renounce wine—details of the destruction of wine and precious vessels, and of the building of a commemorative well and alms-house—his oath to remit a tax if victorious is recalled to him—he remits the *tamghā*—Shaikh Zain writes the *farmān* announcing the two acts—Copy of the *farmān* — Great fear in Bābur's army — he adjures the Ghāzī spirit in his men who vow to stand fast—his perilous position — he moves forward in considerable array—his camp is laid out and protected by ditch and carts—An omen is taken and gives hope—Khalīfa advising, the camp is moved—While tents were being set up, the

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enemy appears—The battle and victory of Kānwa—described in a copy of the Letter-of-victory—Bābur inserts this because of its full particulars (pp. 559 to 574)—assumes the title of Ghāzī—Chronograms of the victory and also of that in Dībalpūr (930 AH.)—pursuit of the fugitive foe—escape of Sangā—the falsely-auguring astrologer banished with a gift—a small revolt crushed—a pillar of heads set up—Bābur visits Biāna—Little water and much heat set aside plan to invade Sangā's territory—Bābur visits Mīwāt—give some historical account of it—Commanders rewarded—Alwār visited—Humāyūn and others allowed to leave Hindūstān—Despatch of the Letter-of-victory—Various excursions—Humāyūn bidden farewell—Chandwār and Rāprī recovered—Apportionment of fiefs—Bīban flees before Bābur's men—Dispersion of troops for the Rains—Misconduct of Humāyūn and Bābur's grief—Embassy to 'Irāq—Tardī Beg *khāksār* allowed to return to the darwesh-life—Bābur's lines to departing friends—The Ramẓān-feast—Playing-cards—Bābur ill (seemingly with fever)—visits Dūlpūr and orders a house excavated—visits Bārī and sees the ebony-tree—has doubt of Bāyazīd *Farmūlī's* loyalty—his remedial and metrical exercises—his Treatise on Prosody composed—a relapse of illness—starts on an excursion to Kūl and Sambal 536–586

934 AH.—Sep. 27th 1527 to Sep. 15th 1528 AD.—Bābur visits Kūl and Sambal and returns to Āgra—has fever and ague intermittently for 20–25 days—goes out to welcome kinswomen—a large mortar bursts with fatal result—he visits Sīkrī—starts for Holy War against Chandīrī—sends troops against Bāyazīd *Farmūlī*—incidents of the march to Chandīrī—account of Kachwa—account of Chandīrī—its siege—Meantime bad news arrives from the East—Bābur keeping this quiet, accomplishes the work in hand—Chandīrī taken—change of plans enforced by defeat in the East—return northwards—Further losses in the East—Rebels take post to dispute Bābur's passage of the Ganges—he orders a pontoon-bridge—his artillery is used with effect, the bridge finished and crossed and the Afghāns worsted—Tukhtabūghā *Chaghatāī* arrives from Kāshgar—Bābur visits Lakhnau—suffers from ear-ache—reinforces Chīn-tīmūr against the rebels—Chīn-tīmūr gets the better of Bāyazīd *Farmūlī*—Bābur settles the affairs of Aūd (Oude) and plans to hunt near 587–602

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Translator's Note (part of 934 AH.)—On the *cir.* half-year's missing matter—known events of the Gap:—Continued campaign against Bīban and Bāyazīd—Bābur at Jūnpūr, Chausa and Baksara—swims the Ganges—bestows Sarūn on a Farmūlī—orders a Chār-bāgh made—is ill for 40 days—is inferred to have visited Dūlpūr, recalled 'Askarī from Multān, sent Khw. Dost-i-khāwand to Kābul on family affairs which were causing him much concern—Remarks on the Gap and, incidentally, on the Rāmpūr Dīwān and verses in it suiting Bābur's illnesses of 934 AH.

[End of Translator's Note.]

935 AH. Sep. 15th 1528 to Sep. 5th 1529 AD.—'Askarī reaches Āgra from Multān—Khwānd-amīr and others arrive from Khurāsān—Bābur prepares to visit Gūālīār—bids farewell to kinswomen who are returning to Kābul—marches out—is given an unsavoury medicament—inspects construction-work in Dūlpūr—reaches Gūālīār—**Description of Gūālīār** (p. 607 to p. 614)—returns to Dūlpūr—suffers from ear-ache—inspects work in Sīkrī and reaches Āgra—visit and welcomes to kinswomen—sends an envoy to take charge of Rantanbhūr—makes a levy on stipendiaries—sends letters to kinsfolk in Khurāsān—News arrives of Kāmrān and Dost-i-khāwand in Kābul—of Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī's* defeat at Jām of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Aūzbeg*—of the birth of a son to Humāyūn, and of a marriage by Kāmrān—he rewards an artificer—is strongly attacked by fever—for his healing translates Ahrārī's *Wālidiyyah-risāla*—account of the task—Troops warned for service—A long-detained messenger returns from Humāyūn—Accredited messengers-of-good-tidings bring the news of Humāyūn's son's birth—an instance of rapid travel—Further particulars of the Battle of Jām—Letters written and summarized—**Copy of one to Humāyūn inserted here**—Plans for an eastern campaign under 'Askarī—royal insignia given to him—Orders for the measurement, stations and up-keep of the Āgra-Kābul road—the *Mubīn* quoted—A feast describes—'Askarī bids his Father farewell—Bābur visits Dūlpūr and inspects his constructions—Persian account of the Battle of Jām—Bābur decides contingently to go to the East—Balūchī incursions—News reaches Dūlpūr of the loss of Bihār (town) and decides Bābur to go East—News of Humāyūn's action in Badakhshān—Bābur starts from Āgra—honoured arrivals in the assembly-camp—incidents of the march—congratula-

tions and gifts sent to Kāmrān, Humāyūn and others—also specimens of the Bāburī-script, and copies of the translation of the *Wālidiyyah-risāla* and the Hindūstān Poems—commends his building-work to his workmen—makes a new ruler for the better copying of the *Wālidiyyah-risāla* translation—letters written—**Copy of one to Khwāja Kalān inserted here**—Complaints from Kitīn-qarā *Aūzbeg* of Bābur's begs on the Balkh frontier—Bābur shaves his head—Māhīm using his style, orders her own escort from Kābul to Āgra—Bābur watches wrestling—leaves the Jumna, disembarks his guns, and goes across country to Dugdugī on the Ganges—travels by litter—'Askarī and other Commanders meet him—News of Bīban, Bāyazīd and other Afghāns—Letters despatched to meet Māhīm on her road—Bābur sends a copy of his writings to Samarkand—watches wrestling—hears news of the Afghāns—(here a surmised survival of record displaced from 934 AH.)—fall of a river-bank under his horse—swims the Ganges—crosses the Jumna at Allahābād (Piag) and re-embarks his guns—wrestling watched—the evil Tons—he is attacked by boils—a Rūmī remedy applied—a futile attempt to hunt—he sends money-drafts to the travellers from Kābul—visits places on the Ganges he had seen last year—receives various letters below Ghāzīpūr—has news that the Ladies are actually on their way from Kābul—last year's eclipse recalled—Hindu dread of the Karmā-nāśā river—wrestling watched—Rūmī remedy for boils used again with much discomfort—fall of last year's landing-steps at Baksara—wrestling—Negociations with an envoy of Naṣrat Shāh of Bengal—Examination into Muḥammad-i-zāman's objections to a Bihār appointment—despatch of troops to Bihār (town)—Muḥammad-i-zamān submits requests which are granted—a small success against Afghāns—Royal insignia given to Muḥammad-i-zamān, with leave to start for Bihār—Bābur's boats—News of the Bengal army—Muḥammad-i-zāman recalled because fighting was probable—Dūdū Bībi and her son Jalāl escape from Bengal to come to Bābur—Further discussions with the Bengal envoy—Favourable news from Bihār—Bābur in Arrah—Position of the Bengal army near the confluence of Gang and Sārū (Ganges and Gogrā)—Bābur making further effort for peace, sends an envoy to Naṣrat Shāh—gives Naṣrat's envoy leave to go conveying an ultimatum—Arrival of a servant from Māhīm west of the Bāgh-i-ṣafā—Bābur visits lotus-beds near Arrah—also

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Munīr and the Son—Distance measured by counting a horse's paces—care for tired horses—Bābur angered by Junaid *Barlās*' belated arrival — Consultation and plans made for the coming battle—the Ganges crossed (by the Burh-ganga channel) and move made to near the confluence — Bābur watches 'Alī-qulī's stone-discharge — his boat entered by night—Battle and victory of the Gogrā—Bābur praises and thanks his Chaghatāī cousins for their great services—crosses into the Nirhun *pargana*—his favours to a Farmūlī—News of Bīban and Bāyazīd—and of the strange deaths in Sambal—Chīn-tīmūr sends news from the west of inconveniences caused by the Ladies' delay to leave Kābul —and of success against the Balūchī—he is ordered to Āgra—Settlement made with the Nuhānī Afghāns—Peace made with Nasrat Shāh—Submissions and various guerdon —Bīban and Bāyazīd pursued—Bābur's papers damaged in a storm—News of the rebel pair as taking Luknūr (?)— Disposition of Bābur's boats—move along the Sārū—(a surmised survival of the record of 934 AH.)—Account of the capture of Luknūr (?)—Dispositions against the rebel pair—fish caught by help of a lamp—incidents of the march to Adampūr on the Jumna—Bīban and Bāyazīd flee to Mahūba—Eastern Campaign wound up—Bābur's rapid ride to Āgra (p. 686)—visits kinswomen—is pleased with Indian-grown fruits—Māhīm arrives—her gifts and Humāyūn's set before Bābur—porters sent off for Kābul to fetch fruits— Account of the deaths in Sambal brought in—sedition in Lāhor — wrestling watched — sedition of Rahīm-dād in Gūālīār—Mahdī Khwāja comes to Āgra . . 605–689

936 AH.—Sep. 5th 1529 to Aug. 25th 1530 AD.—Shaikh Ghaus comes from Gūālīār to intercede for Rahīm-dād—Gūālīār taken over 690

Translator's Note.—936 and 937 AH.—1529 and 1530 AD.—Sources from which to fill the Gap down to Bābur's death (December 26th 1530)—Humāyūn's proceedings in Badakhshān—Ḥaidar *Dūghlāt's* narrative of them—Humāyūn deserts his post, goes to Kābul, and, arranging with Kāmrān, sends Hind-āl to Badakhshān— goes on to Āgra and there arrives unexpected by his Father—as he is unwilling to return, Sulaimān *Mīrān-shāhī* is appointed under Bābur's suzerainty—Sa'īd Khān is warned to leave Sulaimān in possession—Bābur moves westward to support him and visits Lāhor—waited on in

Sihrind by the Rāja of Kahlūr — received in Lāhor by Kāmrān and there visited from Kābul by Hind-āl — leaves Lāhor (March 4th 1530 AD.)—from Sihrind sends a punitive force against Mundāhir Rājpūts—hunts near Dihlī — appears to have started off an expedition to Kashmīr — family matters fill the rest of the year — Humāyūn falls ill in Saṃbal and is brought to Āgra—his disease not yielding to treatment, Bābur resolves to practise the rite of intercession and self-surrender to save his life — is urged rather to devote the great diamond (Koh-i-nūr) to pious uses—refuses the substitution of the jewel for his own life—performs the rite—Humāyūn recovers —Bābur falls ill and is bedridden till death—his faith in the rite unquestionable, belief in its efficacy general in the East—Plan to set Bābur's sons aside from the succession—The *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* story discussed (p. 702 to 708)—suggested basis of the story (p. 705) — Bābur's death (Jūmāda I. 5th 937 AH.—Dec. 26th 1530 AD.) and burial first, near Āgra, later near Kābul—Shāh-jahān's epitaph inscribed on a tablet near the grave—Bābur's wives and children—Mr. Erskine's estimate of his character 691–716.

[**End of Translator's Note.**]

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[2] *See* p. 710 (where for "Daniels" read Atkinson).
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Plane-tree Avenue in Babur's (later) Burial-garden.

To face p. xxvii.]

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PREFACE.

O Spring of work! O Source of power to Be!
Each line, each thought I dedicate to Thee;
Each time I fail, the failure is my own,
But each success, a jewel in Thy Throne.
JESSIE E. CADELL.

INTRODUCTORY.

THIS book is a translation of Babur Padshah's Autobiography, made from the original Turki text. It was undertaken after a purely-Turki manuscript had become accessible in England, the Haidarabad Codex (1915) which, being in Babur's *ipsissima verba*, left to him the control of his translator's diction — a control that had been impracticable from the time when, under Akbar (1589), his book was translated into Persian. What has come down to us of pure text is, in its shrunken amount, what was translated in 1589. It is difficult, here and there, to interpret owing to its numerous and in some places extensive *lacunae*, and presents more problems than one the solution of which has real importance because they have favoured suggestions of malfeasance by Babur.

My translation has been produced under considerable drawback, having been issued in four *fasciculi*, at long intervals, respectively in June 1912, May 1914, October 1917, and September 1921. I have put with it of supplementary matter what may be of service to those readers whom Babur's personality attracts and to those who study Turki as a linguistic entertainment, but owing to delays in production am unable to include the *desiderata* of maps.

CHAPTER I.

BABUR'S EXEMPLARS IN THE ARTS OF PEACE.

Babur's civilian aptitudes, whether of the author and penman, the maker of gardens, the artist, craftsman or sportsman, were nourished in a fertile soil of family tradition and example. Little about his teaching and training is now with his mutilated book, little indeed of

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any kind about his præ-accession years, not the date of his birth even, having escaped destruction.[1] Happily Haidar Mirza (*q.v.*) possessed a more complete Codex than has come down to us through the Timurid libraries, and from it he translated many episodes of Baburiana that help to bridge gaps and are of special service here where the personalities of Bābur's early environment are being named.

Babur's home-milieu favoured excellence in the quiet Arts and set before its children high standard and example of proficiency. Moreover, by schooling him in obedience to the Law, it planted in him some of Art's essentials, self-restraint and close attention. Amongst primal influences on him, his mother Qut-luq-nigar's ranked high ; she, well-born and a scholar's daughter, would certainly be educated in Turki and Persian and in the home-accomplishments her governess possessed (*ātūn* q.v.). From her and her mother Aisan-daulat, the child would learn respect for the attainments of his wise old grandfather Yunas Khan. Aisan-daulat herself brought to her grandson much that goes to the making of a man ; nomad-born and sternly-bred, she was brave to obey her opinion of right, and was practically the boy's ruling counsellor through his early struggle to hold Farghana. With these two in fine influence must be counted Khan-zada, his five-years elder sister who from his birth to his death proved her devotion to him. Her life-story tempts, but is too long to tell ; her girlish promise is seen fulfilled in Gul-badan's pages. 'Umar Shaikh's own mother Shah Sultan Begim brought in a type of merit widely differing from that of Aisan-daulat Begim ; as a town-lady of high Tarkhan birth, used to the amenities of life in a wealthy house of Samarkand, she was, doubtless, an accomplished and cultured woman.

'Umar Shaikh's environment was dominated for many years by two great men, the scholar and lover of town-life Yunas Khan and the saintly Ahrari (*i.e.* Khwaja 'Ubaidu'l-lah) who were frequently with him in company, came at Babur's birth and assisted at his

[1] Cf. Cap. II, PROBLEMS OF THE MUTILATED BABUR-NAMA and *Tarīkh-i-rashīdi*, trs. p. 174.

nothing. Ahrari died in 895–1491 when the child was about seven years old but his influence was life-long ; in 935–1529 he was invoked as a spiritual helper by the fever-stricken Babur and his mediation believed efficacious for recovery (pp. 619, 648). For the babe or boy to be where the three friends held social session in high converse, would be thought to draw blessing on him ; his hushed silence in the presence would sow the seed of reverence for wisdom and virtue, such, for example, as he felt for Jami (*q.v.*). It is worth while to tell some part at least of Yunas' attainments in the gentler Arts, because the biography from which they are quoted may well have been written on the information of his wife Aisan-daulat, and it indicates the breadth of his exemplary influence. Yunas was many things—penman, painter, singer, instrumentalist, and a past master in the crafts. He was an expert in good companionship, having even temper and perfect manners, quick perception and conversational charm. His intellectual distinction was attributed to his twelve years of wardship under the learned and highly honoured Yazdi (Sharafu'd-din 'Ali), the author of the *Zafar-nama* [Timur's Book of Victory]. That book was in hand during four years of Yunas' education ; he will thus have known it and its main basis Timur's Turki *Malfūzāt* (annals). What he learned of either book he would carry with him into 'Umar Shaikh's environment, thus magnifying the family stock of Timuriya influence. He lived to be some 74 years old, a length of days which fairly bridged the gap between Timur's death [807–1404] and Babur's birth (888–1483). It is said that no previous Khan of his (Chaghatai) line had survived his 40th year ; his exceptional age earned him great respect and would deepen his influence on his restless young son-in-law 'Umar Shaikh. It appears to have been in 'Umar's 20th year (*cir.*) that Yunas Khan began the friendly association with him that lasted till Yunas' death (892–1483), a friendship which, as disparate ages would dictate, was rather that of father and son than of equal companionship. One matter mentioned in the Khān's biography would come to Babur's remembrance in the future days when he, like Yunas, broke the Law against intoxicants and, like him, repented and returned.

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That two men of the calibre and high repute of Ahrari and Yunas maintained friendly guidance so long over 'Umar cannot but be held an accreditment and give fragrance of goodness to his name. Apart from the high justice and generosity his son ascribes to him, he could set other example, for he was a reader of great books, the Qoran and the *Masnawi* being amongst his favourites. This choice, it may be, led Abu'l-fazl to say he had the darwesh-mind. Babur was old enough before 'Umar's death to profit by the sight of his father enjoying the perusal of such books. As with other parents and other children, there would follow the happy stilling to a quiet mood, the piquing of curiosity as to what was in the book, the sight of refuge taken as in a haven from self and care, and perhaps, Babur being intelligent and of inquiring mind and 'Umar a skilled reciter, the boy would marvel at the perennial miracle that a lifeless page can become eloquent—gentle hints all, pointers of the way to literary creation.

Few who are at home in Baburiana but will take Timur as Babur's great exemplar not only as a soldier but as a chronicler. Timur cannot have seemed remote from that group of people so well-informed about him and his civilian doings; his Shahrukhi grandchildren in Samarkand had carried on his author-tradition; the 74 years of Yunas Khan's life had bridged the gap between Timur's death in 807–1405 and Babur's birth in 888–1483. To Babur Timur will have been exemplary through his grandson Aulugh Beg who has two productions to his credit, the *Char-ulus* (Four Hordes) and the Kurkani Astronomical Tables. His sons, again, Babur (*qalandar*) and Ibrahim carried on the family torch of letters, the first in verse and the second by initiating and fostering Yazdi's labours on the *Zafar-nama*. Wide-radiating and potent influence for the Arts of Peace came forth from Herat during the reign of that Sultan Husain Mirza whose Court Babur describes in one of the best supplements to his autobiography. Husain was a Timurid of the elder branch of Bai-qara, an author himself but far more effective as a Macænas; one man of the shining galaxy of competence that gave him fame, set pertinent example for Babur the author, namely, the Andijani

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of noble Chaghatai family, 'Ali-sher *Nawa'i* who, in classic Turki verse was the master Babur was to become in its prose. That the standard of effort was high in Herat is clear from Babur's dictum (p. 233) that whatever work a man took up, he aspired to bring it to perfection. Elphinstone varies the same theme to the tune of equality of excellence apart from social status, writing to Erskine (August, 1826), that "it gives a high notion of the time to find" (in Babur's account of Husain's Court) "artists, musicians and others, described along with the learned and great of the Age".

My meagre summary of Babur's exemplars would be noticeably incomplete if it omitted mention of two of his life-long helpers in the gentler Arts, his love of Nature and his admiration for great architectural creations. The first makes joyous accompaniment throughout his book; the second is specially called forth by Timur's ennoblement of Samarkand. Timur had built magnificently and laid out stately gardens; Babur made many a fruitful pleasaunce and gladdened many an arid halting-place; he built a little, but had small chance to test his capacity for building greatly; never rich, he was poor in Kabul and several times destitute in his home-lands. But his sword won what gave wealth to his Indian Dynasty, and he passed on to it the builder's unused dower, so that Samarkand was surpassed in Hindustan and the spiritual conception Timur's creations embodied took perfect form at Sikandra where Akbar lies entombed.

CHAPTER II.

PROBLEMS OF THE MUTILATED BABUR-NAMA.

Losses from the text of Babur's book are the more disastrous because it truly embodies his career. For it has the rare distinction of being contemporary with the events it describes, is boyish in his boyhood, grows with his growth, matures as he matured. Undulled by retrospect, it is a fresh and spontaneous recital of things just seen, heard or done. It has the further rare distinction of shewing a boy who, setting a future task before him — in his case the revival of Timurid power, — began to chronicle his adventure in the book which

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through some 37 years was his twinned comrade, which by its special distinctions has attracted readers for nearly a half-millennium, still attracts and still is a thing apart from autobiographies which look back to recal dead years.

Much circumstance makes for the opinion that Babur left his life-record complete, perhaps repaired in places and recently supplemented, but continuous, orderly and lucid; this it is not now, nor has been since it was translated into Persian in 1589, for it is fissured by *lacunæ*, has neither Preface nor Epilogue,[1] opens in an oddly abrupt and incongruous fashion, and consists of a series of fragments so disconnected as to demand considerable preliminary explanation. Needless to say, its dwindled condition notwithstanding, it has place amongst great autobiographies, still revealing its author playing a man's part in a drama of much historic and personal interest. Its revelation is however now like a portrait out of drawing, because it has not kept the record of certain years of his manhood in which he took momentous decisions, (1) those of 1511–12 [918] in which he accepted reinforcement — at a great price — from Isma'il the Shi'a Shah of Persia, and in which, if my reading be correct, he first (1512) broke the Law against the use of wine,[2] (2) those of 1519–1525 [926–932], in which his literary occupations with orthodox Law (*see Mubin*) associated with cognate matters of 932 AH. indicate that his return to obedience had begun, in which too was taken the decision that worked out for his fifth expedition across the Indus with its sequel of the conquest of Hind.—The loss of matter so weighty cannot but destroy the balance of his record and falsify the drawing of his portrait.

a. *Problem of Titles.*

As nothing survives to decide what was Babur's chosen title for his autobiography, a modern assignment of names to distinguish it

[1] The suggestion, implied by my use of this word, that Babur may have definitely closed his autobiography (as Timur did under other circumstances) is due to the existence of a compelling cause *viz.* that he would be expectant of death as the price of Humayun's restored life (p. 701).

[2] Cf. p. 83 and n. and Add. Note, P. 83 for further emendation of a contradiction effected by some malign influence in the note (p. 83) between parts of that note, and between it and Babur's account of his not-drinking in Herat.

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from its various descendants is desirable, particularly so since the revival of interest in it towards which the Facsimile of its Haidarabad Codex has contributed.[1]

Babur-nama (History of Babur) is a well-warranted name by which to distinguish the original Turki text, because long associated with this and rarely if ever applied to its Persian translation.[2] It is not comprehensive because not covering supplementary matter of biography and description but it has use for modern readers of classing Babur's with other Timuriya and Timurid histories such as the *Zafar-Humayun-Akbar-namas.*

Waqi'āt-i-baburi (Babur's Acts), being descriptive of the book and in common use for naming both the Turki and Persian texts, might usefully be reserved as a title for the latter alone.

Amongst European versions of the book *Memoirs of Baber* is Erskine's peculium for the Leyden and Erskine Perso-English translation — *Mémoires de Baber* is Pavet de Courteille's title for his French version of the Bukhara [Persified-Turki] compilation—*Babur-nama in English* links the translation these volumes contain with its purely-Turki source.

b. *Problems of the Constituents of the Books.*

Intact or mutilated, Babur's material falls naturally into three territorial divisions, those of the lands of his successive rule, Farghana (with Samarkand), Kabul and Hindustan. With these are distinct sub-sections of description of places and of obituaries of kinsmen.

The book might be described as consisting of annals and diary, which once met within what is now the gap of 1508–19 (914–925). Round this gap, amongst others, bristle problems of which this change of literary style is one; some are small and concern the mutilation alone, others are larger, but all are too intricate for terse

[1] Teufel held its title to be *waqi'* (this I adopted in 1908), but it has no definite support and in numerous instances of its occurrence to describe the acts or doings of Babur, it could be read as a common noun.

[2] It stands on the reverse of the frontal page of the Haidarabad Codex; it is Timur-pulad's name for the Codex he purchased in Bukhara, and it is thence brought on by Kehr (with Ilminski), and Klaproth (Cap. III); it is used by Khwafi Khan (d. *circ.* 1732), *etc.*

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statement and all might be resolved by the help of a second MS. *e.g.* one of the same strain as Haidar's.

Without fantasy another constituent might be counted in with the three territorial divisions, namely, the grouped *lacunæ* which by their engulfment of text are an untoward factor in an estimate either of Babur or of his book. They are actually the cardinal difficulty of the book as it now is; they foreshorten purview of his career and character and detract from its merits; they lose it perspective and distort its proportions. That this must be so is clear both from the value and the preponderating amount of the lost text. It is no exaggeration to say that while working on what survives, what is lost becomes like a haunting presence warning that it must be remembered always as an integral and the dominant part of the book.

The relative proportions of saved and lost text are highly significant:—Babur's commemorable years are about 47 and 10 months, *i.e.* from his birth on Feb. 14th 1483 to near his death on Dec. 26th 1530; but the aggregate of surviving text records some 18 years only, and this not continuously but broken through by numerous gaps. That these gaps result from loss of pages is frequently shewn by a broken sentence, an unfinished episode. The fragments—as they truly may be called—are divided by gaps sometimes seeming to remove a few pages only (cf. *s.a.* 935 AH.), sometimes losing the record of 6 and *cir.* 18 months, sometimes of 6 and 11 years; besides these actual clefts in the narrative there are losses of some 12 years from its beginning and some 16 months from its end. Briefly put we now have the record of *cir.* 18 years where that of over 47 could have been.[1]

c. *Causes of the gaps.*

Various causes have been surmised to explain the *lacunæ*; on the plea of long intimacy with Babur's and Haidar's writings, I venture to say that one and all appear to me the result of accident. This opinion rests on observed correlations between the surviving and the

[1] That Babur left a complete record much indicates beyond his own persistence and literary bias, *e.g.* cross-reference with and needed complements from what is lost; mention by other writers of Babur's information, notably by Haidar.

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lost record, which demand complement—on the testimony of Haidar's extracts, and firmly on Babur's orderly and persistent bias of mind and on the prideful character of much of the lost record. Moreover occasions of risk to Babur's papers are known.

Of these occasions the first was the destruction of his camp near Hisar in 1512 (918; p. 357) but no information about his papers survives; they may not have been in his tent but in the fort. The second was a case of recorded damage to "book and sections" (p. 679) occurring in 1529 (935). From signs of work done to the Farghana section in Hindustan, the damage may be understood made good at the later date. To the third exposure to damage, namely, the attrition of hard travel and unsettled life during Humayun's 14 years of exile from rule in Hindustan (1441–1555) it is reasonable to attribute even the whole loss of text. For, assuming — as may well be done — that Babur left (1530) a complete autobiography, its volume would be safe so long as Humayun was in power but after the Timurid exodus (1441) his library would be exposed to the risks detailed in the admirable chronicles of Gul-badan, Jauhar and Bayazid (*q.v.*). He is known to have annotated his father's book in 1555 (p. 466 n. 1) just before marching from Kabul to attempt the re-conquest of Hindustan. His Codex would return to Dihli which he entered in July 1555, and there would be safe from risk of further mutilation. Its condition in 1555 is likely to have remained what it was found when 'Abdu'r-rahim translated it into Persian by Akbar's orders (1589) for Abu'l-fazl's use in the *Akbar-nama*. That Persian translation with its descendant the *Memoirs of Baber*, and the purely-Turki Haidarabad Codex with its descendant the *Babur-nama in English*, contain identical contents and, so doing, carry the date of the mutilation of Babur's Turki text back through its years of safety, 1589 to 1555, to the period of Humayun's exile and its dangers for camel-borne or deserted libraries.

d. *Two misinterpretations of lacunæ.*

Not unnaturally the frequent interruptions of narrative caused by *lacunæ* have been misinterpreted occasionally, and sometimes

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detractory comment has followed on Babur, ranking him below the accomplished and lettered, steadfast and honest man he was. I select two examples of this comment neither of which has a casual origin.

The first is from the *B.M. Cat. of Coins of the Shahs of Persia* p. xxiv, where after identifying a certain gold coin as shewing vassalage by Babur to Isma'il *Safawi*, the compiler of the Catalogue notes, "We can now understand the omission from Babar's 'Memoirs' of the occurrences between 914 H. and 925 H." Can these words imply other than that Babur suppressed mention of minting of the coins shewing acknowledgment of Shi'a suzerainty? Leaving aside the delicate topic of the detraction the quoted words imply, much negatives the surmise that the gap is a deliberate "omission" of text:—(1) the duration of the Shi'a alliance was 19–20 months of 917–918 AH. (p. 355), why omit the peaceful or prideful and victorious record of some 9–10 years on its either verge? (2) Babur's Transoxus campaign was an episode in the struggle between Shaibaq Khan (Shaibani) *Auzbeg* and Shah Isma'il — between Sunni and Shi'a; how could "omission" from his book, always a rare one, hide what multitudes knew already? "Omission" would have proved a fiasco in another region than Central Asia, because the Babur–Haidar story of the campaign, vassal-coinage included,[1] has been brought into English literature by the English translation of the *Tarikh-i rashidi*. Babur's frank and self-judging habit of mind would, I think, lead him to write fully of the difficulties which compelled the hated alliance and certainly he would tell of his own anger at the conduct of the campaign by Isma'il's Commanders. The alliance was a tactical mistake; it would have served Babur better to narrate its failure.

The second misinterpretation, perhaps a mere surmising gloss, is Erskine's (*Memoirs* Supp. p. 289) who, in connection with 'Alam Khan's request to Babur for reinforcement in order to oust his nephew Ibrahim, observes that "Babur probably flattered 'Alam Khan with the hope of succession to the empire of Hindustan." This idea does not fit the record of either man. Elphinstone was angered by Erskine's remark which, he wrote (Aug. 26th 1826) "had a bad

[1] App. H, xxx.

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effect on the narrative by weakening the implicit confidence in Babur's candour and veracity which his frank way of writing is so well-calculated to command." Elphinstone's opinion of Babur is not that of a reader but of a student of his book; he was also one of Erskine's staunchest helpers in its production. From Erskine's surmise others have advanced on the detractor's path saying that Babur used and threw over 'Alam Khan (*q.v.*).

e. *Reconstruction.*

Amongst the problems mutilation has created an important one is that of the condition of the beginning of the book (p. 1 to p. 30) with its plunge into Babur's doings in his 12th year without previous mention of even his day and place of birth, the names and status of his parents, or any occurrences of his præ-accession years. Within those years should be entered the death of Yunas Khan (1487) with its sequent obituary notice, and the death of [Khwaja 'Ubaidu'l-lah] Ahrari (1491). Not only are these customary entries absent but the very introductions of the two great men are wanting, probably with the also missing account of their naming of the babe Babur. That these routine matters are a part of an autobiography planned as Babur's was, makes for assured opinion that the record of more than his first decade of life has been lost, perhaps by the attrition to which its position in the volume exposed it.

Useful reconstruction if merely in tabulated form, might be effected in a future edition. It would save at least two surprises for readers, one the oddly abrupt first sentence telling of Babur's age when he became ruler in Farghana (p. 1), which is a misfit in time and order, another that of the sudden interruption of 'Umar Shaikh's obituary by a fragment of Yunas Khan's (p. 19) which there hangs on a mere name-peg, whereas its place according to Babur's elsewhere unbroken practice is directly following the death. The record of the missing præ-accession years will have included at the least as follows :—Day of birth and its place—names and status of parents—naming and the ceremonial observances proper for Muhammadan children—visits to kinsfolk in Tashkint, and to Samarkand (æt. 5, p. 35) where he

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was betrothed—his initiation in school subjects, in sport, the use of arms—names of teachers—education in the rules of his Faith (p. 44), appointment to the Andijan Command *etc., etc.*

There is now no fit beginning to the book; the present first sentence and its pendent description of Farghana should be removed to the position Babur's practice dictates of entering the description of a territory at once on obtaining it (cf. Samarkand, Kabul, Hindustan). It might come in on p. 30 at the end of the topic (partly omitted on p. 29 where no ground is given for the manifest anxiety about Babur's safety) of the disputed succession (Haidar, trs. p. 135) Babur's partisan begs having the better of Jahangir's (*q.v.*), and having testified obeisance, he became ruler in Farghana; his statement of age (12 years), comes in naturally and the description of his newly acquired territory follows according to rule. This removal of text to a later position has the advantage of allowing the accession to follow and not precede Babur's father's death.

By the removal there is left to consider the historical matter of pp. 12–13. The first paragraph concerns matter of much earlier date than 'Umar's death in 1494 (p. 13); it may be part of an obituary notice, perhaps that of Yunas Khan. What follows of the advance of displeased kinsmen against 'Umar Shaikh would fall into place as part of Babur's record of his boyhood, and lead on to that of his father's death.

The above is a bald sketch of what might be effected in the interests of the book and to facilitate its pleasant perusal.

Chapter III.

The Turki MSS. and work connecting with them.

This chapter is a literary counterpart of "Babur Padshah's Stone-heap," the roadside cairn tradition says was piled by his army, each man laying his stone when passing down from Kabul for Hindustan in the year of victory 1525 (932).[1]

[1] p. 446, n. 6. Babur's order for the cairn would fit into the lost record of the first month of the year (p. 445).

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For a title suiting its contents is " Babur Padshah's Book-pile," because it is fashioned of item after item of pen-work done by many men in obedience to the dictates given by his book. Unlike the cairn, however, the pile of books is not of a single occasion but of many, not of a single year but of many, irregularly spacing the 500 years through which he and his autobiography have had Earth's immortality.

Part I. The MSS. themselves.

Preliminary.—Much of the information given below was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1900 onwards, as it came into my possession during a search for reliable Turki text of the *Babur-nama*. My notes were progressive; some MSS. were in distant places, some not traceable, but in the end I was able to examine in England all of whose continued existence I had become aware. It was inevitable that some of my earlier statements should be superseded later; my Notes (*see s.n.* JRAS.) need clearing of transitory matter and summarizing, in particular those on the Elphinstone Codex and Klaproth's articles. Neither they nor what is placed here makes claim to be complete. Other workers will supplement them when the World has renewed opportunity to stroll in the bye-paths of literature.

Few copies of the *Babur-nama* seem to have been made; of the few I have traced as existing, not one contains the complete autobiography, and one alone has the maximum of dwindled text shewn in the Persian translation (1589). Two books have been reputed to contain Babur's authentic text, one preserved in Hindustan by his descendants, the other issuing from Bukhara. They differ in total contents, arrangement and textual worth; moreover the Bukhara book compiles items of divers diction and origin and date, manifestly not from one pen.

The Hindustan book is a record—now mutilated—of the Acts of Babur alone; the Bukhara book as exhibited in its fullest accessible example, Kehr's Codex, is in two parts, each having its preface, the first reciting Babur's Acts, the second Humayun's.

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The Bukhara book is a compilation of oddments, mostly translated from compositions written after Babur's death. Textual and circumstantial grounds warrant the opinion that it is a distinct work mistakenly believed to be Babur's own; to these grounds was added in 1903 the authoritative verdict of collation with the Haidarabad Codex, and in 1921 of the colophon of its original MS. in which its author gives his name, with the title and date of his compilation (JRAS. 1900, p. 474). What it is and what are its contents and history are told in Part III of this chapter.

Part II. Work on the Hindustan MSS.

Babur's Original Codex.

My latest definite information about Babur's autograph MS. comes from the *Padshah-nama* (Bib. Ind. ed. ii, 4), whose author saw it in Shah-i-jahan's private library between 1628 and 1638. Inference is justified, however, that it was the archetype of the Haidarabad Codex which has been estimated from the quality of its paper as dating *cir.* 1700 (JRAS. 1906, p. 97). But two subsequent historic disasters complicate all questions of MSS. missing from Indian libraries, namely, Nadir Shah's vengeance on Dihli in 1739 and the dispersions and fires of the Mutiny. Faint hope is kept alive that the original Codex may have drifted into private hands, by what has occurred with the Rampur MS. of Babur's Hindustan verses (App. J), which also appears once to have belonged to Shah-i-jahan.

I

Amongst items of work done during Babur's life are copies of his book (or of the Hindustan section of it) he mentions sending to sons and friends.

II

The *Tabaqat-i-baburi* was written during Babur's life by his Persian secretary Shaikh Zainu'd-din of Khawaf; it paraphrases in rhetorical Persian the record of a few months of Hindustan campaigning, including the battle of Panipat.

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TABLE OF THE HINDUSTAN MSS. OF THE BABUR-NAMA.[1]

Names.	Date of completion.	Folios—standard 382.[2]	Archetype.	Scribe.	Latest known location.	Remarks.
1. Babur's Codex.	1530.	Originally much over 382.	—	Babur.	Royal Library between 1628–38.	Has disappeared.
2. Khwaja Kalan *Ahrari's* Codex.	1529.	Undefined 363 (?), p. 652.	No. 1.	Unknown.	Sent to Samarkand 1529.	Possibly still in Khwaja Kalan's family.
3. Humayun's Codex = {commanded and annotate ?).[3]	1531 (?).	Originally = No. 1 (unmutilated).	No. 1.	'Ali'u'l-katib (?).	Royal Library between 1556–1567.	Seems the archetype of No. 5.
4. Muhammad Haidar *Dughlat's* Codex.	Between 1536 and 40 (?).	No. 1 (unmutilated).	No. 1 or No. 2.	Haidar (?)	Kashmir 1540–47.	Possibly now in Kashghar.
5. Elphinstone Codex.	Between 1556 and 1567.	In 1816 and 1907, 286 ff.	No. 3.	Unknown.	Advocates' Library (1816 to 1921).	Bought in Peshawar 1810.
6. British Museum MS.	1629.	97 (fragments).	Unknown.	'Ali'u'l-*kashmiri*.	British Museum.	—
7. Bib. Lindesiana MS. [now John Rylands]	Scribe living in 1625.	71 (an extract).	Unknown.	Nur-muhammad (nephew of 'Abu'l-fazl).	John Rylands Library.	—
8. Haidarabad Codex.	Paper indicates *cir.* 1700.	382.	(No. 1) mutilated.	No colophon.	The late Sir Salar-jang's Library.	Centupled in facsimile, 1905.

[1] Parts of the Babur-nama sent to Babur's sons are not included here.
[2] The standard of comparison is the 382 fols. of the Haidarabad Codex.
[3] This MS. is not to be confused with one Erskine misunderstood Humayun to have copied (*Memoirs*, p. 303 and JRAS. 1900, p. 443).

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III

During the first decade of Humayun's reign (1530–40) at least two important codices seem to have been copied.

The earlier (*see* Table, No. 2) has varied circumstantial warrant. It meets the need of an archetype, one marginally annotated by Humayun, for the Elphinstone Codex in which a few notes are marginal and signed, others are pell-mell, interpolated in the text but attested by a scrutineer as having been marginal in its archetype and mistakenly copied into its text. This second set has been ineffectually sponged over. Thus double collation is indicated (i) with Babur's autograph MS. to clear out extra Babur matter, and (ii) with its archetype, to justify the statement that in this the interpolations were marginal.—No colophon survives with the much dwindled Elph. Codex, but one, suiting the situation, has been observed, where it is a complete misfit, appended to the Alwar Codex of the second Persian translation, (estimated as copied in 1589). Into the incongruities of that colophon it is not necessary to examine here, they are too obvious to aim at deceit; it appears fitly to be an imperfect translation from a Turki original, this especially through its odd fashion of entitling "Humayun Padshah." It can be explained as translating the colophon of the Codex (No. 2) which, as his possession, Humayun allowably annotated and which makes it known that he had ordered 'Ali'u-'l-katib to copy his father's Turki book, and that it was finished in February, 1531, some six weeks after Babur's death.[1]

The later copy made in Humayun's first decade is Haidar Mirza's (*infra*).

IV

Muhammad Haidar Mirza *Dughlat's* possession of a copy of the Autobiography is known both from his mention of it and through numerous extracts translated from it in his *Tarikh-i-rashidi*. As a good boy-penman (p. 22) he may have copied down to 1512 (918) while with Babur (p. 350), but for obtaining a transcript of it his

[1] For precise limits of the original annotation *see* p. 446 n.—For details about the E. Codex *see* JRAS. 1907, art. *The Elph. Codex*, and for the colophon AQR. 1900, July, Oct. and JRAS. 1905, pp. 752, 761.

opportunity was while with Humayun before the Timurid exodus of 1541. He died in 1551; his Codex is likely to have found its way back from Kashmir to his ancestral home in the Kashghar region and there it may still be. (*See* T.R. trs. Ney Elias' biography of him).

V

The Elphinstone Codex[1] has had an adventurous career. The enigma of its archetype is posed above; it may have been copied during Akbar's first decade (1556–67); its, perhaps first, owner was a Bai-qara rebel (d. 1567) from amongst whose possessions it passed into the Royal Library, where it was cleared of foreign matter by the expunction of Humayun's marginal notes which its scribe had interpolated into its text. At a date I do not know, it must have left the Royal Library for its fly-leaves bear entries of prices and in 1810 it was found and purchased in Peshawar by Elphinstone. It went with him to Calcutta, and there may have been seen by Leyden during the short time between its arrival and the autumn month of the same year (1810) when he sailed for Java. In 1813 Elphinstone in Poona sent it to Erskine in Bombay, saying that he had fancied it gone to Java and had been writing to 'Izzatu'l-lah to procure another MS. for Erskine in Bukhara, but that all the time it was on his own shelves. Received after Erskine had dolefully compared his finished work with Leyden's (tentative) translation, Erskine sadly recommenced the review of his own work. The Codex had suffered much defacement down to 908 (1502) at the hands of " a Persian Turk of Ganj " who had interlined it with explanations. It came to Scotland (with Erskine ?) who in 1826 sent it with a covering letter (Dec. 12th, 1826), at its owner's desire, to the Advocates' Library where it now is. In 1907 it was fully described by me in the JRAS.

VI

Of two *Waqi'at-i-baburi* (Pers. trs.) made in Akbar's reign, the earlier was begun in 1583, at private instance, by two Mughuls

[1] *See* Index *s.n.* and III *ante* and JRAS. 1900-3-5-6-7.

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Payanda-hasan of Ghazni and Muhammad-quli of Hisar. The Bodleian and British Museum Libraries have copies of it, very fragmentary unfortunately, for it is careful, likeable, and helpful by its small explanatory glosses. It has the great defect of not preserving autobiographic quality in its diction.

VII

The later *Waqi'at-i-baburi* translated by 'Abdu'r-rahim Mirza is one of the most important items in Baburiana, both by its special characteristics as the work of a Turkman and not of a Persian, and by the great service it has done. Its origin is well-known; it was made at Akbar's order to help Abu'l-fazl in the Akbar-nama account of Babur and also to facilitate perusal of the *Babur-nama* in Hindustan. It was presented to Akbar, by its translator who had come up from Gujrat, in the last week of November, 1589, on an occasion and at a place of admirable fitness. For Akbar had gone to Kabul to visit Babur's tomb, and was halting on his return journey at Barik-ab where Babur had halted on his march down to Hindustan in the year of victory 1525, at no great distance from " Babur Padshah's Stone-heap ". Abu'l-fazl's account of the presentation will rest on 'Abdu'r-rahim's information (A.N. trs. cap. ci). The diction of this translation is noticeable ; it gave much trouble to Erskine who thus writes of it (*Memoirs* Preface, lx), " Though simple and precise, a close adherence to the idioms and forms of expression of the Turki original joined to a want of distinctness in the use of the relatives, often renders the meaning extremely obscure, and makes it difficult to discover the connexion of the different members of the sentence.[1] The style is frequently not Persian. . . . Many of the Turki words are untranslated."

Difficult as these characteristics made Erskine's interpretation, it appears to me likely that they indirectly were useful to him by restraining his diction to some extent in their Turki fettering.—This Turki fettering has another aspect, apart from Erskine's difficulties,

[1] Here speaks the man reared in touch with European classics; (pure) Turki though it uses no relatives (Radloff) is lucid. Cf. Cap. IV The Memoirs of Babur.

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viz. it would greatly facilitate re-translation into Turki, such as has been effected, I think, in the Farghana section of the Bukhara compilation.[1]

VIII

This item of work, a harmless attempt of Salim (*i.e.* Jahangir Padshah ; 1605–28) to provide the ancestral autobiography with certain stop-gaps, has caused much needless trouble and discussion without effecting any useful result. It is this :—In his own autobiography, the *Tuzuk-i-jahangiri s.a.* 1607, he writes of a Babur-nama Codex he examined, that it was all in Babur's "blessed handwriting" except four portions which were in his own and each of which he attested in Turki as so being. Unfortunately he did not specify his topics; unfortunately also no attestation has been found to passages reasonably enough attributable to his activities. His portions may consist of the "Rescue-passage" (App. D) and a length of translation from the *Akbarnama*, a continuous part of its Babur chapter but broken up where only I have seen it, *i.e.* the Bukhara compilation, into (1) a plain tale of Kanwa (1527), (2) episodes of Babur's latter months (1529)—both transferred to the first person—and (3) an account of Babur's death (December 26th, 1530) and Court.

Jahangir's occupation, harmless in itself, led to an imbroglio of Langlés with Erskine, for the former stating in the *Biographie Universelle* art. Babour, that Babour's Commentaries "*augmentés par Jahangir*" were translated into Persian by 'Abdu'r-rahim. Erskine made answer, "I know not on what authority the learned Langlés hazarded this assertion, which is certainly incorrect" (*Memoirs*, Preface, p. ix). Had Langlés somewhere met with Jahangir's attestations? He had authority if he had seen merely the statement of 1607, but Erskine was right also, because the Persian translation contains no more than the unaugmented Turki text. The royal stop-gaps are in Kehr's MS. and through Ilminski reached De Courteille, whence the biting and thorough analysis of the three "Fragments" by Teufel. Both episodes—the Langlés and the

[1] For analysis of a retranslated passage *see* JRAS. 1908, p. 85.

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Teufel ones—are time-wasters but they are comprehensible in the circumstances that Jahangir could not foresee the consequences of his doubtless good intentions.

If the question arise of how writings that had had place in Jahangir's library reached Bukhara, their open road is through the Padshah's correspondence (App. Q and references), with a descendant of Ahrari in whose hands they were close to Bukhara.[1]

It groups scattered information to recal that Salim (Jahangir) was 'Abdu'r-rahim's ward, that then, as now, Babur's Autobiography was the best example of classic Turki, and that it would appeal on grounds of piety—as it did appeal on some sufficient ground—to have its broken story made good. Also that for three of the four "portions" Abu'l-fazl's concise matter was to hand.

IX

My information concerning Baburiana under Shah-i-jahan Padshah (1628–58) is very meagre. It consists of (1) his attestation of a signature of Babur (App. Q and photo), (2) his possession of Babur's autograph Codex (*Padshah-nama*, Bib. Ind. ed., ii, 4), and (3) his acceptance, and that by his literary entourage, of Mir Abu-talib *Husaini*'s Persian translation of Timur's Annals, the *Malfuzat* whose preparation the *Zafar-nama* describes and whose link with Babur's writings is that of the exemplar to the emulator.[2]

X

The Haidarabad Codex may have been inscribed under Aurangzib Padshah (1655–1707). So many particulars about it have been given already that little needs saying here.[3] It was the *grande trouvaille* of my search for Turki text wherewith to revive Babur's autobiography both in Turki and English. My husband in 1900 saw it in Haidarabad; through the kind offices of the late Sayyid

[1] *Tuzuk-i-jahangiri*, Rogers & Beveridge's trs. i, 110; JRAS. 1900, p. 756, for the Persian passage, 1908, p. 76 for the "Fragments", 1900, p. 476 for Ilminski's Preface (a second translation is accessible at the B.M. and I.O. Library and R.A.S.), *Memoirs* Preface, p. ix, Index *s.nn.* de Courteille, Teufel, Bukhara MSS. and Part iii *eo cap.*

[2] For Shah-i-jahan's interest in Timur *see* sign given in a copy of his note published in my translation volume of Gul-badan Begim's *Humayun-nama*, p. xiii.

[3] JRAS. 1900 p. 466, 1902 p. 655, 1905 art. *s.n.*, 1908 pp. 78, 98; Index *in loco s.n.*

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Ali *Bilgrami* it was lent to me; it proved to surpass, both in volume and quality, all other Babur-nama MSS. I had traced; I made its merits known to Professor Edward Granville Browne, just when the E. J. Wilkinson Gibb Trust was in formation, with the happy and accordant result that the best prose book in classic Turki became the first item in the Memorial—*matris ad filium*—of literary work done in the name of the Turkish scholar, and Babur's very words were safeguarded in hundred-fold facsimile. An event so important for autobiography and for Turki literature may claim more than the bald mention of its occurrence, because sincere autobiography, however ancient, is human and social and undying, so that this was no mere case of multiplying copies of a book, but was one of preserving a man's life in his words. There were, therefore, joyful red-letter days in the English story of the Codex—outstanding from others being those on which its merits revealed themselves (on Surrey uplands)—the one which brought Professor Browne's acceptance of it for reproduction by the Trust—and the day of pause from work marked by the accomplished fact of the safety of the *Babur-nama*.

XI

The period from *cir.* 1700, the date of the Haidarabad Codex, and 1810, when the Elphinstone Codex was purchased by its sponsor at Peshawar, appears to have been unfruitful in work on the Hindustan MSS. Causes for this may connect with historic events, *e.g.* Nadir Shah's desolation of Dihli and the rise of the East India Company, and, in Baburiana, with the disappearance of Babur's autograph Codex (it was unknown to the Scots of 1800–26), and the transfer of the Elphinstone Codex from royal possession—this, possibly however, an accident of royal travel to and from Kabul at earlier dates.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century was, on the contrary, most fruitful in valuable work, useful impulse to which was given by Dr. John Leyden who in about 1805 began to look into Turki. Like his contemporary Julius Klaproth (*q.v.*), he was avid of tongues and attracted by Turki and by Babur's writings of which he

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had some knowledge through the 'Abdu'r-rahim (Persian) translation. His Turki text-book would be the MS. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,[1] a part-copy of the Bukhara compilation, from which he had the India Office MS. copied. He took up Turki again in 1810, after his return from Malay and whilst awaiting orders in Calcutta for departure to Java. He sailed in the autumn of the year and died in August 1811. Much can be learned about him and his Turki occupations from letters (*infra* xiii) written to Erskine by him and by others of the Scottish band which now achieved such fine results for Babur's Autobiography.

It is necessary to say something of Leyden's part in producing the *Memoirs*, because Erskine, desiring to " lose nothing that might add to Leyden's reputation ", has assigned to him an undue position of collaboration in it both by giving him premier place on its title-page and by attributing to him the beginning the translation. What one gleans of Leyden's character makes an impression of unassumption that would forbid his acceptance of the posthumous position given to him, and, as his translation shews the tyro in Turki, there can be no ground for supposing he would wish his competence in it over-estimated. He had, as dates show, nothing to do with the actual work of the *Memoirs* which was finished before Erskine had seen in 1813 what Leyden had set down before he died in 1811. As the *Memoirs* is now a rare book, I quote from it what Erskine says (Preface, p. ix) of Leyden's rough translation :—" This acquisition (*i.e.* of Leyden's trs.) reduced me to rather an awkward dilemma. The two translations (his own and Leyden's) differed in many important particulars; but as Dr. Leyden had the advantage of translating from the original, I resolved to adopt his translation as far as it went, changing only such expressions in it as seemed evidently to be inconsistent with the context, or with other parts of the *Memoirs*, or such as seemed evidently to originate in the oversights that are unavoidable in an unfinished work.[2] This labour I had completed

[1] Cf. JRAS. 1900, Nos. VI, VII, VIII.

[2] Ilminski's difficulties are foreshadowed here by the same confusion of identity between the *Babur-nama* proper and the Bukhara compilation (Preface, Part iii, p. li).

with some difficulty, when Mr. Elphinstone sent me the copy of the *Memoirs of Baber* in the original Tūrkī (*i.e.* The Elphinstone Codex) which he had procured when he went to Peshawar on his embassy to Kabul. This copy, which he had supposed to have been sent with Dr. Leyden's manuscripts from Calcutta, he was now fortunate enough to recover (in his own library at Poona). "The discovery of this valuable manuscript reduced me, though heartily sick of the task, to the necessity of commencing my work once more."

Erskine's Preface (pp. x, xi) contains various other references to Leyden's work which indicate its quality as tentative and unrevised. It is now in the British Museum Library.

XII

Little need be said here about the *Memoirs of Baber*.[1] Erskine worked on a basis of considerable earlier acquaintance with his Persian original, for, as his Preface tells, he had (after Leyden's death) begun to translate this some years before he definitely accepted the counsel of Elphinstone and Malcolm to undertake the *Memoirs*. He finished his translation in 1813, and by 1816 was able to dedicate his complete volume to Elphinstone, but publication was delayed till 1826. His was difficult pioneer-work, and carried through with the drawback of working on a secondary source. It has done yeoman service, of which the crowning merit is its introduction of Babur's autobiography to the Western world.

XIII

Amongst Erskine's literary remains are several bound volumes of letters from Elphinstone, Malcolm, Leyden, and others of that distinguished group of Scots who promoted the revival of Babur's writings. Erskine's grandson, the late Mr. Lestocq Erskine, placed these, with other papers, at our disposal, and they are now located where they have been welcomed as appropriate additions:—Elphinstone's are in the Advocates' Library, where already (1826) he, through Erskine, had deposited his own Codex — and with his

[1] Cf. Erskine's Preface *passim*, and *in loco* item XI, cap. iv. The *Memoirs of Baber*, and Index *s.n.*

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letters are those of Malcolm and more occasional correspondents; Leyden's letters (and various papers) are in the Memorial Cottage maintained in his birthplace Denholm (Hawick) by the Edinburgh Border Counties sociation; something fitting went to the Bombay Asiatic Society and a volume of diary to the British Museum. Leyden's papers will help his fuller biography; Elphinstone's letters have special value as recording his co-operation with Erskine by much friendly criticism, remonstrance against delay, counsels and encouragement. They, moreover, shew the estimate an accomplished man of modern affairs formed of Babur Padshah's character and conduct; some have been quoted in Colebrooke's *Life of Elphinstone*, but there they suffer by detachment from the rest of his Baburiana letters; bound together as they now are, and with brief explanatory interpolations, they would make a welcome item for " Babur Padshah's Book-pile ".

XIV

In May 1921 the contents of these volumes were completed, namely, the *Babur-nama in English* and its supplements, the aims of which are to make Babur known in English diction answering to his *ipsissima verba*, and to be serviceable to readers and students of his book and of classic Turki.

XV

Of writings based upon or relating to Babur's the following have appeared :—

Denkwurdigkeiten des Zahir-uddin Muhammad Babar — A. Kaiser (Leipzig, 1828). This consists of extracts translated from the Memoirs.

An abridgement of the Memoirs — R. M. Caldecott (London, 1844).

History of India — Baber and Humayun — W. Erskine (Longmans, 1854).

Babar — Rulers of India series — Stanley Lane-Poole (Oxford, 1899).

Tuzuk-i-babari or Waqi'at-i-babari (*i.e.* the Persian trs.) — Elliot and Dowson's History of India, 1872, vol. iv.

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Babur Padshah *Ghazi* — H. Beveridge (Calcutta Review, 1899).

Babur's diamond, was it the Koh-i-nur? — H. Beveridge, Asiatic Quarterly Review, April, 1899.

Was 'Abdu'r-rahim the translator of Babur's Memoirs? (*i.e.* the *Babur-nama*) — H. Beveridge, AQR., July and October, 1900.

An Empire-builder of the 16th century, Babur—Laurence F. L. Williams (Allahabad, 1918).

Notes on the MSS. of the Turki text (*Babur-nāma*) — A. S. Beveridge, JRAS. 1900, 1902, 1921, 1905, and Part II 1906, 1907, 1908, p. 52 and p. 828, 1909 p. 452 (*see* Index, *s.n.* A. S. B. for topics).

[For other articles and notes by H. B. *see* Index *s.n.*]

Part III. The "Bukhara Babur-nama".

This is a singular book and has had a career as singular as its characteristics, a very comedy of (blameless) errors and mischance. For it is a compilation of items diverse in origin, diction, and age, planned to be a record of the Acts of Babur and Humayun, dependent through its Babur portion on the 'Abdu 'r-rahim Persian translation for re-translation, or verbatim quotation, or dove-tailing effected on the tattered fragments of what had once been Kamran's Codex of the Babur-nama proper, the whole interspersed by stop-gaps attributable to Jahangir. These and other specialities notwithstanding, it ranked for nearly 200 years as a reproduction of Babur's authentic text, as such was sent abroad, as such was reconstructed and printed in Kasan (1857), translated in Paris (1871), catalogued for the Petrograd Oriental School (1894), and for the India Office (1903).

Manifest causes for the confusion of identity are, (1) lack of the guidance in Bukhara and Petrograd of collation with the true text, (2) want of information, in the Petrograd of 1700–25, about Babur's career, coupled with the difficulties of communication with Bukhara, (3) the misleading feature in the compiled book of its author's retention of the autobiographic form of his sources, without explanation as to whether he entered surviving fragments of Kamran's

[1] The last blow was given to the phantasmal reputation of the book by the authoritative Haidarabad Codex which now can be seen in facsimile in many Libraries.

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Codex, patchings or extracts from 'Abdu'r-rahim's Persian translation, or quotations of Jahangir's stop-gaps. Of these three causes for error the first is dominant, entailing as it does the drawbacks besetting work on an inadequate basis.

It is necessary to enumerate the items of the Compilation here as they are arranged in Kehr's autograph Codex, because that codex (still in London) may not always be accessible,[1] and because the imprint does not obey its model, but aims at closer agreement of the Bukhara Compilation with Ilminski's gratefully acknowledged guide — *The Memoirs of Baber*. Distinction in commenting on the Bukhara and the Kasan versions is necessary; their discrepancy is a scene in the comedy of errors.

[1] But for present difficulties of intercourse with Petrograd, I would have re-examined with Kehr's the collateral Codex of 1742 (copied in 1839 and now owned by the Petrograd University). It might be useful, as Kehr's volume has lost pages and may be disarranged here and there.

The list of Kehr's items is as follows :—

1 (*not in the Imprint*). A letter from Babur to Kamran the date of which is fixed as 1527 by its committing Ibrahim *Ludi's* son to Kamran's charge (p. 544). It is heard of again in the Bukhara Compilation, is lost from Kehr's Codex, and preserved from his archetype by Klaproth who translated it. Being thus found in Bukhara in the first decade of the eighteenth century (our earliest knowledge of the Compilation is 1709), the inference is allowed that it went to Bukhara as loot from the defeated Kamran's camp and that an endorsement its companion Babur-nama (proper) bears was made by the Auzbeg of two victors over Kamran, both of 1550, both in Tramontana.[1]

2 (*not in Imp.*). Timur-pulad's memo. about the purchase of his Codex in *circ.* 1521 (*eo cap. post*).

3 (*Imp. 1*). Compiler's Preface of Praise (JRAS. 1900, p. 474).

4 (*Imp. 2*). Babur's Acts in Farghana, in diction such as to seem a re-translation of the Persian translation of 1589. How much of Kamran's MS. was serviceable is not easy to decide, because the Turki fettering of 'Abdu'r-rahim's Persian lends itself admirably to re-translation.[2]

5 (*Imp. 3*). The "Rescue-passage" (App. D) attributable to Jahangir.

6 (*Imp. 4*). Babur's Acts in Kabul, seeming (like No. 4) a re-translation or patching of tattered pages. There are also passages taken verbatim from the Persian.

7 (*Imp. omits*). A short length of Babur's Hindustan Section, carefully shewn damaged by dots and dashes.

8 (*Imp. 5*). Within 7, the spurious passage of App. L and also scattered passages about a feast, perhaps part of 7.

9 (*Imp. separates off at end of vol.*). Translated passage from the *Akbar-nama*, attributable to Jahangir, briefly telling of Kanwa (1527), Babur's latter years (both changed to first person), death and court.[3]

[1] That Babur-nama of the "Kamran-docket" is the mutilated and tattered basis, allowed by circumstance, of the compiled history of Babur, filled out and mended by the help of the Persian translation of 1589. Cf. Kehr's Latin Trs. fly-leaf entry; Klaproth *s.n.*; A.N. trs. H.B., p. 260; JRAS. 1908, 1909, on the "Kamran-docket" (where are defects needing Klaproth's second article (1824).

[2] For an analysis of an illustrative passage *see* JRAS. 1906; for facilities of re-translation *see eo cap.* p. xviii, where Erskine is quoted.

[3] *See* A.N. trans., p. 260; Prefaces of Ilminski and de Courteille; ZDMG. xxxvii, Teufel's art.; JRAS. 1906.

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[Babur's history has been thus brought to an end, incomplete in the balance needed for 7. In Kehr's volume a few pages are left blank except for what shews a Russian librarian's opinion of the plan of the book, "Here end the writings of Shah Babur."]

10 (*Imp. omits*). Preface to the history of Humayun, beginning at the Creation and descending by giant strides through notices of Khans and Sultans to "Babur Mirza who was the father of Humayun Padshah". Of Babur what further is said connects with the battle of Ghaj-davan (918-1512 *q.v.*). It is ill-informed, laying blame on him as if he and not Najm Sani had commanded—speaks of his preference for the counsel of young men and of the numbers of combatants. It is noticeable for more than its inadequacy however; its selection of the Ghaj-davan episode from all others in Babur's career supports circumstantially what is dealt with later, the Ghaj-davani authorship of the Compilation.

11 (*Imp. omits*). Under a heading "Humayun Padshah" is a fragment about (his? Accession) Feast, whether broken off by loss of his pages or of those of his archetype examination of the P. Univ. Codex may show.

12 (*Imp. 6*). An excellent copy of Babur's Hindustan Section, perhaps obtained from the Ahrari house. [This Ilminski places (I think) where Kehr has No. 7.] From its position and from its bearing a scribe's date of completion (which Kehr brings over), *viz. Tamt shud 1126* (Finished 1714), the compiler may have taken it for Humayun's, perhaps for the account of his reconquest of Hind in 1555.

[The remaining entries in Kehr's volume are a quatrain which may make jesting reference to his finished task, a librarian's Russian entry of the number of pages (831), and the words *Etablissement Orientale, Fr. v. Adelung*, 1825 (the Director of the School from 1793).[1]

[1] For particulars about Kehr's Codex *see* Smirnov's Catalogue of the School Library and JRAS. 1900, 1906. Like others who have made statements resting on the mistaken identity of the Bukhara Compilation, many of mine are now given to the winds.

Outline of the History of the Compilation.

An impelling cause for the production of the Bukhara compilation is suggested by the date 1709 at which was finished the earliest example known to me. For in the first decade of the eighteenth century Peter the Great gave attention to Russian relations with foreign states of Central Asia and negociated with the Khan of Bukhara for the reception of a Russian mission.[1] Political aims would be forwarded if envoys were familiar with Turki; books in that tongue for use in the School of Oriental Languages would be desired; thus the Compilation may have been prompted and, as will be shown later, it appears to have been produced, and not merely copied, in 1709. The Mission's despatch was delayed till 1719; it arrived in Bukhara in 1721; during its stay a member of its secretariat bought a Compilation MS. noted as finished in 1714 and on a fly-leaf of it made the following note :—

[1] *See* Gregorief's "Russian policy regarding Central Asia", quoted in Schuyler's Turkistan, App. IV.

[2] The Mission was well received, started to return to Petrograd, was attacked by Turkmans, went back to Bukhara, and there stayed until it could attempt the devious route which brought it to the capital in 1725.

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"I, Timur-pulad son of Mirza Rajab son of Pay-chin, bought this book Babur-nama after coming to Bukhara with [the] Russian Florio Beg Beneveni, envoy of the Padshah . . . whose army is numerous as the stars . . . May it be well received! Amen! O Lord of both Worlds!"

Timur-pulad's hope for a good reception indicates a definite recipient, perhaps a commissioned purchase. The vendor may have been asked for a history of Babur; he sold one, but "Babur-nama" is not necessarily a title, and is not suitable for the Compilation; by conversational mischance it may have seemed so to the purchaser and thus have initiated the mistake of confusing the "Bukhara Babur-nama" with the true one.

Thus endorsed, the book in 1725 reached the Foreign Office; there in 1737 it was obtained by George Jacob Kehr, a teacher of Turki, amongst other languages, in the Oriental School, who copied it with meticulous care, understanding its meaning imperfectly, in order to produce a Latin version of it. His Latin rendering was a fiasco, but his reproduction of the Arabic forms of his archetype was so obedient that on its sole basis Ilminski edited the Kasan Imprint (1857). A collateral copy of the Timur-pulad Codex was made in 1742 (as has been said).

In 1824 Klaproth (who in 1810 had made a less valuable extract perhaps from Kehr's Codex) copied from the Timur-pulad MS. its purchaser's note, the Auzbeg ?(?) endorsement as to the transfer of the "Kamran-docket" and Babur's letter to Kamran (*Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie* (Paris).

In 1857 Ilminski, working in Kasan, produced his imprint, which became de Courteille's source for *Les Mémoires de Baber* in 1871. No worker in the above series shews doubt about accepting the Compilation as containing Babur's authentic text. Ilminski was in the difficult position of not having entire reliance on Kehr's transcription, a natural apprehension in face of the quality of the Latin version, his doubts sum up into his words that a reliable text could not be made from his source (Kehr's MS.), but that a Turki reading-book could — and was. As has been said, he did not

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obey the dual plan of the Compilation Kehr's transcript reveals, this, perhaps, because of the misnomer Babur-nama under which Timur-pulad's Codex had come to Petrograd; this, certainly, because he thought a better history of Babur could be produced by following Erskine than by obeying Kehr — a series of errors following the verbal mischance of 1725. Ilminski's transformation of the items of his source had the ill result of misleading Pavet de Courteille to over-estimate his Turki source at the expense of Erskine's Persian one which, as has been said, was Ilminski's guide — another scene in the comedy. A mischance hampering the French work was its falling to be done at a time when, in Paris 1871, there can have been no opportunity available for learning the contents of Ilminski's Russian Preface or for quiet research and the examination of collateral aids from abroad.[1]

The Author of the Compilation.

The Haidarabad Codex having destroyed acquiescence in the phantasmal view of the Bukhara book, the question may be considered, who was its author?

This question a convergence of details about the Turki MSS. reputed to contain the *Babur-nama*, now allows me to answer with some semblance of truth. Those details have thrown new light upon a colophon which I received in 1900 from Mr. C. Salemann with other particulars concerning the "*Senkovski Babur-nama*," this being an extract from the Compilation; its archetype reached Petrograd from Bukhara a century after Kehr's [*viz.* the Timur-pulad Codex]; it can be taken as a direct copy of the Mulla's original because it bears his colophon.[2] In 1900 I accepted it as merely that of a scribe who had copied Senkovski's archetype, but in 1921 reviewing the colophon for this Preface, it seems to me to be that of the original autograph MS. of the Compilation and to tell its author's name, his title for his book, and the year (1709) in which he completed it.

[1] One might say jestingly that the spirit in the book had rebelled since 1725 against enforced and changing masquerade as a phantasm of two other books!

[2] Neither Ilminski nor Smirnov mentions another "Babur-nama" Codex than Kehr's.

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TABLE OF BUKHARA REPUTED-BABUR-NAMA MSS. (*Waqi'nama-i-padshahi?*).

Names.	Date of completion.	Scribe.	Last known location.	Archetype.	Remarks.
1. Waqi'nama-i-padshahi *alias* Babur-nama.	1121–1709. Date of colophon of earliest known example.	'Âbdu'l-wahhab *q.v.* Taken to be also the author.	Bukhara.	Believed to be the original compilation.	*See* Part III.
2. Nazar Bai Turkistani's MS.	Unknown.	Unknown.	In owner's charge in Petrograd, 1824.	No. 1, the colophon of which it reproduces.	Senkovski's archetype who copied its (transferred) colophon.
3. F. O. Codex (Timur-pulad's MS.).	1126–1714.	Unknown.	F.O. Petrograd, where copied in 1742.	Not stated, an indirect copy of No. 1.	Bought in Bukhara, broughtto Petro. 1725.
4. Kehr's Autograph Codex.	1737.	George Jacob Kehr.	Pet. Or. School, 1894. London T.O. 1921.	No. 3.	*See* Part III.
5. Name not learned.	1155–1742.	Unknown.	Unknown.	No. 3.	Archetype of 9.
6. (Mysore) A.S.B. Codex.	Unknown. JRAS. 1900, Nos. vii and viii.	Unknown.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.	Unknown.	—
7. India Office Codex (Bib. Leydeniana).	Cir. 1810.	Unknown.	India Office, 1921.	No. 6.	Copied for Leyden.
8. "The Senkovski Babur-nama.	1824.	J. Senkovski.	Pet. Asiatic Museum, 1900.	No. 2.	Bears a copy of the colophon of No. 1.
9. Pet. University Codex.	1839?	Mulla Faizkhanov?	Pet. Univ. Library.	No. 5 (?).	—

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Senkovski brought it over from his archetype; Mr. Salemann sent it to me in its original Turki form. (JRAS. 1900, p. 474). Senkovski's own colophon is as follows :—

"J'ai achevé cette copie le 4 Mai, 1824, à St. Petersburg; elle a été faite d'après un exemplaire appartenant à Nazar Bai Turkistani, négociant Boukhari, qui etait venu cette année à St. Petersburg. J. Senkovski."

The colophon Senkovski copied from his archetype is to the following purport :—

"Known and entitled Waqi'nama-i-padshahi (Record of Royal Acts), [this] autograph and composition (bayad u navisht) of Mulla 'Abdu'l-wahhab the Teacher, of Ghaj-davan in Bukhara—God pardon his mistakes and the weakness of his endeavour!—was finished on Monday, Rajab 5, 1121 (Aug. 31st, 1709).—*Thank God!"*

It will be observed that the title Waqi'nama-i-padshahi suits the plan of dual histories (of Babur and Humayun) better than does the "Babur-nama" of Timur-pulad's note, that the colophon does not claim for the Mulla to have copied the elder book (1494–1530) but to have written down and composed one under a differing title suiting its varied contents; that the Mulla's deprecation and thanks tone better with perplexing work, such as his was, than with the steadfast patience of a good scribe; and that it exonerates the Mulla from suspicion of having caused his compilation to be accepted as Babur's authentic text. Taken with its circumstanding matters, it may be the dénoument of the play.

Chapter IV.

The Leyden and Erskine Memoirs of Baber.

The fame and long literary services of the *Memoirs of Baber* compel me to explain why these volumes of mine contain a verbally new English translation of the *Babur-nama* instead of a second edition of the *Memoirs*. My explanation is the simple one of textual values, of the advantage a primary source has over its derivative,

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Babur's original text over its Persian translation which alone was accessible to Erskine.

If the *Babur-nama* owed its perennial interest to its valuable multifarious matter, the *Memoirs* could suffice to represent it, but this it does not; what has kept interest in it alive through some four centuries is the autobiographic presentment of an arresting personality its whole manner, style and diction produce. It is characteristic throughout, from first to last making known the personal quality of its author. Obviously that quality has the better chance of surviving a transfer of Babur's words to a foreign tongue when this can be effected by imitation of them. To effect this was impracticable to Erskine who did not see any example of the Turki text during the progress of his translation work and had little acquaintance with Turki. No blame attaches to his results; they have been the one introduction of Babur's writings to English readers for almost a century; but it would be as sensible to expect a potter to shape a vessel for a specific purpose without a model as a translator of autobiography to shape the new verbal container for Babur's quality without seeing his own. Erskine was the pioneer amongst European workers on Baburiana—Leydens's fragment of unrevised attempt to translate the Bukhara Compilation being a negligible matter, notwithstanding friendship's deference to it; he had ready to his hand no such valuable collateral help as he bequeathed to his successors in the Memoirs volume. To have been able to help in the renewal of his book by preparing a second edition of it, revised under the authority of the Haidarabad Codex, would have been to me an act of literary piety to an old book-friend; I experimented and failed in the attempt; the wording of the Memoirs would not press back into the Turki mould. Being what it is, sound in its matter and partly representative of Babur himself, the all-round safer plan, one doing it the greater honour, was to leave it unshorn of its redundance and unchanged in its wording, in the place of worth and dignity it has held so long.

Brought to this point by experiment and failure, the way lay open to make bee-line over intermediaries back to the fountain-head of

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re-discovered Turki text preserved in the Haidarabad Codex. Thus I have enjoyed an advantage no translator has had since 'Abdu'r-rahim in 1589.

Concerning matters of style and diction, I may mention that three distinct impressions of Babur's personality are set by his own, Erskine's and de Courteille's words and manner. These divergencies, while partly due to differing textual bases, may result mainly from the use by the two Europeans of unsifted, current English and French. Their portrayal might have been truer, there can be no doubt, if each had restricted himself to such under-lying component of his mother-tongue as approximates in linguistic stature to classic Turki. This probability Erskine could not foresee for, having no access during his work to a Turki source and no familiarity with Turki, he missed their lessoning.

Turki, as Babur writes it—terse, word-thrifty, restrained and lucid, —comes over neatly into Anglo-Saxon English, perhaps through primal affinities. Studying Babur's writings in verbal detail taught me that its structure, idiom and vocabulary dictate a certain mechanism for a translator's imitation. Such are the simple sentence, devoid of relative phrasing, copied in the form found, whether abrupt and brief or, ranging higher with the topic, gracious and dignified— the retention of Babur's use of "we" and "I" and of his frequent impersonal statement—the matching of words by their root-notion— the strict observance of Babur's limits of vocabulary, effected by allotting to one Turki word one English equivalent, thus excluding synonyms for which Turki has little use because not shrinking from the repeated word; lastly, as preserving relations of diction, the replacing of Babur's Arabic and Persian aliens by Greek and Latin ones naturalized in English. Some of these aids towards shaping a counterpart of Turki may be thought small, but they obey a model and their aggregate has power to make or mar a portrait.

(1) Of the uses of pronouns it may be said that Babur's "we" is neither regal nor self-magnifying but is co-operative, as beseems the chief whose volunteer and nomad following makes or unmakes his power, and who can lead and command only by remittent consent

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accorded to him. His "I" is individual. The *Memoirs* varies much from these uses.

(2) The value of reproducing impersonal statements is seen by the following example, one of many similar:—When Babur and a body of men, making a long saddle-journey, halted for rest and refreshment by the road-side; "There was drinking," he writes, but Erskine, "I drank"; what is likely being that all or all but a few shared the local *vin du pays*.

(3) The importance of observing Babur's limits of vocabulary needs no stress, since any man of few words differs from any man of many. Measured by the Babur-nama standard, the diction of the *Memoirs* is redundant throughout, and frequently over-coloured. Of this a pertinent example is provided by a statement of which a minimum of seven occurrences forms my example, namely, that such or such a man whose life Babur sketches was vicious or a vicious person (*fisq, fāsiq*). Erskine once renders the word by "vicious" but elsewhere enlarges to "debauched, excess of sensual enjoyment, lascivious, libidinous, profligate, voluptuous". The instances are scattered and certainly Erskine could not feel their collective effect, but even scattered, each does its ill-part in distorting the Memoirs portraiture of the man of the one word.[1]

Postcript of Thanks.

I take with gratitude the long-delayed opportunity of finishing my book to express the obligation I feel to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society for allowing me to record in the Journal my Notes on the Turki Codices of the *Babur-nama* begun in 1900 and occasionally appearing till 1921. In minor convenience of work, to be able to gather those progressive notes together and review them, has been of

[1] A Correspondent combatting my objection to publishing a second edition of the *Memoirs*, backed his favouring opinion by reference to 'Umar Khayyam and Fitzgerald. Obviously no analogy exists; Erskine's redundance is not the flower of a deft alchemy, but is the prosaic consequence of a secondary source.

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value to me in noticeable matters, two of which are the finding and multiplying of the Haidarabad Codex, and the definite clearance of the confusion which had made the Bukhara (reputed) *Babur-nama* be mistaken for a reproduction of Babur's true text.

Immeasurable indeed is the obligation laid on me by the happy community of interests which brought under our roof the translation of the biographies of Babur, Humayun, and Akbar. What this has meant to my own work may be surmised by those who know my husband's wide reading in many tongues of East and West, his retentive memory and his generous communism in knowledge. One signal cause for gratitude to him from those caring for Baburiana, is that it was he made known the presence of the Haidarabad Codex in its home library (1899) and thus led to its preservation in facsimile.

It would be impracticable to enumerate all whose help I keep in grateful memory and realize as the fruit of the genial camaraderie of letters.

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

PITFOLD, SHOTTERMILL, HASLEMERE.
August, 1921.

THE BABUR-NĀMA IN ENGLISH

(MEMOIRS OF BĀBUR).

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The Bābur-nāma in English

(Memoirs of Bābur)

BY

Ẓahīru'd-dīn Muḥammad Bābur Pādshāh *Ghāzī*

Translated from the original Turki Text

BY

ANNETTE SUSANNAH BEVERIDGE.

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THE HISTORY OF BABUR

OR BABUR-NAMA

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[1] The fist indicates Translator's matter.

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[1] See Abū'l-ghāzī's *Shajarat-i-turkī* on the origin and characteristics of the tribe (Désmaisons trs. Index *s.n.* Oūghūr, especially pp. 16, 37, 39).

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[1] This date is misplaced in my text and should be transferred from p. 83, l. 3 fr. ft. to p. 86, l. 1, there to follow "two years".

[2] A fuller reference to the I.S. than is given on p. 85 n. 2, is ii, 44 and iii, 167.

[3] Cf. *s.n.* 'Abdu'l-lāh Mīrzā *Shāh-rukhī* for a date misplaced in my text.

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'Abdu'r-raḥmān Khān *Barak-zāī Afghān*, Amīr of Afghānistān—mentioned in connection with Jāmī's tomb 305 n. 6; [†1319 AH.–1901 AD.].

'Abdu'r-razzāk Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Aūlūgh Beg *Kābulī*—loses Kābul (910) 195, 365; out with Bābur 234; surmised part-vendor of Bābur's mother's burial-ground 246 n. 2; in Herāt (912) 298; escapes Shaibānī and joins Bābur (913) 331; in the left wing at Qandahār 334; his loot 337–8; deserts Qalāt in fear of Shaibānī 340; left in charge of Kābul *ib.*; given Nīngnahār 344; rebels (914) 345; his position stated 345 n. 6; [†915 AH.–1509 AD. ?].

Khwāja **'Abdu'sh-shahīd**, son of Aḥrārī's fifth son Khwājagān-khwāja ('Abdu'l-lāh)—placed on Bābur's right-hand (935) 631; gifts made to him 632; invited to a *ma'jūn*-party 653; particulars 653 n. 4; ☞ a likely recipient of the *Mubīn* 438, 631 n. 3; [†982 AH.–1574 AD.].

'Abdu'sh-shukūr *Mughūl*, son of Qambar-i-'alī *Silākh*—serving Jahāngīr *Mīrān-shāhī* (after 910) 192; in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 566.

'Abdu'l-wahhāb *Mughūl*—given Shaikh Pūrān to loot (913) 328.

'Abdu'l-wahhāb *shaghāwal*, servant of 'Umar-shaikh and Aḥmad *Mīrān-shāhī*—forwards news (899) 25; gives Khujand to Bābur 54; his son Mīr Mughūl *q.v.*

Abraha *Yemenī*, an *Abyssinian Christian*—his defeat (571 AD.) 563 n. 3.

Imām **Abū Ḥanīfa**—his followers' respect for the *Hidāyat* 76; his ruling that peacock-meat is lawful food 493.

Khwāja **Abū'l-barka** *Farāqī*—criticizes Banā'ī's verse (906) 137.

Shaikh **Abū'l-fatḥ**, servant of the Shāh-zāda of Mungīr—envoy from Bengal to Bābur (934, 935) 676; placed on Bābur's right-hand (935) 631.

Abū'l-fatḥ Sa'īd Khān, see Sa'īd Khān *Chaghatāī*.

Abū'l-fatḥ *Turkmān*, son of 'Umar—his joining Bābur from 'Irāq 280; made military-collector of Dhūlpūr (933) 540; Bābur visits his *hammām* (935) 615.

Abū'l-faẓl, see *Akbar-nāma*.

Abū'l-ḥasan *qūr-begī*—in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334; does well (925) 404; his brother Muḥammad Ḥusain *q.v.*

Abū'l-ḥasan *qūrchī*—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Abū'l-hāshim, servant of Sl. 'Alī [Ṭaghāī *Begchik*]—overtakes Bābur with ill news (925) 412.

Abū'l-ma'ālī *Tirmīẕī*—☞ his burial-place has significance as to Mahdī Khwāja's family 705; [†971 AH.–1564 AD.].

Khwāja **Abū'l-makāram**—supports Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* (901) 62, (902) 65; acts for peace (903) 91; meets Bābur, both exiles (904) 99; at Bābur's capture of Samarkand (906) 132, 141; leaves it with him 147 n. 2; speaks for him (908) 157–8; fails to recognize him 161; ☞ at Archīān 184; [†908 AH.–1502 AD.].

Shaikh **Abū'l-manṣūr** *Mātarīdī*—his birthplace Samarkand 75, 76; [†333 AH.–944 AD.].

Abū'l-muḥammad *neza-bāz*—in the *tūlghuma* of the left wing at Pānīpat (932) 473; on service (933) 582, (934) 589, 598.

Abū'l-muḥammad *Khujandī*—his sextant 74 n. 4.

Abū'l-muḥsin Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Timūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Laṭīf—particulars 262 (where for "ḥusain" read muḥsin), 269; serving his father (901) 58; defeats his brother Badī'u'z-zamān (902) 69, 70; defeated by his father at Ḥalwā-spring (904) 260; his men take Qarākūl from Aūzbegs (906) 135; co-operates against Shaibānī (912) 296; rides out to meet Bābur 297; they share a divan 298; presses him to winter in Herī 300; returns to his district (Merv) 301; his later action and death 329–30, 331; [†913 AH.–1507 AD.].

Abū'l-muslim Kūkūldāsh—brings an Arghūn gift to Bābur (925) 401, 402.

Abū'l-qāsim *Jalāīr*—tells Bābur a parrot story (935)[1] 494.

Abū'l-qāsim—a musician (923) 387, 388 (here Qāsim only).

Abū'l-qāsim *Kohbur Chaghatāī*, son of Ḥaidar-i-qāsim—on service with Bābur (902) 68, (906) 130, 131, 133; in the right wing at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) 139; killed 141; [†906 AH.–1501 AD.].

Shaikh **Abū'l-wajd** *Fārighī*, maternal-uncle of Zain *Khawāfī*—makes verse on the Kābul-river (932) 448; his chronogram on Al-amān's birth (935) 621; [†940 AH.–1533 AD.[2]].

[1] The date 935 AH. is inferred from p. 483.

[2] Cf. Badāyūnī's *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh* and Ranking's trs. i, 616 and n. 4, 617.

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Shaikh **Abū-sa'īd Khān** *Dar-miyān*[1]—particulars 276.

Sulṭān **Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—his descent 14; asserts Tīmūrid supremacy over Chaghatāī Khāqāns (855) 20, 344, 352; takes Māwarā'u'n-nahr (855) 86; forms his Corps of Braves 28, 50; a single combat in his presence (857) 50; defeats Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (868) 259; a swift courier to him 25; joined by the Black-sheep Turkmāns (872) 49; orders the Hindūstān army mobilized 46; defeated and killed by the White-sheep Turkmāns (873) 25, 46, 49; appointments named 24, 37; his banishment of Nawā'ī 271; reserves a Chaghatāī wife for a son 21, 36; his Badakhshī wife and their son 22,[2] 260; his Tarkhān *Arghūn* wife and their sons, 33, 45; his mistress Khadīja *q.v.*; his daughters Pāyanda-sulṭān, Shahr-bānū, Rābi'a-sulṭān, Khadīja-sulṭān, Fakhr-i-jahān, Apāq-sulṭān, Āq Begīm *q.v.*; retainers named as his 'Alī-dost *Sāghārīchī*, Muḥammad Barandūq, Aūrūs, and Ẓū'n-nūn *Arghūn q.v.*; his marriage connection Nūyān *Tīrmīzī q.v.*; [†873 AH.–1469 AD.].

Abū-sa'īd Pūrān, see Jamālu'd-dīn.

Abū-sa'īd Sulṭān *Auzbeg-Shaibān, Chīngīz-khānid,* son of Kūchūm—☞ at Ghaj-davān (918) 360; at Jām (935) 622, 636; sends an envoy to Bābur 631, 632, 641; [†940 AH.–1533–4 AD.].

Shaikh **Abū-sa'īd Tarkhān** (var. Bū-sa'īd)—his house Mīrzā Khān's loot in Qandahār (913) 338.

Abū-turāb Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk,* son of Ḥusain and Mīnglī—particulars 262, 269; his son Sohrab *q.v.*; [† before 911 AH.–1505–6 AD.].

Adīk Sulṭān *Qazzāq, Jūjī Chīngīz-khānid* (var. Aūng Sulṭān), son of Jānī Beg Khān (T.R. trs. 373)—husband of Sulṭān-nigār *Chaghatāī q.v.*

'Ādil Sulṭān *Auzbeg-Shaibān* (?), *Chingīz-khānid* (?), son of Mahdī and a Bāī-qarā begīm—marries Shād *Bāī-qarā* 263; suggestions as to his descent 264 n. 1; waits on Bābur at Kalānūr (932) 458; on Bābur's service 468, 471, 475, 530; in the left wing at Pānīpat 472, and at Kānwa (933) 567, 570; ordered against Balūchīs (935) 638; ☞ mentioned as a landless man 706.

Sayyida **Afāq,** a legendary wife of Bābūr 358 n. 2; her son and grandson *ib.*

[1] Ferté translates this sobriquet by *le dévoué* (*Vie de Sl. Hossein Baikara* p. 40 n. 3).

[2] At p. 22 n. 8 fill out to Cf. f. 6*b* (p. 13) n. 5.

Afghānī Āghāchā, see Mubārika.

Sayyid **Afẓal Beg**, son of 'Alī *Khwāb-bīn*—conveys Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* summons to Bābur for help against Shaibānī (911) 255; particulars 282; takes news to Herāt of Bābur's start from Kābul (912) 294; sends him news of Ḥusain's death 295; [†921 AH.–1516 AD.].

Āghā Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain and Pāyanda-sulṭān—parentage and marriage (or betrothal, H.S. iii, 327) 266; [† died in childhood].

Āghā-sulṭān, *ghūnchachi* of 'Umar Shaikh—her daughter Yādgār-i-sulṭān *q.v.*

Āhī—his feet frost-bitten (912) 311.

Āhī, a poet—particulars 289; [†907 AH.–1501–2].

Ahlī, a poet—particulars 290; (for 4 writers using *Āhlī* as their pen-name see 290 n. 6).

Sulṭān **Aḥmad** *Aīlchī-būghā, Mughūl*—one of four daring much (912) 315; in the left wing at Qandahār (913) 334.

Pīr **Aḥmad**—leaves Samarkand with the Tarkhāns (905) 121; fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) (906) 139.

Aḥmad *Afshār Turk*—a letter to him endorsed by Bābur (935) 617.

Mīrzā **Aḥmad 'Alī** *Farsī, Barlās*—particulars 273.

Aḥmad 'Alī Tarkhān *Arghūn*, brother of Qulī Beg—favours Bābur and admits him to Qandahār (913) 337.

Mullā **Aḥmad** *Balkhī*—conveys treasure to Balkh (932) 446.

Mirzā Sayyidī **Aḥmad** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Mīrān-shāh—particulars 257 n. 5; named in a line of descent 280 n. 1; his son Aḥmad and grandson 'Abdu'l-bāqī *q.v.*

Mīr **Aḥmad Beg** *Itārajī Mughūl*, paternal-uncle of Tambal—guardian of a son of The Khān (Maḥmūd) 115; reinforces Bābur (903) 92; acts against him (905) 115, 116; acts against 'Alī *Mīrān-shāhī* 112; makes a contemptuous speech about Tambal (906) 145.

Aḥmad Beg *Ṣafawī*—☞ leads a reinforcement to help Bābur (917) 353.

Sulṭān **Aḥmad** *Chār-shamba'ī*, see Chār-shamba.

Aḥmad *chāshnīgīr*—helps in poisoning Bābur (933) 541; [†933 AH.–1526 AD.].

Aḥmad Ḥājī Beg *Dūldāī, Barlās Turk*—particulars 25, 37, 38; his pen-name Wafā'ī and a couplet of his 38; his

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hospitality to 'Alī-sher *Nawāī* 38, 271; drives Khusrau Shāh from Samarkand (900) 51; supports Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* in the Tarkhān rebellion (901) 62, 63; his death at the hands of slaves and slave-women 63–4; [†901 AH.–1496 AD.].

Aḥmadī *parwānchī*—on service (925) 377, (932) 458, 460, (933) 540; sent to surprise Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* (932) 468 (his name is omitted in my text); in the left centre at Pānīpat 472, 473; his ill-behaviour in the heats 524.

Sulṭān **Aḥmad Khān—Alacha Khān**—*Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Yūnas and Shāh Begīm—particulars 23, 160; meaning of his sobriquet Alacha Khān 23; younger Khān-dādā, Bābur's name for him 129; considered as a refuge for Bābur (899) 29, (903) 92, (906) 129, (908) 158; visits Tāshkīnt (908) 159; ceremonies of meeting 160–1, 171–2; moves with his elder brother Maḥmūd against Tambal 161, 168, 171; his kindness to Bābur 159, 166–7, 169, 171; is given Bābur's lands and why 168; retires from Andijān in fear of Shaibānī 172; defeated by Shaibānī at Archīān (908 or 909) 7, 23, ☞ 182–3; his death (909) reported to Bābur (911) 246 and n. 4: his sons Manṣūr, Sa'īd, Bābā (T.R. trs. 160, Bābājak), Chīn-tīmūr, Tūkhtā-būghā, and Aīsan-tīmūr *q.v.*; his grandson Bābā *q.v.*; ☞ followers of his return from forced migration (908) when Shaibānī is killed (916) 351; [† end of 909 AH.–1504 AD.].

Aḥmad Khān *Ḥājī-tarkhānī* (*Astrakhānī*)—marries Badī'u'l-jamāl (Badka) *Bāī-qarā* (899?) 257, 258; their sons (Maḥmūd and Bahādur) 258; their daughter Khān-zāda *q.v.*

Sulṭān **Aḥmad Mīrzā** *Dūghlāt*—sent by The Khān (Maḥmūd) to help Bābur (908) 161.

Sulṭān **Aḥmad Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Abū-sa'īd—the lands his father gave him 35, 86; his brother Maḥmūd taken to his care (873 or 4) 46; his disaster on the Chīr (895) 17, 25, 31, 34; a swift courier to him 25; defeats 'Umar Shaikh 17, 34; 12 n. 2; 53; invades Farghāna (899) 13, 30; given Aūrā-tīpā 27; dreaded for Bābur 29; retires and dies 31, 33; particulars 33, 40; referred to by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (910) 190; his wives and children 35–6; an honoured Beg Nūyān *Tīrmīzī* q.v.; [†899 AH.–1494 AD.].

Sulṭān **Aḥmād Mīrzā**, *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Mīrzā Sayyidī Aḥmad—particulars 257 n. 5; his wife Ākā Begīm *Bāī-qarā* and their son Kīchīk Mīrzā *q.v.*; 266 n. 6; a building of his at Herī 305.

Aḥmād *mushtāq, Turkmān*—takes Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* to Ḥiṣār (873 or 4) 46–7.

Sulṭān **Aḥmad** *qarāwal*, father of Qūch (Qūj) Beg, Tardī Beg and Sher-afgān Beg *q.v.*—defends Ḥiṣār (901) 58; enters Bābur's service (905) 112; in the left wing at Khūbān (905) 113; holds Marghīnān 123.

Aḥmad-i-qāsim *Kohbur Chaghatāī*, son of Ḥaidar-i-qāsim—with Bābur (906) 133; invited to a disastrous entertainment (907) 152; joins Jahāngīr and Tambal 156; in Akhsī (908) 171; defeats an Aūzbeg raider (910) 195; helps to hold Kābul for Bābur (912) 313; pursues Mīrzā Khān 317, 320; holding Tāshkīnt against Aūzbegs (918) 356, 358, 396, 397; a Kābulī servant of his 351.

Aḥmad-i-qāsim *Qībchāq Turk*, (grand-?) son of Bāqī *Chaghāniānī* and a sister of Khusrau Shāh, perhaps son of Bāqī's son Muḥammad-i-qāsim (189 n. 3)—holding Kāhmard and Bāmīān (910) 189; given charge of the families of Bābur's expeditionary force 189; ill-treats them and is forced to flee 197, 243; goes to Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā ib.*; killed at Qūndūz 244; [†910 AH.–1505 AD.].

Sultan **Aḥmad Qāzī** *Qīlīch*—particulars 29; his son Khwāja Maulānā-i-qaẓī *q.v.*

Aḥmad *qūshchī*—seen by the fugitive Bābur (908) 180.

Khwāja **Aḥmad** *Sajāwandī*—his birthplace 217.

Aḥmad Shāh *Khīljī Turk* — dispossessed of Chandīrī by Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* 593; restored by Bābur (934) 598.

Aḥmad Shāh *Durrānī, Abdālī Afghān*—his victory at Pānīpat (1174) 472; [†1182 AH.–1772 AD.].

Aḥmad Tarkhān *Arghūn Chīngīz-khānid* (?)—joins Bābur in Samarkand (906) 133; loses Dabūsī to Shaibānī 137; [†906 AH.–1500 AD.].

Aḥmad (son of) Tawakkal *Barlās*, amir of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 272.

Aḥmad *yāsāwal*—conveys a message from Bābur to the begs of Kābul Fort (912) 314.

Khwāja **Aḥmad** *Yasawī*—**Sayyid Ātā**—Shaibānī's vow at his shrine 348, 356; [†514 AH.–1120–1 AD.].[1]

Aḥmad-i-yūsuf Beg *Aūghlāqchī*, son of Ḥasan, nephew of Yūsuf—managing Yār-yīlāq for 'Alī *Mīrān-shāhī* (904) 98; dismissed on suspicion of favouring Bābur 98; probably

[1] For an account of his tomb see Schuyler's *Turkistān*, 1, 70–72.

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joins Bābur with his uncle (910) 196; remonstrated with him for fighting unmailed (911) 252; helping loyalists in Kābul (912) 313; saves Bābur a blow 315, 316; at Bājaur (925) 369, 401 (here Aḥmad Beg); joins Bābur in Hindūstān (933) 550; in the right wing at Kānwa 566 (where in n. 1 for "may" read is), 569; governor of Sīālkot 98.

Malik **Aḥmad** *Yūsuf-zāī Afghān*, nephew of Sulaimān *q.v.*—particulars App. K.

Aī Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Maḥmūd and Khān-zāda II.—betrothed to Jahāngīr. (*cir.* 895) 48; married (910) 189; their daughter 48.

Aīkū-sālam *Mughūl*—rebels against Bābur (914) 345.

Aīkū[1]-tīmūr Beg Tarkhān *Arghūn*—his descendant Darwesh Beg *q.v.*; [†793 AH.–1391 AD.].

Sulṭan **Aīlīk** *Māzī Aūighūr* (*Ūighūr*)—his descendant Khwāja Maulānā-i-qāẓī *q.v.*

Aīrzīn Beg (var. Aīrāzān) *Bārīn Mughūl*—supports Yūnas *Chaghatāī* (*cir.* 830), takes him to Aūlūgh Beg *Shāh-rukhī* (*cir.* 832) 19; ill-received and his followers scattered 20; [†832 AH.–1428 AD.].

Aīsān-būghā Khān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānīd*, son of Dāwā—named in Yūnas Khān's genealogy 19; [†*cir.* 718 AH.–1318 AD.].

Aīsān-būghā Khān II. *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Wais—particulars 19; invades Farghāna and defeated at Aspara (*cir.* 855) 20; quarrels with the begs of the Sāghārīchī *tūmān* and leads to the elevation of Yūnas *ib.*; [†866 AH.–1462 AD.].

Aīsān-daulat Begīm *Kūnjī* (or *Kūnchī*) *Mughūl*, wife of Yūnas *Chaghatāī*—particulars 20, 21; her good judgment (900) 43; entreats Bābur's help for Andijān (903) 88–9; joins him in Khujand after the loss of Andijān 92, and in Dikh-kat after that of Samarkand (907) 151; news of her death reaches Kābul (911) 246; rears one of 'Umar Shaikh's daughters 18; her kinsmen 'Alī-dost, Sherīm, Ghiyās *q.v.*; [†910 AH.–1505 AD.].

Aīsān-qulī Sultān *Aūzbeg-Shaibān, Chīngīz-khanid*—his Bāī-qarā marriage, 265, 397.

Aīsān-tīmūr Sulṭān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Aḥmad (Alacha Khān)—on Bābur's service 318, 682; meets

[1] Or Aīgū (Āyāgū) from *āyāgh*, foot, perhaps expressing close following of Tīmūr, whose friend the Beg was.

Bābur (935) 654; in the battle of the Ghogrā 672, 673; thanked 677; angers Bābur 684.

Ākā Begīm *Barlās Turk*, daughter of Timūr—an ancestress of Husain *Bāi-qarā* 256.

Ākā Begīm *Bāi-qarā Timūrid*, daughter of Manṣūr and Fīrūza—particulars 257; her husband Aḥmad and their son Kīchīk Mīrzā *q.v.*

Abū'l-fatḥ Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad **Akbar** *Mīrān-shāhī Timūrid, Barlās Turk*, grandson of Bābur and Māhīm—☞ 184; ☞ an addition about him made to the Chihil-zina inscription 432; ☞ his visit to Pānīpat (963) 472; his change in the name of the cherry explained by Bābur's words 501, n. 6; [†1014 AH.–1605 AD.].

Alacha Khān, see Aḥmad *Chaghatāī*.

Al-amān, son of Humāyūn—his birth and name (935) 621, 624, 642; [† in infancy].

'Ālam Khān *Kālpī*, son of Jalāl Khān *Jik-hat* (or *Jig-hat*)—holding Kālpī and not submissive to Bābur (932) 523; goes to Court (933) 544; disobeys orders 557; is Bābur's host in Kālpī (934) 590; on service (935) 682; an order about him 684.

'Alāu'u'd-dīn **'Ālam Khān** *Lūdī Afghān*, son of Buhlūl—☞ a principal actor between 926–32 AH. 428; ☞ asks and obtains Bābur's help against his nephew Ibrāhīm (929) 439–441: placed by Bābur in charge of Dībālpūr (930) 442; ☞ defeated by Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khail* (931) 444; flees to Kābul and is again set forth 444, 455; defeated by Ibrāhīm and returns to Bābur (932) 454–8; his relations with Bābur reviewed 455, n. 1; in Fort Ginguta 457, 463; in the left centre at Kānwa (933) 565; his sons Jalāl, Kamāl, and Sher Khān (*Lūdī*) *q.v.*

Sulṭān 'Alāu'u'd-dīn **'Ālam Khān** *Sayyidī*—holding Dihlī 481; [†855 AH.–1451 AD.].

'Ālam Khān *Tahangarī*, brother of Nizām Khān of Bīāna—works badly with Bābur's force (933) 538; defeated by his brother 539; sent out of the way before Kānwa 547.

'Alāu'u'd-dīn Ḥusain Shāh, ruler in Bengal—the circumstances of his succession 483; his son Naṣrat *q.v.*; [†925 AH.–1518 AD.?].

'Alāu'u'd-dīn Ḥusain *Jahān-soz Ghūrī*—his destruction in Ghazni (550) 219; [†556 AH.–1161 AD.?].

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Sulṭān **'Alāu'u'd-dīn Muhammad Shāh** *Khiljī Turk*—Bābur visits his tomb and minār (932) 476; his bringing of the Koh-i-nūr from the Dakkhin 477; [†715 AH.–1315 AD.].

Sulṭān **'Alāu'u'd-dīn** *Sawādī*—waits on Bābur (925) 372, 375–6.

'Alāūl Khān *Sūr Afghān*—writes dutifully to Bābur (935) 659.

'Alāūl Khān *Nūḥānī Afghān*—his waitings on Bābur (934, 935) 677, 680.

Sharafu'd-dīn Muḥammad **al Buṣīrī**—his *Qaṣīdatu'l-būrda* an example for the *Wālidiyyah-risāla* 620; [†*cir.* 693 AH.–1294 AD.].

Alexander of Macedon, see Iskandar *Fīlqūs* (*Failaqūs*).

Sayyid **'Alī**—escapes from a defeat (909) 102; out with Bābur (925) 403; sent against Balūchīs (935) 638.

Sulṭān **'Alī** *asghar* Mīrzā *Shāh-rukhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Mas'ūd *Kābulī*—particulars 382.

'Alī Ātāka, servant of Khalīfa—reinforces the right wing (*tūlghuma*) at Kānwa (933) 569.

Shaikh **'Alī Bahādur**, one of Tīmūrs chiefs—his descendant Bābā 'Alī 27.

Khwāja **'Alī Bāī**—mentioned (906) 127; fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) 139; his son Jān-i-'alī *q.v.*

Shaikh **'Alī** *Bārīn Mughūl*, son of Shaikh Jamāl—in the left wing (*tūlghuma*) at Pānīpat (932) 473; sent against Balūchīs (935) 638.

'Alī *Barlās Turk*—his son Muḥammad Barandūq *q.v.*

'Alī Beg *Jalāīr Chaghatāī*, father of Ḥasan-i-'Alī and Apāq Bega—his Shāh-rukhī service 278.[1]

Mīr (Shaikh) **'Alī Beg** *Turk* (inferred 389), governor of Kābul for Shāh-rukh *Tīmūrid*—his sons Bābā Kābulī, Daryā Khān, and Ghāzī (Apāq) Khān (*q.v.*) cherished by Mas'ūd *Shāh-rukhī* 382; (see his son Ghāzī's grandson Minūchihr for a Turk relation 386).

Sulṭān **'Alī** *chuhra, Chaghatāī*—his loyalty to Bābur doubted (910) 239; rebels (914) 345.

Sayyid **'Alī-darwesh Beg** *Khurāsānī*—particulars 28; with Jahāngīr (*æt.* 8), in Akhsī (899) 32, leaves Bābur for home (903) 91; on Bābur's service (904) 106, (905) 28, 118.

[1] Daulat-shāh celebrates the renown of the Jalāīr section (*farqa*) of the Chaghatāī tribes (*aqwām*) of the Mughūl horde (*aūlūs, ūlūs*), styles the above-entered 'Alī Beg a veteran hero, and links his family with that of the Jalāīr Sulṭāns of Bāghdād (Browne's ed. p. 519).

Mīr **'Alī-dost Ṭaghāī** *Kūnjī Mughūl*, a Sāghārīchī-*tūmān* beg—particulars 27–8 ; his appointment on Bābur's accession (899) 32 ; has part in a conference (900) 43 ; surrenders Andijān (903) 88–9 ; asks Bābur's pardon (904) 99 ; gives him Marghīnān 100 ; defeated by Tambal 106 ; in the right wing at Khūbān (905) 113 ; his ill-timed pacifism 118 ; his self-aggrandizement 119, 123 ; joins Bābur against Samarkand 123 ; in fear of his victims, goes to Tambal 125 ; his death *ib.* ; his brother Ghiyās, his son Muhammad-dost, and his servant Yūl-chūq *q.v.* ; [†a few years after 905 AH.–1500 AD.].

Mīr Sayyid **'Alī** *Hamadānī*—his death and burial 211 ; [†786 AH.–1384 AD.].

Mullā **'Alī-jān** (var. Khān)—fetches his wife from Samarkand (925) 403 ; is taught a rain-spell (926) 423 ; makes verse on the Kābul-river (932) 448 ; a satirical couplet on him made and repented by Bābur 448 ; host of Mullā Maḥmūd *Farābī* (935) 653.

'Alī Khān *Bāyandar, Āq-qūīlūq Turkmān*—joins Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (873) 279.

Shaikh-zāda **'Alī Khān** *Farmūlī Afghān*—his family-train captured (932) 526 ; waits on Bābur 526–7 ; in the left wing at Kānwa (933) 567 ; on service 576, 582, 678.

'Alī Khān *Istiljū*—leads Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī's* reinforcement to Bābur (917) 353.

Sayyid **'Alī Khān** *Turk*, son of Ghāzī (Apāq) Khān and grandson of Mīr (Shaikh) 'Alī Beg—one of Sikandar *Lūdī's* Governors in the Panjāb (910) 382 ; leaves Bhīra on Bābur's approach *ib.* ; his lands made over by him to Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khail* 382–3 ; his son Minūchihr and their Turk relation (389) *q.v.*

'Alī Khān *Turkmān*, son of 'Umar Beg—defends the Bāī-qarā families against Shaibānī (913) 328.

'Alī Khān *Yūsuf-khail Lūdī Afghān*—eldest son of Daulat Khān—his servants wait on Bābur (925) 382 ; comes out of Milwat (Malot) to Bābur (932) 459–60 ; sent under guard to Bhīra 461 ; his son Ismā'īl *q.v.*

Sayyid **'Alī** *Khwāb-bīn*, father of Sayyid Afẓal *q.v.* (cf. H.S. lith. ed. iii, 346.

Mullā Sulṭān **'Alī** *khwush-nawīs*, calligrapher of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 291 ; given lessons in penmanship by Shaibānī (913) 329 ; [†919 AH.–1513 AD.].

'Alī-mazīd Beg *qūchīn* — particulars 26; leaves Bābur for home (903) 91.

Mīr **'Alī** *mīr-akhwur*[1]—particulars 279; helps Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* to surprise Yādgār-i-muḥammad *Shāh-rukhī* in Herī (875) 134, 279.

Sulṭān **'Alī Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Maḥmūd and Zuhra—particulars 47; serving his half-brother Bāī-sunghar (900) 27, 55; made *pādshāh* in Samarkand by the Tarkhāns (901) 62–3, 86; meets Bābur 64; their arrangement 66; (902) 65, 82, 86; gives no protection to his blind half-brother Mas'ūd (903) 95; suspects a favoured beg (904) 98; quarrels with the Tarkhāns (905) 121; desertions from him 122; defeats Mīrzā Khān's Mughūls *ib.*; is warned of Bābur's approach 125; gives Samarkand to Shaibānī and by him is murdered (906) 125–7; his wife Sulṭānīm *Mīrān-shāhī* and sister Makhdūm-sulṭān *q.v.*; [†906 AH.–1500 AD.].

Sulṭān **'Alī Mīrzā Ṭaghāī** *Begchīk* (Mīrzā Beg Ṭaghāī), brother(?) of Bābur's wife Gul-rukh — movements of his which bear on the *lacuna* of 914–924 AH. 408; arrives in Kābul (925) *ib.*; Kāmrān marries his daughter (934) 619; conveys Bābur's wedding gifts to Kāmrān (935) 642; takes also a copy of the *Wālidiyyah-risāla* and of the Hindūstān poems, with writings (*sar-khaṭṭ*) in the Bāburī script 642.

Ustād **'Alī-qulī**—his match-lock shooting at Bajaur (925) 369; shoots prisoners (932) 466; ordered to make Rūmī defences at Pānīpat 469; fires *firingīs* from the front of the centre 473; casts a large mortar (933) 536, 547; his jealousy of Muṣṭafa *Rūmī* 550; his post previous to Kānwa 558; his valiant deeds in the battle 570–1; a new mortar bursts (934) 588; his choice of ground at Chandīrī 593; his stone-discharge interests Bābur 595, 670–1–2; uses the Ghāzī mortar while the Ganges bridge is in building 599; a gift to his son (935) 633; his post in the battle of the Ghogrā 667, 668, 669.

'Alī-qulī *Hamadānī* — ☞ sent by Bābur to punish the Mundāhirs, and fails (936) 700.

Mīr **'Alī** *qūrchī*—conveys playing-cards to Shāh Ḥasan *Arghūn* (933) 584.

Malik **'Alī** *quṭnī*(?)—in the left centre at Bajaur (925) 369.

[1] See H.S. lith. ed. iii, 224, for three men who conveyed helpful information to Ḥusain.

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'Alī Sayyid *Mughūl*—in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334; rebels (914) 345[1]; his connection Aūrūs-i'Alī Sayyid 335.

'Alī *shab-kūr* (night-blind)—one of five champions defeated in single combat by Bābur (914) 349.

Mīr **'Alī-sher Beg** *Chaghatāī*, pen-names Nawā'ī and Fanā'ī—his obligations to Aḥmad Ḥājī Beg and return to Herāt 38; fails in a mission of Husain *Bāī-qarā's* (902) 69[2]; his Turkī that of Andijān 4; checks Husain in Shī'a action 258; opposes administrative reform 282; particulars 271–2; his relations with Banā'ī 286–7, 648; corresponds with Bābur (906) 106; exchanges quatrains with Pahlawān Bū-sa'īd 292; some of his poems transcribed by Bābur (925) 419; his restoration of the Rabāṭ-i-sang-bast 301 n. 1; his flower-garden (*bāghcha*) and buildings visited or occupied by Bābur (912) 301, 305, 306; his brother Darwesh-i-'alī *q.v.*; a favoured person 278; a mystic of his circle 280–1; his scribe 271; [†906 AH.–Dec. 1500 AD.].

'Alī-shukr Beg, of the Bahārlū-aīmāq of the Āq-qūīlūq[3] Turkmāns—his daughter Pasha, grandson Yār-i-'alī *Balāl*, and descendant Bairām Khān-i-khānān *q.v.*

Sulṭan **'Alī Sīstānī** *Arghūn*—his help against Shaibānī counselled (913) 326; ☞ one of five champions worsted by Bābur in single combat (914) 349; with Bābur and chops at a tiger (925) 393.

Shaikh **'Alī Ṭaghāī** *Mervī* (?)—holding Balkh for Badī'u'z-zamān *Bāī-qarā* (902) 70; joint-dārogha in Herī (911) 293.

Allāh-bīrdī (var. qūlī)—serving Bābur (910) 234.

Allāh-wairān *Turkmān*—in the van at Qandahār (913) 335.

Alūr or Alwar,[4] son of Bābur and Dil-dār—mentioned 689 n. 5. ☞ 712; [†died an infant].

Amīn Mīrzā—an Aūzbeg envoy to Bābur (935) 631; receives gifts 632, 641.

Amīn-i-muḥammad Tarkhān *Arghūn*—punished for disobedience (925) 390–1; deals with a drunken companion 415.

Amīr Khān, chief guardian of Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī*—☞ negociates with Bābur (927) 433.

[1] Later consideration has cast doubts on his identification with Darwesh-i-'alī suggested, p. 345 n. 4.

[2] On p. 69 n. 2 for *aūnūlūng* read *aūnūtūng* and reverse *bakunīd* with *nakunīd*.

[3] On p. 49 l. 3 for "Black Sheep" read White Sheep.

[4] Like his brother Hind-āl's name, Alūr's may be due to the taking (*al*) of Hind.

Mullā **Apāq**—particulars 526; on Bābur's service (932) 526, 528, (933) 539, (934) 590; surprised by Sangā (933) 549; made *shiqdār* of Chandīrī 598; his retainers on service (935) 679.

Apāq Bega *Jalāīr Chaghatāī*, sister of Ḥusan-i-'alī—a poet 286.

Sayyida **Apāq Begīm** *Andikhūdī*—particulars 267, 268, 269; visited in Herāt by Bābur (912) 301.

Apāq Khān, see Ghāzī Khān.

Apāq Khān *Yūsuf-khail*, see Ghāzī Khān.

Apāq-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Abū-sa'īd—one of the paternal aunts visited by Bābur (912) 301 n. 3.

Āq Begīm (1), *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain and Pāyanda-sulṭān—particulars 265; [pre-deceased her husband who died †911 AH.–1504 AD.].

Aq Begīm (2), *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—daughter of Abū-sa'īd and Khadīja—particulars 262, 268; waited on by Bābur (935) 606.

Āq Begīm (3), *ut supra*, daughter of Maḥmūd and Khān-zāda II.—brought to join Bābur's march (910) 48.

Āq Begīm (4), see Ṣāliḥa-sulṭān.

Āq-būghā Beg, one of Tīmūr's chiefs—collateral ancestor of Khudāī-birdī *Tīmūr-tāsh* 24.

'Āqil Sulṭān *Aūzbeg-Shaibān*, son of 'Ādil and Shād *Bāī-qarā*—his conjectured descent 264 n. 1 (where in l. 4 for "'āqil" read 'ādil).

Arāīsh Khān—proffers support to Bābur against Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* (932) 463; in the left centre at Kānwa (933) 565; negociates about surrendering Chandīrī (934) 594; his gift of a boat to Bābur 663.

Arghūn Sulṭān, elder brother of Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*—deputed to hold Milwat (Malot., 932) 461.

Shaikh **'Ārif** *Āgarī*, nephew of Tīmūr's story-teller, see Index *s.n.* Aūlūgh Beg *Shāh-rukhī*; [†866 AH.–1461–2 AD. *æt.* 82, Beale].

Arslān *Jazāla*—his building of the Rabāṭ-i-sang-bast 301 n. 1.

Asad Beg *Turkmān*—joins Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* 279; his brother Taham-tan *q.v.*

Khwāja and Khwājagī **Asadu'l-lāh** *Jān-dār, Khawāfī*—with Bābur in Dikh-kat (907) 150; envoy to Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī*

(933) 540, 583; has charge of Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* mother 543; in the right wing at Kānwa 566, 569.

Khwāja **Āṣafi**—particulars 286; waits on Bābur (912) 286; [†920 or 926 AH.–1514 or 1520 AD.].

'Asas, see Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī *'asas.*

'Āshiq *bakāwal*—with advance-troops for Chandīrī (934) 590; ordered on service (935) 638.

'Āshiq-i-muḥammad Kūkūldāsh *Arghūn,* son of "Amīr Tarkhān Junaid" (H.S. lith. ed. iii, 359)—defends Ālā-qūrghān against Shaibānī (913) 328; his brother Mazīd Beg *q.v.*

'Āshiqu'l-lāh *Arghūn*—killed fighting against Bābur at Qandahār (913) 333 (where for "'Ashaq" read 'Āshiq).

Aṣīru'd-dīn *Akhsīkītī,* a poet—his birthplace Akhsī-village (kīt-kīnt) 9–10; [†608 AH.–1211–2 AD.].

Muḥammad **'Askarī** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrīd, Barlās Turk,* son of Bābur and Gul-rukh—☞ his birth (922) 364; gifts to him (932) 523, (933) 628; ☞ his recall from Multān (934) 603–4–5, 699[1]; waits on his father (935) 605; made Commander (*æt. cir.* 12) of the army of the East 628, 637; at a feast 631; takes leave 634; waits on his father at Dugdugī 651; east of the Ganges 654; in the battle of the Ghogrā 668–9, 671–3; waits on Bābur after the victory 674; [†965 AH.–1557–8 AD.].

Asūk Mal *Rājpūt*—negociates with Bābur for Sangā's son (934–5) 612–3.

Sayyid **'Atā,** see Khwāja Aḥmad *Yasawī.*

Khwāja Jamālu'd-dīn **'Aṭā**—particulars 282 (where in n. 3 for (H.S. iii), "345" read 348–9).

Atākā *bakhshī* (var. Ātīkā, Pers. Atka)—a surgeon who dresses a wound of Bābur's (908) 169.

Atā *mīr-ākhwur*—gives Bābur a meal (925) 418.

Mīr Burhānu'd-dīn **'Aṭā'u'l-lāh** *Mashhadī*—particulars 285 (H.S. iii, 345); [†926 AH.–1520 AD.].

Atūn Māmā, a governess—walks from Samarkand to Pashāghar (907) 148; mentioned? (925) 407 l. 4.

Aūghān-bīrdī *Mughūl* (var. Afghān-bīrdī and -tardī)—on service (925) 376, 377; of a boat-party 387; in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 671, 672.

Sayyid *Āūghlāqchī,* see Murād.

[1] See the *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* account of the rulers of Multān.

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Auliya Khān *Ishrāqī*—waits on Bābur (935) 677.

Aūlūgh Beg Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā—his (?) journey to Hindustan (933) 265.

Aūlūgh Beg Mīrzā *Kābulī, Mīrān-shāhī, ut supra*, son of Abū-sa'īd—particulars 95; his earliest guardians amusingly frustrate his designs against them 270; his dealings with the Yūsuf-zāī App. K. xxxvi; his co-operation with Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* against the Aūzbegs 190; his praise of Istālīf 216; his death (907) 185; gardens of his bought by Bābur (perhaps one only) 216, (911) 246; another garden 315; houses of his 247, 251; his Almshouse 315; referred to 284; his joint-guardians Muḥammad Barandūq and Jahāngīr *Barlās*, his later one Wais Ātāka *q.v.*; his sons 'Abdu'r-razzāq and Mīrān-shāh, his daughter Bega Begīm and daughter-in-law Manauwar *q.v.*; [†907 AH.–1501–2 AD.].

Aūlūgh Beg Mīrzā *Shāh-rukhī, ut supra* (Ūlūgh), son of Shāh-rukh—his Trans-oxus rule 85[1]; receives Yūnas *Chaghatāī* badly (832–3?) 19–20; defeated by Abā-bikr *Mīrān-shāhī* 260; his family dissensions 20; his constructions, Astronomical and other 74, 77, 78–9[2]; his sportsmanship 34[3]; his murder and its chronograms 85; Bābur resides in his College (906) 142; his sons 'Abdu'l-laṭīf and 'Abdu'l-'azīz *q.v.*; a favoured beg Yūsuf *Aūghlāqchī q.v.*; Preface, *q.v. On the misnomer "Mughūl Dynasty"*. [†853 AH.–1449 AD.].

Aūlūs Āghā (Ūlūs), daughter of Khwāja Ḥusain *q.v.*—particulars 24.

Aūrdū-būghā Tarkhān *Arghūn* (Ūrdū)—his son-in-law Abū-sa'īd *Mīrān-shāhī* and son Darwesh-i-muḥammad *q.v.*

Aūrdū-shāh—murdered as an envoy (923) 463 n. 3.

Aurang-zīb Pādshāh *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—☞ referred to as of Bābur's line 184; [†1118 AH.–O.S. 1707 AD.].

Amīr **Aūrūs**—☞ flees from his post on Shaibānī's death (916) 350.

Aūrūs-i 'Alī Sayyid *Mughūl*, son? of 'Alī Sayyid—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

[1] On p. 85 l. 9 for "872 AH.–1467 AD.", read 851 AH.–1447 AD.

[2] On p. 79 transfer the note-reference "3" to *qibla*.

[3] See Daulat-shāh (Browne's ed. p. 362) for an entertaining record of the Mīrzā's zeal as a sportsman and an illustrative anecdote by Shaikh 'Ārif *'asarī q.v.* (H.B.).

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Aūrūs *Arghūn*—his son Muḥammad-i-aūrūs *q.v.*

Aūzbeg Bahādur (Ūzbeg) — ☞ one of five champions worsted in single combat by Bābur (914) 349 n. 1.

Aūzūn Ḥasan Beg *Āq-qūilūq Turkmān*—his defeat of the Qarā-qūilūq Turkmāns and of Abū-sa'īd *Mīrān-shāhī* 49 ; [†883 AH.–1478 AD.].

Khwāja **Aūzūn Ḥasan** (Ūzūn) [1]—negociates for Bābur (899) 30 ; his appointment 32 ; confers in Bābur's interests (900) 43 (where add his name after 'Alī-dost's) ; acts for Jahāngīr against Bābur (903) 87, 88, 91, (904) 100, 101, 102 ; his servant's mischievous report of Bābur's illness (903) 89 ; his men defeated by Bābur's allies 102 ; loses Akhsī and Andijān 102–3 ; captured and released by Bābur 104 ; goes into Samarkand to help Bābur (907) 146 ; his brother Ḥusain and adopted son Mīrīm *q.v.*

'Ayisha-sulṭān Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain—particulars 267 ; her husbands Qāsim *Aūzbeg-Shaibān* and Būrān, her sons Qāsim-i-ḥusain and 'Abdu'l-lāh *q.v.*

'Ayisha-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī, ut supra*, daughter of Aḥmad (Alacha Khān) and first wife of Bābur—particulars 35, 36 ; married (905) 35, 120, 711 ; joins Bābur in Samarkand (906) 135–6 ; her child 136 ; leaves Bābur 36.

Mīr **Ayūb Beg** *Begchīk*—particulars 50 ; sent by The Khān (Maḥmūd) to help Bābur (903) 92, (906) 138, 161, 170 ; his Mughūls misbehave at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) 140 ; claims post in the right wing (*tūlghuma*) 155 ; his Mughūls confuse pass-words 164 ; in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334 ; ☞ vainly tempts Sa'īd *Chaghatāī* to betray Bābur (916) 351 ; ☞ does not then desert 352, 362 ; ☞ rebels in Hiṣār (918) 362 ; ☞ dying, repents his disloyalty (920) 362 ; his sons Buhlūl-i-ayūb, Ya'qūb-i-ayūb and Yūsuf-i-ayūb *q.v.* ; [†920 AH.–1514 AD.].

'Aẓim Humāyūn *Sarwānī*—invests Gūālīār 477 ; his title changed and why (933) 537 ; his son Fatḥ Khān *q.v.*

Mīr **'Azū**, a musical composer—particulars 292.

[1] I have found no statement of his tribe or race ; he and his brother are styled Khwāja (H.S. lith. ed. iii, 272) ; he is associated closely with Aḥmad Tambal *Mughūl* and Mughūls of the Horde ; also his niece's name Aūlūs Āghā translates as Lady of the Horde (*ūlūs, aūlūs*). But he may have been a Turkmān.

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Bābā 'Alī *aīshīk-āghā* (*īshīk*), a Lord-of-the-Gate of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 278; his son Yūnas-i-'alī and friend Badru'd-dīn *q.v.*

Bābā-qulī's Sulṭān **Bābā 'Alī Beg**[1]—particulars 27; his sons Bābā-qulī, Sayyidīm 'Alī and Dost-i-anjū (?) Shaikh *q.v.*; [†900 AH.–1495 AD.].

Bābā-aūghūlī, see Pāpā-aūghūlī.

Bābā Chuhra, a household brave—reprieved from death (914) 344; on Bābur's service (932) 474, 534, (934) 590, 602; does well in the battle of the Ghogra (935) 671.

Bābā Ḥusain, see Ḥusain.

Bābā Jān *akhtachī*, a groom or squire—Bābur dislocates his own thumb in striking him (925) 409.

Bābā Jān *qābūzī*—musician at entertainments (925) 386–7, 388.

Bābā Kābulī *Turk*, son of Mīr 'Alī, Shāh-rukh (*Tīmūrid*)'s Governor of Kābul—nominated 'Umar Shaikh's guardian when Kābul was allotted to the boy 14; particulars 382; his brothers Daryā Khān and Ghāzī (Apāq) Khān *q.v.*

Bābā Khān Sulṭān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānīd*, (Bābājāk), son of Aḥmad (Alacha Khan)—his ceremonious meeting with Bābur (908) 159; [living in 948 AH.–1542—T.R.].

Bābā Khān *Chaghatāī*, son of The Khān (Maḥmūd)—murdered with his father and brothers by Shaibānī (914) 35.

Bābā Qashqa *Mughūl* (perhaps identical with Qashqa Maḥmūd *Chīrās q.v.*)—out with Bābur (925) 404, 405; in charge of Dībālpūr (930) 442; his brothers Malik Qāsim and Kūkī; his sons Shāh Muhammad, Dost-i-muhammad and Ḥājī Muhammad Khān *Kūkī q.v.*; [†*circ.* 940 AH.–1553 AD.].[2]

Sulṭān **Bābā-qulī Beg,** son of Sulṭān Bābā 'Alī Beg—serving under Khusrau Shāh (901) 60, 61; with Bābur and captured (903) 72; staunch to him 91; in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335; conveys royal letters (932) 529.[3]

Bābā Sairāmī—pursues Bābur in his flight from Akhsī (908) 178; promised fidelity but seems to have been false 179–182.

[1] The MS. variants between 'Alī and -qulī are confusing. What stands in my text (p. 27) may be less safe than the above.

[2] Bābā Qashqa was murdered by Muhammad-i-zamān *Bāī-qarā*. For further particulars of his family group see Add. Notes under p. 404.

[3] Sulṭan Bābā-qulī Beg is found variously designated Qulī Beg, Qulī Bābā, Sl. 'Alī Bābā-qulī, Sulṭān-qūlī Bābā and Bābā-qulī Beg. Several forms appear to express his filial relationship with Sulṭān Bābā 'Alī (*q.v.*).

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Bābā Shaikh *Chāghatāī*, brother of Mullā Bābā *Pashāgharī*—in the left centre at Qandahār (913) 335; ☞ rebels at Ghaznī (921) 363; forgiven (925) 397; deserts Humāyūn (932) 546; his capture and death 545; a reward given for his head *id.*; [†932 or 933 AH.–1526 AD.].

Bābā Shaikh—sent out for news (935) 661.

Bābā Sher-zād—one of three with Bābur against Tambal (908) 163; does well at Akhsī 174; fights against rebels at Kābul (912) 315; at Qandahār (913) 335.

Bābā Sulṭān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Khalīl son of Aḥmad (Alacha Khān)—waits on Bābur near Kālpī (934) 590; particulars 590; on service 318, (934) 599; not at his post (935) 672.

Bābā Yāsāwal—at the siege of Bajaur (925) 370; chops at a tiger's head 393.

Bābū Khān—holding Kalanjar and looking towards Hātī *Kākar* (925) 387.

Ẓahīru'd-dīn Muḥammad **Bābur Pādshāh** *Mīrān-shāhī Timūrid, Barlās Turk*—b. Muharram 6th 888 AH.–Feb. 14th 1483 AD. p.1; †Jumāda I, 6th 937 AH.–Dec. 26th 1530 A.D. 708;
Parentage:—paternal 13, maternal 19, 21;
Titles:—Mīrzā (inherited) Pādshāh (taken) 344, Ghāzī (won) 574, Firdaus-makānī (Dweller-in-paradise, posthumous) see Gladwin's Revenue Accounts;
Religion:—[1] belief in God's guidance 31, 72–3, 103–13–37–94–99; in His intervention 73, 247, 316, 446–51–74–79, 525–96, 620; that His will was done 55, 100–16–32–34–35–67, 269, 316–22–23–36–37–70, 454–70–71–80, 542–94, 627–28–70, that He has pleasure in good 331; that to die is to go to His mercy 67; reliance on Him 100–08–16–32, 311, 463, 678; God called to witness 254 and invoked to bless 624; His punishment of sin 42–5, 449–77 (Hell), and of breach of Law 449; His visitation of a father's sins on children 45; His predestination of events 128, 243–46–53, 469, 594;—prayer to Him for a sign of victory 440, for the dead 246, against a bad wife 258; a life-saving prayer 316;
Characteristics:—ambition 92–7; admiration of high character 27, 67, 89, 90; bitterness and depression (in youth)

[1] Down to p. 346 Bābur's statements are retrospective; after p. 346 they are mostly contemporary with the dates of his diary—when not so are in supplementing passages of later date.

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91, 130–52–57–78 ; consideration for dependants 91–9, 158–78–96, 469 ; distrust of the world 95, 144–56 ; silent humiliation 119 ; fairness 15, 24, 91, 105, 469 ; fearlessness 163–5–73 ; fidelity ;—to word 104, 129 (see 118–9), 172–3, 194, to salt 125, to family-relation,—filial 88–9, 135–49–57–58–88, —fraternal see Jahāngīr and Nāṣir,—Tīmūrid 41, 149–57–68, Chaghatāī 54, 169–72, Mughūl 27, 119–25, Aūzbeg 37 ;—friendship see Nūyān and Khw. Kalān ; good judgment 43, 87, 91, 134–37–55 ; gratitude 99, 633 ; insouciance 150 ; joy at release from stress 99, 134–35–48–81 ; bashfulness and passion 120 ; persistence 92–7 and *passim* ; promptitude 117, 170 ; reprobation of vice, tyranny and cruelty 42–5–6, 50, 66, 70, 90–6, 102–10–25–97, 290 and of an unmotherly woman 125–28 ; self-reproach 147 ; self-comment on inexperienced action 165–67–73 ; dislike of talkativeness 28, 97, 143–92–93 ; vexation at loss of rule (*æt.* 14) 90–1–9, 129–30–57 ; truth for truth sake 135, 318 ; seeking and weighing counsel 73, 100–14–31–41–65–70–73–97–98, 229–30–31–48, 340–76–78, 410–12–69, 524–30–77, 628–39–67–69–82 ; enjoins Humāyūn to take counsel 627 ;

Occupations (non-military) :—archery *i.a.* 175 ; calligraphy see *infra* ; literary composition see *infra* ; metrical amusements see verse ; Natural History *passim* ; travel, excursions, sight-seeing, social intercourse *passim* ; building 5, 217–9, 375–98, in Dūlpūr 585, 606–07–42, in Āgra 642, in Kābul 646–7, in Sīkrī 588, Ajodhyā mosque 636 n. 3, App. U, Pānīpat mosque 472 n. 1 ; gardening and garden-making *passim* ;—Bābur's script (*Bāburī-khaṭṭ*) devised 910 AH. 228, Qorān transcribed by him in it 228 n. 4 ; studied by an enquirer 285 ; alphabet and specimens sent to Bābur's sons 642 ; *Abūshqā* account of, App. Q, lxii to lxv ;

Observance and breaches of Muh. Law :—signs of his Sunnī mind *e.g.* 25, 44, 111, 262, 370–7, 483, 547–51–74–89–96, in the *Mubīn* and *Wālidiyyah-risāla q.v.* ; his orthodox reputation 711 ; his heterodox seeming 354, and arrow-sped disclaimer 361 ;—his boyish obedience as to wine 302, up to his 23rd year 299, 302–3–4 ; for breach see Law and Wine ;

Writings :—*a.* Verses in the B.N. down to 926 AH. see *infra* ; *b.* First Dīwān 402 ;* perhaps containing the *Abūshqā* quotations 438 ; *c.* Diary of 925 and 926 *q.v.* AH. (probably a survival of more) * 438 ; *d.* The *Mubīn* (928 AH.) 426–37–38–49 ; quoted 630–31 n. 3 ; *e.* Treatise on Prosody (931 AH.)

586, App. Q, lx, lxvi ; *f.* The *Wālidiyyah-risāla* (935 AH.) 619–20–31 n. 3, (*tarjuma*) 642–3, App. Q, lix ; *g.* The *Hindūstān Poems* 642, App. Q; *h. Rāmpūr MS.* of 6 and 7. App. Q, referred to * 438, 620 n. 6, 642 n. 3 ; *i.* Diary of 932 to 936 *q.v.* ; *j.* Narrative of 899 to within 914 AH. *q.v.* ;

Bābur's verse quoted in the Bābur-nāma :—(Turki,) love-sickness 120–1 ; the worldling 130 ; granting a request 137 ; respite from stress 148 ; praise of a beloved 153 ; the neglected exile 154 ; isolation 156 ; the New Years 236 ; Fortune's cruelty 309; ? Turkmān Hazāra raid 312; Spring 321; God only is strength 337 ; dealing with tribesmen 393 ; greeting to absent convives 401 ; message to a kinswoman 402 ; his broken vow 449, 450 n.; reply to Khw. Kalān 526 ; disobedience to Law (T. & P.) 556 ; Death inevitable (T. & P.) 556 (?) ; the Ghāzī's task 575 ; to those who have left him 584; couplet used in metrical amusement 586, App. 2, sect. 2 ; fever 588 ; Chandīrī 596 ; on his first grandson's birth 624 ; *Mūbīn* quoted 637 ; Pagan lands 637 ; pain in renunciation 648 ; an invitation 683 ; [Persian,] good in everything 311 ; insight of Age 340 ; on casting off his Shī'a seeming 361 ; parting from Khw. Kalān 372 ; a message 411 ; satirical couplet 448 ; before Pānīpat 470 ; Bīāna warned 529. See Table of Contents, *On Babur's Naming*.

Bābur Mīrzā *Arlāt*, son of Muḥammad-i-qāsim and Rābi'a-sultān *Mīrān-shāhī*—his Bāī-qarā marriage 266.

'Abdu'l-qāsim **Bābur Mīrzā** *Shah-rukhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Bāī-sunghar—his sister 265 ; his retainers Muḥammad Barandūq and Mazīd *q.v.* ; his pleasure-house 302 ; [†861 AH.–1457 AD.].

Bāburī—a bāzār-boy (905) 120.

Badī'u'l-jamāl Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Abū-sa'īd—waited on by Bābur near Āgra (935) 616.

Badī'u'l-jamāl **Badka Begīm** *Bāī-qarā, ut supra*, daughter of Manṣūr and Fīrūza—particulars 257, 258 ; her husband Aḥmad *Ḥājītarkhānī*, their sons Maḥmūd and Bahādur and daughter Khān-zāda *q.v.*

Badī'u'z-zamān Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā, ut supra*, son of Ḥusain and Bega *Mervī*—serving his father against Khusrau Shāh (901) 57 ; defeated 61 ; takes offence with his father 61, 69 ; in arms and defeated by his father 69, 70 ; his retort on

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Nawā'ī (*q.v.*); goes destitute to Khusrau Shāh and is well-treated 70, 130; on Khusrau Shāh's service 71; moves with Arghūn chiefs against his father (903), 95, 261; gives Bābur no help against Shaibānī (906) 138; his co-operation sought by his father (910) 190, 191; takes refuge with his father 243; has fear for himself (911) 292–3; joint-ruler in Herī 293; concerts and abandons action against Shaibānī (912) 296–7, 301; his social relations with Bābur 297, 8, 9, 300, 2, 4; courteous to Bābur as a non-drinker 303; a false report of him in Kābul (912) 313; irresolute against Shaibānī (913) 326; his army defeated 275, 327; abandons his family and flees (1) to Shāh Beg *Arghūn*, (2) to Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī* 327; captured in Tabrīz by Sulṭān Sālim *Rūmī* (920) and dies in Constantinople (923) 327 n. 5; a couplet on his name 201–2; musicians compete in his presence 291; his host-facility 304; his son Muḥammad-i-zamān, his begs Jahāngīr *Barlās* and Ẓū'n-nūn *Arghūn q.v.*; joined by Sayyidim *Dārbān q.v.*; his College in Herī 306; [†923 AH.–1517 AD.].

Sayyid **Badr**—particulars 276; safe-guards Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* 46–7; seen by Bābur in Herāt (912) 299; (see Ḥ.S. lith. ed. iii, 233).

Badru'd-dīn—particulars 278; his friend Bābā 'Alī *q.v.*; his son (?) receives Kachwa (934) 590.

Maulānā **Badru'd-dīn** *Hilālī, Chaghatāī*—particulars 290; his poet-daughter 286 n. 1; [†939 AH.–1532–3 AD.].

Bahādur Khān *Sarwānī*—Bābur halts at his tomb (935) 686.

Bahādur Khān *Gujrātī, Tānk Rājpūt*—ill-received by Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* (932); exchanges friendly letters with Bābur 534; becomes Shāh in Gujrāt 535; is given the Khīljī jewels 613 n. 1; [†943 AH.–1547 AD.].

Bahjat Khān (or Bihjat), a Governor of Chandīrī—Bābur halts near his tank (934) 592, 594.

Bāī-qarā Mīrzā *'Umar-shaikhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, grandson of Tīmūr—mentioned in a genealogy 256; a grandson 'Abdu'l-lāh *Andikhūdī q.v.*

Bāī-qarā Mīrzā *'Umar-shaikhī, ut supra*, son of Mansūr and Fīrūza—particulars 257; his brother Ḥusain, and sons Wais and Iskandar *q.v.*

Bairām Beg[1]—☞ reinforces Bābur from Balkh (918) 359; serving Najm *Ṣānī* 360.

[1] He may be the father of Mun'im Khān (Blochmann's Biographies A.-i-A. trs. 317 and n. 2).

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Bairām Khān *Bahārlū-Qarā-qūīlūq Turkmān* (Akbar's Khān-i-khānān), son of Saif-'alī—his ancestry 91 n. 3, 109 n. 5 (where for "father" read "grandfather"); ☞ mention of a witness of his assassination 348; quotation of his remarks on Ḥasan Khān *Mewātī* 523 n. 3; [†968 AH.–1561 AD.].

Bairām-sulṭān Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain and Mīnglī—particulars 266; her husband 'Abdu'l-lāh *Andikhūdī*, their son Barka *q.v.*

Bāī-sunghar Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī, ut supra*, son of Maḥmūd and Pasha—particulars 47, 110–112; succeeds in Samarkand (900) 52, 86; withstands The Khān (Maḥmūd) 52; the *khuṭba* read for him in Bābur's lands 52; his man surrenders Aūrā-tīpā 55–6; his favouritism incites the Tarkhān rebellion (901) 38, 61; escapes from Tarkhān imprisonment 62, 86; defeated by his half-brother 'Alī 38, 63; prosperous (902) 65; moves against 'Alī 65; retires before Bābur 66; at grips with him 67; asks Shaibānī's help (903) 73; goes to Khusrau Shāh 74; made ruler in Ḥiṣār 93, 5, 6, 261; murdered (905) 110; his death referred to 50, 112; his pen-name 'Ādilī 111; his sister's marriage 41; his brother Mas'ūd, his guardian Ayūb *q.v.*; [†905 AH.–1499 AD.].

Bāī-sunghar Mīrzā *Shāh-rukhī Tīmūrid*, son of Shāh-rukh—his servant Yūsuf *Andijānī* 4; [†837 AH.–1433–4 AD.].

Balkhī *falīz-kārī*—grows melons in Āgra (935) 686.

Bāltū—rescues Khalīfa's son Muḥibb-i-'alī (933) 550.

Mullā **Banā'ī**—Maulānā Jamālu'd-dīn *Banā'ī*—in Khwāja Yaḥyā's service and seen by Bābur (901) 64, in Shaibānī's (906) 136, in Bābur's 64, 136; particulars 286–7; given the Herī's authors to loot (913) 328; Bābur recalls a joke of his (935) 648; two of his quatrains quoted 137; his musical composition 286, 292; [murdered 918 AH.–1512 AD.].

Banda-i-'alī, *dārogha* of Karnān—pursues Bābur from Akhsī (908) 178–9, 180, 181.

Banda-i-'alī *Yāragī Mughūl*, son of Ḥaidar Kūkūldāsh—sent to reinforce Bābur (904) 101; in the van at Sar-i-pul (906) 139; his mistimed zeal (908) 176; his son-in-law Qāsim Beg qūchīn *q.v.*

Bāqī Beg *Chaghānīānī, Qībchāq Turk*—his influence on Mas'ūd *Mīrān-shāhī* (901) 57, (903) 95; defends Ḥiṣār for him (901) 58; acts against him (902) 71; joins Bābur (910) 48, 188–9; advises sensibly 190, 197; leaves his family with Bābur's 191; dislikes Qambar-i-'alī *Silākh* 192; helps his

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brother Khusrau to make favourable terms with Bābur 192–3; quotes a couplet on seeing Suhail 195; his Mughūls oppose Khusrau 197; mediates for Muqīm *Arghūn* (910) 199; Bābur acts on his advice 230–1, 239, (911) 246, 249; particulars 249–50; dismissed towards Hindūstān 250; killed on his road 231, 251; his son Muḥammad-i-qāsim and grandson (?) Aḥmad-i-qāsim *q.v.*; [†911 AH.–1505–6 AD.].

Bāqī *Gāgīānī Afghān*—his caravan through the Khaibar (911) 250.

Bāqī (*khīz*)*khīz*—opposes Bābur (908) 174, 396.

Khwāja **Bāqī**, son of Yaḥyā son of Aḥrārī—murdered 128; [†906 AH.–1500 AD.].[1]

Bāqī Beg *Tāshkindī, shaghāwal* and (later) *mīng-bāshī* (=*hasārī*)—sent to Balkh with promise of head-money (932) 463, 546; on service (934) 590, 601, 2; reports from Aūd (Oudh) (935) 679; on service with the Aūd (Oudh) army 684, 5; leave given him for home 685.

Bāqī Tarkhān, *Arghūn Chīngīz-khānid,* son of 'Abdu'l-'alī and a daughter of Aūrdū-būghā—particulars 38, 40; consumes the Bukhārā revenues (905) 121; defeated by Shaibānī 124; occupies Qarshī (qv. Kesh) (906) 135; plans to join Bābur 138; goes to Shaibānī and dies in misery 40.

Bārāq Khān, *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*—mentioned in the genealogy of Yūnas 19.

Bārāq Sulṭān *Aūzbeg-Shaibān Chīngīz-khanid,* son of Sīūnjuk—at Jām (934) 622.

Sayyid **Barka** *Andikhūdī,* Tīmūr's exhumation of his body 266 n 4.

Sayyid **Barka** *Andikhūdī,* descendant of the last-entered, son of 'Abdu'l-lāh—particulars 266; serving Bābur (917) 266.

Bār-mal *Īdrī*—his force at Kānwa (933) 562.

Bā-sa'īd *Tarkhānī,* see Abū-sa'īd *Tarkhānī.*

Basant Rāo—killed by (Bābā Qashqa's brother?) Kūkī in the battle of the Ghogrā 673; [†935 AH.–1529 AD.].

Baṭalmiūs (Ptolemy)—mentioned as constructor of an observatory 79.

Sultān **Bāyazīd**[2]—urges attack on the Afrīdī (925) 411, 412.

[1] See note, Index, *s.n.* Muḥammad Zakarīa.

[2] He is likely to have been introduced with some particulars of tribe, in one of the now unchronicled years after Bābur's return from his Trans-oxus campaign.

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Shaikh **Bāyazīd,** *Farmūlī Afghān*—acts for his dead brother Muṣṭafa[1] (932) 527; waits on Bābur and receives Aūd (Oudh) 527; on service 530; in Aūd (933) 544; his loyalty tested (934) 589; with Bīban, opposing Bābur 594, 598–601, 2, (935) 638; serving Maḥmūd *Lūdī* against Bābur 652, 673; Bābur resolves to crush him and Bīban 677–8; mentioned 679, 692; takes Luknūr (?) 681, App. T; action continued against him 681, 2, 5; his comrade Bīban *q.v.*; [†937 AH.–1531 AD.].

Shaikh **Bāyazīd** *Itārachī Mughūl*, brother of Aḥmad Tambal—holding Akhsī for Jahāngīr (908) 170; sends a force against Pāp 171; receives Bābur in Akhsī 171–2; made prisoner against Bābur's wish 173; escapes 175; reported as sending Yūsuf *dāroghā* to Bābur's hiding-place 182.

Bega Begīm (1), *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain and Pāyanda—particulars 266; [† before Ḥusain 911 AH.–1505 AD.].

Bega Begīm (2), *Mīrān-shāhī ut supra*, daughter of Aūlūgh Beg *Kābulī*—her marriage with Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm *Bāī-qarā* (902) 264.

Bega Begīm (3), *Mīrān-shāhī ut supra*, daughter of Maḥmud and Khān-zāda II—betrothed to Ḥaidar *Bāī-qarā* (901) 48, 61, 263; married (903) 48; their child 263.

Bega Begīm (4), *Shāh-rukhī ut supra*, daughter of Bāī-sunghar (*Shāh-rukhī*)—her grandson's marriage 265.

Bega Begīm (5),—Ḥājī Begīm—daughter of Yādgār Ṭaghāī, wife of Humāyūn—her son Al-amān *q.v.*

Bega Begīm (6),—"the Bībī"—, see Mubārika.

Bega Sulṭān Begīm *Mervī*, wife of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 261, 7, 8; divorced 268; her son Badī'u'z-zamān *q.v.*; [893 AH.–1488 AD.].

Wais *Lāghari's* **Beg-gīna,**—brings Bābur news of Al-amān's birth (935) 621, 4.[2]

The **Begīms,** Bābur's paternal aunts—waited on by him 301, 616, 686.

Begīm Sulṭān, see Sa'ādat-bakht.

Begī Sulṭān Āghācha, *ghūnchachī* of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 269.

[1] His wife, daughter of a wealthy man and on the mother's side niece of Sulṭān Buhlūl *Lūdī*, financed the military efforts of Bāyazīd and Bīban (*Tārīkh-i-sher-shāhī*, E. and D. iv, 353 ff.).

[2] My translation on p. 621 l. 12 is inaccurate inasmuch as it hides the circumstance that Beg-gīna alone was the "messenger of good tidings".

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Beg Mīrak *Mughūl*—brings Bābur good news (932) 466; on service (933) 548.

Beg Mīrak *Turkmān*, a beg of the Chīrās (Mughūl) *tūmān*—acts for Yūnas Khān 191; [†832 AH.–1428–9 AD.].

Beg Tīlba *Itārachī Mughūl*, brother of Aḥmad Tambal—induces the Khān (Maḥmūd) not to help Bābur (903) 91, (905) 115; his light departure perplexes his brother 116; invites Shaibānī into Farghāna (908) 172.

Bhupat Rao, son of Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn—killed at Kānwa 573; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Bīān Shaikh (Biyān)—his rapid journeys 621, 624; brings news of the battle of Jām (935) 622, 623 n. 3; the source of his news 624 n. 1; hurried back 624, 627.

Bīān-qulī—his son Khān-qulī *q.v.*

Malik **Bīban** *Jilwānī*?[1] *Afghān*—deserts 'Ālam Khān *Lūdī* (932) 457 and n. 2; writes dutifully to Bābur 464; is presuming at an audience 466; deserts Bābur 468, 528; is defeated 528–9; with Bāyazīd, besieges Luknūr (933) 582; defeats Bābur's troops 594, 598; opposes Bābur in person (934) 598–601; referred to as a rebel (935) 638; serving Maḥmūd *Lūdī* 652, 675; Bābur resolves to crush him 677–8; mentioned 679 n. 7, 692; takes Luknūr (?) 681, App. T; action taken against him 681, 2, 5; his constant associate Bāyazīd *Farmūlī q.v.*

Muḥammad Shāh, **Bihār Khān** *Bihārī*, *Nūḥānī Afghān*, son of Daryā Khān—declared independent in Bihār (932) 523; particulars 664; his widow Dūdū and son Jalāl *q.v.*; [†934 AH.–1527 AD.].

Bihār Khān *Lūdī* (or Pahār Khān,[2] a Panj-āb amīr of Ibrāhīm Lūdī's in 930 AH.—[3] defeated by Bābur (930) 208, 441 (where add "or Pahār"), 578; a chronogram which fixes the date 575.

Bihjat, see Bahjat.

Bih-būd Beg—particulars 277, App. H, and Additional Notes under p. 277.

Ustād Kamālu'd-dīn **Bih-zād**—particulars 291; his training due to Nawā'ī 272; is instructed in drawing by Shaibānī (913) 329.

[1] In taking Bīban for a Jilwānī, I follow Erskine, (as inferences also warrant,) but he may be a Lūdī.

[2] For the same uncertainty between Bihār and Pahār see E. and D.'s History of India iv, 352 n. 2.

[3] Firishta lith. ed. i, 202.

Rāja of Bījānagar (Vijāyanagar) — mentioned as ruling in 932 AH. 483.

Rāja Bikam-deo, named in the Hindūstān Revenue List.

Rāja Bīkam-chand, *ut supra.*

Rāja Bīkramājīt, *ut supra.*

Bī-khūb Sulṭān (var. Nī- or Naī-khūb) ? *Aūzbeg-Shaibān*—on Bābur's service (934) 589, 602, (935) 651, 682; in the battle of the Ghogrā 669.

Rānā **Bikramājīt,** son of Sangā and Padmāwatī—negotiations for him with Bābur (934) ☞ 603, 612, (935) 612–3, 615, 616; pact made with him 616–7; possessor of Khiljī jewels 613; his mother Padmāwatī and her kinsman Asūk Mal *q.v.*

Rājā **Bikramājīt** *Gūāliārī, Tūnwar Rājpūt*—his ancestral fortress 477; his Koh-i-nūr (932) 477; his buildings 607–610 and nn.; his palace Bābur's quarters (935) 607; his death (932) 477; [†932 AH.–1526 AD.].

Rāja **Bikramājīt** (Vikramādītya)—his Observatory and Tables 79.

Bīrīm Deo *Malīnhās*—on Bābur's service (932) 462.

Rāja **Bīr-sing Deo**—named in the Revenue List (935) 521; his force at Kānwa (933) 562; serving Bābur 639.

Khalīfa's **Bīshka (?)**—a woman who leaves Samarkand with Bābur's mother (907) 147.

Bīshka Mīrzā *Itārachī Mughūl*—brings and receives gifts (925) 415, 416.

Brethren of Bābur—removal of their opposition to his aim on Hindūstān 478.

Buhlūl-i-ayūb *Begchīk,* son of Ayūb—Bābur warned against him (910) 190; joins Bābur 196; his misconduct 241, (911) 254.

Sulṭān **Buhlūl, Sāhū-khail Lūdī,** *Afghān*—grandfather of Ibrāhīm 463; his treasure 470; his tomb visited by Bābur 476; his capture of Jūnpūr and Dihlī 481; his sons Sikandar and 'Alau'u'd-dīn *q.v.*; [†894 AH.–1488 AD.].

Pahlawān **Buhlūl,** *tufang-andāzī*—receives gifts (935) 633.

Būjka, a household bravo—on Bābur's service (932) 458, 474, 534, (933) 545; his success at Biāna 547.

Malik **Bū Khān** *Dilah-zāk* (*Dilazāk*) *Afghān*—receives gifts from Bābur (925) 394; brings tribute 409.

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Būrān Sulṭān *Aūzbeg-Shaibān*—his marriage with 'Āyisha-sulṭān *Bāī-qarā* 267; their son 'Abdu'l-lāh *q.v.*

Shaikh **Burhānu'd-dīn 'Alī Qīlīch**, *Marghīnānī*, author of the *Hidāyat*—his birthplace Rashdān 7; a descendant 29, 89; [†593 AH.–1197 AD.].

Malik **Bū-sa'īd** *Kamarī*—a guide (910) 230, 231; doubted 233.

Chaghatāī Khān, second son of Chīngīz Khān—his *yūrt* (camping-ground) occupied by his descendant Yūnas 12; mentioned in the genealogy of Yūnas 19; [†638 AH.–1241 AD.].

Chākū *Barlās*, one of Tīmūr's noted men—an ancestor of Muhammad Barandūq 270; descent of his line to Akbar's day 270 n. 2.

Rāī **Chandrabān**, *Chauhān Rājpūt*—killed at Kānwa (933) 573; [†933 AH.–1527 A.D.].

Chāpūq (Slash-face), see Ibrāhīm *Begchik*.

Sulṭān Aḥmad **Chār-shamba**—unhorses Muhammad Mūmin[1] *Bāī-qarā* (902) 71; coincident occurrences of "Chār-shamba" 71.

Ismā'īl **Chilma** (or Chalma), son of Ibrāhīm *Jānī*—writes particulars of the battle of Jām (935) 624.

Chilma *Mughūl* (or Chalma)—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335; rebels in Kābul (914) 345.

Chilma *tāghchī Mughūl* (? shoeing-smith)—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Chīngīz Khān *Mughūl*—counted back to in Yunās Khān's genealogy 12, 19; his capture of Samarkand (619 AH.–1222 AD.) 75; referred to concerning the name Qarshī 84; his Rules (*Tūra*) 155, 298; [†624 AH.–1227 AD.].

Chīn *Ṣūfī*—defends Khwārizm for Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* against Shaibānī (910) 242 n. 3, 244; killed in the surrender 255–6; [†911 AH.–1505–6 AD.].

Chīn-tīmūr Sulṭān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Aḥmad—mentioned *s.a.* 912 as serving Bābur 318; succeeds against Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* advance (932) 467; in the right centre at Pānīpat 472, and at Kānwa (933) 565, 568 n. 3; rewarded 527, 578–9; on service (933) 540; at Chandīrī (934) 590; pursues Bīban and Bāyazīd 601, 602; in command against Balūchīs (935) 638, 676; met on a journey 639; writes of

[1] For "Mū'min" read Mūmin, which form is constant in the Ḥai. MS.

loss of reinforcement 675; ordered to Āgra 676; waits on Bābur 688; his brothers Manṣūr, Aīsān-tīmūr, Tūkhtā-būghā, Sa'īd, Khalīl *q.v.*; [†936 AH.–1530 AD.].

Chīqmāq Beg—sent on road-surveyor's work (935) 629–30; the *Mubīn* quoted in connection with his orders 630; his clerk Shāhī *q.v.*

Chirkas qīzlār (Circassian girls), see Gulnār and Nār-gul.

Chūlī Begīm, *Āzāq Turkmān* — particulars 265, 268; her husband Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* and their daughter Sultānīm *q.v.*; [†before 911 AH.–1505 AD.].

Dāmāchī *Mughūl*—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Dankūsī var. Nigarsī—killed at Kānwa 573; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Darwesh-i-'alī—serving Humāyūn in Sambhal (934) 587.

Darwesh-i-'alī Beg *Chaghatāī*, brother of Nawā'ī—particulars 275; in Bābur's service (916) 275 and (917) 277; his poet-wife Āpāq Bega *q.v.*

Darwesh-i-'alī *pīāda* and, later, *tūfang-andāz*—takes news of Hind-āl's birth to Bābur (925) 385.

Darwesh-i 'Alī Sayyid *Mughūl*—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Darwesh Beg Tarkhān, *Arghūn*—particulars 39; [†895 AH.–1490 AD.].

Darwesh Gāū *Andijānī*—put to death as seditious (899) 30.

Shaikh **Darwesh Kūkūldāsh** *qūr-begī*—at a household-party (906) 131; his death, successor in office, and avengeance 251, 253; [†911 AH.–1505–6 AD.].

Darwesh-i-muḥammad *Fazlī*—defeated (910) 241; degraded for not supporting a comrade (925) 405.

Darwesh-i-muḥammad Sārbān—Mīrzā Khān's envoy to Bābur (925) 402; a non-drinker not pressed to disobey 406; replaces a china cup 407; enters Bābur's service 408; over-pressed to break the Law 410; eats a strange fruit 410–1; at ma'jūn-parties 412, (935) 683; asks a fruitful question (932) 470–1; in the right-centre at Pānī-pat 472 and at Kānwa (933) 565; recals a vow to Bābur 553; in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 673.

Darwesh-i-muḥammad Tarkhān *Arghūn Chingīz-khānid*—particulars 38; envoy to the Andijān begs (899) 31; his part in the Tarkhān rebellion (901) 62; his death 38, 63;

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his relationship to Mīrān-shāhīs 13 n. 5, 33, 38, and his kinsman 'Abdu'l-'alī *q.v.*; [†901 AH.–1496 AD.].

Darwesh Sulṭān (? *Chaghatāī*)—on Bābur's service (934) 599.

Daryā Khān *Turk*, son of Mīr (Shaikh) 'Alī Beg—particulars 382, his sons Yār-i-husain and Ḥasan *q.v.*

Daryā Khān *Nūḥānī, Afghān*—his sons Saīf Khān and Bihār Khān, his grandson Jalāl *q.v.*

Mullā **Dāūd**—killed serving Bābur 549; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Sayyid **Dāūd** *Garm-serī*—receives gifts (935) 633.

Dāūd Khān *Lūdī*—defeated by Bābur's troops (932) 467–8.

Dāūd *Sarwānī*, see Rāwū'ī *Sarwānī*.

Daulat Khān, *Yūsuf-khail Lūdī, Afghān*, son of Tātār—is given Bhīra *etc.* 382, 383; concerning his lands, Author's Note 383; ☞ a principal actor from 926 to 932 AH. 428; dreads Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* 439; ☞ proffers allegiance to Bābur (929?) 439, 440; ☞ his gift of an Indian fruit decides Bābur to help him 440, 503 n. 6; ☞ his action causes the return to Kābul of Bābur's fourth expedition into Hindūstān 442; his strength and action 443–4; his rumoured attack on Lāhor (932) 451, 453; negotiates with 'Ālam Khān (931?) 455–6; loses Milwat to Bābur (932) 459; his death 461; his sons 'Alī, Apāq, Dilawār *q.v.*; his relations with Nānak 461 n. 3; [†932 AH.–1526 A.D.].

Daulat-i-muḥammad Kūkūldāsh, see Qūtlūq-i-muḥammad.

Daulat-qadam ?—his son Mīr Mughūl *q.v.*

Daulat-shāh *Isfarāyinī*, author of the *Tazkiratu'sh-shu'arā*—at the battle of Chīkmān-sarāī (876) 46 n. 2; [†895 AH.–1490 AD. ?].

Daulat-sulṭān Khānīm, *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, daughter of Yūnas Khān and Shāh Begīm—particulars 24; her long family separation (907) 149; meets her brother Aḥmad (908) 159; married as a captive by Tīmūr *Aūz-beg* (909) 24; rejoins Bābur (917) *ib.* and 358 n. 1; letters from her reach Bābur (925) 409; sends letters and gifts to him (932) 446.

Dāwā Khān, *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*—mentioned in Yūnas Khān's genealogy 19; [†706 AH.–1306–7 AD.].

Dejal, the false Messiah 563 n. 1.

Deo Sulṭan, see Div.

Rāja **Dharmankat** *Gūālīārī*—stirs trouble (933) 539; lays siege to Gūālīār 557.

Dharm-deo—his force at Kānwa (933) 562.

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Dilāwar Khān *Yūsuf-khail Lūdī, Afghān,* son of Daulat Khān — ☞ ill-received by Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* (929?) 439; ☞ goes to Kābul to ask help from Bābur 439–40; imprisoned by his father (931) 442, 443; escapes and joins 'Ālam Khān 455, 456; joins Bābur 457, 461; location of his mother's family 462; does not sit in Bābur's presence 466; entrusted by Bābur with care for the corpse of Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* 474 n. 1; in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 567 (here styled Khān-i-khānān); [†946 AH.–1539 AD.].

Dil-dār Begīm (? Ṣālḥa-sulṭān 3rd daughter of Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* and Pasha), wife of Bābur—her unborn child forcibly adopted (925) 347, and App. L; her son Alwar (Alūr)'s death (935) 689 n. 5; particulars 712–4; her sons Hind-āl and Alūr, her daughters Gul-rang, Gul-chihra and Gul-badan *q.v.*

Dilpat Rāo—killed at Kānwa 573; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Div Sulṭān *Rūmlū* (or Deo)—recaptures Balkh (cir. 919) 363; particulars 635 n. 2; his servant describes the battle of Jām (935) 635–6.

Dīwa Hindū, son of Sīktū—waits on Bābur in Bhīra (925) 382; made prisoner and ransomed 399.

Dīwāna *jāma-bāf*—put to retaliatory death 73; [†903 AH.–1497 AD.].

Bābā Dost—put in charge of Humāyūn's Trans-Indus district (925) 391; conveys wine to Bābur's camp (933) 551 (here *sūchī*).[1]

Dost, son of Muḥammad Bāqir—drunk (925) 415.

Dost-anjū?[2] **Shaikh**, son of Bābā 'Alī—left in charge of Ghaznī (911) 307.

Dost Beg *Mughūl*, son of Bābā Qashqa and brother (p. 588) of Shāh Muḥammad—at a social gathering and sent to Bhīra 388 (here *muhrdār*); made a *dīwān* (932) 476; in charge of Biāna (933) 539 and made its *shiqdār* 579 (here Lord-of-the Gate); in the right centre at Kānwa 565, 569; waits on Bābur 581; pursues rebels (934) 601 (here Dost-i-muḥammad); in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 673; for his kinsmen see *s.n.* Bābā Qashqa.

Khwāja **Dost-i-khāwand**—lets himself down over the wall of Qandahār (913) 343; at boat-parties (925) 385, 388; comes

[1] He may be Ḥamīda-bānū's father and, if so, became grandfather of Akbar.

[2] Ilminsky, *anṭū*, Erskine, *angū*. Daulat-shāh mentions a Muḥammad Shāh *anjū* (see Brown's ed. Index *s.n.*).

from Kābul to Āgra (933) 544; in the left-centre at Kānwa 565; ☞ sent on Bābur's family affairs to Humāyūn in Badakhshān (934) 603; delayed in Kābul till Kāmrān's arrival 618 and nn. 2–6; his letters reach Bābur (935) 618.

Dost-kīldī *Mughūl*—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Dost-i-nāṣir Beg—Dost Beg—(Nāṣir's Dost), son of Nāṣir—enters Bābur's service (904) 103; on service (906) 131, (908) 163, 165; one of three standing by Bābur 166, 167, 396; with him at Akhsī 174, 396; one of the eight in the flight 177, 396; at the recapture of Kābul (912) 315; in the left centre at Qandahār (913) 335, 338; at Tāshkīnt (918) ☞ 356 n. 1, ☞ 358, 396–7; opposing rebels (921) ☞ 364, 397; leading the left at Bajaur (925) 368 (here first styled Beg), 369, 370, 397; his revenue work 384; at wine parties 387, 388; at Parhāla 390; attacked by fever 394; his death and his burial at Ghaznī 395–6; his brother Mīrīm q.v.; particulars 395–7; [†925 AH.–1519 AD.].

Dost *Sar-i-pulī, pīāda* and (later) *kotwāl*—attacks Bābur blindly (912) 316–7; wounded (913) 324; [†913 AH.–1507 AD.].

Dost-i-yāsīn-khair—wrestles well with eight in successive (935) 653; 656.

Dūdū Bībī, widow of Bihār Khān *Bihārī*—news of her bringing her son to Bābur (935) 664; encouraging letters sent to her 665; Sher Khān *Sūr* her co-guardian for her son 664 n. 2; her son Jalālu'd-dīn *Nuḥānī q.v.*

Faghfūr Dīwān—on service (933) 551; his servants sent for fruit to Kābul (935) 687. Hai. MS. reads Maghfūr.

Fajji *Gāgīānī, Afghān*—guides Bābur's first passage of the Khaibar (910) 229.

Fakhrū'n-nisā', daughter of Bābur and 'Āyisha—died an infant 35–6, 136; [†906 AH.–1500–1 AD.].

Faqī-i-'alī—reprieved (914) 345; with Bābur and left in charge of Balkh (923) 463; ☞ left in charge of Qila'i-ẓafar by Humāyūn (936) 695.

Farīd Khān *Nuḥānī, Afghān*, son of Naṣīr—writes dutifully to Bābur (935) 659.

Farīdūn, (an ancient Shāh of Persia)—mentioned in a verse 85.

Farīdūn-i-ḥusain Mīrzā *Bā-qarā Tīmūrid*, son of Ḥusain and Mīngli—particulars 263, 269; [†915 AH.–1509 AD.].

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Farīdūn *qabūzī*—summoned by Bābur (935) 617.

Mullā **Farrukh**—placed on Bābur's left at a feast (935) 631; gifts made to him 632.

Farrukh *Arghūn*—surrenders Qalāt-i-ghilzāī to Bābur (911) 248–9.

Mīrzā **Farrūkh** *Aūghlāqchī*, son of Ḥasan—mentioned for his qualities 279.

Farrukh-i-ḥusain Mīrzā, *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Pāpā—particulars 264; [†915 AH.–1509 AD.].

Farrukh-zād Beg—Bābur dismounts in his garden at Qandahār (913) 337.

Farūq, son of Bābur and Māhīm—his birth (932) announced to Bābur (933) 536, 689 n. 5; [933 AH.–1526–7 AD.].

Fatḥ Khān *Sarwānī* Khān-i-jahān, son of 'Azim-humāyūn—is escorted to Bābur (932) 534; well-received (933) 537; his hereditary title superseded *ib.*; invited to a wine-party *ib.*; serving Maḥmūd *Lūdī* (935) 652; his son Maḥmūd *q.v.*; ? a kinsman Daud *q.v.*

Fātima-sūltān Āghā *Mughūl*—first wife of 'Umar Shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī* 17, 24; their son Jahāngīr *q.v.*

Fāṭima-sultān Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain and Mīnglī—particulars 266; her husband Yādgar-i-farrukh *Mīrān-shāhī q.v.*; [†before 911 AH.–1505 AD.].

Fāzil Kūkūldāsh—serving Shāh Beg *Arghūn* (910) 238; ☞ a good account of him named 443; his death a crushing grief to Shāh Beg *ib.*; [†930 AH.–1514 AD.].

Fāzil Tarkhān—a Turkistān merchant created a Tarkhān by Shaibānī, [Author's Note] 133; his death *ib.*; [906 AH.–1500 AD.].

Faẓlī, see Darwesh-i-muḥammad.

Ferdinand the Catholic—his action in 1504 (910 AH.) 187 n. 2 (Erskine).

Fīrūza Begīm *Qānjūt*, wife of Manṣūr *Bāī-qarā* her Tīmūrīd ancestry 256; her children Bāī-qarā (II), Ḥusain, Ākā and Badka *q.v.*; ([†874 AH.–1469–70 AD.].

Fīrūz Khān *Mewatī*—reprieved (932) 477–8.

Fīrūz Khān, *Sārang-khānī, Afghān*—on Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* service 527; waits on Bābur (932) 527, and on his service 530.

Sulṭān **Fīrūz Shāh,** *Tūghlūq Turk*—his servants' dynasties 481, 482; his relations with the rulers of Mālwā 482 (where in n. 3 for "Gujrāt" read Mālwā); [†790 AH.–1388 AD.].

Fīrūz Shāh Beg—his grandson 'Abdu'l-khalīq *q.v.*

Gadāī *Balāl*—rejoins Bābur (913) 330–1.

Gadāī *bihjat*—misbehaves (925) 414.

Gadāī Ṭaghāī—shares a confection (925) 375; at social gatherings 385, 7, 8, 400, 412; rides carrying a full pitcher 386; out with Bābur 404; removes a misbehaving namesake 414.

Gauhar-shād Begīm, wife of Shāh-rukh *Tīmūrid*—Bābur visits her college and tomb (912) 305; [†861 AH.–1457 AD.].

Gauhar-shad Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk,* daughter of Abū-sa'īd—visited by Bābur (935) 616.

Mīr **Gesū**—finds chronogram identical with Shaikh Zain's 575.

Apāq **Ghāzī Khān** *Turk,* son of Mīr (Shaikh) 'Alī Beg—particulars 382; his brothers Bābā Kābulī and Daryā Khān, his son 'Alī and his relation Naẓar-i-'alī *Turk q.v.*

Apāq **Ghāzī Khān** *Yūsuf-khail Lūdī Afghān,* son of Daulat Khān—☞ arrested by Bābur (930) 442; moves against Bābur (932) 451, 453; not trusted 455; agrees to help 'Ālam Khān 455–6; receives him ill on defeat 457–8; pursued for Bābur 458, 460, 461, 462, 463; Bābur's reproach for his abandonment of his family 460–1; his forts in the Dūn 462; his library less valuable than was expected by Bābur 460; his kinsman Ḥājī Khān and his own son 465.

Ghiyāṣ, a buffoon 400 (where erroneously Ghiāṣ).

Mīr **Ghiyāṣ,** building entrusted to him (935) 642.

Mīr **Ghiyāṣ Ṭaghāī** *Kūnjī Mughūl,* brother of 'Alī-dost—particulars 28; enters the Khān (Maḥmūd)'s service (899) 28, 32; [†before 914 AH.–1507–8 AD.].

Amīr **Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn,** ☞ patron of Khwānd-amīr and supposed ally of Bābur—killed in Herāt (927) 432.

Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn, nephew of Khwānd-amīr—☞ conveys the keys of Qandahār to Bābur (928) 432, 435, 436.

Sulṭān **Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn** *Balban*—Bābur visits his tomb (932) 475; [†686 AH.–1287 AD.].

Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn *qūrchī*—takes campaigning orders to Junaid *Barlās* (935) 628; returns to Court 636; takes orders to the Eastern amirs 638.

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Ghulām-i-'alī—returns from taking Bābur's three articles to Naṣrat Shāh (935) 676.

Ghulām bacha, a musician—heard by Bābur in Herāt (912) 303.

Ghulām-i-shādī, a musician—particulars 292 ; his younger brother Ghulām bacha *q.v.*

Mullā **Ghulām** *Yasāwal*—makes an emplacement for the Ghāzī mortar (935) 670 ; sent to collect the Bihār tribute 676.

Ghūrī *Barlās*—on Bābur's service (905) 125 ; in the left wing at Qandahār (913) 334 ; wounded 336 ; [†919 AH.–1513 AD.].

Gūjūr Khān—ordered on service (935) 638.

Gul-badan Begīm *Mīrān - shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Bābur and Dil-dār—☞ her birth (929 or 930) and her book (*cir.* 995) 441 ; her journey to Āgra (935) 650 n. 2 ; ☞ her parentage 712 ; [†1011 AH.–1603 AD.].

Gul-barg *Barlās Turk*, daughter of Khalīfa—☞ betrothed (?) to Shāh Ḥasan *Arghūn* (924–5) 366 ; ☞ married (930) 443.

Gul-chihra Begīm, full sister of Gul-badan *supra* — her marriage with Tūkhtā-būghā *Chaghatāī* 705 n. 1, 708 ; her parentage 712 ; ☞ perhaps the mother of Salīma *Chaqānīanī* 713.

Gul-rang Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Bābur and Dil-dār — ☞ born in Khwāst (920) 363 ; ☞ married to Aīsān-tīmūr *Chaghatāī* (937) 705 n. 1, 708 ; parentage 712.

Gul-rukh Begīm *Begchīk*, wife of Bābur—☞ with Bābur on the Trans-oxus campaign (916–20) 358 ; particulars 712 ; her sons Kāmrān and 'Askarī and her brother (?) Sulṭān 'Alī Mīrzā Ṭaghāī *q.v.*

Mīrak **Gūr** *dīwān* (or Kūr) captured by Shaibānī (913) 328.

Shaikh Abū'l-fath **Gūran** (G'hūran)—serving Bābur (932) 526, 528–9, (933) 539, 567, (934) 590 ; in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 567 ; host to Bābur in Kūl (Koel) (934) 587 ; takes lotus-seeds to him 666 ; sends him grapes (935) 686 ; given Gūāliār (936) 688, 690 ; ☞ holds it till Bābur's death 692 n. 1.

Ḥabība-sulṭān Begīm *Arghūn*, wife of Aḥmad *Mīrān-shāhī* —particulars 36, 37 ; arranges her daughter Ma'ṣūma's marriage with Bābur (912) 306, (913) 330.

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Ḥābība-sulṭān Khānīsh *Dūghlāt*, daughter of Muḥammad Ḥusain and Khūb-nigār *Chaghatāī*—her marriages 21–2; depends on Bābur (917) 22.

Ḥāfiẓ Hājī, a musician—heard by Bābur in Herī (912) 303.

Ḥāfiẓ *kabar-kātib*—his brother conveys Bābur's earliest Dīwān to Samarkand (925) 482; at a feast (935) 631, 632.

Ḥāfiẓ Mīrak—composes an inscription (913) 343.

Ḥāfiẓ-i-muḥammad Beg *Dūldāī Barlās*—particulars 25; in Āūrā-tīpā (893) 17, 25; ☞ joint-guardian of Mīrzā Khān (905) 25, 122; his death 26; his sons Muḥammad *mīskīn* and Ṭāhir *q.v.*; his (?) Chār-bāgh 108; [†*circ.* 909–10 AH.–1504 AD.].

Khwāja Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad **Ḥāfiẓ** *Shīrāzī*—parodied (910) 201; [†791 AH.–1389 AD.].

Ḥāfiẓ *Tāshkīndī*—gifts made to him (935) 632.

Haibat Khān *karg-andāz, Hindūstānī*—leaves Bābur (933) 557.

Haibat Khān *Samana'ī*—☞ perhaps the provider of matter to fill the *lacuna* of 936 AH., 693.

Mullā **Haidar**—his sons 'Abdu'l-minān and Mūmin *q.v.*

Haidar *'Alamdār*—on Bābur's service (925) 383, (926) 421.

Haidar-'alī Sulṭān *Bajaurī*—obeys custom in testing his dead mother's virtue 212; ☞ his Gibrī fort taken by Bābur (924) 366, 7, 8.

Haidar Kūkūldāsh *Yāragī Mughūl*, Maḥmūd Khān's "looser and binder"—defeated 35, (900) and killed 52, 111–2; his garden 54; his son Banda-i-'alī and a descendant (?) Ḥusain *Yārajī q.v.*

Ḥaidar-Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Pāyanda-sulṭān—his Mīrān-shāhī betrothal at Ḥiṣār (901) 48, 61; rejoins his father opportunely (903) 261; particulars 263; his wife Bega *q.v.*; [†908 AH.–1502–3 AD.].

Muḥammad **Ḥāidar Mīrzā Kūrkān** *Dūghlāt*, author of the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*—particulars 21–2,[1] 348; ☞ takes refuge with Bābur (916) 350; ☞ his first battle (917) 353; ☞ ill when Kūl-i-malik was fought (918) 357–8; goes to Sa'īd Khān in Kāshgar 22, 362; on Sa'īd's service (933) 590, (936) 695–6; [†958 AH.–1551 AD.].

[1] On p. 22 n. 2 delete "*Chaghatāī Mughūl*" on grounds given in Additional Note, Page 22.

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Ḥaidar-i-qāsim Beg *Kohbur Chaghatāī* — father of Abū'l-qāsim, Aḥmad-i-qāsim and Qūch (Qūj) Beg *q.v.*

Haidar-qulī—on Aūzūn Ḥasan's service (904) 102.

Ḥaidar-qulī, servant of Khwāja Kalān—on service (932) 467; mentioned by Bābur in writing to the Khwāja (935) 648.

Ḥaidar *rikābdār*—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; his son Muḥammad 'Alī *q.v.*

Ḥaidar *tāqī*—his garden near Kābul 198 n. 1.

Ḥājī Ghāzī *Manghīt*—sent to help Bābur (904) 101 where in n. 3 add Vambéry's Note 29 to the references.

Ḥājī ('Alī) Khān *Yūsuf-khail Lūdī Afghān* — acting with 'Ālam Khān *Lūdī* (932) 445–6–7.

Ḥājī pīāda—killed at the Lovers'-cave 68; [902 AH.–1497 AD.].

Ḥājī Pīr *bakāwal*—negociates for Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* with the Ḥiṣār begs (901) 61.

Halāhil—on service (925) 391, (925) 638.

Ḥalwāchī Tarkhān *Arghūn*—engages Bābur's left wing at Qandāhar (913) 336.

Sayyid Mīr **Hamah**—gets the better of two traitors (932–3) 546; receives head-money (933) 546; in the right wing at Kānwa 566.

Ḥamīd Khān *Khāṣa-khaīl Sārang-khānī Lūdī* — opposes Bābur (932) 465; defeated by Humāyūn 466; defeated (633) 540; sent out of the way before Kānwa 547.

Hāmūsī, son of Dīwa — sent to make a Hindū pact with Sangā's son (935) 616.

Amīr **Hamza**—a poem mentioned imitating that in which he is celebrated 280; [†3 AH.–625 AD.].

Ḥamza Beg *qūchīn*, son of Qāsim and a daughter of Banda-i-'alī — his wedding gifts to Bābur on his marriage with Khalīfa's daughter (925) 400; joins Bābur on summons from Qūndūz 406, 410.

Ḥamza Bī *Mangfīt Aūzbeg* — defeated, when raiding, by Bābur's men (910) 195.

Ḥamza Khān, Malik of 'Alī-shang—made over to the avengers of blood (926) 425; [†926 AH.–1520 AD.].

Ḥamza Sulṭān *Aūzbeg* — his various service 58, 59, 131; defeated by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (901) 58; enters Bābur's service 59; given leave 64; his Mughūls rebel against Bābur (904) 105; serving Shaibānī (906) 131, 139, (910) 244;

☞ holding Ḥiṣār and comes out against Bābur (916) 352; defeated at Pul-i-sangīn and put to death by Bābur (917) 18, 37, 262, 353; his defeat announced to Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī* 354; his sons in the battle of Jām (935) 622; his sons 'Abdu'l-laṭīf and Mamāq *q.v.*, his Mīrān-shāhī wife 37; [†917 AH.–1511 AD.].

Ḥaq-dād, headman of Dūr-namā—makes offering of his garden to Bābur (926) 420.

Ḥaq-naẓar—finds the body of his nephew (Nūyān) Kūkūldāsh (907) 152.

Ḥaq-naẓīr *chapā*—to punish his raid, beyond the power of the Herāt Mīrzās (912) 300.

Ḥarūnu'r-rashīd Khalīfa—his second son Māmūn Khalīfa (d. 218 AH.) 79; [†193 AH.–809 AD.].

Ustād **Ḥasan-i-'alī**—orders given for the completion of work he had begun in Kābul (935) 646–7.

Ḥasan-i-'alī *Chaghatāī*—receives a pargana (935) 689.

Ḥasan-i-'alī *Jalāīr Chaghatāī*, son of 'Alī (*q.v.*)—particulars 278, 286; meets Bābur (912) 299; his poet-sister 286 n. 1; [†925 AH.–1519 AD.].

Sayyid **Ḥasan** *Āūghlāqchī Mughūl*, son of Murād—particulars 279; serving Bābur (917) 279; his son Farrukh *q.v.*; [†918 AH.–1522 AD.].

Ḥasan *Barlās*—his rough dealing with Bābur (910) 194.

Shāh **Ḥasan Beg** *Arghūn*, son of Shāh (Shuja') Beg—quarrels with his father and goes to Bābur (924) 365, ☞ 430; his betrothal (?) to Gul-barg (924–6) 366 and marriage (930) 443; in the left centre at Bajaur (925) 369; sent to claim ancient lands of the Turks 383–4; is successful 388; out with Bābur 395; gifts to him *ib.* 414, 584; social matters 400, 7, 10, 12; Bābur sends him a quatrain 401; [see *s.n.* Shāh-zāda), ☞ a principal actor between 930 and 932 AH. 427; his attack on Multān 437, 442 and *s.n.* 'Askarī; accedes in Sind (930) 443; reads the *khuṭba* for Bābur 430; his envoy to Bābur (935) 632; [†962 AH.–1555 AD.].

Ḥasan *Chalabī*—Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī's* envoy to Bābur (935), arrives late 631, 632 n. 3, 641; Bābur accepts excuse for his delay 649; Bābur's envoy accompanies him on his return 641; his servant gives Bābur an account of the battle of Jām 649.

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Ḥasan-dīkcha of Akhsī—supports Bābur (904) 101.

Ḥasan-i-khalīfa, son of Niẓāmu'd-dīn 'Alī—sent on service 679.

Ḥasan Khān *Bārīwāl Hindūstānī*—leaves Bābur for Sangā (933) 557.

Ḥasan Khān *Daryā-khānī,* son of Daryā Khān son of Mīr 'Alī Beg—on service for Bābur (933) 582; in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 669; pursuing rebels 678.

Ḥasan-i-makan, loses Kandār to Sangā (932) 529–30.

Ḥasan Khān *Mewātī*—his change of capital (930) 578; his opposition to Bābur (932) 523 and n. 3, (933) 545, 547; his force at Kānwa 562 and death 573; Bairām Khān's remarks on him 523 n. 3; his son Nāhar *q.v.*; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Ḥasan Nabīra, grandson of Muḥammad *Sīghal*—waits on Bābur (902) 66; captures his elder brother (903) 72; leaves 'Alī for Mīrzā Khān (905) 122; goes as envoy (?) to Bābur from Mīrzā Khān (925) 415; his elder brother Muhammad Qāsim Nabīra *q.v.*

Mullā **Ḥasan** *ṣarrāf*—given custody of gifts for Kābul (932) 525.

Ḥasan *sharbatchī*—helps Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī's* escape (901) 62.

Ḥasan-i-yaq'ūb Beg, son of Nūyān Beg?—particulars 26; supports Bābur (899) 30, 31; his appointments 32; shows disloyalty (900) 43; his death 44; his sobriquet Nūyān's Ḥasan 273; [†900 AH.–1494 AD.].

Malik **Hast** *Janjūha*—receives an envoy from Bābur (925) 380; serving Bābur 380, 389; his injuries from Hātī *Kakar* 391.

Hātī *Kakar*—particulars 387; his misdeeds provoke punishment (925) 387, 9, 91; abandons Parhāla 390; sends Bābur tribute and is sent an envoy 391–2; referred to 452.

'Abdu'l-lāh **Hātifī,** nephew of Jāmī—particulars 288.

Ḥātim *qūrchī*—promoted to be *qūr-begī* (911) 252; in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Hazārāspī, see Pīr-i-muḥammad.

Henry VII of England—his *Intercursus malus* contemporary with 910 AH. 187 n. 2.

Henry of Navarre—☞ his difficulties, as to creed, less than those of Bābur in 917 AH.–1511 AD., 356.

Hilālī, see Badru'd-dīn *Hilālī.*

Abū'l-nāṣir Muḥammad **Hind-āl Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Bābur and Dil-dār—his pre-natal adoption (925) 374; meaning of his name Hind-āl 385; gifts to him or his servants 522, (935) 633, 642; the *Wālidiyyah-risāla* and Hindūstān verses sent to him 642; under summons to Hind 645, ☞ 696; ☞ sent by Humāyūn to Qila'-i-ẓafar (936) 695; referred to 697; ☞ waits on his father in Lāhor 699; ☞ his dying father's wish to see him (937) 708; his escort of Bābur's family in 946 AH. referred to 710; [†958 AH.–1551 AD.].

Hindī—Mindī,—Mahndī, see Mahndī.

Hindū Beg *qūchīn*—leaves 'Alī *Mīrān-shāhī* for Mīrzā Khān (905) 122; sent to raid Panj-kūra (925) 374; in Bhīra (386–8; leaves it 399; out with Bābur 403; serving under Humāyūn (932) 465–6, 528–9; in the right wing at Pānīpat 472 and at Kānwa (933) 566 and n. 2, 569; escorts Māhīm from Kābul (935) 687; sent to Saṃbhal *ib.*; waits on Bābur *ib.* and n. 2, 689; his mosque in Saṃbhal 687 n. 2.

☞ **Hulākū Khān** *Aīl-khānī* (*Īl-khānī*)—referred to 79; [†663 AH.–1264 AD.].

Hul-hul Anīga—a woman drinker 417.

Nasīru'd-dīn Muḥammad **Humāyūn Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Bābur and Māhīm—his birth (913) 344; his mother's parentage 344 n. 3, ☞ 712–3; death of elder brethren referred to 374; a Trans-indus district given to him (925) 391; carried in haste to meet his father 395; makes a good shot 417; prefers not to go to Lamghān (926) 421; ☞ appointed to Badakhshān (927) 427; with his father in the Trans-oxus campaign (916–20) 358; his delay in joining the Hindūstān expedition (932) 444, 446 n. 3, 447; a desertion from him 545; first sight of a rhinoceros 451; books given to him at Milwat 460; his story-teller killed *ib.*; a successful first military affair 466–7; on service 471; in the right wing at Pānīpat 472; sent to take possession of Āgra 475, 476, 526; becomes owner of the Koh-i-nūr 477; receives Saṃbhal and other gifts 522, 7, 8; appointed against the Eastern Afghāns, his campaign 534, 544; mentioned in connection with the title 'Aẓam-humāyūn' (933) 537; his return to Āgra 544; his dislike of wine 545; in the right wing at Kānwa 566, 568–9; his departure for Kābul (and Badakhshān) 579–80; misappropriates treasure 583, ☞ 695 n. 1; a daughter born (934 or 5) 618; his father's messenger, detained a year by

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him, arrives in Āgra (935) 621, 626; birth of a son (934) 621, 624–5; letter to him from his father quoted 624–27; ordered to act with Kāmrān against the Aūzbegs 625–6; news of his action reaches Bābur 639, 640; gifts sent to him on his son's birth and with them the *Wālidiyyah-risāla* and the Hindustān poems 642; topics of a letter to him enumerated 645; the letter despatched 649; gifts from him to his father 687; a family tradition that his father wished to abdicate in his favour 689 n. 5; ☞ misery of his creation 692; concerning a plan to set him aside from the succession 644 n. 4, 688 n. 2, ☞ 692–3, ☞ 702–7; deserts his post in Badakhshān (936) 694; its sequel 695, 6, 7–8; ordered by his father to Sambhal 697; his illness and his father's self-surrender (937) 701–2; goes back to Sambhal 702; summoned and is declared successor at his father's last audience 708; [†963 AH.–1556 AD.].[1]

Bāba **Ḥūsain**—his murder of Aūlūgh Beg *Shāh-rukhī* (853) 85 and n. 3.[2]

Maulānā Shaikh **Ḥusain**—particulars 283–4.

Ḥūsain *Aīkrak* (?) (or Ḥasan)—receives the Chīn-āb country from Bābur (925) 386; misbehaves (926) 423.

Sayyīd **Ḥusain Akbar** *Tīrmīzī*, a maternal relative of Maṣ'ūd *Mīrān-shāhī*—attacks the fugitive Bāī-sunghar (903) 74; out with Bābur (910) 234; suspected 239; in the left wing at Qandahār (913) 334.

Sultān **Ḥusain** *Arghūn Qarā-kūlī*—particulars 40; leaves Samarkand with the Tarkhāns (905) 121; fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) (906) 139; his great-niece Ma'ṣūma a wife of Bābur 36.

Ḥusain Āqā *Sīstānī*—in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 566.

Ḥusain *'aūdī*, lutanist of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 292; owed his training to 'Alī-sher *Nawā'ī* 272.

Shāh **Ḥusain** *bakhshī*—brings Bābur news of a success (935) 685.

Khwāja **Ḥusain Beg**, brother of Aūzūn Ḥasan—particulars 26; his daughter a wife of 'Umar Shaikh 24, 146 n. 3; leaves Samarkand with the Tarkhāns (905) 121; fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) (906) 139; one of eight in the flight from Akhsī (908) 177 (here Khwāja Ḥusainī); his lameness causes him to leave Bābur 178; sends Lāhor revenues

[1] For Humāyūn's annotation of the *Bābur-nāma*, see General Index *s.n.* Humāyūn's Notes.

[2] For a correction of dates, see *s.n.* Aūlūgh Beg.

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to Kābul (932) 446; waits on Bābur 458; on service (933) 549 (here Mullā Ḥusain); in the left centre at Kānwa 566.

Shāh **Ḥusain** *chuhra*, a brave of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—left in Balkh (902) 70.

Sulṭān **Ḥusain** *Dūghlāt*—joins Bābur (901) 58–9; conspires against Tambal (907) 154; sent by The Khān (Maḥmūd) to help Bābur (908) 161.

Ḥusain *Ghainī*—a punitive force sent against him (911) 253.

Ḥūsain-i-ḥāsan—out with Bābur (925) 403; killed and avenged 404, 405; [†925 AH.–1519 AD.].

Maulānā Shāh **Ḥusain** *Kāmī*, a poet—particulars 290.

Ḥūsain Kashifī—his omission from Bābur's list of Herāt celebrities 283 n. 1.

Ḥusain Khān *Lashkar* (?) *Wazīr*—writes from Naṣrat Shāh, accepting Bābur's three articles (935) 676.

Sulṭān **Ḥusain Mīrzā** *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Manṣūr—defeats Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* (865) 46, 259 and (876) 260; his relations with Nawā'ī 33, 272; his campaign against Khusrau Shāh (901) 57, 58–61, 130; his dissensions with his sons 61, 69, (902) 68–70, 260, (903) 94–5; his capture of Herī (875) compared with Bābur's of Samarkand (906) 134–5; does not help Bābur against Shaibānī 138, 145; asks Bābur's help against him (910) 190–1, (911) 255; his death 256, and burial 293; particulars of his life and court 256–292 :—(personal 256—amīrs 270—ṣadrs 280—wazīrs, etc. 281—poets 286—artists 291)—his dealings with Ẓū'n-nūn *Arghūn* and Khusrau Shāh 274; his kindness to Maṣ'ūd *Mīrān-shāhī* (903) 93, 95; his disorderly Finance Office 281–2; delays a pilgrim 284, his copyist 291; his splendid rule 300; his buildings 305; his relation Nuyān Beg *Tīrmīzī* 273; Bābur writes to him in ignorance of his death (912) 294; Bābur's comments on him 60, 191, 225; a poem mistakenly attributed to him 281; [†911 AH.–1506 AD.].

Sulṭān **Ḥusain Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī*, son of Maḥmūd and a Tīrmīzī wife—his death (*æt.* 13) in his father's lifetime, 47, 110.

Mīr **Ḥusain** *mu'ammā'ī Nishāpūrī*—particulars 288 and n. 7; [†904 AH.–1498–9 AD.].

Ḥusain Khān *Nūḥānī Afghān*—holding Rāprī and not submissive to Bābur (932) 523; abandons it 530; takes it again (933) 557; drowned in flight 582; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

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Sulṭān **Ḥusain** *Qānjūt*, maternal grandfather of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* —his Tīmūrid descent 256 n. 5.

Shāh Mīr **Ḥusain** *Qārlūq*—waits on Bābur (925) 403 (here var. Ḥasan) 409; sent to Bajaur (926) 422; meets Bābur on his road 423; in charge of *impedimenta* (932) 458; allowed to raid from Milwat 464; fighting for Bābur 468, 471; in the left wing at Pānipat 472; posted in Jūnpūr (933) 544.

Ḥusain-i Shaikh Tīmūr—particulars 273 (where in n. 2 read grand("father").

Sulṭān **Ḥusain** *Sharqī*—rise and fall of his dynasty 481; [†905 AH.–1500 AD.].

Shāh **Ḥusain** *Yāragī Mughūl Ghanchī*—in the left wing at Pānīpat (932) 472, and at Kānwa (933) 567; on service 530.

Ḥusamu'd-dīn 'Alī *Barlās*, son of Khalīfa—on service (934) 601; waits on Bābur (935) 687.

Ibn-i-ḥusāin Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Pāpā—parentage 265; joins his brothers against Shaibānī (912) 296; fails in etiquette when meeting Bābur 297; his place at a reception 298; goes back to his districts Tūn and Qāīn 301; mentioned 331; the poet Āhī his servant 289; [†919 AH.–1513 AD.].

Ibrāhīm Ātā (Father Abraham)—his tomb in Turkistān 159.

Ibrāhīm Beg *Begchīk*, brother of Ayūb—in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334.

Mīr **Ibrāhīm** *Begchīk*—fights and kills a guardian of 'Umar Shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī* (*cir.* 870) 25.

Ibrāhīm *Chaghatāī*—joins Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* 279,[1] 689 n. 4.

Ibrāhīm *chuhra*—conveys a quatrain of Bābur's (925) 401.

Ibrāhīm *Dūldāī Barlās*—particulars 274.

Sulṭān **Ibrāhīm** *Ghaznawī*—histomb 218; [†492 AH.–1098 AD.].

Ibrāhīm-i-ḥusain Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain—particulars 265; on his father's service (901) 57; receives Balkh (902) 70; besieged (903) 93–4; [†910 AH.–1504–5 AD.].

Ibrāhīm *Jānī*—fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (906) 139; one of three Ibrāhīms killed there 141, 624 n. 1; his son Chilma *q.v.*; [†906 AH.–1501 AD.].

[1] On p. 279 l. 3 from foot read "There was also Ibrāhīm *Chaghatāī*" after "Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā".

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Mīr **Ibrāhīm** *qānūnī*—waits on Bābur (935) 605 ; his kinsman Yūnas-i-'alī *q.v.*

Sulṭān **Ibrāhīm** *Sahu-khail Lūdī Afghān*, son of Sikandar—Bābur sends him a goshawk and asks for the ancient lands of the Turk (925) 385 ; ☞ co-operation against him proffered to Bābur by Sangā 426, 529 ; ☞ a principal actor in the years of the *lacuna* from 926 to 932 AH. 427 ; ☞ no indication of Bābur's intending to attack him in 926 AH. 429 ; his misdoing leads to appeal for Bābur's help (929) 439 ; defeats his uncle 'Ālam Khān (932) 456–7 ; Bābur moves from the Dūn against him 463 ; his military strength 463, 470 ; imprisons humble men sent by Bābur 464 ; various news of him 465, 466–7 ; Bābur's estimate of him 470 ; defeated and killed at Pānīpat 473–4, 630 n. 4 ; an Afghān account of Bābur's care for his corpse *ib.* ; references to his rule in Gūāliār 977, to the rebellion of his Eastern amīrs 523, 527, to his capture of Chandirī and defeat at Dhūlpūr by Sangā 593, to Bābur's route when he was defeated (932) 206, and to his "prison-house" 459 ; his resources contrasted with Bābur's 480 ; his treasure at an end (935) 617 ; his mother q.v. *s.n.* mother; his son sent to Kāmrān's charge in Qandahār (933) 544 ; [†932 AH.–1526 AD.].

Ibrāhīm Sārū *Mīnglīgh* Beg—*Chāpūk*—particulars [Author's Note] 52 ; disloyal to Bābur (900) 52 ; besieged and submits 53 ; receives Shīrāz (902) 66 ; remains with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91 ; on service (904) 101, 106 ; his man holds fast in Aūsh 107 ; plundered by 'Alī-dost (905) 119 ; waits on Bābur 125 ; one of three Ibrāhīms killed at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) 139, 141 ; his brother Samad *q.v.* his good bowman 66 ; [†906 AH.–1501 AD.].

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān Mīrzā *Shāh-rukhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Shāh-rukh—his rule in Shīrāz, death and successor (838) 20 ; referred to 85 ; [†838 AH.–1414–5 AD.].

Ibrāhīm Ṭaghāī Beg *Begchīk*, brother of Ayūb—wounded and nicknamed *Chāpūk* (902) 67 ; leaves Bābur (903) 86 ; in Akhsī with Bāyazīd *Itārachī* (908) 171 ; sent against Pāp *ib.* ; arrests Bāyazīd 173–4 ; wounded but fights for Bābur 174 ; soon falls behind in the flight from Akhsī 176 ; in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334 ; holds Balkh for Bābur (923) 463 n. 3 ; sent as Bābur's envoy to Aūzbeg Khāns and Sulṭāns (935) 643.

Ibrāhīm Tarkhān *Arghūn*—serving Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (901) 58; holding Shīrāz (906) 130; reinforces Bābur 131; one of three Ibrāhīms killed at Sar-i-pul 140–1; his brother Aḥmad *q.v.*; [†906 AH.–1501 AD.].

Qāzī **Ikhtiyār**—particulars 285; waits on Bābur and examines the Bāburī script (912) 285; is instructed in the exposition of the Qorān by Shaibānī (913) 329; [†928 AH.–1521 AD.].

Ilīās Khān, see Rustam.

Shāh **'Imād** *Shīrāzī*—brings Bābur friendly letters from two amīrs of Hind (932) 463.

'Imādu'd-dīn Mas'ūd—an envoy of Jahāngīr *Mīrān-shāhī* to Tramontane clans (911–912) 296.

'Imādu'l-mulk, a slave—strangles Sikandar *Gujrātī* (932) 535.

Imām-i-muḥammad—Bābur's company drink at his house (925) 418; his master Khwāja Muḥammad-amīn *q.v.*

Īsān, see Aīsān.

Isḥāq Ātā (Father Isaac)—his tomb in Turkistān 159.

Iskandar, see Sikandar.

Islīm *Barlās*—particulars 276.

Ismā'īl *chilma*, see Chilma.

Isma'īl Khān *Jilwānī* (not *Jalwānī*)—with 'Ālam Khān *Lūdī* (932) 456; deserts him 457; writes dutifully to Bābur 464; speaks of waiting on him (934 ?) 680; does it (935) 677, 679.

Ismā'īl Khān *Yūsuf-khail Lūdī*, son of 'Alī—parleys with Bābur at Milwat (932) 459; deported 461.

Ismā'īl Mītā—Naṣrat Shāh's envoy to Bābur (935) 640–1, 664–5.

Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī 'Arab*, Shāh of Persia—reference to his capture of 'Irāq (cir. 906) 280, 336; gives refuge to a fugitive Bāī-qarā (913) 327 n. 5; ☞ hostilities begin between him and Shaibānī (915) 350; defeats Shaibānī at Merv (916) 18, 318, ☞ 350; sends Khān-zāda back to Bābur 18, 352; ☞ asked by Bābur for reinforcement (917) 352–4; ☞ his alliance dangerous for Bābur 355; ☞ indication of his suzerain relation with Bābur 355; ☞ a principal actor in the *lacuna* years from 926–930, 427; ☞ his relations with Shāh Beg *Arghūn* 430; relations with Bābur (927) 433–4; ☞ his death after defeat (930) 443; ☞ Lord Bacon on his personal beauty 443 n. 1; his son Ṭahmāsp *q.v.*; his (presumed) Bāī-qarā disciple in Shī'a heresy 262; [†930 AH.–1524 AD.].

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Ja'far Khwāja, son of Mahdī Khwāja and step-son of Bābur's sister Khān-zāda—fills his father's place in Etāwa (933) 579, 582; sent to collect boats (934) 598; pursues Bīban and Bāyazīd (935) 682.

Jahāngīr *Barlās*, son of Ibrāhīm and a Badakhshī Begīm (T.R. trs. p. 108)—particulars 273; joint-governor of Kābul for Abū-sa'īd 270, 273.

Jahāngīr Mīrzā *Barlās Turk*, eldest son of Tīmūr—named in Abū-sa'īd's genealogy 14; is given Samarkand by Tīmūr 85; his tomb in Kesh 83; his son Muḥammad 78, 85; [†776 AH.–1374–5 AD.].

Jahāngīr Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of 'Umar Shaikh and Fāṭima *Mughūl*—particulars 17; sent (a child) to reinforce an uncle (*cir.* 895) and then betrothed 48, 189; comes to Andijān after his father's death (899) 32; Mughūl support for him against Bābur (900) 43–4, (903) 87–8, (904) 101; joins Tambal 103; a "worry" 104; defeated at Khūbān (905) 113; waits on Bābur 119; summoned for a Samarkand expedition 122; reinforces Bābur (906) 138; a gift to him from the exiled Bābur (907) 150; joins Bābur (908) 173; acts against Bābur's wishes 173–4; flees in panic 174–5; rumoured a prisoner 176; ☞ his occupation of Khujand (909?) 182; Bābur rejects advice to dismiss him (910) 191; deference to him from Khusrau Shāh 193; his part in occupying Kābul 198, 199; receives Ghaznī 227; out with Bābur 233–4, 235–6, 239; rejects counsel to betray him 239; is Bābur's host in Ghaznī 240; his experiences in an earthquake (911) 247; insists on a move for Qalāt-i-ghilzāī 248; waits on Bābur and does service 252–3; his misconduct 254; causes Bābur to mobilize his troops 255; goes to Yaka-aūlāng (912) 294; the clans not supporting him, he goes to Herī with Bābur 295–6; at social gatherings 298, 302; defeats his half-brother Nāṣir 321; his death 331 n. 3, 345; his widow brings their son Pīr-i-muḥammad to Bābur (913) 331; [†912 or 913 AH.–1507–8 AD.].

Nūru'd-dīn Muḥammad **Jahāngīr Pādshāh** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Akbar—his work in Bābur's burial-ground 710; words of his made clear by Bābur's 501 n. 6; mentioned concerning the *tamghā* 553 n. 1; [†1037 AH.–1627 AD.].

Jahāngīr *Turkmān* — revolts in Badakhshān against the Aūzbegs (910) 242; keeping his head up (913) 340.

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Jahān-shāh *Barlās*, son of Chakū — mentioned in his son Muḥammad Barandūq's genealogy 270.

Jahān-shah Mīrzā *Barānī, Qarā-qūīlūq Turkmān*—ruling in Tabrīz while Yūnas *Chaghatāī* stayed there 20; his sons defeated by the Āq-qūīlūq (872) 49; his son Muḥammadī's wife Pasha 49;[1] [†872 AH.–1467–8 AD.].

Rāī **Jāipal** *Lāhorī*—a legend of his siege of Ghaznī 219; [†*cir.* 392 AH.–1002 AD.].

Rāja **Jāi-singh** *Jāipūrī*—his astronomical instruments 79 n. 4; [†1156 AH.–1743 AD.].

Jalāl Khān *Jig-hat*—waits on 'Ālam Khān *Lūdī* (932) 456 and n. 4; his house in Dihlī Bābur's quarters 476; his son 'Ālam Khān *Kālpī q.v.*

Jalāl Khān *Lūdī*, son of 'Ālam Khān—deserts his father (932) 457; in the left wing at Kānwa (933) 567 (where for "Jamāl" read Jalāl).

Jalāl *Tāshkīndī*—brings Bābur news of Bīban and Bāyazīd (935) 685.

Jalālu'd-dīn Maḥmūd *nāī*—a flautist, heard in Herāt (912) 303.

Sulṭān **Jalālu'd-dīn** *Nūḥānī*—Jalāl Khān, son of Bihār Khān and Dūdū—one of three competitors for rule (935) 651 n. 5; writes dutifully to Bābur 659; news of his and his mother's coming 664; waits on Bābur 676; receives revenue from Bihār 676.

Maulānā **Jalālu'd-dīn** *Pūrānī*—origin of his cognomen 306; his descendant Jamālu'd-dīn Abū-sa'īd *Pūrān q.v.*; [†862 AH.–1458 AD.].

Sulṭān **Jalālu'd-dīn** *Sharqī*, son of Ḥusain Shāh—waits on Bābur (935) 651; particulars 651 n. 5; his man abandons Benares 652; entertains Bābur 652; his son styled Sulṭān *ib.*; his gift of a boat to Bābur 663; in the battle of the Ghogrā 669; on service 678.

Shaikh **Jamāl** *Bārīn Mughūl*—his son (?) Shaikh 'Alī *q.v.*

Shaikh **Jamāl** *Farmūlī Afghān*—deserts 'Ālam Khān (932) 457; serving Bābur (933) 551.

Shaikh **Jamālī**—at a feast (935) 631; conveys encouragement to Dūdū Bībī 665–6.

[1] *Addendum*:—p. 49 l. 4, read "wife" of Muḥammadī "son" of Jahān-shāh.

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Shaikh **Jamālu'd-dīn Abū-sa'īd** *Pūrān*—particulars 306 n. 2; ill-treated by Shaibānī (913) 306 n. 2, 328; [†921 AH.–1515 AD.].

Shaikh **Jamālu'd-dīn** *khar, Arghūn*—captor of Yūnas Khān and Aīsān-daulat Begīm (T.R. trs. p. 94)—slain 35; [†877 AH.–1472–3 AD.].

Mīr **Jamālu'd-dīn** *muḥaddaṣ*—particulars 284; [living 934–7 AH.–1527–31 AD.].

Shaikh **Jāmī**—ancestor of Akbar's mother 623 n. 8.

Jāmī, see 'Abdu'r-raḥmān *Jāmī*.

Jamshīd, (an ancient ruler of Persia)—mentioned 85, 152.

Mīr **Jān-aīrdī**, retainer of Ẕū'n-nūn *Arghūn*—sells provisions to Bābur (912) 308.

Jānak—recites in Turkī (912) 304.

Jānaka Kūkūldāsh, (or Khānika)—escapes after Sār-i-pul (906) 141.

Jān-i-'alī—murdered by Shaibānī (906) 127, 128; [†906 AH.–1500 AD.].

Jān Beg—in charge of *impedimenta* (932) 458; allowed leave for a raid 464; in a night-attack 471; in the left wing at Pānīpat 472 and at Kānwa (933) 567 (here Jān-i-muhammad Beg Ātāka); on service (935) 682 (here Jānī Beg).

Mīr **Jān** *Dīwān*—his house in Qandahār reserved as loot for Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* (913) 338.

Jānī Beg *Dūldāī Barlās Turk*—particulars 37 (where nn. 2 and 3 should be reversed).

Jānī Beg Sulṭān Khān *Aūzbeg - Shabān Chīngīz-khānid*—his two Mīrān-shāhī marriages of conquest 18, 35; fights for Shaibānī at Sar-i-pūl (906) 139 (where read Jānī Beg Sulṭān); he and his sons at Jām (935) 622; flees to Merv 636 n. 2.

Jān-i-ḥasan, *Bārīn Mughūl*—sent to reinforce Bābur (903) 92, (908) 161, 170.

Jān-i-nāṣir—answers a call-to-arms (925) 408.

Mīr **Jān** *Samarkandī*—his distasteful singing (912) 303.

Jān-wafā Mīrzā—serving Shaibānī in Samarkand (906) 131; escapes on Bābur's success 133.

Barlās **Jūkī**—brings Bābur good news, a live Aūzbeg, and a head (925) 408.

Jūha Sulṭān *Taklū*, Governor of Ispahān—with Ṭahmāsp *Ṣāfawī* on the battle-field of Jām (935) 635.

Jūjī Khān *Chingīz - khānid* — a Qāzzāk descendant mentioned 23.

Muḥammad **Jūkī Mīrzā** *Shah-rukhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of 'Abdu'l-laṭīf (†854)—mentioned as besieged by Abū-sa'īd *Mīrān-shāhī* 24; [†868 AH.–1463–4 AD.].

Sulṭān **Junaid** *Barlās* (or Junīd)—particulars 276; his sons Niẓāmu'd-dīn 'Alī Khalīfa and Junaid *q.v.*

Sulṭān **Junaid** *Barlās* (or Junīd), son of the last-entered—incites an attempt on Samarkand (900) 52, 111; serving Bābur (932) 460, 468, 471; in the left wing at Pānīpat 472; sent to help in occupying Dihlī 475; given Dūlpūr 530–1; posted in Jūnpūr (933) 544; in Kharīd (935) 637 and n. 1; joins Bābur late and is not received 667; gives local information 668; in the battle of the Ghogrā 669; on service 679, 682 and n. 2; his wife Shahr-bānū *Mīrān-shāhī q.v.*

Kābulī Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—abandoned by her husband Badī'u'z-zamān *Bāī-qarā* and captured by Shaibānī (913) 328.

Kahil *ṣaḥib-i-qadam*—gives his horse to Bābur (908) 174.

Pahlawān **Kalāl**—wrestles (935) 650.

Kalāntar of Dikh-kat (var. *kālāntar* and *kīlāntar*)—his house used by Bābur (907) 150; his aged mother's story *ib.*

Kalīmu'l-lāh Shāh *Bahminī Afghān*—ruling the Dakkhin (932) 482.

Kal-qāshūq—put to retaliatory death (903) 73.

Sayyid **Kāmal**—serving Khusrau Shāh (903) 96 (where for "Qasīm" read Kāmal).

Kamāl Khān *Sāhū-khail Lūdī Afghān*, son of 'Ālam Khān—in the left wing at Kānwa (933) 567.

Kamāl Khwāja—his birth-place Khujand 8; [†803 AH.–1400–1 AD.].

Kamāl *sharbatchī*—in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 335.

Pahlawān Khwāja **Kamālu'd-dīn** *Badakhshī*—in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 566.

Khwāja **Kamālu'd-dīn Ḥusāin** *Gāzur-gāhī*—particulars 280, 281; sent as envoy to Shaibānī (904) 145.

Khwāja **Kamālu'd-dīn Maḥmūd**, retainer of Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī*—☞ with Bābur after the defeat at Ghaj-davān (919) 362–3; [†*cir.* 919 AH.–1514 AD.].

Kamālu'd-dīn *Qūīq* (var.)—lays before Bābur complaint of the begs of the Balkh frontier (935) 649.

Kāmrān Mīrza *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Bābur and Gul-rukh *Begchīk*—☞ the date of his birth App. J, xxxv; ☞ taken on the Transoxus campaign (916–920) 358; carried in haste to meet his father (920) 395; joins his father 417; ☞ the *Mubīn* written for his instruction (928) 438; ☞ left in charge of Kābul and Qandahār (932) App. J, xxxv; a letter from Bābur to him *ib.* and App. L, xliii; his copy of the *Bābur-nāma* App. J, xxxv–vi; gifts sent to him (932) 460, 522, 642; put in charge of Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* son (933) 544; ☞ of his transfer to Multār (934-5) ☞ 604, 605 n. 3, 645; of his proceedings in Kābul 618; his marriage to a cousin 619; the *Wālidiyyah-risāla*, Hindustān Poems and specimens of the Bāburī script sent to him 642; heads of a letter to him 645, 646; ☞ meets Humāyūn in Kābul (935) 696; ☞ meets Bābur in Lāhor (936) 699: ☞ of his governments 699; ☞ later action in Multān and Lāhor (938) (which read for 935) 699; ☞ visits his father's tomb near Āgra (946) 709; [†964 AH.–1556 AD.].

Kankū or Gangū—killed at Kānwa 573; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Karīm-bīrdī—on Bābur's service (935) 661.

Karīm-dād *Turkmān*—at a household party (906) 131; escapes from Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) 141; one of four fighting with Bābur (908) 166, 396; reprieved from a death sentence (914) 345.

Karm-chand—acting for Ḥasan *Mewatī* (933) 545, 578; asks peace from Bābur for Ḥasan's son Nāhar 578.

Kārm Singh—killed at Kānwa 573; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Rāja Karna *Gūālīārī*, (or, Kirtī), *Tūnwar Rājpūt*—his buildings in Gūālīār 608 n. 3.

Khadīja Āghā, and later, Begīm, mistress of Abū-sa'īd *Mīrān-shāhī*, wife of Ḥusain *Bāi-qarā*—particulars 262, 268; her dominance 268, 292; visited in Herī by Bābur (912) 301; at an entertainment to him 302; a suspicion against her 302 n. 1; captured by Shaibānī (913) 327; given for a traitor to loot 328; her daughter Āq Begīm and sons Shāh-i-gharīb and Muẓaffar-i-ḥusain *q.v.*

Khadija-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Abū'sa'īd—(probably) seen by Bābur in Herī

(912) 301; Bābur visits her near Āgra (934) 588 and in Āgra Fort (935) 606, 616.

Khaldār *Yāragī Mughūl*, son of Ḥaidar Kūkūldāsh—fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) (906) 139.

Khalīfa, see Niẓamu'd-dīn 'Alī *Barlās*.

Khalīl *chuhra*—a brave who fought well for Bābur (904) 101.

Khalīl *dīwāna*—on Aūzūn Ḥasan's service (904) 102 (where for "Dīwān" read dīwāna).

Sulṭān **Khalīl Mīrzā**, *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Mīrān-shāh—mentioned 262 n. 2; [†814 AH.–1411–2 AD.].

Sulṭān **Khalīl Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī* (*ut supra*), son of Abū-sa'īd—his daughter sole wife of Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* 112.

Khalīl Sulṭān *Chaghatāī Chingīz-khānid*, son of Aḥmad, (Alacha Khān), full brother of Sa'īd—his son Bābā Sulṭān *q.v.*

Khalīl Sulṭān *Itārajī Mughūl*, brother of Aḥmad Tambal—holding Māḍū for Tambal (905) 109; captured *ib.*, and released 119; surprises Aūsh 125; helps Bābur against Shaibānī (906) 138; killed at Sar-i-pul 141; [†906 AH.–1501 AD.].

Khalwī *pīāda* (or Khalwā)—his spear-head bitten off by a tiger (925) 393.

The **Khatīb of Qarshī**—an envoy to Bābur (910) 188.

Khān-i-jahān, see Fatḥ Khān *Sarwānī*.

Khān-i-jahān, a "pagan"—opposes Bābur (933) 539.

Khān-qulī, son of Bīān-qulī—leaves Bābur in Samarkand (903) 86; at a household party (906) 131 (where read Khān-qulī for "Khān-i-qulī"); gives ground for suspicion (907) 156; one of eight in the flight from Akhsī (908) 176, 177; in the right-centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Khān-zāda Begīm (1), *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Maḥmūd—particulars 48.

Khān-zāda Begīm (2), *ut supra*, daughter of Maṣ'ūd and Sa'ādat-bakht—particulars 267; visited by Bābur near Āgra (935) 616.

Khān-zāda Begīm (3), *ut supra*, daughter of 'Umar Shaikh and Qūtlūq-nigār—particulars 17; her marriage with Shaibānī (907) 18, 147, ☞ 184; her divorce and remarriage with Sayyid Hādī Khwāja 352 [H.S. iii], 364; her reunion with Bābur (916) 18, 352, 356; her marriage with Mahdī Khwāja *q.v.*; her summons to Hindūstān (935) 647; his son Khurram Shāh *q.v.*; [†952 AH.–1545 AD.].

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Khān-zādā Begīm (4), *Tīrmīẕī*, wife of Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī*—particulars 48; her son Mas'ūd *q.v.*; her niece 48.

Khān-zāda Begīm (5), *Tīrmīẕī*, niece of the above, wife of Maḥmūd—particulars 48, 9; her son Ḥusain *q.v.*; her five daughters 47–8.

Khān-zāda Begīm (6), *Tīrmīẕī*, wife of Aḥmad *Mīrān-shāhī*—particulars 37; Bābur, a child, pulls off her wedding veil (893) 37.

Khān-zāda Khānīm *Ḥājī-tarkhānī*, daughter of Aḥmad and Badī'u'l-jamāl (Badka)—particulars 258 n. 2, 329; illegally married by Shaibānī (913) 329; her husband Muzaffar-i-ḥusain *Bāī-qarā q.v.*

Khawānd Shāh Amīr, ("Mirkhond"), author of the *Rauzatu'ṣ-ṣafā*—omitted (or lost) from Bābur's list of Herāt celebrities 283 n. 1; [†903 AH.–1498 AD.].

Khiẓr Khwāja Khān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*—mentioned in Yūnas Khān's genealogy 19.

Khwāja **Khiẓr** *Nūḥānī*, a merchant—killed by a Mughūl (910) 235 (where for "*Lūḥānī*" read *Nūḥānī*).

Khūb-nīgār Khānīm *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, daughter of Yūnas and Aīsān-daulat—particulars 21, 22; her death announced to Bābur (907) 148, 149; her rebel husband forgiven for her sake (912) 319; her husband Muḥammad Ḥusain *Dūghlāt*, their son Ḥāidar and daughter Ḥabība *q.v.*; [†907 AH.–1501–2 AD.].

Khudā-bakhsh *Chaghatāī*, retainer, (1) of Khusrau Shāh, (2) of Bābur—in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334; rebels against Bābur (914) 345.

Khudāī-bīrdī Beg *tūghchī, Mughūl*—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; made a beg and on service 110; killed at Sar-i-pul 141; [†906 AH.–1501 AD.].

Khudāī-bīrdī *būqāq, Mughūl*—killed at Asfara (900) 53 (here *ātākām*, my guardian); his favour from Bābur 105; his son Qulī *chūnāq q.v.*; [†900 AH.–1495 AD.].

Khudāī-bīrdī *tūghchī Tīmūr-tāsh*—made 'Umar Shaikh's Lord-of-the-Gate (*cir.* 870) 14; particulars 24–5; [†a few years after 870 AH.–1466 AD.].

Khurram Shāh *Aūzbeg-Shaibān, Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Shaibānī and Khān-zāda—particulars 18; [†a few years after 916 AH.–1510–11 AD.].

Khūsh-kīldī[1] *Mughūl*—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Khusrau, an ancient ruler of Persia—mentioned in a couplet 85.

Khusrau *Gāgīānī*—waits on Bābur (910) 230 (where insert his name in the last line); taken as a guide 231.

Khūsrau Kūkūldāsh—at a household party (906) 131 (where insert his name after that of Shaikh Darwesh); captured by Tambal (908) 168; rejoins Bābur (913) 330–1; in the right centre at Qandahār 335; out with Bābur (925) 377, 403; an enquiry 405; ☞ posted in Sīālkot (930) 442; seeming still to hold it (932) 453; on service 465, 471; in the van at Pānīpat 472; in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 566, 568; given Alūr (Alwar) by mistake 578; sent against Balūchīs (935) 638; at social gatherings 385–7–8.

Amīr Khwāja **Khusrau** *Lāchīn Turk*—a couplet of his quoted 503; [†725 AH.–1325 AD.].

Khusrau Shāh[2] *Turkistānī, Qībchāq Turk*,—particulars 49–50; takes Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* (*æt.* 17) to Ḥiṣār (*cir.* 873) 46–7; referred to as a rival 50; his tolerance of Ḥiṣārī ill-conduct (899) 41–2; expelled from Samarkand on Maḥmūd's death (900) 51–2; opposes Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (901) 57, 60–1; his rise helped by Bāī-qarā failures 61; supports Mas'ūd *Mīrān-shāhī* 64; falls out with him 71, 93; blinds him (903) 95; defeats Badī'u'-zamān *Bāī-qarā* 60–1; re-equips him defeated by his father (902) 70; receives well the fugitive Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* (903) 74; makes him *pādshāh* in Ḥiṣār 93; strangles him (905) 110; a fugitive Tarkhān goes to him (906) 120, 141; his niggardliness to Bābur 129, 130; gives him no help against Shaibānī 138, ☞ 183; Qāsim Beg *quchīn* takes refuge with him (907) 27; his position less secure (910) 188; followers of his join Bābur 189, 192, 196, 227 n. 3; invited to co-operate with the Tīmūrid Mīrzās against Shaibānī 190; takes the Kābul road on Bābur's approach 192, 244; offers him service 192; the interview of his submission 193–4; allowed to go towards Khurāsān 194, 195; breaks his pact and is put to flight 197, 243; gets sensible counsel in Herāt 243; makes trouble for Nāsir *Mīrān-shāhī* in Badakhshān 244–5; beheaded at Qūndūz by the Aūzbegs 244; good results from his death for Bābur 245; Bābur's reflections on the indiscipline of his followers 199, 230 n. 5, 239, 244–5; his former following rebels (914) 335;

[1] His name might mean Welcome, *Bien-venu*.

[2] Khusrau-shāh may be the more correct form.

his brothers Walī and Bāqī, and nephew Aḥmad-i-qāsim *q.v.*; [†910 AH.–1505 AD.].

Khwāja Chishtī var. Ḥusainī—at a feast (935) 631.

'Abdu'l-lāh **Khwājagān-khwāja**, fifth son of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Aḥrarī*—his son 'Abdu'sh-shahīd 653 n. 4.

Khwājakā Khwāja, Muḥammad-i-'ubaidu'l-lāh, eldest son of Aḥrarī—protects Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* in the Tarkhān rebellion (901) 62 (where, erroneously, "Khwājaki"); becomes his spiritual guide 63; visited in Farkat by Bābur (907) 149; his brother Yaḥyā *q.v.*

Khwāja Kalān, descendant of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Aḥrarī*— ☞ a likely recipient of the *Mubīn* 438, 631 n. 3 (where for "son" read grandson of Yaḥyā); at a feast in Āgra (935) 631; gifts and leave given 632, 641–2; a copy of Bābur-nāma writings sent to him 653.

Mīr **Khwāja Kalān**, son of Maulānā Muḥammad Ṣadru'd-dīn —receives Bajaur (925) 370; particulars 370 n. 2; prisoners pardoned at his request 371; out with Bābur 372; returns to Bajaur 376; is recalled on grounds given (926) 422–3; joins Bābur for Hindūstān (932) 447; on service 465–6; in the right wing at Pānīpat 472; helps to secure Āgra 475; of his leaving Hindūstān 520, 531; his offending couplet about leaving, and Bābur's reply 525–6; has charge of Kābul and Ghaznī 524; conveys money to repair the Ghaznī dam 219, 524 n. 2, 647 n. 1; Bābur's various writings sent to him, quatrains (925) 372, (932) 525–6, (935) the *Wālidiyyah-risāla* and Hindūstān poems 642—letters (925) 411, (935) 604, 618 n. 2, quoted 645–8; commended to Humāyūn as a friend 627; a letter of his mentioned 644; wine parties in his house (925) 371–2, 375; has Ghaznī wine at Milwat (932) 461; urged to renounce wine 648; tells Bābur of a fruitful orange-tree (935) 510, cf. 483 n. 2; ☞ quotation from his ode on Bābur's death 709.

'Abdu'l-lāh **Khwāja Maulānā-i-qāzī**—particulars 29, 89–90; supports Bābur (899) 30; chases off an invader 32; confers with other well-wishers of the boy (900) 43; mediates for Ibrāhīm *Sārū* 53, for Aūrgūtīs (902) 68; envoy to Aūzūn Ḥasan (903) 87; open-handed to Bābur's followers 88; entreats him to save Andijān 88–9; Mīr Mughūl aids him in its defence 122; hanged by Tambal and Aūzūn Ḥasan 89; 'Alī-dost fears retaliation for his death (905) 119; his right guidance recalled by Bābur (912) 303; [†903 AH.–1498 AD.].

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Khwājaki Mullā-i-ṣadr, son of Maulānā Muḥammad Ṣadru'd-dīn, and elder brother of Khwāja Kalān—particulars 67; killed near Yām 67; [†902 AH.–1497 AD.].

Khwāja Mīr-i-mīrān—speaks boldly at Akhsī (908) 174; in charge of baggage camels (925) 376, 377, and of Bābur's camp 389, 391; Bābur halts near his Lamghān village (926) 424; given charge of Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khail* (932) 459–60; in the left-centre at Pānīpat 973; entrusted with gifts for Kābul 525.

Khwāja Mīr Sulṭān—he and his son receive gifts (935) 632.

Khwānd-amīr, grandson of Khāwand Shāh Amīr ("Mīrkhond") —☞ associated with Muḥammad-i-zamān *Bāī-qarā* (923) 364–5, 463 n. 3; fleeced by Shaibānī's order (913) 328 n. 2; his discomforts in Herāt 617 n. 2; waits on Bābur (935) 605; Bābur invites him in verse 693; completes the *Ḥabību's-siyar* while at Tīr-mūhānī with Bābur 687 n. 3; his omission (or loss) from Bābur's list of Herāt celebrities 283 n. 1; his and Bābur's varied choice of details 328 n. 2; ☞ his patron Amīr Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn and nephew Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn 436; [†942 AH.–1535 AD.].

Khwāja **Khwānd-sa'īd**—Bābur visits his tomb (925) 407.

Mīr **Khāwand**—Shāh Amīr ("Mīrkhond")—author of the *Rauzatu's-ṣafā*, grandfather of Khwānd-amīr—his omission (or loss) from Bābur's list of Herāt celebrities 283 n. 1; [†903 AH.–1498 AD.].

Kīchīk 'Alī—his courage (908) 176; made prisoner (933) 557, 576; *shiqdār* of Koel 176.

Kīchīk Bāqī *dīwāna*—suspended (911) 248; killed at Qalāt-i-ghilzāī 248; [†911 AH.–1505 AD.].

Kīchīk Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain and Pāyanda-sulṭān—refused in marriage to Mas'ūd *Mīrān-shāhī* 265; "afterwards" marries Multā Khwāja 266.[1]

Kīchīk Khwāja—on 'Askarī's service (935) 681, 682.

Kīchīk Khwāja Beg, son of Maulānā Muḥammad Ṣadru'd-dīn and elder brother of Khwāja Kalān—in the left wing at Khūbān (905) 113; killed at Qalāt-i-ghilzāī 248[2]; [†911 AH.–1505 AD.].

[1] The "afterwards" points to an omission which Khwānd-amīr's account of Ḥusain's daughters fills (lith. ed. iii, 327).

[2] No record survives of the Khwāja's deeds of daring other than those entered above; perhaps the other instances Bābur refers to occurred during the gap 908–9 AH.

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Kīchīk Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk,* son of Aḥmad (Mīrzā Sayyidī) and Ākā *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 257.

Kīchkīna *tunqtār*—sent with orders to Tramontane begs (925) 406.

Kīpa and **Kīpīk,** see Kūpūk.

Rāja **Kīrtī** *Gūāliārī,* see Karna.

Kītīn-qarā Sulṭān *Aūzbeg*—in Balkh (932) 545–6; at Jām (935) 622 (where in n. 1 read 935 for "934"); makes complaint to Bābur 649, 645 n. 1.

Kitta Beg *Kohbur Chaghatāī,* son of Sayyidī Qarā—convoys Yūsuf-khail chiefs to Bhīra (932) 461; on Bābur's service 465–6, 468, 528, (933) 545, (935) 638; wounded at Bīāna (933) 548.

Kitta Māh and **Kīchīk Māh,** slaves of Muẓaffar-i-husain *Bāī-qarā*—offend Bābur by their performance (912) 304.

Kūchūm Khān Sulṭān—Kūchkūnjī—*Aūzbeg- Shaibān, Chīngīz-khānid*—particulars 632 n. 3; ☞ his force gathered at Qarshī (917) 353; ☞ a principal actor between 926 and 932 AH. 427; his position in relation to 'Ubaidu'l-lāh (935) 618 n. 6; in the battle of Jām 622; various accounts of his escape or death 623, 636; his envoy to Bābur 631, 632; his sons Abū-sa'īd and Pulād *q.v.*; [†937 AH.–1530–1 AD.].

Kūkī-i[1] Bābā Qāshqa, see Hājī Muḥammad Khān *Kūkī.*

Kūkī,[1] paternal-uncle of the last-entered (A.N.)—on Bābur's service (934) 589, (935) 674, 679; in the battle of the Ghogrā 673; [†940 AH.–1553 AD.?].

Kūpuk Beg, var. Kīpik, Kīpa (hunchbacked)—in Bābur's service (910) 237; promoted (911) 253; frost-bitten (912) 311; in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335; envoy to Mīrzā Khān (925) 405.

Kūpuk Bī *Aūzbeg* var. *ut supra*—blamed for three murders (906) 128; given Khwārizm by Shaibānī (911) 256; his son Qambar-i-'alī *q.v.*

Kūpuk Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā,* Muḥammad Muḥsin, son of Ḥusain and Laṭīf-sulṭān—parentage 262; defeated by his father (904) 260; does not join his brothers against Shaibānī (912) 296–7; defeated and killed 329–30; [†913 AH.–1507 AD.].

[1] This may be a tribal or a family name. Abū'l-ghāzi mentions two individuals named "Kouk". One was Chīngīz Khān's grandson who is likely to have had descendants or followers distinguishable as *Kūkī.* See Add. Note P. 673 on Kūkī fate.

Sayyid **Lāchīn**—bearer of an urgent message from Bābur (932) 453.

Ḥaẓrat **Lām**, (Lāmak, Lāmakān), father of Noah—his reputed tomb, 210.

Langar Khān *Janjūha*—on Bābur's service (925) 380, 381, 388–9, 412; one of a raft-party 385; waits on Bābur 391, 411.

Langar Khān *Nīazāī Afghān*—one of a raft-party (925) 412; waits on Bābur (926) 421.

Laṭīf Begīm *Dūldāī Barlās Turk*—particulars 37 (where for "916" read 917 AH.).

Laṭīf-sulṭān Āghācha *Chār-shamba'ī*, a mistress of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* — particulars 269; her sons Abū'l-muḥsin and Kūpuk *q.v.*; [†before 911 AH.–1506 AD.].

Lope de Vega—a popular use of his name resembling one of Nawā'ī's 287 n. 3.

Luṭfī Beg—measures the Ganges-bank on Bābur's journey (933) 659.

Maghfūr, see Faghfūr.

Māh-afrūz—married by Kāmrān (934) 619 n. 1.

Mah-chūchūq *Arghūn*, daughter of Muqīm and Zarīf—marries Qāsim Kūkūldāsh (913) 342, 199 n. 1, ☞ 365; their daughter Nahīd *q.v.*; [†*cir.* 975 AH.–1568 AD.].

Mahdī Sulṭān *Aūzbeg*, the constant associate (brother?) of Ḥamza — defeated by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (901) 58; enters Bābur's service 59; deserts 64; defeats 'Alī *Mīrān-shāhī* and goes back to Shaibānī 65; his Mughūls are disloyal to Bābur (904) 105; serving Shaibānī (906) 131; at Sar-i-pul 139; at Ḥiṣār (910) 244; ☞ retires before Bābur (916) 352; defeated and killed by him at Pul-i-sangīn (917) 18, 37, 262, 353, 354; his Mīrān-shāhī wife 36; his sons at Jām (935) 622; [†917 AH.–1511–12 AD.].

Mahdī-Sulṭān *Auzbeg-Shaibān*?—his identity discussed 264 n. 1; his son 'Ādil and grandson 'Āqil *q.v.*

Sayyid **Mahdī Khwāja**, son of Mūsa Khwāja and third husband of Bābur's sister Khān-zāda—Bābur's *dīwān-begī* (916–7) 704 n. 3; ☞ dissuades Muḥammad-i-zamān from accepting Bābur's invitation to Kābul (after 920) 364; on Bābur's service (932) 468, 471; in the left wing at Pānīpat 472, 473; commands troops sent to seize Dihlī 475; gifts made to him 527; given Etāwa 530; orders changed 531;

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serves as an escort (933) 534, 537; given Bīāna 539; sends news of Sangā's approach 544; joins Bābur quickly 548; in the left wing at Kānwa 567; given leave for Kābul 579; host to Bābur near Etāwa (935) 644; waits on him returning to Āgra 686; displeases him 688 n. 2, 704 n. 2; summoned to Court 689; later particulars 644 n. 4, 688 n. 2, ☞ 692; ☞ discussion of a plan to make him Pādshāh 703–7; ☞ his name may be a gloss in the story 705; his son Ja'far *q.v.*; his inscribed slab at Amīr Khusrau's tomb 704 n. 1; his surmised Tīrmīzī descent 704; his relation or servant Mīr Muḥammad (925) 381.

Māhīm Begīm, wife of Bābur — particulars 344 n. 3, 711, ☞ 712, 714; ☞ with Bābur during the Transoxus campaign (916–920) 358; adopts Hind-āl (925) 374, 385, ☞ 715, App. L; ☞ visits Humāyūn in Badakhshān (928) 436; goes to Āgra (935) 640 n. 2, 650 n. 2, 665, 686–7, 689 n. 2, 690; ☞ her influence probably misused on Humāyūn 694, 707; meets him, sick, in Muttra (937) 701–2; ☞ her care of Bābur's Āgra tomb (937) 709; [†940 AH.–1533–4 AD.].

Sayyid **Maḥmūd** *Āūghlāqchī, Mughūl*—forced to go on foot (910) 239.

Maḥmūd Beg *Nūndākī, Barlās Turk*—particulars 51; defends Hiṣār against Abā-bikr *Mīrān-shāhī* (873) 51, and against Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (901) 58; negociates with Ḥusain 61.

Sulṭān **Maḥmūd** *Dūldāī Barlās Turk*—expelled from Andijān (900) 44; turns informer (905) 125.

Mulla **Maḥmūd** *Farābī,* associated with Khalīfa—reads the Qorān to Bābur (925) 401; rebukes a jest at Khalīfa's expense 416; reads the *Khuṭba* first for Bābur in Dihlī (932) 476; reinforces the right wing [*tūlghuma*] at Kānwa (933) 569; leads the Morning Prayer at Rāprī (935) 643 (where for "Muḥammad" read Maḥmūd).

Sulṭān **Maḥmūd Ghāzī** *Ghaznawī Turk*—his humble capital Ghaznī 217, 219; his and his descendants' tombs 218; Dost-i-nāṣir's tomb near his 396; his dam and Bābur's gift from Hindūstān for its repairs 219; Būt-khāk traditionally named from his idol-breaking 409 n. 3; mentioned as a conqueror of Hindūstān 479; contrast made between his position and Bābur's 479; [†421 AH.–1030 AD.].

Sulṭān **Maḥmūd Khān** *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid,* Khāqān of the Mughūls, elder son of Yūnas and Shāh Begīm—succeeds

his father (892) 13; his disaster on the Chīr (895) 31, 34, 39; invades Farghāna (899) 13, 31; thought of as a refuge for Bābur 29, (908) 178; retires from Farghāna 32; attempts Samarkand and is defeated (900) 52, 111, (905) 122; takes Aūrā-tīpā (900) 55–6; demands Andijān (903) 87; is visited by Bābur (900) 54, (903) 90, 92, (907 and 908) 153–159; sends help to Bābur (903) 90, 92, (904) 101, (906) 138, 139; his men abandon Bābur (903) 91, 92; he opposes Bābur (905) 115–6, 116; moves out against Tambal (907) 154, 156; numbers his army 154; acclaims his standards 155; ceremonies on his meeting his brother Aḥmad (908) 160; goes with him against Tambal 161, 168, 171; they number their armies 161; retires to Tāshkīnt 172; defeated at Archīān by Shaibānī (909) 7, 23, ☞ 182–3; his præ-accession sobriquet Khāmka Khān 23; his summer retreat in Farghānā 5; his Mīrān-shāhī marriage (cir. 892) 13, 35; retainers of his 25, 28; former followers, deported (908) by Shaibānī, return after his death (916) 351; Bābur's comment on him as a soldier 91, 157, and as a verse-maker 154; ☞ murdered with five young sons by Shaibānī 350; [†914 AH.–1509 AD.].

Māḥmūd Khān *Lūdī Afghān*, son of Sikandar—fights for Sangā at Kānwa (933) 562; reported to have taken Bihar (935) 639, 675; one of three competitors for rule 651 n. 5; gathers an army to oppose Bābur 651–2; it breaks up 654; is near the Son 658; flees before Bābur's men 662; referred to 664 n. 7, 679 n. 7; on his title Sulṭān 652 nn. 2, 6, 653–4 n. 1; [†945 AH.–1543 AD.].

Maḥmūd Khān *Nūḥānī Afghān* — holding a district from Bābur; taken by 'Ālam Khān (932) 455, 456; deserts 'Ālam Khān; waits on Bābur and given revenue from Ghāzīpūr 527; sent against Etāma 530; waits on Bābur (935) 659; searches for a passage through the Ghogrā 668; in the battle of the Ghogrā 669 (here *Ghazīpūrī*); receives a grant on Bihār 676; on service against Bīban and Bāyazīd 682.

Maḥmūd Khān *shikdār* of Sikandarpūr—collects boats for Bābur's passage of the Ghogrā (935) 668.

Maḥmūd Khān Sulṭān *Aūzbeg-Shaibān Chīngīz-khānid*—in the battle of Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) (906) 139; receives Qūndūz (910) 244; his protection sought 196 n. 5; dies 244; [†910 AH.–1504 AD.].

Sulṭān **Maḥmūd** *Khiljī* Turk, ruler in Mālwā—particulars 482 (where in n. 2 for "Gujrāt" read Mālwā); his territory (916)

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593; his jewels (925 and 935) 612–3; thought of by Raḥīm dād as a refuge 688 n. 2 (where for "Muḥammad" read Maḥmūd); [†937 AH.–1531 AD.].

Maḥmūd *kūndūr-sangak, pīāda*—killed fighting 68; [†902 AH.–1497 AD.].

Sulṭān **Maḥmūd** *mīr-akhwur*, see Mīrzā Beg *fīrmgī-bāz* (58 and n. 4).

Sulṭān **Maḥmūd Mīrzā** *Ghāzī, Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Abū-sa'īd—particulars 45–51; defeated by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (865 and 876), 46, 259–60, 268; succeeds his brother Aḥmad (899) 40–1, 86; alienates allegiance 41–2; sends Bābur wedding-gifts (900) 43; his death 27, 45, 50, 52; his family joins Bābur (910) 189; referred to 12 n. 2, 13 n. 5, 190, 194; his Ḥiṣār house 93; [†900 AH.–1495 AD.].

Sayyid **Maḥmūd Ṣaifī**, Maulānā *'Arūẓī* — author of the *'Arūẓ-i-saifī*—tutor of Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* 111.

Maḥmūd *Sarwānī*, son of Fatḥ Khan Khān-i-jahān—ordered to stay at Court (933) 537.

Maḥmūd Shāh *Ilyās*—his murder mentioned to illustrate a succession custom of Bengal 483.

Sulṭān **Maḥmūd** *Sharqī*, son of Jalālu'd-dīn—Bābur gives him the title of Sulṭān (935) 652.

Maḥmūd, son of Muḥammad-i-makhdūmī — beheaded in Badakhshān 242; [†910 AH.–1504–5 AD.?].

(?) **Mahndī** (415, 473), or Mindī or Hindī (235, 335)—kills an Afghān trader (910) 235; in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335; wine first given to him (925) 415; in the left wing [*tūlghuma*] at Pānīpat (932) 473.

Khwāja **Majdu'd-dīn Muḥammad** *Khawāfī* — particulars 281, 282.

Makan *Farmūlī* (?) *Afghān*—not submissive to Bābur (932) 529; sent out of the way before Kānwa (933) 547; his son Ḥasan *q.v.*

Makhdūm-i-'ālam, Naṣrat Shāh's Governor in Ḥājīpūr—his defences on the Gandak (935) 663.

Ḥaẓrat **Makhdūmī Nūrā**—mentioned 641 n. 1.

Makhdūm-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Maḥmūd and Zuhra—in Badakhshān (*cir.* 935) 48.

Makhdūm-sulṭān Begīm *Qarā-gūz*, wife of 'Umar Shaikh—particulars 18, 24.

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Malik-dād *Kararānī* (*Karānī*)[1]—reprieved (932) 477–8; on service (933) 540, 582, (935) 682; in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 557.

Malik-i-muḥammad Mīrzā *Mīran-shāhī*, nephew of Abū-sa'īd—aspires to rule (899) 41; murdered 41; his wife 47; his house 146; [†899 AH.–1494 AD.].

Maliks of Alangār—their garden a halting-place (926) 424.

Malik of Fān—stingy to Bābur (906) 130.

Malik-qulī *Kūnārī*—Bābur halts at his son's house (926) 423 (where read qulī for "'Alī").

Malik Sharq—returns from service (935) 683.

Mallū Khān of Mālwā—his tank at Chanderī 597 n. 8, 598.

Mamāq Sulṭān *Aūzbeg - Shaibān Chīngīz - khānid*, son of Ḥamza—takes service with Bābur (901) 58, 59; ☞ his death 353; [†917 AH.–1511–2 AD.].

Māmūm Khalīfa *'Abbāsī*, son of Hārūnu'r-rashīd—his Observatory and Tables, Author's Note 79; [†218 AH.–833 AD.].

Mānik - chand *Chauhān Rājpūt* — killed at Kānwa 573; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Rāja **Man-sing** *Gūālīārī, Tūnwar Rājpūt*—his buildings 607, 608; his son Bikramājīt *q.v.*; [†924 AH.–1518 AD.].

Shāh **Manṣūr** *bakhshī*—helps Shaibānī to take Herāt (913) 325; given Khadīja Begīm to loot 326.

Shah **Manṣūr** *Barlās*—on service (932) 465–6, 475, 530, (933) 545; in the right centre at Pānīpat (932) 472, 473, and at Kānwa (933) 565, 569; his untimely praise of the Rājpūt army 548, 550.

Sulṭān **Manṣūr Khān** *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, eldest son of Aḥmad, Alacha Khān—☞ defeats his half-brother Sa'īd (914) 349; ☞ mentioned as Khāqān of the Mughūls, Sa'īd as Khān in Kāshghar 427; [†950 AH.–1543 AD.].

Manṣūr Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā, 'Umar-shaikhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk* —mentioned in his son Ḥusain's genealogy 256; his not-reigning 256; his wife Fīrūza and their children 256, 257; his beg Walī *q.v.*

Manṣūr *Turkmān*—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Malik Shāh **Manṣūr** *Yūsuf-zāī Afghān*, son of Sulaimān—envoy of his tribe to Bābur (924) 371; his daughter's

[1] Cf. E. and D. for "Karānī" (*e.g.* vol. iv, 530). The Ḥai. MS. sometimes doubles the *r*, sometimes not.

marriage with Bābur (925) 375, App. K; waits on him 399, 400; his brother Ṭaus Khān and cousin Aḥmad *q.v.*; a follower 377.

Maqṣūd *sūchī, shārbatchī, karg*—in the left centre at Qandahār (913) 335, 338; his tossing by a rhinoceros (*karg*) 400.

Marghūb *qul*—in Mahāwīn (932) 523.

Miān **Ma'rūf** *Farmūlī Afghān*[1]—disaffected to Ibrāhīm and (later) to Bābur (932) 523; his opposition 530; flees 533–4; his son Muḥammad (?) leaves him (934) 598; his sons Muḥammad and Mūsa *q.v.*

Ma'rūf *Yaq'ūb-khaīl Dilah-zāk* (*Dīlazāk*) *Afghān*—waits on Bābur at 'Alī-masjid (925) 394.

Shaikh **Maṣlaḥat** *Khujandī*—his birthplace 8; dreamed of by Bābur (906) 132; his tomb visited by Tīmūr (790) 132 n. 2.

Mastī *chuhra*—deals with a drunken man (925) 415; intoxicated by beer (926) 423.

Sulṭān **Mas'ūd** *Ghaznawī*—his tomb 218.

Sulṭān **Mas'ūd Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Maḥmūd and Khān-zāda I—particulars 47, 48; holding Hiṣār (900) 52; opposes Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* and flees (901) 57–8, 130; one of three besieging Samarkand; retires with his desired Barlās bride 64; quarrels with Khusrau Shāh (902) 71, and with the Hiṣār begs (903) 93; takes refuge with Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* 93, 95, 261, 265; returns to Khusrau and is blinded by him 95, 50; goes back to Ḥusain 95, 266; mentioned as older than Bāī-sunghar 110; meets Bābur in Herāt (912) 302; murdered by Aūzbegs (913) 267; his wives Ṣāliḥa-sulṭān *Mīrān-shāhī*, and Sa'ādat-bakht *Bāī-qarā q.v.*; his betrothed (?) Kīchīk Begīm *Bāī-qarā q.v.*; [†913 AH.–1507 AD.].

Sulṭān **Mas'ūd Mīrzā** *Kābulī, Shāh-rukhī, ut supra*—particulars 382; his cherished followers, sons of Mīr 'Alī Beg *q.v.*; his son 'Alī *asghar q.v.*; [deposed 843 AH.–1439–40 AD.].

Mullā **Mas'ūd** *Sherwānī*, of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* Court—no particulars 284.

Ma'sūma-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Aḥmad and Ḥabība-sulṭān, and wife of Bābur—particulars 36, ☞ 711; her marriage arranged (912) 306, ☞ 714; brought from Herāt (913) 330; married 339; dies in child-bed and her name at once given to her child 36; [†*circ.* 915 AH.–1509 AD.].

[1] See *Wāqi'āt-i-mushtāqī*, E. and D. iv, 548.

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Ma'sūma-sulṭān Begīm, *ut supra*, daughter of Bābur and Ma'suma-sulṭān (*supra*)—her birth 36; with her father in the Transoxus campaign (916–920) 358; her marriage (or betrothal) to Muḥammad-i-zamān *Bāī-qarā* (923 or 924) 365; gifts made to her servants (935) 633; ☞ in the family-list 705, 706.

Maulānā Sayyidī, or *Mashhadī*—his chronogram on Humāyūn's birth (913) 344.

Shaikh **Mazīd Beg,** Bābur's first guardian—particulars 26, 27, [† before 899 AH.–1494 AD.].

Mīr **Mazīd Ṭaghāī** *Kūnjī Mughūl*, brother or uncle of Aīsān-daulat—takes part in a sally from Samarkand (906) 142; wounded at Akhsī (908) 168; rebels (921) 363, 397; his relations, 'Alī-dost, Sherīm, Ḳul-naẓr *q.v.*; [†*cir.* 923 AH.–1517 AD.].

Mazīd Beg Tarkhān *Arghūn*, son of Amīr Tarkhān Junaid (H.S. lith. ed. iii, 359)—his retainer Khusrau Shāh 49; his action in 873 AH. 51; his brother 'Āshiq-i-muḥammad *q.v.*

Shaikh **Mazīd Kūkūldāsh**—envoy of Muḥammad-i-zamān to Bābur (925) 402.

Medinī Rāo var. Mindī *etc.*—particulars 593 n. 5; his force at Kānwa (933) 562; holding Chanderī (934) 483, 593; Bābur negociates with him 594; his house the scene of a supreme rite 595.

Mihr-angez Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—married as a captive (913) 329 n. 1.

Mihr-bān Khānīm (see *infra*)—gifts to and from Bābur (935) 631, 632, 641; her husband Kūchūm *Aūzbeg* and their son Pūlād *q.v.*; a verse seeming to be addressed to her (925) 402.

Mihr-bānū Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī*, half-sister of Bābur (perhaps the Khānīm last entered)—particulars 18.

Mihr-nigār Khānīm *Chaghatāī Chingīz-khānid*, daughter of Yūnas—particulars 21, 149; joins Bābur in Kābul (911) 246; visited by him after her disloyalty (912) 315; goes to Badakhshān (913) 341; dies a prisoner 21.

Millī Sūrdūk—reprieved from death (932) 477, 478.

Mīnglī Bī Āghācha, a mistress of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 269; her sons and daughters 262–3, 266.

Mīnglīk Kūkūldāsh—leaves Samarkand (907) 147.

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Minūchihr Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, brother of Abū-sa'īd—an attributed descendant 24; his son Malik-i-muḥammad *q.v.*

Minūchihr Khān *Turk*—delayed in waiting on Bābur by a forcible marriage (925) 386, 388; on Bābur's service in Bhīra 389; leading Daryā-khānīs (934) 589; his relation Naẓar-i-'alī *Turk q.v.*

Mīrak—entrusted with building work (935) 642.

Mīrak Kūr Dīwān (or Gūr)—in Ālā-qūrghān when Shaibānī took Herāt (913) 328.

Mīrān-shāh Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Aūlūgh Beg *Kābulī*—rebels against his father and goes to Khusrau Shāh 95; sent to Bāmīān 96.

Mīrān-shāh Sulṭān Mīrzā *Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, 3rd son of Tīmūr—mentioned in a genealogy 14; his daughter's son Aḥmad *Bāī-qarā q.v.*; [†810 AH.–1407–8 AD.].

Mīr Buzurg *Tīrmīzī*—his daughter and granddaughter, wives of Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* 47–8, 49.

Mīrīm—Mīr Muḥammad?[1]—adopted son of Aūzūn Ḥasan—killed fighting against Bābur 170; [†908 AH.–1502 AD.].

Mīrīm Dīwān—*ut supra*—captured serving Bābur (904) 106; released (905) 119; discovers a rebel (912) 319.

Mīrīm *Laghārī—ut supra*—leaves Bābur for home (903) 91; captured serving Bābur (904) 106; killed 167; [†904 AH.–1499 AD.].

Mīrīm-i-nāṣir Beg—*ut supra*—enters Bābur's service (904) 103; one of a household-party (906) 131; in the left centre at Qandahār (913) 335, 338; at social gatherings (925) 385, 388; on service 389, 391; receives his dead brother's district 397.

Mīrīm Tarkhān—*ut supra*—drowned while serving Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* 74; [†903 AH.–1497 AD.].

Mīr Khurd *bakāwal*—one of a boat-party (925) 388; ordered to catch pheasants 404; made Hind-āl's guardian 408; on service (935) 640.

Mīr Mughūl, son of 'Abdu'l-wahhāb *shaghāwal*—helps to defend Andijān (903) 122; his son killed (904) 102 (here Mughūl Beg); sent by Tarkhāns to invite Bābur to Samarkand (905) 122, 123; on service (925) 389 (here Beg

[1] Shaikhīm *Suhailī* however was named Aḥmad (277) not Muḥammad.

Muhammad *Mughūl*); measures Bābur's marches (935) 658 (here Mughūl Beg); in the battle of the Ghogrā 673–4 (here Mughūl-i 'Abdu'l-wahhāb).

Mīr Sang-tarāsh—entrusted with building-work (935) 642.

Mīrzā Beg *firingī-bāz*—in Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* service (901) 58.

Mīrzā Beg Kaī-khusrawī—in Ālā-qūrghān when Shaibānī took Herī (913) 328.

Mīrzā Beg Ṭaghāī, see Sl. 'Alī M. Ṭaghāī *Begchīk*.

Mīrzā Beg Tarkhān—in the left centre at Pānīpat (932) 472.

Wais **Mīrzā Khān** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—Khān Mīrzā—son of Maḥmūd and Sulṭān-nigār *Chaghatāī*—particulars 47; sent by The Khān (Maḥmūd *Chaghatāī*) against Samarkand (905) 122; in Tāshkīnt (908) 159; at Khusrau Shāh's audience of submission (910) 193; demands vengeance on him 194; on service 234; disloyal (912) 313–20; captured and banished 320; rejoins Bābur from Herāt (913) 331; in the right wing at Qandahār 334; his loot 338; goes to Badakhshān on Shāh Begīm's insistance 340–1, 342; his claim to rule in it 698 nn. 1–3; serves as a refuge for Sa'īd *Chaghatāī* (915) 349 and Ḥaidar *Dūghlāt* 350; sends Bābur news of Shaibānī's defeat at Merv (916) 350; invites his help in recovering their ancestral lands *ib.*; messenger of Bābur to Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī* 352; helps him to defend Ḥiṣār (918) 359; receives him plundered 362; sends him an envoy (925) 402; loses lands to Sa'īd *Chaghatāī* 695; ☞ mentioned 427; his death announced to Bābur (927) 433, 621 n. 5; his titles 21 n. 5; his guardians 26, 122; [†927 AH.–1521 AD.].

Mīr-zādas of Khwāst—wait on Bābur (925) 399.

Mīrzā-i-malū *Qārlūq*?—his son Shāh Ḥusain or Ḥasan *q.v.*

Mīrzā Mughūl, son of Daulat-qadam-i-turk—conveys letters (932) 526–7.

Mohan *Mundāhir Rājpūt*—☞ a punitive expedition against him (936) 700–1; [†936 AH.–1529 AD.?].

The **Mother** of the Head-man of Dikh-kat—particulars 150.

Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* **Mother**—receives an allowance from Bābur (932) 478; attempts to poison him (933) 541; started under guard for Kābul 543; her grandson sent to Kāmrān 544; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Mīrzā-qulī Kūkūldāsh (Mīrzā's servant?)—with Jahāngīr (*æt.* 9) in Akhsī (899) 32; one of three with Bābur (908) 166,

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396 ; fights for him in Akhsī 174–5 ; one of eight in flight 177 ; his horse fails 178 ; at social gatherings (925) 385, 387, 388 ; out with Bābur 403 ; behaves in his own fashion 407.

Müātükān *Chaghatāī Chingīz-khānid* — mentioned in Yūnās Khān's genealogy 19.

Bibī **Mubāraka** *Yūsuf-zāī Afghān*, a wife of Bābur—referred to 367 n. 3 ; her courtship App. K ; asked and given in marriage 375, 376 ; a couplet suiting her 411 ; accompanies Mahīm to Āgra (935) 689 n. 5 ; ☞ her probable charge of conveying Bābur's body to Kābul 709–10 ; her brother Jamāl App. K, xli ; [† early under Akbar 963 AH.–1556 AD.].

Mubārak Khān *Jilwānī*—killed serving Bīban (935) 685.

Mubārak Shāh *Muẓaffarī* — rises in Badakhshān against Shaibānī (*cir.* 910) 242 ; invites Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* 242, 243 ; defeats Aūzbegs (912) 294–5 ; defeats Nāṣir 321 ; in force (913) Author's Note 340 ; invites Mīrzā Khān to Qila'i-ẓafar 21 ; [†*cir.* 913 AH.–1508 AD.].

Mughūl Beg, amīr of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 275.

A **Mughūl servant**—aims an arrow at Bābur (912) 316.

Mūḥammad, the Prophet—reference to 75 ; a saying on travel 184 ; his edicts do not include the imposition of the *tamghā* 555 ; on the duty of a wazīr 556 ; mentioned in the *farmān* and the *fath-nāma* (933) 553, 559–574.

Khwāja **Muḥammad,** an old tailor of 'Umar Shaikh's—allays anxiety for Bābur (899) 30.

Mīr **Muḥammad-i-Mahdī Khwāja**—on service (925) 381.

Pahlawān Ḥajī **Muḥammad**—gifts made to him (935) 633.

Ustad Sulṭān **Muḥammad,** a Kābul builder—orders for his work (935) 646–7.

Muḥammad 'Alī, son of Ḥaidar *kikābdār*—brings a gift (925) 418 ; summons Humāyūn (933) 537–8 ; sent out for news (935) 661, 662.

Muḥammad 'Alī *bakhshī*—on Abū-sa'īd's service and defeated by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (868) 259.

Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*—in the centre at Bajaur (925) 370 ; at boat-parties 387, 388 ; his servant's service 391, 392 ; his districts 392–3, 530 ; reinforced 412 ; waits on Bābur 403, 419, (932) 458 ; at Milwat (932) 460, 461 ; at Ḥiṣār-fīrūza 465–6 ; wounded 471 ; in the van at Pānīpat 472 ; on service

530, (933) 549, 550, 576, 582 ; in the left wing at Kānwa 557 ; acts unsuccessfully against Bīban and Bāyazīd (934) 589, 594, 598 ; pursues from near Qānūj 601 ; sent against Balūchīs (935) 638 ; his brother Arghūn and sons Tardī-muḥammad and Nan-roz *q.v.*

Khwāja **Muḥammad 'Alī** *kitābdār* — messenger to Khwāja Yaḥyā (905) 124 ; confuses a pass word (908) 164 (here *sāirt-kīshī* = sārt) ; captured by Tambal 168 ; fights against rebels (912) 315 ; in the left centre at Qandahār (913) 335 ; in charge of treasure 338 ; at entertainments (925) 410, 411, 413 ; ☞ at Kalanūr (930) 442 (here Tājik = Sārt).

Muḥammad 'Alī *Mubashir-beg*—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91 ; at Khūbān (905) 113 ; in the flight from Akhsī (908) 163 ; captured by Tambal 168 ; killed on service 252 ; his servant Sulaimān 175 ; [†911 AH.–1506 AD.].

Muḥammad 'Alī *pūāda*—deserts Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* (913) 343.

Khwāja **Muḥammad 'Alī Ṭaghāī** — 'Asas — brother of Mahīm Begīm ?—in the van at Qandahār (913) 335 ; meets Bābur at a crisis (914) 346 ; waits on Bābur (925) 399, 403 ; answers a military summons 408 ; the first to follow Bābur in renouncing wine (933) 552 ; at various entertainments (925) 387, 388, 400, 412, (926) 423, (935) 683 ; on his identity 522 n. 4 ; ☞ in charge of Bābur's Āgra tomb (937) 709.

Khwāja **Muḥammad-amīn**—out with Bābur (910) 230 ; deserts from Qandahār (913) 343 ; at a garden-wine-party (925) 418 ; his servant Imām-i-muḥammad *ib.*

Muḥammad-āmīn Khān *Qāzānī, Jūgī Chīngīz-khānid*—Shaibānī sends him a Herāt musician 292 ; [†925 AH.–1519 AD.].

Ustād **Muḥammad-amīn** *jībachī*—attention for him desired from Khwāja Kalān (935) 647.

Muḥammad *Andijānī*—sent to Kābul (912) 313–4.

Muḥammad *Arghūn*—with Mughūls against Bābur (904) 106.

Sayyid **Muḥammad-i-aūrūs** *Arghūn*, son of Aūrūs — particulars 279.

Shāh Sulṭān **Muḥammad** *Badakhshī* — his claim to Greek descent and his six daughters 22. (Cf. T.R. trs. p. 107.)

Mīr **Muḥammad** *Badakhshī* of Ishkīmīsh—particulars 288–9 ; waits on Bābur (917) 289.

Muḥammad *bakhshī*—on service at Qandahār (913) 338.

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Muḥammad Bāqir Beg *Andijānī*—with Jahāngīr (899) 32; disloyal to Bābur (900) 44; with Bāī-sunghar (902) 65; leaves Bābur for home (903) 91; in Akhsī and seen in the flight (908) 189, 181; ☞ 182; his son Dost *q.v.*

Mūḥammad Barandūq Beg *Barlās Turk*—particulars 270; on Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* service (901) 58; retorts on Khusrau Shāh (910) 243; retainer of Muẓaffar-i-ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (911) 274, 293; acts against Shaibānī (912) 296, 297; at a feast 298; concerning Bābur's reception at the Herī Court 299; presses him to winter in Herī 307; his plan of defence rejected (913) 326.

Muhammad Beg *Begchīk*, brother of Ayūb—in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334.

Pahlawān **Muḥammad Bū-sa'īd**—particulars 292.

Shāh **Muḥammad** *dīvāna*, receives a fugitive Bāī-qarā 263; his son brings Bābur news of Bīban and Bāyazīd (935) 681.

Muḥammad-dost Ṭaghāī *Kūnjī Mughūl*, son of 'Alī-dost—with Bābur (900) 53; remains at a crisis (903) 91; captured by Tambal (904) 106; released (905) 119; his self-aggrandizment 119; deserts to Tambal 125; negociates for him with Bābur (908) 173; blinded by the Aūzbegs 125.

Sayyid **Muḥammad** *Dūghlāt Ḥiṣārī*—enters Bābur's service (901) 58, 59; his Mughūls desert Bābur (904) 105; conspires against Tambal and goes to The Khān (Maḥmūd) (907) 154; sent with Bābur against Tambal (908) 161.

Sulṭān **Muḥammad** *Dūldāī, Barlās Turk*—Bābur's messenger to Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (912) 294; returns with news of Ḥusain's death 295; in the right centre at Qandahār (913) 335; waits on Bābur from Bajaur (925) 401; overtakes him at Jūī-shāhī 410; at a wine-party *ib.*; at Ḥiṣār-fīrūza (932) 465–6; in the right-wing at Pānīpat 472; given Qanūj 530; abandons it (933) 557; unwilling to return there 582; sent against Balūchīs (935) 638; ordered to Āgra 676.

Shāh **Muḥammad** *Farmūlī Afghān*, son of Ma'rūf—particulars 675; Bābur gives him Sārūn (934) 603, 675; waits on Bābur (935) 675, 679.

Sulṭān **Muḥammad** *Galpuk, Itārachī Mughūl* — opposing Bābur (908) 165.

Shaikh **Muḥammad** *Ghauṣ*—particulars 539; helps Bābur to gain Gūālīār (933) 539–40; intercedes for Raḥīm-dād (936) 688, 690.

Muḥammad Ḥaidar Mīrzā *Dūghlāt*, see Ḥaidar.

Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā Kūrkān *Dūghlāt*, receives Aūrā-tīpā (900) 56; effects Qāsim *qūchīn's* dismissal (903) 90; sent by The Khān (Maḥmūd) to help Bābur 92; lends him Pashāghar (904) 97, and Dikh-kat (907) 148; sent against Samarkand (905) 122; keeps back Aūrā-tīpā from Bābur (907) 149; goes to him in Kābul (911) 246; incites a Mughūl revolt against him (912) 313–17; captured and banished 319; ungrateful for leniency *ib.*; Shaibānī avenges Bābur *ib.*; his son Ḥaidar's excuses for him 317 n. 3; his wife Khūb-nigār, son Ḥaidar, daughter Ḥabība *q.v.*; [†914 AH.–1508 AD.].

Muḥammad Ḥusain, brother of Abū'l-ḥasan *qūr-begī*—joins Mīrzā Khān (912) 315; on Bābur's service (925) 413 (here *qūrchī*).

Muḥammad-i-ḥusain Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Mīnglī—particulars 262, 268; hostile to his father (903) 94; his flight into 'Irāq 262.

Mīr **Muḥammad** *jāla-bān*—examines a ford through the Sind-water (Indus) (925) 378; selects a site for a pontoon-bridge across the Ganges (934) 599; examines fords above Aūd (Oudh) 602; advises about crossing the Sarū (Goghrā) 674; rewarded for his pontoon-bridge (935) 635; his raft-mishaps (925) 407, 423.

Muḥammad Jān, Najm Ṣānī's Lord-of-the-Gate—☞ envoy to Bābur and discontented with his reception (917) 355.

Muḥammad Khalīl *akhta-begī*—sent raiding (933) 538; at Kānwa (933) 569.

Muḥammad Khān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*—mentioned in Yūnas Khān's genealogy 19.

Muḥammadī Kūkūldāsh, kinsman of Bābā Qashqa (?—*q.v.*)—seen with Bābur by Khān-zāda (before 907 and in 916) 18; on service at Milwat (932) 458, 460; in the right centre at Pānīpat 472, 473, 475; sent against Dūlpūr 530; receives Samāna 528; in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 566, 569, 576; sends news of a second [1] Balūchī incursion (935) 605 n. 3, 638; reports action 675; ordered to Āgra 676; at various entertainments (925) 385, 388, 412.

Muḥammad-i-makhdūmī—his son Maḥmūd *q.v.*

[1] The record of the first appears likely to be lost in the *lacuna* of 934 AH.

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Muḥammad Ma'ṣum Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Mīnglī—particulars 264, 269; his wife Bega *Mīrān-shāhī q.v.*; [†907 AH.–1501–2 AD. See ḤS. iii, 290].

Mullā **Muḥammad** *Mazhab*—profers support to Bābur (932) 463; Bābur's envoy to Bengal (935) 637.

Muḥammad Mazīd Tarkhān *Arghūn Chingīz-khānid*, son of Aūrdū-būghā—particulars 39; has charge of Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* (899) 32; leaves Samarkand after the Tarkhān rebellion (901) 62; displeases 'Alī *Mīrān-shāhī* (905) 121; plotted against *ib.*; invites Mīrzā Khān and Bābur 122, 123; welcomes Bābur 40, 124; joins Khusrau Shāh (906) 129; fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) 139; takes refuge with Khusrau Shāh 141; at Kūl-i-malik (918) ☞ 357; killed there 39; his house a post of Bābur's 143; [†918 AH.–1512 AD.].

Sulṭān **Muḥammad Mīrzā** *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—parentage 257.

Sayyid **Muḥammad Mīrzā** *Dūghlāt*, uncle of Ḥaidar—sent to help Bābur (906) 139; envoy of Sa'īd *Chaghatāī* to him (917) 22; escorts his niece to Kāshghar *ib.*

Sulṭān **Muḥammad Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī*, grandson of Tīmūr—his son Abū-sa'īd *q.v.*

Sultan **Muḥammad Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid*—his father Abū-sa'īd *q.v.*

Muḥammad *mīskīn, Dūldāī Barlās*, son of Ḥafiẓ—captured by Bābur's men (903) 72.

Muḥammad Muḥsin *Bāī-qarā*, see Kūpūk.

Muḥammad Muqīm Beg *Arghūn*, son of Ẓū'n-nūn—takes possession of Kābul (908) 195 n. 3; loses it to Bābur (910) 198, 199, 227, 246 n. 3; loses Qalāt-i-ghilzāī to him (911) 248–9; seeks his co-operation against Shaibānī (913) 330; withdraws and fails in etiquette 331–2; opposed to Bābur at Qandahār 333–7; flees in defeat 339.

Khwāja **Muḥammad Muqīm** *Herāwī*, father of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad the historian—☞ mentioned 691 n. 1, ☞ 692; ☞ his story of a plan to supersede Humāyūn as Pādshāh in 937 AH. 703; discussion of it 704–7; its incredibility as told 704–5.

Muḥammad Mūmin *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Badī'u'z-zamān—Astarābād claimed for him (902) 69; de-

feated by an uncle 71 (where *delete* the *'aīn* from his name); his murder attributed to Khadīja Begim 268.

Shaikh **Muḥammad** *Muṣalmān*, ancestor of the Farmūlī Shaikh-zādas—his tomb and descendants 220.

Sulṭān **Muḥammad Muẓaffar** *Gujrātī, Tānk Rājpūt*—particulars 481–2; his death 481; his sons Sikandar Shāh and Bahādur Khān *q.v.*; [†932 AH.–1526 AD.].

Muḥammad *Nūḥānī*, see Bihār Khān.

Mullā **Muḥammad** *Pargharī*—loquacious (932) 453.

Muḥammad-i-qāsim *Barlās*—comes accidentally on Bābur (925) 417.

Muḥammad-i-qāsim Mīrzā *Arlāt*, son of Abū'l-qāsim (H.S. iii, 327)—his Bāī-qarā wife and their child 265; his sons (?) Bābur and Murād *q.v.*

Muḥammad-i-qāsim Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid*, son of Ḥusain and Pāpā—parentage 265.

Muḥammad-i-qāsim *Nabīra*, grandson of Muḥammad *Sīghal*—made prisoner when opposing Bābur (903) 72.

Muḥammad-i-qāsim *Qībchāq Turk*, son of Bāqī *Chaghānīānī*—leaves his family in Ajar (910) 191; father (?) of Aḥmad-i-qāsim *q.v.*

Muḥammad-qulī *qūchīn* — Mīr Shāh *qūchīn* — helps Bāīsunghar's escape from Samarkand (901) 62; with Bābur at Samarkand and wounded (902) 68; stays with him at a crisis (903) 91; captured (904) and released by Tambal (905) 119; in the van at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) (906) 139; besieged in Samarkand 142–144; with Bābur when surprised by Tambal (908) 163; in the left wing at Qandahār (913) 334; in a raid (925) 403.

Muḥammad *qūrchī*, retainer of Khusrau Shāh—rises against the Aūzbeg occupation of Badakhshān (910) 242; expels Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* (912) 321; keeping up his head (913) 340.

Ustad **Muḥammad** *sabz-banā*—his son Banā'ī *q.v.*

Maulānā **Muḥammad Ṣadru'd-dīn** *Andijānī*—his six sons' service to Bābur 370 n. 2; his sons Khwājaka Mullā-i-ṣadr, Kīchīk Khwāja, Khwāja Kalān *q.v.*

Muḥammad Ṣālih Mīrzā *Khwārizmī*, author of the *Shaibānī-nāma*—in Khwāja Yaḥyā's service [1] and waits on Bābur (901)

[1] See *Shaibānī-nāma*, Vambéry's ed. Cap. xv, l. 12, for his changes of service, and Sām Mīrzā's *Tuḥfa-i-sāmī* for various particulars including his classification as a Chaghatāī.

64 ; leaves Samarkand with the Tarkhāns (905) 121 ; enters Shaibānī's service 65 n. 3 ; on Shaibānī's service (910) 196 n. 5 ; couplets of his quoted by Bābur 120–1, 448 ; [†941AH.–1534–5 AD.].

Ustād Shāh **Muḥammad** *sang-tarāsh*—cuts an inscription (913) 343 ; receives orders for work (933) 585, 606, (935) 642.

Muḥammad Shāh *Khiljī Turk*, son of Nāṣiru'd-dīn of Mālwā —takes Chanderī and seeks Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* protection (916) 593 ; his young son Aḥmad *q.v.* ; [†931 AH.–1524 AD. ?].

Muḥammad Shāh Pādshāh *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—his change of name for an orange 511 n. 4 ; [†1161AH.–1748 AD.].

Mūḥammad *Shaibānī*, see Shaibānī.

Shaikh **Muḥammad-i Shaikh Bhakarī** (?) — on service (933) 382.

Shāh **Muḥammad Shaikh-zāda** *Farmūlī Afghān*, son of Ma'rūf—leaves his Afghān associates (934) 598 (no name here) ; favoured by Bābur 603, 675 ; compelled to act with Bīban and Bāyazīd (935) 675 ; writes dutifully to Bābur *ib.* ; waits on 'Askarī and Bābur *ib.* and 679.

Muḥammad Sharīf *munajjim* (astrologer)—comes to Kābul (925) 399 and to Āgra (933) 551 ; augurs defeat at Kānwa 551, 576 ; offers congratulations on victory, blamed and banished with a gift 576.

Sulṭān **Muḥammad** *Sīghal, Chaghatāī* — his descendants Muḥammad-i-qāsim and Ḥasan *q.v.* (Cf. 66 n. 4 and Ḥ.S. lith. ed. iii, 275 for tribe and title resp.).

Muḥammad Sūlṭān *bakhshī*—left behind to catch pheasants (925) 404 ; in a night-attack on Ibrāhīm's camp (932) 471 ; in the left wing at Pānīpat 472 ; has custody of the cook who poisoned Bābur (933) 542 ; staff-officers at Kānwa 568 ; host to Bābur (935) 629 ; introduces a Kābul messenger 644 ; brings news of Maḥmūd *Lūdī* 653–4 ; writes that Bābur's family is on its way from Kābul 657 ; waits on Bābur 606 ; his servant Shāh Qāsim *q.v.*

Sulṭān **Muḥammad Sulṭān** *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*—Sulṭānīm and Khānika—eldest son of The Khān (Maḥmūd) —sent to help Bābur (903) 92 ; his guardian and he oppose Bābur (905) 116 ; his part in acclaiming the standards (907) 155 ; goes out to meet his uncle Aḥmad (Alacha Khān) (908) 159 ; ☞ murdered 350 ; [†914 AH.–1508 AD.].

Muḥammad Sulṭān-i-jahāngīr Mīrzā *Jahāngīrī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—Samarkand given to him by his grandfather Tīmūr 85; his college 78.

Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Wais and Sulṭānīm—particulars 265; waits on Bābur at Kalānūr (932) 458; on Bābur's service 468, 471, 475, 530, 534, (933) 545, 548, 582, (934) 589, (935) 682; in the left wing at Pānīpat (932) 472 and at Kānwa (933) 567, 570; gifts to him 527; given Qānūj 582; joins Bābur (935) 651; in the battle of the Ghogrā 671, 672, 674; ☞ mentioned 706 (where wrongly classed with half-Tīmūrids); once owner of the Elphinstone Codex 706 n. 3.

Beg **Muḥammad** *ta'alluqchī* — conveys gifts to Humāyūn (Muḥ. 934) and returns (Rabī' I, 935) 621; Bābur complains of his detention.

Muḥammad Ṭāhir—captured (903) 74.

Muḥammad **Tīmūr Sulṭān** *Aūzbeg-Shaibān, Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Shaibānī—at Samarkand (906) 128; at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) 139; defeats and kills two Bāī-qarā Mīrzās (913) 263, 329–30; leaves Samarkand on Bābur's approach (917) 354; at Ghaj-davān (918) 360; his marriages with captives 24, 36, 328 n. 1.

Mullā **Muḥammad** *ṭālib-mu'ammāī*—an enigmatist of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* Court—particulars 201 n. 7 [1]; a couplet of his quoted 201–2; [†918 AH.–1512 AD.].

Pahlawān Ḥājī **Muḥammad** *tufang-andāzī* — receives gifts (935) 633.

Mullā **Muḥammad** *Turkistānī*, retainer of Khusrau Shāh—makes Qūndūz safe for Shaibānī Khān (910) 192.

Muḥammad-i-'ubaidu'l-lāh, son of Aḥrārī, see Khwāja Khwāja.

Sulṭān **Muḥammad Wais**—waits on Bābur (902) 66; runs away and is suspected (907) 156; serving Bābur at Akhsī (908) 174; his retainer Kīchīk 'Alī *q.v.*

Muḥammad Walī Beg—particulars 277; on Ḥusain Bāī-qarā's service (901) 57, (902) 70, (903) 94.

Muḥammad-i-yūsuf *Aūghlāqchī*, elder son of Yūsuf—waits on Bābur (905) 125.

[1] He died serving Bābur, at Kūl-i-malīk (H.S. iii, 344).—Further information negatives my suggestion (201 n. 7) that he and Mīr Ḥusain (p. 288 and n. 7) were one.

Mīr **Muḥammad-i-yūsuf**—particulars 285; waits on Bābur in Herāt (912) 285; Shaibānī instructs him in exposition (913) 329.

Muḥammad *Zaitūn*'—opposing Bābur (932) 523; written to and makes false excuse 529, 530; waits on Bābur (933) 540; sent out of the way before Kānwa 547.

Khwāja **Muḥammad Ẓakariya**,[2] son of Yaḥyā—murdered 128; [906 AH.–1500 AD.].

Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā *Bāi-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, grandson and last surviving heir of Ḥusain—particulars 261, 269 n. 6, 279; spared by Shaibānī 263; his wanderings and association with Khwānd-amīr 364–5, 463 n. 3; sent to Bābur and married to his daughter Ma'ṣūma-sulṭān (923–4) 365; in Balkh 365, 522; dutiful letters and tribute sent by him to Bābur (925) 385, 402, ☞ 427, ☞ (926–932) 428; with Bābur (935) 606, 631, 639, 659; objects to the Bihār command 661–2; does homage for it and is given *insignia* of royalty 662, ☞ 706; starts for Bihār but is recalled 663, 664; in the battle of the Ghogrā 668, 669, 671; ☞ given Jūnpūr 682; pursues Bīban and Bāyazīd 682; grounds for surmising in Bābur the intention to leave him as ruler in Hindūstān 705–7; ☞ of his later uprisings against Humāyūn 714 n. 1; [†drowned at Chausa 946 AH.–1539 AD.].

Muḥibb-i-'alī Khān *Barlās Turk*, son of Khalīfa—☞ marries Nāhid Begim (930) 443; in a night-attack (932) 471; in the left centre at Pānīpat 472, 473 and at Kānwa (933) 565; unhorsed in 'Abdu'l-'azīz' discomfiture 549–50; on service (934) 601.

Muḥibb-i-'alī *qūrchī*—on Khusrau Shāh's service (901) 60, (902) 71; joins Bābur (910) 188; Bābur's praise of him (912) 307, 308; loyal 313, (914) 346; in the van at Qandahār (913) 335; collector of an impost (925) 384; at Ḥiṣār-fīrūza (932) 465–6; at an entertainment 410.

Muḥibb-sulṭān *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Maḥmūd—particulars 48, 49.

Sāqī **Muḥsin**—wrestles (935) 660.

[1] "Zaitun is the name of the Chinese city from which satin was brought (*hodie* Thsiuancheu or Chincheu) and my belief is that our word satin came from it" (Col. H. Yule, E. and D. iv, 514).

[2] My text omits to translate *yīgīt*(*aūghūl*) and thus loses the information that Yaḥyā's sons Bāqī and Ẓakaria were above childhood, were growa to fighting age—braves—but not yet begs (see Index *s.n. chuhra*).

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Muḥsin *Dūldāī Barlās*—at Chanderī (934) 590.

Muīnu'd-dīn al Zamjī—omitted (or lost) from Bābur's list of Herāt celebrities 283 n. 1.

Mujāhid Khān *Multānī*—on Bābur's service (933) 540.

The **Mulla**, see 'Abdu'r-raḥmān *Jāmī*.

Mullā Bābā *Farkatī*—brings Bābur news of Shaibānī (913) 343.

Mullā Bihishtī—conveys gifts to Hind-al (935) 642.

Mullā Bābā *Pashāgharī, Chaghatāī*—comes into one of Bābur's dreams (906) 132; at Sar-i-pul 141; envoy for Bābur to Khusrau Shāh (910) 188; loyal (912) 313, (914) 346; ☞ disloyal in Ghaznī (921) 363; deserts Humāyūn (932) 545; joins the Aūzbegs; his proceedings 546; his brother Bābā Shaikh *q.v.*; his Kābul garden 315.

Mullā Hijrī, a poet—waits on Bābur (907) 153.

Mullā Kabīr—his devious route to wait on Bābur (925) 399.

Mullā Khwājakā—prescribes for Bābur (925) 399 (where read Khwajakā).

Mullā Khwāja-i Sayyid Ātā—his Bāī-qarā wife 265–6.

Mullā Tabrīzī—conveys gifts (935) 642.

Mullā Ṭaghāī—envoy to Bābur of Abū-sa'īd *Aūzbeg* (935) 631, 632, 641.

Mūmin—suspected of the death of Nūyān Kūkūldāsh (907) 151–2.

Mūmin-i-'alī *tawāchī*—conveys orders (932) 451; conveys the Kānwa Letter-of-victory to Kābul (933) 580.

Mūmin Ātākā—out with Bābur (925) 404; on service (932) 465, 534; in the left wing (*tūlghuma*) at Kānwa (933) 568, 569; his brethren (935) 679.

Khwāja **Munīr** *Aūshī*—incites attack on Bukhāra (902) 65.

Sayyid **Murād** *Aūghlāqchī*[1]—referred to as father of Yūsūf 39 and Ḥasan 279; [†874 AH.–1469–70 AD.].

Mūrād Beg *Bāyandarī Turkmān*—his joining Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (908) 280, 336.

Murād Mīrzā *Arlāt*, son of Muḥammad-i-qāsim and Rābi'a-sulṭān *Mīrān-shāhī*—his Bāī-qarā (?) marriage 266.[2]

Murād *Qajar Turkmān, qūrchī*—'Irāqī envoy to Bābur (935) 666, 688, 689, n. 4.

[1] See Add. Notes under p. 39.
[2] See Add. Notes under p. 266.

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Mullā Khwāja **Murshid** *'Irāqī*—envoy of Bābur to Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* (925) 385, ☞ 427 n. 3 ; made Dīwān of Bihār (935) 661, 662.

Mīr **Mūrtāẓa**—particulars 284.

Musā Khwāja—whispers of Mughūl rebellion (914) 346.

Malik **Musā** *Dilah-zāk* (*Dilazāk*) *Afghān*—receives gifts (925) 394 ; brings tribute 409.

Musā Sulṭān *Farmūlī*, son of Ma'rūf—waits on Bābur (935) 685 ; in the battle of the Ghogrā 669.

Muṣṭafa Shaikh-zāda *Farmūlī Afghān* — on service for Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* (932) 527 ; his brother Bāyazīd *q.v.* ; [†932 AH.–1525–6 AD.].

Muṣṭafa *Rūmī*, *tawāchī*—his culverin-discharge at Pānīpat (932) 474 ; has carts made for defence at Kānwa (933) 550 ; at Kānwa 550, 568–9 ; at the Gangas bridge (934) 599 ; in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 668, 669, 670.

Mū'yad—leading Daryā-khānīs for Bābur (933) 582.

Shāh **Muẓaffar**—particulars 291 ; his artist-training owed to Nawā'ī 272.

Muẓaffar *Barlās*—particulars 270–1.

Sulṭān **Muẓaffar** *Gujrātī*—his death and successor 534 (where for [Jumāda II] "and" read 932 ; [†932 AH.–1526 AD.].

Muzaffar-i-ḥusāin Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid*, *Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Khadīja—particulars 262, 268 ; serving under his father (901) 58, (902) 71 ; given Astarābād (902) 61, 69 ; made joint-ruler in Herī (911) 292–3 ; combines in action against Shaibānī (912) 296–7 and withdraws 301 ; fails in etiquette 297 ; in social relation with Bābur 298, 299, 300, 302–3 ; plain speech to him from Qāsim Beg 304 ; a false report of him in Kābul 313 ; irresolute in opposing Shaibānī (913) 326 ; his army defeated 327 ; flees (to Astarābād) abandoning his family *ib.* ; his wife Khān-zāda Khānīm *q.v.*

Sulṭān **Muẓaffar Shāh** *Ḥabshī*, mentioned in illustration of a Bengal custom 483.

Mīrzā Yār-i-aḥmad **Najm Ṣānī**, wazīr of Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī*—his killing Sohrāb *Bāī-qarā* 262 ; ☞ his commission to correct Bābur (918) 355, 359 ; ☞ his massacre in Qarshī 360 ; ☞ slain at Ghaj-dawān 262 n. 4, 361 ; Bābur's alleged

failure to support him 361; his retainer Muḥammad Jān *q.v.*; [†918 AH.–1512 AD.].

Nādir Shāh *Afshārid*—his birthplace (mod.) Qalāt-i-nādirī 329 n. 4; [†1160 AH.–1747 AD.].

Nahār, son of Ḥasan Khān *Mewātī*—released by Bābur from capture (933) 545; returns to Court 578; escapes 581.

Nāhid Begīm—☞ her marriage (930) 443.

Na'man Chuhra—captured by Tambal (908) 168; at a wine-party (925) 385.

Gurū **Nānak Shāh**—his relations with Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khail* and traditionally with Bābur 461 n. 3; [†946 AH.–1539 AD.].

Napoleon—☞ his problem of creed in Egypt less difficult than that of Bābur with Shī'a support 356.

Nārpat Hāra *Chauhān Rājpūt*—his force at Kānwa (933) 562.

Nāṣir Beg—makes over Andijān to Bābur (904) 103; counsels him (908) 165; captured by Tambal 168; his sons Dost-, Mīrīm-, and Shāhīm-i-nāṣir; his brother-in-law Aūzūn Ḥasan *q.v.*

Naṣīr Khān *Nūḥānī Afghān*—particulars 659 n. 4; disaffected to Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* and unsubmissive to Bābur (932) 523; discussion of his movements 530; assembles a force but flees before Bābur's 533–4, 544; his son Farīd *q.v.*

Nāṣir Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of 'Umar Shaikh—particulars 17; in Kāsān (*æt.* 8) (899) 32; taken to his uncle Aḥmad 32; meets Bābur (908) 172, 178; at the capture of Kābul (910) 198, 199; Zurmut hostility 220; given Nīngnahār 227; misconduct 229, 241–2; accepts an invitation to Badakhshān 242–3; has an imbroglio with Khusrau Shāh 243; clans which had left him 255; defeats Aūzbegs (912) 295; defeated by Badakhshīs and goes to Bābur 321; Bābur's reflections on the situation 322; out with Bābur (913) 324; in the van at Qandahār 335; his loot and command and beleaguerment in Qandahār 339–40; goes to Ghaznī 343, 344; ☞ given Kābul (917) 363; ☞ returns it to Bābur (920) 363; dies in Ghaznī (921) 363; his sister Mihr-bānū and wife Qarā-gūz *Bāī-qarā q.v.*; [†921 AH.–1515 AD.].

Khwāja **Naṣīru'd-dīn** *Ṭūsī*—his Astronomical Tables 79; [†672 AH.–1274 AD.].

Sulṭān **Nāṣiru'd-dīn** *Khiljī Turk*, Sulṭān of Malwā—events following his death 593; his son Maḥmūd *q.v.*; [†916 AH.–1510 AD.].

Naṣrat Shāh *Ḥusain-shāhī*, Sulṭān in Bengal — particulars 482–3; reported friendly to Bābur (935) 628, 637; sends him an envoy 637; negociations with him 661, 664, 676; referred to as at peace with Bābur 665; mentioned 667, 677, 679; his troops defeated on the Ghogrā 671–4; peace made 676; [†939 AH.–1532 AD.].

Naṣrat Shāh *Tūghlūq Turk*—receives Dihlī from Tīmūr 481 n. 4.

Naurang Beg—☞ punishes the Mundāhirs (936) 700, 701.

Nau-roz, brother of Muḥammad-'alī *Jang-jang* — at Bajaur (925) 370.

Naukar Hindū, see Tūka.

Naẓar-i-'alī *Turk*—on Bābur's service (925) 389; his relation Minūchihr *q.v.*

Naẓar Bahādur—killed on Khusrau Shāh's service 93, 94, 279; [†903 AH.–1497–8 AD.].

Naẓar Bahādur *Aūzbeg*—one of five champions worsted by Bābur in single combat (914) 349 n. 1.

Shāh **Naẓar** *Turkmān*—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335; rebels (914) 345.

Ni'amat *Arghūn*—his defeat 34.

Mullā **Ni'amat**—killed in a surprise by Sangā 549; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Khwāja **Ni'amatu'l-lāh**—his son Āṣafī 286 n. 2.

Nīgārsī, see Dankūsī.

Niẓām Khān *Bīāna'ī*—not submissive to Bābur (932) 523; receives letters and a quatrain from him 529; defeats Bābur's troops (933) 538–9; waits on Bābur 539; in the left wing at Kānwa 567; on service (935) 678.

Khwāja **Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad**, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī*, son of Muḥammad Muqīm—☞ discussion of his story of the intended supersession of Babur's sons 702–8; [†1003 AH.–1594 AD.].

Sayyid **Niẓāmu'd-dīn 'Alī Khalīfa** *Marghīlānī, Barlās Turk* son of Junaid—escapes from prison and death (900) 55; driven from Bābur's presence (903) 90, (905) 119; defends Kābul (912) 313; mediates (914) 345; hears rumours of

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Mughūl revolt 346; in the left centre at Bajaur (925) 369 and at Pānīpat (932) 473; given charge of Ibrāhīm's corpse 474 n. 1; at Kānwa (933) 556, 558, 564–5; on service 384, 395, 666; communicates bad news at Chanderī (934) 594 and (935) 639; mediates for Rahīm-dād 689; ☞ declines the Badakhshān government (936) 697; ☞ discussion of his plan to set Humāyūn aside (in Hindūstān?) 702–8; his seat at a feast 631; host to Bābur 408; his sons Muḥibb-i-'alī, Ḥusamu'd-dīn-i-'alī, Ḥamza and daughter Gul-barg *q.v.*

Shaikh **Niẓāmū'd-dīn Auliyā**—his tomb visited by Bābur (932) 475; [†725 AH.–1325 AD.].

Niẓāmu'l-mulk *Khawāfī*, Dīwān in Herī—arrested and put to death 282; [†903 AH.–1497–8 AD.].

Hazrat **Nuḥ** (Noah)—his father Lām *q.v.*

Nūr Beg (perhaps Sayyid Nūru'd-dīn *Chaghāniānī infra*)—disobeys the Law, plays the lute (925) 395; joins Bābur in an autumn garden 418; his brethren on service (932) 446; with Bābur in the East (935) 653; in the battle of the Ghogrā 673; sent to allay Rahīm-dād's fears 688–9; his brother Shāham *q.v.*

Sayyid **Nūru'd-dīn** *Chaghāniānī*—Sayyid Amīr—a son-in-law of Bābur and father of Salīma-sulṭān ☞ 713; perhaps Nūr Beg *supra.*

Shaikh **Nūru'd-dīn Beg** *Turkistānī, Qībchāq Turk*—grandfather, through a daughter, of Yūnas *Chaghatāī* 19 (see T.R. trs. p. 64).

Nūru'l-lāh *ṭambūrchī*—his experience in an earthquake (911) 247.

Sayyid **Nūyān Beg** *Tīrmīẓī*—particulars 273; his son Ḥasan-i-ya'qūb *q.v.*

Nūyān Kūkūldāsh *Tīrmīẓī*—makes a right guess (906) 131–2; on service against Shaibānī 142; his sword sent as a gift to Tambal (907) 150; that sword wounds Bābur's head (908) 151, 167, 396; his suspicious death 151–152; Bābur's grief 152; Nūyān's uncle Ḥaq-naẓar *q.v.*; [†907 AH.–1502 AD.].

Padmāwatī, wife of Rānā Sangā—in Rantanbhūr (935) 612; mentioned 613 n. 1; her son Bikramājīt and kinsman Asūkmāl *q.v.*

Pahār Khān *Lūdī*, see Bihār.

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Pahār Mīrza, a father-in-law of Jahāngīr *Mīrān-shāhī*—his daughter brings her son Pir-i-muḥammad to Bābur (913) 331.

Pahlawān *Aūdī* (*Oudhī*)—wrestles (935) 683, 688.

Pahlawān *Lāhorī*, a boatman—wrestles (935) 656.

Pāpa Aghācha, a mistress of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 266, 268–9; her five sons and three daughters *ib.*[1]

Pāpā-aūghūlī, of Bābur's household—out with Bābur (910) 234; at Qandahār (913) 335.

Parbat *Kakar*—conveys tribute to Bābur (925) 391, 392, 393.

Pasha Begīm *Bahārlū*, *Aq-qūlūq Turkmān*, daughter of 'Alī-shukr Beg—particulars 49; her nephew Yār-'alī *Balāl q.v.*[2]

Pāyanda-muḥammad *Qīplān*—out with Bābur (925) 404.

Pāyanda-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid*, *Barlās Turk*, daughter of Abū-sa'īd and wife of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 263, 265, 268; her son Ḥaidar and her daughters *ib.*; visited in Herāt by Bābur (912) 301; arranges a marriage for him 306; captured by Shaibānī (913) 327.

Pietro della Vallé—an illustration drawn from his recorded morning-draught (1623 AD.) 395.

Khwāja **Pir Aḥmad** *Khawāfī*—his son 281.

Pir Budāgh Sulṭān, Khāqān in Desht Qībchāq (Ḥ.S. iii, 232)—his Bāī-qarā marriage 258 n. 2.

Mīr **Pīr Darwesh** *Hazār-aspī*—in charge of Balkh (857) 50; fights there *ib.*

Pīrī Beg *Turkmān*—joins Bābur (913) 336; particulars Author's Note, 336.

Pīr Kānū of Sakhī-sarwār—Bābur halts at his tomb (910) 238.

Pīr Muḥammad *Aīlchī-būghā*, *qūchīn*—particulars 50 and nn.; drowned 48 n. 4, 50; [895 AH.–1490 AD.].

Pīr Muḥammad *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid*, *Barlās Turk*, son of Jahāngīr—brought by his widowed mother to Bābur (913) 331.

Pīr-qulī *Sīstānī*—in the right wing at Pānīpat (932) 472, and at Kānwa (933) 566; on service (932) 530.

Pīr Sulṭān *Pashāī*—one of Bābur's guides (912) 308.

Prester John, Wang Khān [T.R. trs. 16], Ong Khān [Abu'l-ghāzī, Desmaisons' trs. p. 55]—his title 23 n. 3.

[1] For emendation of 266 n. 7, see Add. Notes under P. 266.

[2] On p. 49 l. 3 for "Black" read White; and in l. 3 read ("wife of") Muḥammadī son of ("Jahān-shāh").

Pulād Sulṭān *Aūzbeg - Shaibān Chīngīz - khānid* — son of Kūchūm—Bābur sends him his earliest-mentioned Dīwān (925) 402, 632 n. 3; at Jām (934) 622; an envoy goes from him to Bābur (935) 631, 632, 641.

Pūrān (Allāh-birdī or Allāh-qulī)—out with Bābur (910) 234; wounded (913) 342; his father-in-law Qāsim *qūchīn q.v.*

Qābil (Cain)—Bābur goes alone to his tomb (925) 415.

Qādir-bīrdī *Ghainī*—spoken to by Bābur when in hiding (908) 180–1.

Qāitmās *Turkmān*, retainer of Jahāngīr—drowned (910) 237.[1]

Qalandar *pīāda*—on Bābur's service (932) 529.

Qambar-i-'alī *Arghūn*—on Bābur's service (935) 688.

Qambar-i-'alī Beg—mobilizes the Hindūstān army by Abū-sa'īd's order (873?) 46; expelled from Khurāsān with Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* 47.

Qambar-i-'alī Beg *qūchīn*, son of Qāsim—races with Bābur (?) (907) 147; wounded, brings Bābur a message (908) 174; one of the eight in flight from Akhsī 177; gives Bābur his horse 177–8; beats down snow for a road (912) 308–9; fights rebels in Kābul 315; at Qandahār (913) 334; wounded 336; hurries from Qūndūz against rebels in Ghaznī (921) 364; brings Bābur a letter from Balkh (?) (925) 385.

Qambār-i-'alī Beg *Silākh, Mughūl*—particulars 28; his inconvenient absence (904) 106; recalled (905) 108; goes away 110; returns 112; in the van at Khūbān 113; goes away 115; returns and is ill-tempered 117; his districts 115, 124; his ill-timed pacificism 118; his misconduct 123; goes to Tambal, made prisoner, escapes to Bābur 124; on Bābur's service (906) 130, 131; at Sar-i-pul 138, 139; sends his family out of Samarkand 141; ? races with Bābur (907) 147; ? leaves Bābur in Dikh-kat 150 n. 3; conspires against Tambal and goes to The Khān (Maḥmūd) 154; serves Bābur against Tambal (908) 161, 162, 165, 166; counsels Bābur distastefully and flees 168, 170; talks to him of peace with Tambal 173; made prisoner in Akhsī against Bābur's wish 174; leaves Khusrau Shah for Bābur (910) 189; dismissed by Bābur and why 192, 532 n. 1; his son 'Abdu'-shukūr *q.v.*

[1] Cf. H.S. Ferṭī's trs. p. 70 for the same name Qaitmās.

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Qambar Bī *Aūzbeg*—blamed by Shaibānī for three murders (906) 128; on service for him (910) 242, 244; defeated by Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī's* men (934) 622.

Qarā Aḥmad *yūrūnchī*—Bābur's messenger to the Kābul begs (912) 314.

Qarā Barlās—leaves Samarkand with the Tarkhāns (905) 121; fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (906) 139; besieged and holds out to the end 143, 144.

Sayyid **Qarā Beg** *Kohbur Chaghatāī*—remains with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; invited into Akhsī (for Bābur) (904) 101; escapes after defeat 106; at Khūbān (905) 113; released 119[1]; his (?) hasty retreat to entrenchments (906) 138, 232 n. 4; his son 'Abdu'l-qadūs *q.v.*

Qarā Bīlūt—surrenders Qalāt-i-ghilzāī to Bābur (911) 248–9.

Qaracha Khān—punished for disobedience (925) 390–1; on service (934) 602, (935) 638; his messenger with news of Mahīm's journey 650, 659.

Qārā-gūz Begīm *Arlāt*—her marriage with Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* 265.

Qarā-gūz Begīm, see (1) Makhdūma, (2) Rābi'a-sulṭān.

Qarā-qūzī—on Bābur's service (932) 471; in the left-wing [*tūlghuma*] at Pānīpat 473.

Qārlūghāch Bakhshī kills Mughūl Beg's son (904) 102.

Qashqa Maḥmūd (or Qāshqa), Beg of the Chīrās *tūmān* of Mughūls—sent to help Bābur (906) 138; quarrels with a Begchīk for the military post of honour (907) 155. (He may be "Bābā Qashqa" *q.v.*

Mullā **Qāsim**—building work given to him (935) 642.

Sayyid **Qāsim** (p. 96), see Sayyid Kāmal.

Qāsim-i-'ajab Beg—remains with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; promoted to beg's rank (904) 104; captured by Tambal's men (905) 115–6; released 119.

Qāsim-i-'alī *tariyākī*—musician at entertainments (925) 385, 387, 388.

Qāsim Beg *qūchīn*—particulars 26; supports Bābur (899) 30, (900) 43; his appointments 43, 44 (where delete Sayyid as his title); punishes misconducted Mughūls (902) 66–7, 153 and has to leave Bābur (907) 27, 67; on missions (903) 90, (904) 100, 101; remains with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91;

[1] His capture is not recorded.

defeated by Mughūls (904) 105–6 ; in the centre at Khūbān (905) 113 ; banished from Andijān by 'Alī-dost 119 ; rejoins Bābur for Samarkand 123, (906) 130 ; suspects Banā'ī 136 ; in the centre at Sar-i-pul 139 ; defending Samarkand 141, 142, 143, 144 ; races with Bābur (907) 147 ; advises a tactful gift 150 ; out with Bābur (910) 234 ; rewarded (911) 252 ; goes with a punitive force to Nigr-aū 253 ; a saying of his twisted for ill 254 ; defeats Aūzbegs (912) 295 ; insists in Herāt on ceremony due to Bābur 298 ; angered by Bābur's being pressed to drink wine 304 ; mistaken as to a route 308–9 ; mistakenly compassionate 313 ; allowed to keep his Fifth of spoil (913) 324 ; in the left wing at Qandahār 334, 335 ; wounded 336 ; retainers allotted to him 339 ; his counsel 339–40 ; mediates for suspects (914) 345 ; waits on Bābur returned from Hindūstān (925) 395 ; mediates for Tramontane clans to leave Kābul 402 ; Bābur breaks fast at his house 408 ; his sons Ḥamza, Tīngrī-bīrdī, Qambar-i-'alī *q.v.* ; his ill-conducted nephew 414 ; a servant 313 ; a father-in-law Banda-i-'alī *q.v.* ; [†928 AH.–1522 AD.].

Qāsim *Duldāī, Barlās Turk* — serving Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* (902) 65 ; joins Bābur 66.

Qāsim-i-ḥusain *Aūzbeg-Shaibān*, son of Qāsim and 'Āyisha-sulṭān *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 267, 298 ; joins Bābur (933) 550 ; at Kānwa 556, 559 ; receives Badāūn 582 ; on service 582, (934) 589, (935) 682 ; in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 669 ; mentioned 631 n. 4, ☞ 706.

Sayyid **Qāsim** *Jalāīr*—wins the Champion's Portion at Asfara (900) 53 ; takes it at Shāhrukhiya 53 ; stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91 ; joins him for Samarkand (905) 123–4 ; at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) (906) 139 ; his strange doings in Pāp (908) 171 ; his unseasonable arrival in Akhsī 174 ; defeats an Aūzbeg raider (910) 195 ; out with Bābur 234, (925) 403 ; drunk 415 ; Bābur pays him a consolation-visit 418 ; a party in his country-house (926) 420 ; assigned to reinforce Khwājā Kalān in Kābul (935) 647.

Qāsim Khān *Qāzzāq, Jūjī Chingīz-khānid*—his marriage with Sulṭān-nigār *Chaghatāī* 23 ; his good administration 23–4 ; [†924 AH.–1518 AD.].

Qāsim *Khītka* (?) *Arghūn*, (var. *Jangeh*)—in Akhsī (908) 171.

Qāsim Khwāja—succeeds in his brother Yakka's appointments (935) 674 ; on service 682.

Qāsim Kūkūldāsh—at a household party (906) 131 (his name is omitted from the Ḥai. MS. f. 83 and from my text); helps Bābur at his mother's burial (911) 246; at Qandahār (913) 335; his Arghūn marriage 342, 199 n. 1, ☞ 443.

Qāsim Mīr-akhwūr—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; on service (933) 548.

Malik **Qāsim** *Mughūl*, brother (p. 568) of Bābā Qashqa—in the right-wing [*tūlghuma*] at Pānīpat (932) 473, and at Kānwa (933) 568; on service with his brethren (932) 528, (933) 558, 582, (934) 589; his good service near Qanūj and his death 599; his kinsmen, see *s.n.* Bābā Qashqa; [†934 AH.–1528 AD.].

Shāh **Qāsim** *pīāda*—sent on a second mission to Bābur's kinsfolk in Khurāsān (935) 617.

Qāsim *Sambhalī*—not submissive to Bābur (932) 523; surrenders 528, 529; sent out of the way before Kānwa (933) 547 (where the Ḥai. MS. adds "Beg", by clerical? error).

Qāsim Sulṭān *Aūzbeg-Shaibān Chingīz-khānid*—his Bāī-qarā marriage 267; at a reception (912) 298; his son Qāsim-i-ḥusain *q.v.*

Qātāq Begīm, wife of Aḥmad *Mīrān-shāhī*—particulars 36; of Aḥmad's escape from her dominance 36 n. 1.

Qayyām Beg—Aūrdū (Ūrdū) Shāh—out with Bābur (925) 403; waits on Bābur as Governor of Nīngnahār (926) 421; joins him in Hindūstān (933) 550 (here Qawwām Aūrdū-shāh); at Kānwa 556, 569.

Qāẓī Bihzādī—Bābur forbids unlawful drinks in his house (925) 398.

Qāẓī Ghulām—escapes death by pretending to be a slave (904) 102.

Qāẓī Jīā—waits on Bābur (932) 527; on service 530, (933) 544, (935) 639; joins Bābur 667; on service 668, 682.

Qāẓī of Kābul—waits on Bābur (925) 395.

Qāẓī of Samāna—☞ complains of Mundāhir attack (936) 693, 700.

Qismatāī Mīrzā—on Bābur's service in Hindūstān (932) 474, (933) 545, 546–7, 548; his untimely praise of the Rājpūt army 548, 550.

Qilka *Kāshgharī*—escapes death (904) 102.

Qīzīl *tawāchī*—messenger of Shāh Beg *Arghūn* to Bābur (925) 395.

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Qublāī Khān, great-grandson of Chingīz Khān—his building at Qarshī 84 n. 2; [†693 AH.–1294 AD.].

Qūch Beg (Qūj), son of Aḥmad *qarāwal*—in the left wing at Khūbān (905) 113; his courage at Bīshkharān 118; leaves Bābur for Ḥisār (906) 129; ? reprieved at Qāsim *qūchīn*'s request (914) 345; on Bābur's service (925) 374, (925) 384; at Parhāla 390; comes on summons to Kābul 409; referred to as dead (933) 565; his brother Tardī Beg *q.v.*

Qūch *Arghūn*—allotted in Qalāt to Qāsim *qūchīn* (913) 339.

Qūch Beg *Kohbur Chaghatāī*, son of Ḥaidar-i-qāsim—at Sar-i-pul (906) 139; in Samarkand besieged 142, 143, 144.

Qul-arūk—drowned in the Sind-water (910) 237.

Qul-bāyazīd *bakāwal*—particulars 237; swims the Sind-water (910) 237; at Qandahār (913) 335, 338; his son Tizak *q.v.*; his tomb near Kābul 198.

Qulī Beg *Arghūn*—known as attached to Bābur (913) 337; returns from an embassy to Kāshghar (925) 415; his brother Aḥmad-'alī Tarkhān *q.v.*

Qūlij Bahādur *Aūsbeg*—mentioned in Ṭahmāsp's *Ṣafawī*'s account of Jām (935) 636 n. 2.

Mīrzā **Qūlī Kūkūldāsh**, see Mīrzā-qulī.

Qulī-muḥammad *Būghdā qūchīn*—particulars 40.

Ustād **Qul-muḥammad** *'Aūdī*—particulars 291; his musical training owed to Nawā'ī 272.

Qul-nachāq—holding Balkh for the Bāī-qarās (912) 294, 296; surrenders it to Shaibānī 300.

Qul-naẓar of Ṭaghāī Beg—sallies out from Samarkand (906) 142; does well 144.

Qurbān *Chīrkhī*—sent into Bhīra (925) 381; a false rumour about him as invited into Balkh (935) 625; gifts to his servants 633; in the battle of the Ghogra 669; on service 678.

Quṣam ibn 'Abbās, one of the Companions—his tomb at Samarkand 75.

Qusum-nāī (?)—on service (932) 534.

Quṭb Khān *Sarwānī*—not submissive to Bābur (932) 523; Mahdī Khwāja sent against him in Etāwa 530; takes Chandwār (933) 557; abandons both places 579, 582; defeated 587.

Khwāja **Quṭbu'd-dīn** *Aūshī* (*Ūshī*)—his birthplace in Farghāna 475 n. 6; Bābur visits his tomb in Dihlī (932) 475; [†633 AH.–1235 AD.].

Qūtlūq Khwāja Kūkūldāsh—with Bābur in Samarkand (906) 143, 144; host to Bābur (925) 398, 407; held up as an example 406.

Qūtlūq-muḥammad Kūkūldāsh, foster-brother of Daulat-sulṭān Khānīm—brings Bābur letters from Kāshghar (925) 409 (where for "Daulat" read Qūtlūq).

Qūtlūq-nigār Khānīm *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid,* mother of Bābur—particulars 21; mentioned 17, 19; in Andijān (900) 43; entreats her son's help (903) 88, 89; sent to join him in Khujand 92, and in Aūrā-tīpā (905) 136; her Mughūls rebel (904) 105; with Bābur in Samarkand (906) 136; leaves the town with him (907) 147; hears of a sister's death 148–9; goes to her own family in Tāshkīnt 149; her dangerous illness *ib.*; her safety leaves Bābur free (908) 157, 158; ☞ with him in Sūkh 184; uses his tent in the exodus from Farghāna (910) 188; left in Kāhmard 189; crosses Hindū-kush and rejoins him in Kābul 197; her death (911) 21, 246; her treatment as a refugee in Tāshkīnt (908) contrasted with that of her refugee-relations in Kābul (912) 318; her concern for her son's marriage affairs (905) 120, (910) 48; her old governess 148; [†911 AH.–1505 AD.].

Qūtlūq-qadam *qarāwal*—out with Bābur (910) 236–7; in the left-centre at Qandahār (913) 335; on service (925) 403, (932) 458, 460, 468, 471, 530; in the left wing at Pānīpat 472 and at Kānwa (933) 567, 570; on service 475; host to Bābur (926) 424; his tomb and bridge near Kābul 198, 204; [†934 AH.–1528 AD.?].

Qūtlūq-sulṭān Begīm, daughter of Mīrān-shāh son of Tīmūr—wife of Ḥusain *Qānjūt* 256 n. 5.

Rābi'a-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—Qarā-gūz Begīm—daughter of Aḥmad—particulars 13, 35.

Sayyid **Rafī'u'd-dīn** *Ṣafawī*—Mullā Rafī'—mediates for Niẓām Khān with Bābur (933) 539; concocts tonic powders (935) 606; at a feast 631.

Khwāja **Raḥīm-dād,** paternal-nephew of Mahdī Khwāja—receives and obtains possession of Gūālīar (933) 539, 540, 547; his quarters and constructions there (935) 607, 610, 613; Bābur sleeps in his flower-garden 612, 613; action against him as seditious 688–9, (936) 690; his son held as hostage and escapes (935) 688–9; ☞ Ibn Batuta's account

of him 692 n. 1; ☞ no sequel of his rebellion mentioned in the *Akbar-nāma* 692.

Rahmat *pīāda*—conveys letters to Kābul (932) 466.

Rāja of Kahlūr—☞ waits on Bābur (936) 699.

Rajab-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Maḥmūd—particulars 48, 49.

Ramẓān *lūlī*—a musician at parties (925) 387, 388.

Rāo *Sarwānī*, see Dāūd.

Sulṭān **Rashīd Khān** *Chaghatāī Chingīz-khānid*, son of Sa'īd and Makhtūm *Qālūchī* (T.R. trs. p. 187) — his Qāzzāq marriage 23.

Mr. Thomas **Rastel**—an illustration drawn from his morning-draught recorded [1623 AD.] 395.

Rānā Ratan-sī—successor of his father Sangā in Chītor 613; mentioned in connection with the Khīljī jewels *ib.*; his younger brother Bikramājīt *q.v.*

Rauḥ-dam—musician at entertainments (925) 385, 387, 388; in a raft-misadventure 407.

Rawū'ī *Sarwānī* (Rāo)—serving Bābur (933) 538 (here read as Dāūd), (935) 682; host to Bābur (934) 588.

Rīnīsh (var. Zīnīsh) *Aūzbeg*—his defeat by Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī* (934) 618, 622 (where in n. 1 for "934" read 935 as the date of the battle of Jām); [†934 AH.–1528 AD.].

A **Rūmī** prescribes for Bābur (935) 657, 660.

Rāja **Rūp-narāin**—included in Bābur's Revenue List 521.

Ruqaiya Aghā, wife of Badī'u'z-zamān *Bāī-qarā*—captured in Herāt and married by Tīmūr *Aūzbeg* 328.

Ruqaiya-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of 'Umar Shaikh—particulars 18, 19; [†*cir.* 935 AH.–1528 AD.].

Rūstam-i-'alī *Turkmān*—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335; on service (925) 377, (933) 538; in the *tūlghuma* of the left-wing at Kānwa 568, 569.

Rustam Khān—Iliās (p. 576)—captures Bābur's commander at Kūl (Koel) (933) 557, 576; captured and flayed alive 576.

Sa'ādat-bakht Begīm—Begīm Sulṭān—*Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain—particulars 266–7.

Nāṣiru'd-dīn **Sabuktīgīn** *Ghaznawī Turk*—the humble status of his capital 217; a legend concerning him 219; his son Maḥmūd *q.v.*; [†387 AH.–997 AD.].

Sadharān *Tānk Rājpūt*—his acceptance of Islām 481 n. 5.

Pahlawān **Ṣādiq**—made to wrestle (935) 650; forbidden as an antagonist 653; wrestles 688.

Mullā **Sa'du'd-dīn Mas'ūd** *Taftazānī*—a descendant of 283; [†792 AH.–1390 AD.].

Sultān **Sa'īd Khān** *Ghāzī, Chaghatāī Chīnqīz-khānid*, son of Aḥmad—particulars 698 nn. 2, 3, 349; meets Bābur (908) 159; stays with him in Kābul (914) 318, 349–50; receives Andijān from him (916) 318, 357; loyal to him 344 n. 2, ☞ 351–2; sends an envoy to him (917) 22; Ḥaidar *Dūghlāt* goes from Bābur to Sa'īd (918) 362; two kinswomen take refuge with him (923 and 924) 24 (where in n. 1 *delete* the second sentence); reported to have designs on Badakhshān (925) 412; an envoy to him returns 415; ☞ named as a principal actor between 926 and 932 AH. 427; writes and sends gifts to Bābur (932) 446; ☞ invades Badakhshān (936) 695–6; ☞ gist of a letter from Bābur to him 697–8; ☞ Bābur moves menacingly for the North-west 698; his full-brother Khalīl, his son Rashīd, his wife Ḥabība, and *kūkūldāsh* Yāngī Beg *q.v.*; [†939 AH.–1533 AD.].

Sa'īdlīq Sa'd *Turkmān*—defeated by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (873?) 260.

Saif-i-'alī Beg *Bahārlū Qarā-qūlūq Turkmān*, father of Bairām Khān-i-khānān—particulars 91 n. 3.[1]

Maulānā **Saifī** *Bukhārī*—'Arūẓī—particulars 288; [†909 AH.–1503–4 AD.].

Saif Khān *Nūḥānī*, son of Daryā Khān—deserts 'Ālam Khān *Lūdī* (932) 457.

Saifu'd-dīn Aḥmad, Shaikhu'l-islām in Herāt—particulars 283; takes the keys of Herāt to Shaibānī (913) 328; his pupil Muḥammad-i-yūsuf *q.v.*; killed by Shāh Ismā'īl 283; [†916 AH.–1510 A.D.].

Ḥājī **Saifu'd-dīn Beg**, ? uncle of Tīmūr—his descendant Walī Beg 272.

Sakma *Mughūl*—rebels against Bābur (914) 345.

Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn (Silhādī)—particulars 562 n. 3, 614 n. 2; his force at Kānwā (933) 562; attack on him planned and abandoned (934) 598; Bābur visits village near his birth-place (935) 614; mentioned 628 n. 2.

[1] He joined Bābur with his father Yār-i-'alī *Balūl* (*q.v.*) in 910 AH. (Blochmann's Biographies, A.-i-A. trs. 315).

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Ṣāliḥa-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī*, daughter of Maḥmūd and Pasha, wife of Bābur—(name not now in the Turkī text) 47 ; ☞ the likelihood that she and "Dil-dār" were one 713 (where read Ṣāliḥa).

Ṣāliḥa-sulṭān *Mīrān-shāhī*—Āq Begīm—daughter of Aḥmad and Qātāq—particulars 35 ; gifts from her wedding reach Bābur (900) 43.

Salīma-sulṭān Begīm—☞ her parentage 713.

Sulṭān **Sālīm** *Rūmī*—takes Badī'u-z-zamān *Bāī-qarā*, a captive, to Constantinople (920) 327 n. 5 ; ☞ defeats Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī* at Chāldirān (920) 443, 469 ; [†926 AH.–1520 AD.].

Ṣamad *Mīnglīghī*—wounded and dies 106 ; [†904 AH.–1499 AD.].

Mehtar **Sambhal**, slave of Shāh Beg *Arghūn* — particulars 338 n. 2 ; captured at Qandahār and escapes (913) 338 ; ☞ Commander in Qandahār and revictuals it for Shāh Beg 432.

Sulṭān **Sanjar** *Barlās Turk*, son of 'Abdu'l-lāh — incites a Mughūl revolt in Kābul (912) 313–17 ; spared on family grounds 317.

Sulṭān **Sanjar Mīrzā** *Mervī* — his daughter Bega Sulṭān Begīm's Bāī-qarā marriage (*cir.* 860) 267.

Rānā **Sangā** *Mewārī*—particulars 483, 558 n. 2 ; his capture of Chanderī 593 ; proffers Bābur co-operation against Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* (931?) 426, 529 ; fails him (932) 529 ; takes Kandār 530, 539 ; Bābur's attack on him deferred 530–1 and determined (933) 538 ; his strength and approach 544, 547 ; defeated at Kānwa 559–574 ; escapes 576 ; references to the battle 267, 533, 579, 582, 583, 599, 600, 630 n. 4, 637, 663 ; his lands not invaded, on climatic grounds 577, 578 ; Bābur's planned attack on him in Chītor frustrated (934) 598 ; his wife Padmāwatī and sons Ratan-sī and Bikramājīt *q.v.* ; his trusted man Medinī Rāo *q.v.* ; [†934 AH.–1528 AD.].[1]

Sangur Khān *Jānjūha*—waits on Bābur (925) 383 ; on service 389, 419 ; killed in a sally from Bīāna 548 ; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Mīr **Sar-i-barhana**, see Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad.

Sārīgh-bāsh Mīrza *Itārachī*—sent by The Khān (Maḥmūd) to help Bābur (908) 161, 170.

Mullā **Sarsān**—Kāmrān's messenger and custodian of Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* son (933) 544.

[1] Concerning the date of his death, see Additional Notes under p. 603.

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Sar-u-pā *Gujūr*—Bābur's guide to Parhāla (925) 389, 391.

Satrvī Kachī—his force at Kānwa (933) 562.

Sulṭān **Sātūq-būghra Khān Ghāzī Pādshāh** (b. 384 AH.–994 AD.).—a surmised descendant 29 n. 8; his style Pādshāh 344 n. 2.

Sayyid Amīr, see Nūru'd-dīn *Chaghanīānī*.

Sayyid Dakkanī—Shāh Ṭāhir *Khwāndī Dakkani*—present at a feast (935) 631.[1]

Sayyid Daknī *Shīrāzī*, or Ruknī, or Zaknī—receives honours and orders (935) 619; on his name and work *ib.* n. 2, 634 n. 1; (see *supra*).

Sayyidī Beg Ṭaghāī, see Sherīm Ṭaghāī.

Sayyidīm 'Alī *darbān* (? Muhammad-'alī), son of Bābā 'Alī Beg—particulars 307; serving Khusrau Shāh (901) 60–1; leads the Rustā-hazāra to join Bābur (910) 196; a follower punished 197; takes Bāī-qarā service (912) 307; drowned by Badī'u'z-zamān 307–8; [†*cir.* 913 AH.–1507 AD.].

Sayyid Mashhadī (var. Masnadī)—brings Bābur news of Khwāja Raḥīmdād's sedition (935) 688.

Sayyid Mīrzā *Andikhūdī*, ? brother of Apāq Begīm—his two Bāī-qarā marriages 267.

Sayyid Rūmī—at a feast (935) 631.

Sayyid Ṭabīb *Khurāsānī*—attends Bābur's mother (911) 247.

Shād Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—particulars 263–4; her husband 'Ādil Sulṭān *Aūzbeg q.v.*

Shādī, a reciter—his son Ghulām-i-shadī 292.

Shādī Khān *Kīwī Afghān*—fights and submits to Bābur (910) 233.

Shādmān *chuhra*—wrestles (935) 660.

Shāh Bābā *bīldār*—entrusted with building work (935) 642.

Shah-bāz *qalandar*—his tomb destroyed by Bābur (925) 377.

Shah-bāz *Qārlūq*—serving Tambal (908) 170.

Shāh Beg *Arghūn*—Shuja' Beg—son of Ẓū'n-nūn—his close association with his father 274; mentioned as with him in Qandahār (902) 71, (910) 198, 227; they give refuge to

[1] Since my text was printed, my husband has lighted upon what shows that the guest at the feast was an ambassador sent by Burhān Niẓām Shāh of Ahmadnagar to congratulate Bābur on his conquest of Dihlī, namely, Shāh Ṭāhir the apostle of Shiism in the Dakkan. He is thus distinguished from Sayyid Daknī, (Ruknī, Zaknī) *infra* and my text needs suitable correction. (See Add. Notes under p. 631 for further particulars of the Sayyid and his embassy.)

Badī'u'z-zamān *Bāī-qarā* (902) 71, (913) 307; act with the Mīrzā (903) 94, 95; favoured by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* 264; his dominance *ib.*; proffers and renounces co-operation with Bābur against Shaibānī (913) 330, 331–2; loses Qandahār to him 337–8; ☞ released from Ṣafawī imprisonment by his slave Sambhal's devotion (917) 338 n. 2, 365; news of his taking Kāhān reaches Bābur (925) 395; his interpretation of Bābur's reiterated attack on Qandahār 365, ☞ 427; other suggestions for the attack of 926 AH. 430; ☞ action of his checks an expedition into Hindūstān (926) 428, 429, 430; ☞ his position and political relations 429; Bābur's campaign against Qandahār (926–928) 366, 430–436, App. J. xxxiv; ☞ final surrender to Bābur (928) *ib.*; ☞ his death 437, 443; his son Shāh Ḥasan, brother Muḥammad Muqīm, slave Mehtar, commissary Qīzīl *q.v.*; [†930 AH.–1524 AD. ?].

Shāh Begīm *Badakhshī*, wife of Yūnas Khān *Chaghatāī*—particulars 22–3; visited by Bābur (903) 92, (907) 149, (908) 157; delays to accept his plans 158; meets her younger son Aḥmad 159; ☞ ordered by Shaibānī to stay in Tāshkīnt 184; comes to Bābur in Kābul (911) 246; disloyal (912) 317; his reflections on her conduct 318–9; goes to Badakhshān (913) 21, 35, 341; captured by Abā-bikr *Kāshgharī*; her sons Maḥmūd and Aḥmad, her daughter Daulat-sulṭān, her nephews Sanjar *Barlās*; her grandsons Mīrzā Khān and Sa'īd (and his brothers) *q.v.*

Shāh-i-gharīb Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Khadīja—particulars 261, 268; his retainer Āhī the poet 289 n. 3; [†902 AH.–1496–7 AD.—H.S. lith. ed. iii, 260].

Shāhī *qalandar*—plays the *ribāb* (925) 417.

Shāhī *ṭamghāchī*—appointed clerk (935) 629.

Shāhīm (Shāh Muḥammad ?)—sent for news (932) 454; climbs into Chanderī (934) 595 (here *yūz-bāshī*); his brother Nūr Beg *q.v.*

Shahīm-i-nāṣir—one of eight fugitives from Akhsī (908) 177.

Shāh-jahān Pādshāh *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—☞ 184; his imitation of Bābur (1030) 298 n. 3; ☞ his work in Bābur's burial-garden 710, App. V, lxxx, [†1076 AH.–1666 AD.].

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Shāh Muhammad *muhrdār*, son of Bābā Qashqa—on Bābur's service (925) 388, (935) 688; his kinsmen *see s.n.* Bābā Qashqa; [†958 AH.–1551 AD.].[1]

Shāh-qulī *ghichakī*—a guitar-player—particulars 291.

Shāh-qulī *Kūl-ābī*—goes into Ḥiṣāt (935) 640; his brother Wais *q.v.*

Shāh-qulī, ? servant of Div Sulṭān (p. 635)—sent to give Bābur a report of the battle of Jām (935) 649; conveys from Bābur an acceptance of excuse to Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī* 649.

Shahrak—conveys letters and a copy of Bābur-nāma writings (935) 652, 653.

Shahr-bānū Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrīd, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Abū-sa'īd—particulars 268; married to Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (*cir.* 873) and divorced (876) 21 n. 1, 268.

Shahr-bānū Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī, (ut supra)*, daughter of 'Umar Shaikh, wife of Junaid *Barlās*—particulars 18.

Shāhrūkh Mīrza *Barlās Turk*, son of Tīmūr—mentioned in a genealogy 14; ruling in Herāt when Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* was born there (842) 256; his wazīr serves Ḥusain (after 873) 281; [†850 AH.–1447 AD.].

Shāhrukh-Sulṭān *Afshār Turk*—commands a reinforcement for Bābur from Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī* (917) 354.

Shāh Ṣufī—does well in Samarkand (906) 144.

Shāh Sulṭān Begīm (? *Arghun*), wife of Ābū-sa'īd *Mīrān-shāhī* and mother of 'Umar Shaikh—her parentage not stated 13 n. 5,[2] 45 n. 1; goes from Akhsī to Andijān when widowed (899) 32; a mediator (905) 113; her death announced (907) 149; [†906 AH.–1501 AD.].

Shāh-suwār *Mughūl*—fights in single combat (904) 106.

Shāh Ṭahir *Khwāndī Dakkanī*, see Sayyid Dakkanī.

Shāh-zāda, ? Shāh Ḥasan *Arghūn*—(926) 417, 418.

Shāh-zādā *Mungīrī*, son of Naṣrat Shāh—negociates with Bābur (935) 676 (where the note reference "5" should follow Mungir).

Shaibak *pīāda*—brings news of Hind-āl's birth (925) 385.

A **Shaibān-Aūzbeg Sulṭān's** marriage 23.

[1] For further particulars see Add. Note under p. 688.

[2] For "H.S. ii" read iii (as also in some other places).

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Muhammad **Shaibānī Khān** — Shaibāq Khān [1] — *Aūzbeg-Shaibān Chīngīz-khānid* — his relations with Ḥamza and Mahdī Sulṭāns *q.v.*; invited to help Bāī-sunghar (903) 73; raids Shīrāz 92; defeats Tarkhāns in Dabūsi (905) 40, 124, (906) 137; takes Bukhārā 125; is given Samarkand by 'Alī *Mīrān-shāhī* 125; murders the Mīrzā (906) 128; his men murder Khwāja Yaḥyā and two sons 128; loses Samarkand by Bābur's surprise attack 131, 132, 134; Bābur's comparison of this capture with Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* of Herāt 135; Bābur's estimate of Shaibānī's position 137–8; defeats Bābur at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) 138–141; besieges Samarkand and effects its surrender (906) 142–7; receives an envoy from Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* 145; crosses the frozen Saihūn and raids Shahrukhiya 151; plunders Aūrā-tīpā 152–3; referred to (908) 158, 168; invited into Farghāna 172; defeats the Chaghatāī Khāns and Bābur at Archīān 18, ☞ 183; captures Andijān (909?) 192; beheads Walī *Qībchāq* (910) 196; takes Khwārizin (911) 242, 255–6; co-operation against him invited by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (910) 190, (911) 255; his men beaten in Badakhshān (911–2) 294–5; takes Balkh 300; his capture of Herāt (913) 263, 275, 296–7, 325–330; besieges Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* in Qandahār and retires 339–40, 343; a recognized menace to Kābul 21 n. 4; 340, 342; orders Sa'īd *Chaghatāī's* death (914) 349; ☞ murders Chaghatāī and Dughlāt chiefs 350; war begun with Shāh Ismā'īl (915) 350; defeated and killed at Merv 350; his wives Mihr-nigār *Chaghatāī*, Khān-zāda *Mīrān-shāhī*, Zuhra *Aūzbeg q.v.*; his sons Tīmūr and Khurram *q.v.*; Banā'ī his retainer (906) 136; creates a Tarkhān 133; [†915 AH.–Dec. 1510 AD.].

Shaikhī—receives gifts (935) 633.

Shaikhīm Beg, amīr and poet of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 277, 286; [†918 AH.–1512–3 AD.].

Shaikhīm Mīrzā *Aūzbeg*—holding Qarshī for his nephew 'Ubaidu'l-lāh (918) 360.

Shaikhīm *mīr-shikār*—loses one of Bābur's good hawks (925) 394.

Shaikhī *nāyī*, flautist in Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* Court—particulars 291; owed his training to Nawā'ī 272.

[1] Down to p. 131 the Ḥai. MS. uses the name Shaibānī or Shaibānī Khān; from that page onwards it writes Shaibāq Khān, in agreement with the Elphinstone MS. —Other names found are *e.g.* Gulbadan's Shāhī Beg Khān and Shah-bakht. (My note 2 on p. 12 needs modification.)

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Shaikh **Sharaf** *Qarā-bāghī*—his arrest for sedition (935) 687–8.

Shaikh **Sharafu'd-dīn** *Munīrī* — his father Shaikh Yaḥyā *Chishtī* 666; his writings read aloud to Akbar 666 n. 7; [†782 AH.–1380 AD.].

Shāmī (Syrian)—deserts from Qandahār (913) 343.

Sher-afgan, brother of Tardī and Qūj Begs—on Bābur's service (933) 538.

Sher-i-aḥmad—belittled as good company (935) 648.

Sherak Beg *Arghun* (var. Sher, Sherka) — serving Muqīm *Arghūn* (910) 195; defeated and takes service with Bābur 196, 198; in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Sher-i-'alī *Aūghlān*,[1] *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khanīd*—mentioned in Yūnas Khān's genealogy 19.

Sher-i-'alī *chuhra* (a brave?)—deserts Bābur (906) 129; put to death under suspicion (911) 248.

Mīr **Sher Ḥājī Beg** *Kūnjī Mughūl*—his daughter's marriage with Yūnas Khān 20 (where for "'Alī-sher" read Sher Ḥājī).

Sherīm (Sher-i-muḥammad?) *chuhra*, a brave?—defends Ḥiṣār (910) 244; killed at Qūndūz *ib.*; [†910 AH.–1505 AD.].

Sherīm Ṭaghāī *Kūnjī Mughūl*—Ṭaghāī Beg—maternal uncle of Bābur's mother—supports Bābur (899) 29, (903) 91, 98; captured by Tambal (905) 110; released 119; in Samarkand (906) 141, 143, 188; Bābur's reflections on his conduct 141, 188; thinks of leaving Bābur (910) 188; on his service 194, 197, 234; loses an index-finger 235; his post against rebels (912) 314; an opinion on game (*kiyīk*) (913) 325; in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334, 337; counsels a retreat to Badakhshān from Kābul 340; ☞ disloyal (916) 351; heads Mughūl revolt in Ghaznī (921) 363; defeated 364, 397; takes refuge with Bābur 364; his son Tūqā *q.v.*; his (and other) abbreviated names 29 n. 2.

Sherīm Ẓikr Beg—put to death in Kābul under 'Abdu'r-razzāq (909?) 195 n. 3.

Sher Khān *Lūdī Afghān*, son of 'Ālam Khān—on his father's service (932) 455.

Sher Khān Sūr *Afghān*—Farīd Khān—Sher Shāh—favoured by Bābur (934) 652; serving Maḥmūd *Lūdī* (935) 652; co-guardian of Jalāl Khān *Nūḥānī* with Dūdū Bībī 652 n. 1, 664 n. 2; writes dutifully to Bābur 659; his training, cog-

[1] The title "Aūghlān" (child, boy) indicates that the bearer died without ruling.

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nomen and one of his marriages 664 n. 2, 659 n. 4; his victory over Humāyūn (1540) 652 n. 3.

Sher Khān *Tarkalānī*—host to Bābur (926) 424.

Sher-qulī *qarāwal Mughūl*—loyal to Bābur (912) 315; at Qandahār (913) 333, 335; rebels (914) 345.

Bābā **Sher-zād,** *see* Bābā Sher-zād.

Mullā **Shams**—very riotous (932) 453.

Sulṭān **Shamsu'd-dīn** *Āīltmīsh*[1] (*Altamsh*) of the Slave dynasty in Dihlī—his buildings in Gūālīār 610, 611; [†633 AH.–1236 AD.].

Sayyid **Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad**—Mīr Sar-i-barahna—particulars 280.

Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad—bearer of letters between Khwāja Kalān and Bābur (935) 644, 645, 649.

Maulānā **Shihāb** *mu'ammāī*—arrives in Āgra from Herāt (935) 605; invited in verse by Bābur 683; [†942 AH.–1535 AD.].

Khusrau's **Shihabu'd-dīn**—on Bābur's service (935) 689, (936) 690.

Shaikh **Shihābu'd-dīn** *'Arab*—at a feast (935) 631.

Mu'zzu'd-dīn **Shihābu'd-dīn Muḥammad** *Ghūrī*—his capital Ghaznī 217; mentioned as a conqueror of Hindūstān 479; his position contrasted with Bābur's 479–80, 481; [†602 AH.–1206 AD.].

Shāh **Sikandar**—on Bābur's service (932–3) 546; sent to Bihār (935) 664.

Sikandar-i-Filkūs—Alexander of Macedon—Badakhshī chiefs claim of descent from him 22; a surmise that he founded Samarkand 75; his supposition that the Indus was the Nile a probable root of a geographical crux 206 n. 3; [†327 B.C.].

Sulṭān **Sikandar Mīrzā** *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, nephew of Ḥusain—parentage 257; his wife Sulṭān-nizhad *q.v.*; [†908 AH.–1502–3 AD.].

Sulṭān **Sikandar** *Lūdī Afghān*, son of Buhlūl—over-lord in Bhīra (910) 382, 383; his treasure 470, exhausted (935) 617; his siege of Gūālīār 477; his capture of Jūnpūr and Dihlī (881) 481, 571 n. 5; Bābur visits his tomb (932) 476; his brother 'Ālam Khān and sons Ibrāhīm and Maḥmūd *q.v.*; ☞ his death and its date 427 and n. 3; [†923 AH.–1517 AD.].

[1] This cognomen was given because the bearer was born during an eclipse of the moon (*āī*, moon and the root *al* taking away); *see* Badāyūnī Bib. Ind. ed. i, 62.

Sikandar Shāh *Gujrātī* — his accession and murder 534–5 (where for "2nd" read 932); [†932 AH.–1526 AD.].

Siktū *Hindū*—father of Dīwa *q.v.*

Sīūndūk *Turkmān*—his hands frost-bitten (912) 311; in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335; rebels against Bābur (914) 355.

Sīūnjuk Sulṭān Khān *Aūzbeg-Shaibān, Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Abu'l-khair—☞ besieges Tāshkīnt (918) 358, 396; his son Bārāq at Jām (935) 622.

Sohrāb Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā*, son of Abū-turāb—particulars 262.

The **Spanish Ambassadors**—the place of their first interview with Tīmūr 78 n. 2.

Sulaimān—offers his horse to a wounded man (908) 175.

Sulaimān Āqā *Turkmān* — envoy of Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī* to Bābur (933) 540, 583; in the right wing at Kānwa 566.

Sulaimān Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Mīrzā Khān (Wais)[1]—☞ brought to Kābul on his father's death (927) 433 n. 1; in the right centre at Pānīpat (932) 472, and at Kānwa (933) 565; ☞ sent to govern Badakhshān (936) 697–8, 699; ☞ Bābur's protective warning to Sa'īd *Chaghatāī* 697–8 (here styled Shāh Mīrzā); on his descent 698 nn. 2, 3; meets his rebel grandson Shāhrukh (*cir.* 983) 191 n. 2; [†997 AH.–1589 AD.].

Mīān **Sūlaimān Shaikh-zāda** *Farmūlī Afghān* → reinforces 'Ālam Khān *Lūdī* (932) 456; gives him 4 *laks* 457; Bābur dismounts at his Dihlī home 476.

Malik Shāh **Sulaimān** *Yūsuf-zāī Afghān* — murdered by Aūlūgh Beg *Kābulī* App. K, xxxvi; his sons Manṣūr and Ṭāūs, his nephew Aḥmad *q.v.*

Sulṭān-bakht Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Abū-sa'īd—her daughter visited by Bābur (935) 616.

Sulṭānīm Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī* (*ut supra*), daughter of Aḥmad and Qātāq—particulars 36.

Sultānīm Begīm *Bāī-qarā* (*ut supra*), daughter of Ḥusain and Chūlī Begīm—particulars 265; arrives in Kābul (925) 397; dies on her way to Āgra (933) 265; her husbands Wais *Bāī-qarā* and 'Abdu'l-bāqī *Mīrān-shāhī*, her son Muḥammad

[1] Here *delete* "Sulṭān-nigar Khānīm", who was his grandmother and not his mother.

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Sulṭān Mīrzā and grandson Aūlūgh Mīrzā (265 n. 5) *q.v.*; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Sulṭān Malik *Kāshgharī, Duldāī Barlās Turk* — his sons Ḥāfiz Muḥammad and Aḥmad Ḥājī Beg, his brother Jānī Beg *q.v.*

Sulṭān-nigār Khānīm *Chaghatāī Chingīz-khānid*, daughter of Yūnas Khān and Shāh Begīm—particulars 23; long parted from a half sister (907) 149; meets her brother Aḥmad (908) 159; mentioned in Bābur's reflection on disloyal kinsfolk (912) 318; writes to him from Kāshghar (932) 446 n. 2; her son Wais [Mīrzā Khān] and grandson Sulaimān *q.v.*[1]; [†934 AH.–1527–8 AD.].

Sulṭān-niẓhād Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain and Pāpā—particulars 266; her husband Sikandar *Bāī-qarā q.v.*

Sultān-qulī and Sulṭān 'Alī, see Bābā-qulī and Bābā 'Alī.

Sulṭān-qulī *chūnāq, Mughūl*—his fidelity (904) and treachery(?) (914 and 921) 105, 109 n. 5; falls into a pit outside Kābul (910) 198; does a bold deed 236; out with Bābur (911) 252–3; rejoins Bābur from Herāt (913) 330–1; in the Mughūl rebellion at Ghaznī (921) 364 n. 1.

Sulṭān **Suyūrghatmīsh Mīrzā** *Shāh-rukhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Shāh-rukh—mentioned in his son Mas'ūd's genealogy 382.

Ṭaghāī Beg, see Sherīm Ṭaghāī.

Ṭaghāī Shāh *bakhshī*—put in charge of Shāh Beg's treasury (913) 338.

Tāham-tan *Turkmān*—particulars 279; his grandson Muḥammad-i-zamān *q.v.*

Ṭāhir Beg *Dūldāī Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥāfiẓ-i-muḥammad—joint governor of Mīrzā Khān (905) 122; feeds the famished Bābur (907) 148.

Ṭāhir *tībrī*—finds Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* body (932) 475; surprised by Rājpūts (933) 549.

Shāh-zāda[2] **Ṭahmāsp** *Ṣafawī 'Arab*, son of Ismā'īl—☞ mentioned as reigning from 930–932 AH. 427; Bābur's envoy to him (930) returns with gifts (933) 540, 560 n. 2, 538, ☞ 712; his campaigns against the Aūzbegs (934) 618, (935) the battle of Jām 617 n. 3, 622–4 (where on p. 622 n. 1 read 935

[1] On p. 433 n. 1 her name is mistakenly entered as that of Sulaimān's mother.
[2] Concerning this title, see Add. Notes under p. 540.

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for "934"), 625 n. 4, 635–6; his own account of the battle 635–6; desires peace 639 n. 3; his envoys in Āgra 630, 632; his friendship enjoined on Kāmrān 645; [†984 AH.–1576 AD.].

Tāj Khān *Sārang-khānī Afghān*—sends Bābur news that Mahmūd *Lūdī's* army has broken up (935) 654; waits on Bābur 657; brings news which prevents hunting 658; sent on service 682; superseded in Chunār by Junaid *Barlās* 683.

Tāju'd-dīn Maḥmūd *Arghūn*—holding Qalāt for Muqīm (913) 339; waits on Bābur (925) 418.

Sultān Aḥmad **Tambal** *Itārachī Mughūl*—with Bābur at Asfara (900) 53; wounded near Samarkand (902) 67; promoted (903) 86; deserts Bābur under privation 86, 87; joins Aūzūn Ḥasan in supporting Jahāngīr in Farghāna 87–8; induces The Khān (Maḥmūd) to withdraw support from Bābur 91; his tyranny (904) 100–1; brings Jahāngīr against Bābur in Marghīnān 101; his men drubbed out of Akhsī and defeated at the ferry 101–2; loses Andijān 103; is joined by anxious Mughūls 105; takes Jahāngīr against Andijān and retires 106–7; Bābur's campaign against him (905) 108–110, 112–5; defeated at Khūbān 113; helped feebly by The Khān 115–6; opposes Bābur at Archīān 117 and at Bishkāran 118; terms made 118–9; waits on Bābur 119; his ill-influence 119, 125; makes Qambar-i-'alī prisoner 124; deserters to him 118, 125, 156; moves against The Khān (906) 145, 154; an uncle's rough comment on him 145; is sent Nūyān's sword by Bābur (907) 150–1; conspiracy against him 154; the two Khāns join Bābur against him (908) 161–176; wounds Bābur with Nūyān's sword 166–7, 396; terms with him repudiated by Bābur 169, 171; invites Shaibānī into Farghāna 172; occupies Akhsī citadel 173; left by Jahāngīr 173–174; mentioned to Bābur in the flight from Akhsī 178, 182; ☞ helped by Shaibānī 183; defeated by him and killed 244 and n. 3; a couplet of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's about him 289; his brothers Beg Tīlba, Khalīl, Muḥammad and Bāyazīd *q.v.*; [†909 AH.–1504 AD.].

Tāng-ātmīsh Sulṭān *Aūzbeg-Shaibān ?*—at a feast (935) 631; his descent 631 n. 4; in the battle of the Ghogrā 669.

Tardī Beg, brother of Qūj (Qūch) and Sher-afgān—in the left centre at Pānīpat (932) 472, 473, and at Kānwa (933) 565; on service 538–9, 582, (934) 590, 602; [†946 AH.–1539 AD.].

Tardī Beg *khāksār*—Bābur visits him (925) 417–8; makes verse dropping down the Kābul-river (932) 448; praises a

spring and receives a district 467, 581; returns to the darwesh-life (933) 583; conveys a gift to Kāmrān in Qandahār 583.

Tardīka—Tardi *yakka* (568 n. 1)—on service (932) 462; in the right wing [*tūlghuma*] at Kānwa (933) 568, 579; joins Bābur at Dugdugī (935) 651; on service 678.

Tardī-muḥammad *Jang-jang*, son of Muḥammad *Jang-jang*—sent into Bhīra (935) 661, 664.

Tardī-muḥammad *Qibchāq*—at entertainments (925) 386, 400.

Tarkhān Begīm *Arghūn Chingīz-khānid*, daughter of 'Abdu'l-'alī—particulars 36.

Tarsam Bahādur—punishes the Mundāhirs (936) 700–1.

Tarsūn-muḥammad Sultān—serving Humāyūn (935) 640.

Malik **Ṭāūs** *Yūsuf-zāī Afghān*—escorts his sister Mubāraka to her wedding with Bābur (925) 375.

Tātār Khān *Kākār* (or *Gakar*)—particulars 387; detains one travelling to Bābur (925) 386; killed by his cousin Hātī 387, 389; Bābur dismounts at his house in Pauhāla 390; [†925 AH.–1519 AD.].

Tātār Khān *Sārang-khānī Afghān*—Khān-i-jahān—in Gūālīār and not submissive to Bābur (932) 523; surrenders (933) 539–40; on Bābur's service (935) 582 (here Khān-i-jahān).

Tātār Khān *Yūsuf-khail Lūdī Afghān*—particulars 382, 383; his son Daulat Khān *q.v.*; [†a few years before 910 AH.–1504–5 AD.].

Amīr **Tīmūr Beg** *Barlās Turk*—Ṣāḥib-i-qirān—mentioned in genealogies 14, 256; his birthplace Kesh 83; Samarkand his capital 75, 77, 78; his description of Soghd 84; his removal of the body of Sayyid Barka to Samarkand 266 n. 4; circumambulates Shaikh Māslahat's tomb (790) 132 n. 2; and Aḥmad *Yassawī's* (799) 356; captures of Qarshī 134 n. 1; his example followed in the bestowal of Farghāna 14; his gifts of the governments of Dihlī 487 and Samarkand 85; his descendants styled Mīrzā down to 913 AH. 344; Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* the best swordsman of his line 259 and greatest in his lands 191; a descendant 567; favoured begs 19, 39; one of his old soldiers 150; a descendant effects the migration of fowlers to Multān 225; Bābur's victory where his had been at Pul-i-sangīn 352; his and his descendants rule in Hindūstān 382; their loss of lands to the Aūzbegs 340; his builders and Bābur's numerically compared 520; [†807 AH.–1405 AD.].

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Tīmūr 'Uṣmān *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—mentioned 280.

Tīngrī-bīrdī *Bashaghī* (?) *Mughūl*—in the left wing [*tūlghumā*] at Pānīpat (932) 473.

Tīngrī-bīrdī Beg, son of Qāsim *qūchīn*—helps to beat down snow for a road (912) 308–9; in the left wing at Qandahār (913) 334, 336; his servant at Bajaur (925) 361; entertains Bābur 401; returns to his districts Khwāst and Andar-āb 403; overtakes Bābur at Jūī-shāhī 410; acts swiftly for him (932–3) 546.

Tīngrī-qūlī, a musician—plays at Bābur's entertainments (925) 385, 386, 388; upset into the Parwān-water 407; first given wine 415.

Tīrahī Sulṭān—takes a letter to Khwāja Kalān (925) 411.

Mulla **Tirik-i-'alī** (= Pers. Jān-i-'alī ?)—fights for Bābur at Bajaur (925) 368 and (on his name) n. 5; on service (933) 551 (where read Tirik).

Tīzak, son of Qūl-i-bāyazīd *bakāwal*—captured as a child and kept 4 years (910) 197.

Ṭūfān *Arghūn*—joins Bābur and so creates a good omen (913) 333.

Sayyid **Ṭufān**—on Bābur's service (932) 453.

Tūghlūq-tīmūr Khān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*—mentioned in Yūnas Khān's genealogy 19.

Tūka *Hindū* (var. Nau-kār)—given charge of gifts for Kābul (932) 525.

Tūkhtā-būghā Sulṭān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Aḥmad (Alacha Khān)—waits on Bābur (934) 601; at a feast (935) 631; referred to as serving Bābur 318; works magic 654; in the battle of the Ghogrā 672, 673; receives praise, thanks, and guerdon 674, 677; on service 682; [†*circ.* 940 AH.–1533–4 AD.].

Tūlik Kūkūldāsh[1]—Tambal strikes him with Bābur's sword (912) 316; defeats Aūzbegs in Badakhshān (925) 408; on Humāyūn's service (935) 640; his servant Barlās Jūkī *q.v.*

Tūlmīsh *Aūzbeg*—in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 669; on service 678.

Tūlūn Khwāja Beg, *Bārīn Mughūl*—particulars 87; on Bābur's service (902) 66, (903) 88; killed 88; [†903 AH.–1498 AD.].

[1] He may be the Tūlik Khān *qūchīn* of the *Ma'āsiru'l-umrā* i, 475.

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Tūn-sulṭān (var. Yūn) *Mughūl—ghūnchachī* of 'Umar Shaikh 24.
Tūqā Beg, son of Sherīm Ṭaghāī — captured by Tambal when serving Bābur (904) 106; killed as a prisoner 107; [†904 AH.–1499 AD.],

Khwāja **'Ubāidu'l-lāh** *Aḥrārī Naqshbandī* — his righteous influence in Samarkand 42; his intervention for peace between 'Umar Shaikh and kinsmen 62 and n. 1; Pashāghar once his village 97; disciples named by Bābur, Aḥmad and 'Umar Shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī*, Darwesh Beg Tarkhān, and Maulānā-i-qāzī *q.v.*; held in slight esteem by Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* 46; his family ill-treated by Maḥmūd (899) 41; dreamed of by Bābur (906) 132; his *Wālidiyyah-risāla* versified by Bābur 619–20, 468 n. 4, ☞ 604; his sons [Muḥammad 'Ubaidu'l-lāh] Khwājakā Khwāja and Yaḥya *q.v.*; [†895 AH.–1491 AD.].
'Ubaidu'l-lāh Sulṭān Khān *Aūzbeg, Shaibānī Chīngīz-khānid,* son of Maḥmūd and nephew of Shaibānī—defeats two pairs of Bāī-qarā Mīrzās (913) 263, 329–30; defeated at Merv (917) 354; defeated north of Bukhārā *ib.*; his vow and return to obedience 348, 356; victorious over Bābur at Kūl-i-malik (918) 201 n. 7, 357–8; routs Najm Ṣānī at Ghaj-davān 360–1; avenges Mughūl tyranny in Ḥisār 362; attacks Herāt (927) 434; takes Merv (932) 534, 617 n. 2; takes Mashhad (933) 534, 623 n. 3; attacked by Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī* (934) 618, 622; defeated at Jām (935) 622 (where in n. 1 for "934" read 935), 635–6; Ṭahmāsp's description of him 636 n. 2[1]; his wives by capture Ḥabība *Dūghlāt* and Mihr-angez *Bāī-qarā q.v.*; [†946 AH.–1539 AD.].
Rāwal **Ūdai-singh** *Bāgarī*—his force at Kānwa (933) 562; his death 573; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].
Ūlugh, Ūlūs, see Aūlūgh, Aūlūs.
Mīr **'Umar Beg** *Turkmān*—particulars 279; his sons Abū'l-fatḥ and 'Alī Khān *q.v.*
'Umar Mīrzā *Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk,* son of Mīrān-shāh—mentioned 262 n. 3.
'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā I, son of Tīmūr—mentioned 14 (where in l. 3 for "and" read who); receives Farghāna 14; [†797 AH.–1395 AD.].

[1] Ḥaidar Mīrzā gives an interesting account of his character and attainments (T.R. trs. p. 283).

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'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā II *Mīrān-shāhī*, father of Bābur—particulars 16–19, 24–28; his lands 17, 24, 50, 55, 95 n. 2, 103; Akhsī his capital 10; his ambition 12; his family relations 12; betroths Bābur 35, 120; Farghāna invaded (899) 13; his death 13, 29, 32, App. A, i, iii; his house used by Bābur (908) 172 and his tomb visited (900) 54, (908) 173; his mother Shāh Sulṭān Begīm *q.v.*; his retainers Tūlūn Khwāja, 'Abdu'l-wahhāb, Khwājakī Khwāja *q.v.*; his old tailor 30; mentioned 6; [†899 AH.–1494 AD.].

Umīd Āghācha *Andijānī, ghūnchachī* of 'Umar Shaikh—her son Nāṣir *q.v.*; [†before 899 AH.–1494 AD.].

'Uṣmān, the Third Khalif—Bābur surmised that Samarkand became Musalmān in his reign 75; [†murdered 35 AH.–665 AD.].

Mullā-zāda Mullā **'Uṣmān**—particulars 284; his birthplace Chīrkh 217.

Amīr **Wāḥid**—his tomb in Herāt visited by Bābur (912) 306; [†35 AH.–655–6 AD. ?].

Beg **Wais**—brings news from Kābul to Āgra (933) 536.

Pīr (or Mīr) **Wais**—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; released (905) 119; leaves Samarkand during the siege (906–7) 146.

Shaikh **Wais**—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; leaves Samarkand during the siege (906–7) 146.

Wais Ātāka—his canal at Kābul 200.

Wais Khān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, father of Yūnas Khān—mentioned 19; his sons Yūnas and Aīsān-būghā *q.v.*; [†832 AH.–1428–9 AD.].

Sulṭān **Wais** *Kūlābī*—his friendship recommended to Humāyūn (935) 627; ☞ reinforces Qila'-i-ẓafar (935 or 936) 696; his daughter Ḥaram Begīm *q.v.*

Wais *Lāgharī* **Beg** *tūghchī*—particulars 28; joins The Khān (Maḥmūd) (899) 32; safe-guards his ward Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī ib.*; on service for Bāī-sunghar (902) 65; waits on Bābur 66; stays with him at a crisis (903) 91; on his service (904) 98, 100, 101, 106; at Khūbān (905) 113; advises 117; plundered by 'Alī-dost 119; leaves Samarkand during the siege (906–7) 146; his son (?) Beggīna *q.v.*

Wais *Mīrān-shāhī*, see Mīrzā Khān.

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Sulṭān **Wais Mīrzā** *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Bāī-qarā II—parentage 257; his cousin and wife Sulṭanīm *q.v.*

Sulṭān **Wais** *Sawādī*—mentioned 372; sent to collect a tax he had fixed (925) 374; receives gifts and leave 376.[1]

Sulṭān **Wālāma** *Taklū*—mentioned in Shāh Ṭahmāsp's account of the battle of Jām (935) 626 n. 2.

Pīr **Walī** *Bārlas Turk*—☞ loses Sīwīstān to Shāh Beg (*cir.* 917) 429 n. 1.

Walī Beg *Barlās*—particulars 272–3; his son Muḥammad-i-Walī *q.v.*; [†973 AH.].

Walī Beg *Qībchāq Turk*, brother of Khusrau Shāh[2]—particulars 51; on his brother's service (901) 60, 64, (902) 71, (903) 93–4; mentioned (906) 129, (910) 191 by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*; inquired for from Khusrau by Bābur 193; defeated by Aimaqs 196; his death 51, 196; his former followers gathered together 242; [†910 AH.–1504 AD.].

Walī *khazānchī, Qarā-qūzī*—captured by Tambal in Akhsī (908) 181; in the left centre at Qandahār (913) 335; his matchlock shooting at Bajaur (925) 369; on service 391, (932) 458, 465–6, 471; in the right wing at Pānīpat 472, 475, and at Kanwā (933) 566; his ill-behaviour in the heats 524.

Walī *pārschī* (cheeta-keeper)—receives a gift (935) 633.

Walī Qīzīl *Mughūl*—rebuked (932) 453; in the right-wing [*tūlghumā*] at Pānīpat 473; made *shiq-dār* of Dihlī 476; on service (934) 601, (935) 638.

Yādgār-i-muḥammad[3] **Mīrzā** *Shāh-rukhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Muḥammad—his capture of Herāt referred to 278; his defeat by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* at Chanārān (874) 260; his loss of Herāt to Ḥusain (875) 260, 279, compared with Shaibānī's of Samarkand to Bābur (906) 134–5; the date of his death referred to 259 n. 1; his Master-of-horse Mīr (Qambar-i-)'alī *q.v.*; [†875 AH.–1470–1 AD.].

Yādgār-i-nāsir Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Nāṣir—gifts made to him (935) 632; [†953 AH.–1546 AD.].

Yādgār-i-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī* (*ut supra*), daughter of 'Umar Shaikh—particulars 18; her Aūzbeg marriage (908) 18, 356; her return to Bābur (917) 356.

[1] See Additional Note under P. 372.

[2] See Additional Notes under P. 51.

[3] Here the Ḥai. MS. and Ilminsky's Imprint add "Nāṣir".

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Yādgār Ṭaghāī—his daughter Bega Begīm *q.v.*

Khwāja **Yaḥyā,** younger son of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Aḥrārī*—his part in the Tarkhān revolt (901) 63 ; treats with Bābur (904) 98 ; welcomes him to Samarkand (905) 124 ; waits on Shaibānī (906) 127 ; banished by him and murdered with two sons 128, 147 n. 4 ; his house mentioned 133 ; his sons Muḥammad Zakariya and Bāqī, his grandsons 'Abdu'sh-shahīd and Khwāja Kalān *q.v.* ; [†906 AH.–1500 AD.].

Shaikh **Yaḥyā** *Chīshtī*—his tomb visited by Bābur (935) 666 ; his son Sharafu'd-dīn *Munīrī q.v.*

Yaḥyā *Nūḥānī,* at the head of Hindūstān traders—allowed to leave Kābul (925) 416.

Yaḥyā Nūḥānī (perhaps the man last entered)—waits on Bābur (935) 676 ; a grant and leave given 683 ; his younger brother (no name) 683.

Yakka Khwāja—on Bābur's service (934) 598 ; in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 671 ; drowned 674 ; his brother Qāsim *q.v.* ; [†935 AH.–1529 AD.].

Yāngī Beg Kūkūldāsh—brings Bābur letters and gifts from Kāshghar (932) 445–6.

Ya'qūb-i-ayūb *Begchīk,* son of Ayūb—on Ḥusain Bāī-qarā's service (901) 58 ; proffers Khusrau Shāh's service to Bābur (910) 192–3.

Sulṭān **Ya'qūb Beg** *Āq-qūīlūq Turkmān*—a desertion to him 275 ; affords refuge to Banā'ī 287 ; his beg Tīmūr 'Uṣman *Mīrān-shāhī q.v.* ; [†896 AH.–1491 AD.].

Maulānā **Ya'qūb** *Naqshbandī* — his birthplace Chīrkh 217 ; [†851 AH.–1447 AD.].

Ya'qūb *tez-jang*— ☞ one of five champions defeated in single combat by Bābur (914) 349 n. 1.

Ya'qūb Sulṭān—mentioned as at Jām 636 n. 2.

Mullā **Yārak**—plays one of his compositions and incites Bābur to compose (926) 422.

Yārak Ṭaghāī (var. Yārīk)—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91 ; *locum tenens* in Akhsī (905) 116 ; retaliates on Turkmān Hazāras (911) 253 ; takes charge of sheep raided by Bābur (912) 313 ; in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334.

Yār-i-'alī *Balāl, Bahārlū Qarā-qūīlūq Turkmān,* grandfather of Bairām Khān-i-khānān—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91 ; wounded (905) 109 (where in n. 5 for "father" read

grandfather); rejoins Bābur (910) 189; on his Tramontane service (932–3) 546.

Yār-i-ḥusain, grandson of Mīr (Shaikh) 'Alī Beg—waits on Bābur (910) 228; asks permission to raise a force in Bābur's name 231; kills Bāqī *Chaghāniānī* (911) 250–1.

Yārīm Beg—Yār-i-muḥammad?—on Bābur's service (913) 337.

Yilī-pars Sulṭān *Aūzbeg-shaibānī*—his brother Aisān-qulī (*q.v.*) 265.

Yisūn-tawā Khān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*—mentioned in Yūnas Khān's genealogy 19.

Yūl-chūq—conveys a message to Bābur (904) 99.

Yūnas-i-'alī, son of Bābā 'Alī Lord-of-the-Gate—surprised at a Tuesday's fast (925) 398; on Bābur's service 278, 468 (where read his name in l. 3) 475, 521; in the right centre at Pānīpat (932) 472, 473 and at Kānwa (933) 565, 569; has charge of Ibrāhīm's mother 543, 545; makes a garden (932) 532; in social charge of Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī's* envoys (935) 631; inquires into Muḥammad-i-zamān *Bāī-qarā's* objections to Bihār 661, 662; in the battle of the Ghogrā 671; at entertainments (925) 400, (935) 683; his kinsman Ibrāhīm *qanūnī q.v.*

Yūnas Khān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid,* Bābur's maternal grandfather—particulars[1] 19–24; made Khān of the Mughūls by Bābur's grandfather 20, 344 n. 2, 352; his friendly relations with Bābur's father 12; receives Tāshkint from him 13; defeats him 16; his sons Maḥmūd and Aḥmad *q.v.* and daughters 21–4; his servant Qambar-i-'alī *q.v.* mentioned 92 n. 1, 149, 565 n. 1; [†892 AH.–1487 AD.].

Khwāja **Yūnas** *Sajāwandī*—his birthplace in Luhūgur (Logar) 217.

Yūsuf-i-'alī—musician at entertainments (925) 385, 387, 388; 418.

Yūsuf-i-'alī *bakāwal*—on Bābur's service in Bajaur (925) 375.

Yūsuf-i-'alī Kūkūldāsh—made joint-*dārogha* in Herāt (911) 293; Bābur's cicerone in Herāt (912) 304; his good dancing 303.

Yūsuf-i-'alī *rikābdār*—conveys a letter concerning Hind-āl's pre-natal adoption (925) 374; receives a gift for swimming

[1] The natural place for this Section of record is at the first mention of Yūnas Khān (p. 12) and not, as now found, interrupting another Section. See p. 678 and n. 4 as to "Sections".

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401; meets Bābur 418; (?) in Sambhal (934) 587; (?) dies there 675, 687 (here 'Alī-i-yūsuf); [†935 AH.–1529 AD.].[1]

Khwāja **Yūsuf** *Andījānī*, a musician—particulars 4.

Yūsuf-i-ayūb *Begchīk*, son of Ayūb—Bābur warned against him (910) 190; takes service with Bābur 196; winters with Nāṣir 241; leaves Bābur for Jahāngīr (911) 190, 254.

Yūsuf *badī'*[2]—particulars 289; [†897 AH.–1492].

Sayyid **Yūsuf Beg** *Aūghlāqchī*, son of Murād—particulars 39; waits on Bābur from Samarkand (903) 72; holding Yār-yīlāq for 'Alī *Mīrān-shāhī* (904) 98; dismissed from Khurāsān on suspicion 98; joins Bābur (910) 196; advises him 197; his death 241; his brother Ḥasan and sons Muḥammad-i-yūsuf and Aḥmad-i-yūsuf *q.v.*; [†910 AH.–1505 AD.].

Yūsuf dārogha of Akhsī?—interviews Bābur during the flight (908) 181–2.

Sayyid **Yūsuf** *Machamī*—particulars 118; opposes Bābur (905) 118, 117 n. 2.

Zāhid Khwāja—abandons Sambhal (933) 557; on service (935) 682; [†953 AH.–1546 AD.].

Shaikh **Zain** *Khawāfī*—verse-making on the Kābul-river (932) 448; his account of Bābur's regretted couplet 448 n. 5; goes into Dihlī for the Congregational Prayer 476; makes a garden at Āgra 532; recals a vow to Bābur (933) 553; his *inshā* on Bābur's renunciation of wine and of the *tamghā* 553–6; his *Fatḥ-nāma* of Kānwa 559–574, and chronograms of victory 575; in the left centre of the battle 565; prefers requests for Muḥammad-i-zamān *Bāī-qarā* (935) 662; invited in verse by Bābur 683; his maternal uncle Abū'l-wajd *q.v.*; [†940 AH.–1533–4 AD.].

Zainab-sulṭān Begīm—her granddaughter met by Bābur near Āgra (935) 616.

Zainab-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Maḥmūd—particulars 48; married to Bābur (910) 48, 711; [†*circ.* 912 AH.–1506–7 AD.].

Zard-rūī—on Bābur's service (935) 668, 669.

Zar-dusht ("Zoroaster")—mentioned in a verse 85.

Bībī **Zarīf Khātūn**—her daughter Māh-chūchūq 199 n. 1, 342 n. 3.

[1] The entries of 934 and 935 may concern a second man 'Alī-i-yūsuf.

[2] Perhaps skilled in the art of metaphors and tropes (*'ilmu'l-badī'*).

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[1] My text has *julgāsī*, but I am advised to omit the genitive *sī* ; so, too, in aiki-sū-ārā-sī, Rabāṭik-aūrchīn-ī *q.v.*

[2] Cf. *s.v.* Āhangarān-julga n. as to form of the name.

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[1] Asterisks indicate Translator's matter.

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[1] Bābur uses this name for, Anglicé, the Kābul-river as low as nearly to Dakka.

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[1] "The Dara-i-ṣūf, often mentioned by the Arabian writers, seems to lie west of Bāmiān" (Erskine, *Memoirs*, p. 152 n. 1).

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[1] Bābur's itinerary gives Gharjistan a greater eastward extent than the Fr. map Maïmène allows, thus agreeing with Erskine's surmise (*Memoirs* p. 152 n. 1).—The first syllable of the name may be "Ghur".

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(4) **Turki-English work**:—*The Bābur-nāma in English* (*Memoirs of Bābur*), Annette S. Beveridge—*see* Preface and other contents of these volumes.

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[1] For the Bukhara (Bābur-nāma) Compilation *see Wāqi'-nāma-i-pādshāhī*; as also for its Codices, descendants and offtakes, *viz.* Ilminski's "*Bābur-nāma*" and de Courteille's *Mémoires de Baber*.

[2] The confusion of identity has become clear to me in 1922 only.

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[1] One of the nine great gods of the Etruscans was called Tūrān. Etr. *Tūr* means strong, a strong place (fortress); with it may connect L. *turma* (troop) and the name of Virgil's Rutulian hero Turmus may root in the Mongol tongue. Professor Jules Marthe writes in *La Langue Etrusque* (Pref. vi), "Il m'a paru qu'il y avait entre l'Etrusque et les langues finns-ougriennes d'étroites affinités" (hence with the Mongol tongue). "Tarkhān" is "Tūrkhān" in Miles trs. p. 71 of the *Shajaratu'l-atrāk* (H.B.).

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[1] This Cat. contains the Turkī MS. of the Bukhara Compilation, once owned by Leyden.

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[1] where, in n. 3, for f. 183*b* and f. 264*b read* f. 103*b* and f. 264.

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[1] On this peg may be hung the following note:—The *Pādshāh-nāma* (*q.v.*) calls the author and presenter of the above translation "Abū ṭ-ṭālib" *Ḥusainī* (Bib. Ind. ed. vol. i, part 2, p. 288), but its index contains many references seemingly to the same man as Khwāja Abū'l-ḥusain *Turbatī*. The P. N. says the book which it entitles *Waqi'āt-i-ṣāḥib-qirān* (The Acts of Tīmūr), was in Turkī, was brought forth from the Library of the (Turk) Governor of Yemen and translated by Mīr Abū-ṭālib *Ḥusainī*; that what Tīmūr had done with this book of counsel (*dastūr-i-nasā'iḥ*) when he sent it to his son Pīr-i-muḥammad, then succeeding (his brother) Jahāngīr [in Kābul, the Ghaznis, Qandahār, *etc.*] Shāhjahān also did by sending it, out of love, to his son Aurangzīb who had been ordered to the Deccan.

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1 In n. 5 for "*parvāu*" read *parrāu*, and *read* Blanford.

2 which *read* (l. 17) for *yak rang*. The name *bak-dīng* appears due to the clapping of the bird's mandibles and its pompous strut; (cf. Ross' *Polyglot List*, No. 336).

3 Following the *zammaj* insert "Another is the buzzard (T. *Sār*); its back and tail are red". (*Cf.* Omission List under p. 500.)

4 *See* Omission List under p. 498.

5 After "Tramontane", *add* Its breast is less deeply black.

6 The bird being black, its name cannot be translated "yellow-bird"; as noted on p. 373 *sārīgh* = thief; [*sārāgh* or *sārīgh* means a bird's soug].

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fish 503; cray fish 502; unnamed 663; frog 503; porpoise 502; crocodile var. 501–2, 663;—**Various**:—lizard 501–2; locust (*chūrtīka*) 421, App. N, 1; mosquito 204; snakes, 8, 147, 406; **Flowers**:—Farghāna 5, 10; Kābul 215–7; Peshāwār 393; Hind 513–5;—*arghwān* (red, the Judas-tree) 216–7, 305, (yellow) 217; hibiscus 513; jasmine 515; oleander 514, 580, 610; roses 5, 321 (couplet), 513; screw-pine 516; tulips 5, 215, 321; violets 5;—**Fruits**:—Farghāna 2, 3, 6, 8, 10; Samarkand 77, 82–4; Kābul 202–3–8–9–10–12–16–18–20–21; Hind 503 to 513, App. O;—*'ain-ālū* 506; almond 6, 7, 9, 223, 507–8; *ālū-bālū* 203; apple 2, 8, 77, 202–20, 507; apricot 6, 202; *badrang* 203; plantain (banāna) 208, 504; cherry 203; *chār ūnjī* 508; citron var. 203–8–10, 501–11; clustered-fig 508; coco-nut 509; colocynth-apple (*wild gourd*) 410–11 (*where for khunzal read hunzal*); coriander 211; corinda 507; date-palm 410–24, 506–8; date-plum (T. *qarā-yimīsh*) 203–10; fig 508; grape 3, 77, 202–3–10–12–18–21–507–8, 646–86–87; jack-fruit 506; *jāman* 506, 606; *jilghūza* (pine-seeds) 203–13; jujube (*sinjīd*) 196, 203; *chūhdā* 506; *kamrak* 506 (*where add, It has no stone*); lemon 512, 614; lime var. 512; lote-fruit 507; lotus-seed (*dūdhi*) 666; mango 503; melon var. 10, 82–4, 92, 411, 645–6; 686–7; mimusops 505; myrobalan 508; *nāshpāti* 3; orange var. 203–10–11, 414, 510, 512, Add. N. P. 512, 614, App. O, liii; pear 203; peach 203; pistachio 508; plum 82; monkey-jack 506–7; pomegranate 6, 8, 77, 202–8, 507; quince 202, 507–12; tamarind 505 (*n. ref. to būtā*) walnut 203, 508;—**Trees and plants**:—*amān-qarā*, maize (?) 504, small almond 223, *būtā* 505, *būtā-kuh* 221, clover, trefoil, *sih-barga*, *yūrūnchqā* 6, 209, 346, conifers, *archa*, 221–2, cypress 81, 222, *dhak* 472; ebony-tree 585, 614, hardwood-elm 81, grass (*cuscus*) 631 n. 2, holm-oak 213–16–23, madder 218, *mahuwā* 505–8, male-reed 514, mandrake and its similars 11, mastic 213–23, millet 81, 215, mulberry (*tūt*) 248, 494, olive 222, palmyra palm 509, App. O, liv, Pinus Gerardiana, *jilghūza* 203–13, plane 216, 398, poplar var. 13, 15, (*rūrūk*) 145 and 156, 414 (*where for "purslain" read poplar*), *qarjand* 223, reed 514, rice 210, 342, rhubarb 203, 345, 507, spikenard 392, sugar-cane 208, 388, *tabalghū* 11, tamarisk 14, 463 (*where, wrongly, "Tamarind"*);—willow 217, 306, (weeping) 304, App. I, (*amāl-bīd*) 512;—**Physical various**—**Climate**:—change on the Kindīrlīk-pass (?) 2; meeting places of hot and cold in Kābul 208 and 229, 220; both near the town 202; good climate Aūsh 4–6 Kāsān 10, Soghd 84, Kābul 263;—**Climes**:—Farghāna and Samarkand in the 5th 1, 74; Kābul in the 4th 199;—cold, Akhsī 116, Hasht-yak 151, Ghazni 219, 526, Khwārizm 219, upper Herī-rūd valley 311, Kābul 314;—

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Nine a mystic number—9 Tarkhān privileges 250; 9 allowed offences 250; gifts by nines; [Cf. *Shajaratu'l-atrāk*, *Miles trs. p. 530*, for the root of reverence for the number nine].

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Notes on the Chugani and neighbouring tribes of Kafiristan, Col. H. S. Tanner (*JRGS. 1881*)—map mentioned 209; Dara-i-nūr 210, App. F; Ning-nahār App. E, xix. [*Cf. Index II s.n. chūgān.*]

Notes on some monuments in Afghanistan, H. H. Hayden—Bābur's Grave (illustration) 710, App. V, lxxx.

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[1] Cf. Mr. G. Murray's trs. (Euripides i, 86) suggesting that the Wooden Horse was a *sar-kob*.

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[1] Abūl-ghāzī classes Manghit with Mughul tribes, Radloff with Turk tribes (*Récueils p. 325*), Erskine says, "modern Nogais."

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davān (1709)—(*found mentioned as the Bābur-nāma, the "Bukhārā Bābur-nāma" and the "Bukhārā Compilation"*)—for its seeming author's colophon JRAS. 1900, p. 474 and Preface lvii; its divergence from the true text Preface xxxix, its element of true text (Kāmrān's tattered Codex) li; its dual purpose xxxix, lxii; its character xl; its stop-gaps xlv; its use by Leyden xlviii; **Described** (*as it is in Kehr's transcript*):—Preface, Cap. III, Parts I and III; its history liii, author and colophon lvii, (*cf.* JRAS. 1900, p. 474); its identity confused with Bābur's true text Preface, Cap. III, Part III;

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(*b*) Pet. F. O. School of Oriental Languages Codex, entitled *Bābur-nāma*, scribe G. J. Kehr—referred to *in loco*:—diction of the Farghāna Section 1, of the Kābul Sect. 187, of the Hindūstān Sect. 445; its Persified character exemplified 147, 150, 167, and Add. Note, 177, (*cf. JRAS. 1908, pp. 76, 88*); its Latin version App. J, xxxv, Preface liv;—Other references 9, 18, 19, 44–8, 88, 164, 169;

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(*c*) The "*Bābur-nāma*" Imprint (*constructed and edited by*) N. I. Ilminski—referred to *in loco*, App. D, 227–59, 336, 420, App. F, xxxii; modelled on the L. and E. *Memoirs of Baber* 326, 337, App. T, lxxiv, Preface lii (*cf. Ilminski's Preface ref. supra*), 574; Preface:—its Kasan publication li; its deviation from its sole basis (*Kehr's Codex*) lii; Ilminski's work and some results lii, with n.1 mid-page, liv; his doubts and achievement of a Turki reading book *see* his own Preface ref. *supra*;

(*d*) *Mémoires de Bâber*, (*French trs. of Ilminski's Bābur-nāma*) A. Pavet de Courteille—referred to *in loco*, 215, 227, 346, 347, 407, 446, 478, 489, 559, 632, App. T, lxxviii, App. M, xlv;—the *Mubīn* not recognized 449, 630; an illness 619; mistakenly controverted 468; surmised ground on which it accepted the "Rescue Passage" App. D, xiv; its help in considering Shaikh Zain's compositions 553, 559;—questioned readings 223–5, 327–33–69, 421 (*chūrtīka*), 462–70, 534, 617–19–38–40–47; a surmise discussed 574;—reviewed by Defrémery 562; its title Preface xxxiii, translation li, source liv, diction lix.

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Noticeable words:—*Yada-tāsh*, jade-stone *see* Magic; *yāghrūnchī*, divination from sheep's-blades 233; *yīghāch*, tree, wood 11, 81; *yīghāch see* Measures; *yīgīt*, a brave 16, 53, 70, App. H, xxvii; *yīlāq*, alp see *i.a.* Yār- and Būrka-; *yīnka-chīcha*, maternal-uncle's mother-in-law (?); *yīnkalīk*, levirate 23, 267, 306, 616; *yūkūnmāk*, to bend the knee 301; *yūsūnlūq*, hereditary 23.

Ẓafar-nāma (Book of Victory *i.e.* Tīmūr's) Maulana Sharafu'd-dīn 'Alī *Yazdī* —[*see nn. on pp. named*], places 10, 74–8, 83–4; persons 39, 272; meaning of Sawālak 485; Tīmūr's capture of Qarshī 134; his burial at a saint's feet 266; his workmen 77, 520; partly translated in *Histoire de Timūr Beg q.v.*; the book and its main basis, the *Malfūzāt-i-tīmūrī* Preface xxix, xxx, its author xxxiii.

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OMISSIONS FROM TRANSLATION AND FOOT-NOTES.

p.7 l.1 "turbulent" *add* They are notorious in Mawara'u'n-nahr for their bullyings.
p.27 l.5 "(1504)" *add* when, after taking Khusrau Shah, we besieged Muqim in Kabul.
p.31 l.1 "paid" *add* no (attention).
p.43 l.9 *enter* f. 24*b*.
ib. l.8 fr.ft. "Taghai" *add* and Auzun Hasan.
p.45 Sec. c, l.2 "good" *add* he never neglected the Prayers.
p.48 l.16 "grandmother" *add* Khan-zada Begim.
p.52 l.4 fr.ft. "childhood" *add* and had attained the rank of Beg.
p.88 l.9 Hasan *add* and Sl.Ahmad Tambal.
p.92 l.8 "on" *add* to Sang-zar.
p.95 l.12 "service" *add* did not stay in Khurasan but.
p.128 l.18 "two" *add* young (sons).
p.131 l.12 "Jan-wafa" *add* Mirza.
p.134 l.7 fr.ft. "that" *add* night that.
ib. l.3 fr.ft. "was" *add* in my 19th (lunar) year.
p.136 l.5 "was" *add* in my 19th (lunar) year.
p.139 l.11 fr.ft. *read* Jani Beg Sultan.
p.141 l.10 "Khusrau Shah" *add* my highly-favoured beg Qambar-i-ali *the Skinner Mughul*, not acting at such a time as this according to the favour he had received, came and took his wife from Samarkand; he too went to Khusrau Shah.
p.143 l.16 "that" *add* near Shutur-gardan.
p.152 l.12 fr.ft. "dead" *add* A few days later we went back to Dikh-kat.
p.164 Sec. d, l.6 fr.ft. "for" *add* Sairam.
p.201 l.12 *read* Kabul-fort.
p.205 l.10 fr.ft. *read* "are closed for" 4 or 5 months in winter. After crossing Shibr-tu people go on through Ab-dara. In the heats, when the waters come down in flood, these roads have the same rule as in winter ("because" *etc.*).
p.217 l.11 "Sih-yaran" *add* It became a very good-halting-place. I had a vine-yard planted on the hill above the seat.
p.221 Sec.h, at the beginning *insert* The mountains to the eastward of the cultivated land of Kabul are of two kinds as also are those to its westward ("Where the mountains" *etc.*).
p.230 last line "men" *add* Khusrau *Gagiani*.
p.247 l.1 "Qush-nadir" *add* meadow.
p.308 l.14 "ground" *add* Moreover it snowed incessantly and after leaving Chiragh-dan, not only was there very deep snow but the road was unknown.
p.391 March 18th "daroghа-ships" *add* Sangur Khan Qarluq and Mirza-i-malui Qarluq came leading 30 or 40 men of the Qarluq elders, made offering of a horse in mail, and waited on me. Came also the army of the Dilah-zak Afghans.
p.393 March 25th l.2 "out" *add* from the river's bank.
p.454 l.5 "boat" *add* There was a party; some drinking *'araq*, some beer. After leaving the boat at the Bed-time Prayer, there was more drinking in the *khirgah* (tent). For the good of the horses, we gave them a day's breathing on the bank of this water.
p.468 l.3 "sent" *add* Yunas-i-'ali and Ahmadi and ("'Abdu' l-lah").
p.484 l.1 "Rao" *add* with four or five thousand Pagans.
p.498 (*s.n.* florican), "colour" *add* The flesh of the florican is very delicate. As the *kharchal* (Indian buzzard) resembles the *tughdaq* (great buzzard) so the *chars* (florican) resembles the *tughdiri*.

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ib. (*s.n.* sand-grouse) "Tramontana" *add* the blackness of its breast is less deep, its cry also is sharper.

p. 500 after l. 11 "eagle" *add* (new para.) Another is the buzzard (T. *sar*); its tail and back are red.

p. 506 (*s.n. kamrak*) "long" *add* It has no stone.

p. 507 n. 3 "name" *add* also; "plantain" *add* (banana).

p. 510 l. 5 see App. O, p. liv for *addendum*.

p. 529 l. 4 fr. ft. "Dulpur" *add* Gualiar.

p. 595 l. 19 "other" read 2 or 3 (places); the Pagans in the *du-tahi* began to run away; "the *du-tahi* was taken."

p. 603 l. 7 fr. ft. "(366*b*)" *add* and between Ghazipur and Banaras (p. 502).

p. 674 l. 2 "river" *add* in his mail.

p. 678 l. 2 "amirs" *add* Sultan.

p. 679 l. 8 fr. ft. "given" *add* It was settled that a son of each of them should be always in waiting in Agra; l. 7 fr. ft. "Araish" *add* and two others; l. 2 fr. ft. "Saru" *add* towards Oude.

p. 689 l. 2 fr. ft. "laks" *add* and a head-to-foot (dress).

App. Q l. 1 "interpret" add those of.

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CORRIGENDA.

To ensure notice many of these are entered in the Indices.

Pages

6 l.4 "meadow" *read* plain (*maidan*).
11 n.4, "siyar" unaccented; (H.S.) ii *read* iii n.n. pp. 18, 38, 48, 244.
12 n.4 l.3 "attack in" *read* attacking.
14 l.3 "and" *read* who.
16 l.10 n. ref. "3" *tr. to* "amorous".
24 n.1 "932" *read* 923.
27 para.2 *read* "Baba 'Ali Beg's Baba-quli".
28 l.8 "leaders" *read* Mughul mirzadas.
29 n.6 l.5 "then" *read* his.
37 l.8 "916" *read* 917; and tr. nn. 2 and 3.
38 l.9 "favour" *run on* to Ahmad.
44 l.9 55 l.12 *delete* "Sayyid".
46 l.12 *read* Chikman.
49 l.3 "Black" *read* White.
51 l.12 fr. ft. "Badakhshan" read Hisar.
55 "f. 34" *read* f. 32*b*.
57 l.1, enter f. 33 and *move* "f. 33*b*" to 58 l. 2.
61 l.4 "Beg" *read* Baba-quli Beg.
68 l.10 fr. ft. *tr.* n. ref. 4 to "Aurgut".
69 n.2, read *aunutung*; and *tr. nakunid* and *bakunid*.
79 l.5 tr. n.ref. 3 to *qibla*; in author's n. *read* Batalmius; and in n.4 *read Ayin*.
85 l.9 *read* 851 A.H.–1447 A.D.; l.3 fr.ft. *move* "Jumada I, 22, 855 A.H." to p.86 l.1, after "years".
94 l.6 "Chirik" *read* Char-yak.
95 l.2 fr.ft. "Aubaj" *read* Char-jui.
96 last line "Qasim" *read* Kamal (or Kahal).
109 l.16 "qasim" *read* qadus.
ib. n.5 l.3 *read* grand "father".
117 n.2 "909" *read* 908.
122 n.4 "*bulghar*" *read buljar*.
129 l.14 "*daban*" *read kutal*.
131 ll.3-4 fr.ft. *read* Khan-quli and Karim-dad.
134 l.3 fr.ft. and 136 l. 5 *read* in my 19th (lunar) year.
144 para.3 "rain" *read* grain.
148 n.2 "f. 18" *read* f. 118.
149 l.17 *read* Khanim.
154 n.3 "f. 183*b*" *read* f. 103*b* and for f. 264*b read* f. 264.
168 Sect. heading "Kasan" *read* Karnan.
175 l.11 *read* Mirza-quli.
183 last line "Kulja" *read* Khuldja.
192 l.3 *read* Taliqan.
194 l.12 *read* Quhlugha.

Pages

ib. n.3 *read* Bai-sunghar.
204 l.16 *read* Curriers'.
205 l.5 *read* Sir; l.13 *read* Wa(lian); l.14 *read* Qibchaq.
205 l.10 fr.ft. "three or four" *read* four or five (cf. omissions p.205).
211 para. 3, end, "920" *read* 924.
212 n.2 l.2 *read chighmaq*.
213 n.5 "*parwan*" *read parran*; and nn.5, 6, 7 *read* Blanford.
244 ll.8 and 25 "page" *read* preferably, brave; l.19 *read* gallopers.
273 n.2 *read* grand-"daughter".
282 n.3 l.2 "345" *read* 348–9.
289 l.5 "wonderful" *read* metaphorist.
342 mid-page *read* Pur-amin.
344 last line "Appendix" *read* Trs.' note 711.
351 l.15 "Akhsi" *read* Archian.
387 n.3 *delete* sentence 2.
410 last line "*khuntul*" *read hunzal*.
414 l.2 "18th" *read* 13th; and l.2 fr.ft. "purslain" *read* poplar.
438 l.15 "son" *read* grandson.
447 n.3 para.2 l.1 "month" *read* week.
470 n. l.5 fr.ft. "p.66" *read* p.166.
482 n.3 "Gujrat" *read* Malwa.
485 sec.e l.7 "Gumti *read* Gui.
499 l.17 "*yak-rang*" *read bak-ding* (see Add. Note P.499).
500 l.15 *s.n.* crow "*qarcha*" *read qargha*; n. 6 "f. 136" *read* f. 135.
505 l.6 tr. n.ref. "2" to, *buia*.
520 n.1 "1854" *read* 1845.
534 l.2 fr.ft. "and" *read* 932.
535 l.2 fr.ft. *delete* "others".
579 l.8 "April 13th" *read* April 3rd.
591 n.2 "*qurughir read quruqtur*.
604 n.l.1 *read Afaghana*.
616 l.5 *read* Madhakur; and Sect. m "*qara-su*" *read darya qaraghi* or *qaraghina*.
620 l.7 *rahim read rahman*.
621 l.11 after "servants" *read* Beg-gina "had come".
622 l.12 *read* Siunjuk; l.13 Tashkint.
631 l.13 *delete* the parenthesis (see Add. Note P.631).
632 l.4 *read* Farrukh.
636 l.7 "rest" *read* eight others.
640 l.1 *read* quli.
643 (Feb. 4th) "Muhammad" *read* Mahmud.
644 n.5 "323" *read* 232.
699 l.13 "935" *read* 938.
713 l.3 *read* Saliha; and l.11 fr.ft. Miran-shahi.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

P. 16 l. 11.—Nigāmī mentions "lover's marks" where a rebel chieftain commenting on Khusrau's unfitness to rule by reason of his infatuation for Shīrīn, says, "*Hinoz az'āshīqbāzī garmi dāgh ast.*" (H.B.)

P. 22 n. 2.—Closer acquaintance with related books leads me to delete the words "Chaghatāī Mughūl" from Haidar *Dūghlāt's* tribal designations (p. 22, n. 2, l. 1). (1) My "Chaghatāī" had warrant (now rejected) in Haidar's statement (T.R. trs. p. 3) that the Dūghlāt amīrs were of the same stock (*abna'-i-jins*) as the Chaghatāī Khāqāns. But the Dūghlāt off-take from the common stem was of earlier date than Chingiz Khān's, hence, his son's name "Chaghatāī" is a misnomer for Dūghlāts. (2) As for "Mūghūl" to designate Dūghlāt, and also Chaghatāī chiefs—guidance for us rests with the chiefs themselves: these certainly (as did also the Begchik chiefs) held themselves apart from "Mughūls of the horde" and begs of the horde—as apart they had become by status as chiefs, by intermarriage, by education, and by observance of the amenities of civilized life. To describe Dūghlāt, Chaghatāī and Begchik chiefs in Bābur's day as Mughūls is against their self-classification and is a discourtesy. A clear instance of need of caution in the use of the word Mughūl is that of 'Alī-sher *Nawā'ī Chaghatāī*. (Cf. Abū'l-ghāzī's accounts of the formation of several tribes.) (3) That "Mughūl" described for Hindustānis Bābur's invading and conquering armies does not obliterate distinctions in its chiefs. Mughūls of the horde followed Timūrids when to do so suited them; there were also in Bābur's armies several chiefs of the ruling Chaghatāī family, brothers of The Khān, Sa'īd (*see* Chīn-timūr, Aīsan-timūr, Tūkhta-būghā). With these must have been their following of "Mughūls of the horde".

P. 34 l. 12.—"With the goshawks" translates *qīrchīgha bīla* of the Elph. MS. (f. 12*b*) where it is explained marginally by *ba bāzī*, with the falcon or goshawk. The Ḥai. MS. however has, in its text, *pāzī bīla* which may mean with arrows having points (*Sanglākh* f. 144*b* quoting this passage). Ilminski has no answering word (*Mém.* i, 19). Muh. *Shīrāzī* [p. 13 l. 11 fr. ft.] writes *ba bāzi miandākhtan*.

P. 39.—The *Ḥabību's-siyar* (lith. ed. iii, 217 l. 16) writes of Sayyid Murād *Aūghlāqchī* (the father or g.f. of Yūsuf) that he (who had, Bābur says, come from the Mughūl horde) held high rank under Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā, joined Husian *Bāī-qarā* after the Mīrzā's defeat and death (873 A.H.), and (p. 218) was killed in defeat by Amīr 'Alī *Jalāīr* who was commanding for Yādgār-i-muḥammad *Shāh-rukhī*.

P. 49.—An *Aīmāq* is a division of persons and not of territory. In Mongolia under the Chinese Government it answers to khanate. A Khān is at the head of an *aīmāq*. Aīmāqs are divided into *koshung*, *i.e.* banners (*Mongolia*, N. Prejevalsky trs. E. Delmar Morgan, ii, 53).

P. 75 and n. 1.—For an explanation, provided in 94 AH., of why Samarkand was called *Baldat-i-mahfūza*, the Guarded-city, see Daulat-shāh, Browne's ed. *s.n.* Qulaiba p. 443.

P. 85 n. 2.—The reference to the *Ḥabību's-siyar* confuses two cases of parricide:—'Abdu'l-latīf's of Aulugh Beg (853–1447) to which H.S. refers [Vol. III, Part 2, p. 163, l. 13 fr. ft.] with (one of 7–628) Shīrūya's of Khusrau Parvīz (H.S. Vol. I, Part 2, p. 44, l. 11 fr. ft.) where the parricide's sister tells him that the murderer of his father (and 15 brothers) would eventually be punished by God, and (a little lower) the couplet Bābur quotes (p. 85) is entered (H.B.).

P. 154 n. 3.—The Persian phrase in the *Siyāsat-nāma* which describes the numbering of the army (T. *dīm kūrnāk*) is *ba sar-i-tāzīāna shumurdan*. Schafer translates *tāzīāna* by *cravache*. I have nowhere found how the whip was used; (cf. S.N. Pers. text p. 15 l. 5).

P. 171 n. 1.—Closer acquaintance with Bābur's use of *daryā*, *rūd*, *sū*, the first of which he reserves for a great river, casts doubt on my suggestion that *daryā* may stand for the Kāsān-water. But the narrative supports what I have noted.

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The "upper villages" of Akhsī might be, however, those higher up on the Saihūn-daryā (Sīr-daryā).

P. 189 and n. 1.—A third and perhaps here better rendering of *bī bāqī* is that of p. 662 (*s.d.* April 10th), "leaving none behind."

P. 196.—The *Habību's-siyar* (lith. ed. iii, 250 l. 11 fr. ft.) writes of *barādarān* of Khusrau Shāh, Amīr Walī and Pīr Walī. As it is improbable that two brothers (Anglicé) would be called Walī, it may be right to translate *barādarān* by brethren, and to understand a brother and a cousin. Bābur mentions only the brother Walī.

P. 223 ll. 1–3 fr. ft.—The French translation, differing from 'Abdu'r-rahim's and Erskine's, reads Bābur as saying of the ranges separating the cultivated lands of Kabul, that they are *comme des ponts de trèfle*, but this does not suit the height and sometimes permanent snows of some of the separating ranges.—My bald "(great) dams" should have been expanded to suit the meaning (as I take it to be) of the words *Yūr-ūnchaqā pul-dīk*, like embankments (*pul*) against going (*yūr*) further; (so far, *ūncha*). Cf. Griffiths' *Journal*, p. 431).

P. 251.—Nizāmī expresses the opinion that "Fate is an avenging servitor" but not in the words used by Bābur (p. 251). He does this when moralizing on Farhad's death, brought about by Khusrau's trick and casting the doer into dread of vengeance (H. B.).

P. 266 n. 7.—On p. 266 Bābur allots three daughters to Pāpā Aghācha and on p. 269 four. Various details make for four. But, if four, the total of eleven (p. 261) is exceeded.

P. 276 para. 3.—Attention is attracted on this page to the unusual circumstance that a parent and child are both called by the same name, Junaid. One other instance is found in the *Bābur-nāma*, that of Bābur's wife Ma'ṣuma and her daughter. Perhaps "Junaid" like "Ma'ṣūma" was the name given to the child because birth closely followed the death of the parent (*see s.n.* Ma'ṣūma).

P. 277.—Concerning Bih-būd Beg the *Shaibānī-nāma* gives the following information:—he was in command in Khwārizm and Khīva when Shaibānī moved against Chīn *Ṣāfī* (910 AH.), and spite of his name, was unpopular (Vambéry's ed. 184, 186). Vambéry's note 88 says he is mentioned in the (anonymous) prose *Shaibānī-nāma*, Russian trs. p. lxi.

P. 372 l. 2 fr. ft.—Where the Hai. MS. and Kāsān Imp. have *mu'āraẓ*, rival, E. and de C. translate by representative, but the following circumstances favour "rival":—Wāis was with Bābur (pp. 374–6) and would need no representative. His arrival is not recorded; no introductory particulars are given of him where his name is first found (p. 372); therefore he is likely to have joined Bābur in the time of the gap of 924 AH. (p. 366), before the siege of Bajaur-fort and before 'Alā'u'd-dīn did so. The two Sawādī chiefs received gifts and left together (p. 376).

P. 393 l. 4.—In this couplet the point lies in the double-meaning of *ra'iyat*, subject and peasant.

P. 401.—Under date Thursday 25th Bābur mentions an appointment to read *fiqah sabaqī* to him. Erskine translated this by "Sacred extracts from the Qorān" (I followed this). But "lessons in theology" may be a better rendering—as more literal and as allowing for the use of other writings than the Qorān. A correspondent Mr. G. Yazdānī (Gov. Epigraphist for Muslim Inscriptions, Haidarabad) tells us that it is customary amongst Muslims to recite religious books on Thursdays.

P. 404 l. 7 fr. ft.—Bābā Qashqa (or Qāshqā)'s family-group is somewhat interesting as that of loyal and capable men of Mughūl birth who served Bābur and Humāyūn. It must have joined Bābur in what is now the gap between 914 and 925 AH. because not mentioned earlier and because he is first mentioned in 925 AH. without introductory particulars. The following details supplement *Bābur-nāma* information about the group:—(1) Of Bāba Qashqa's murder by Muḥammad-i-zamān *Bāī-qarā* Gul-hadan (f. 23) makes record, and Badāyūnī (Bib. Ind. ed. i, 450) says that (*cir.* 952 AH.) when Bābā's son Ḥājī Muḥ. Khān *Kūkī* had pursued and overtaken the rebel Kāmrān, the Mīrzā asked, as though questioning the Khān's ground of hostility to himself, "But did I kill thy father

Bābā Qashqa?" (*Pidrat Bābā Qashqa magar man kushta am*?).—(2) Of the death of Bābā Qashqa's brother "Kūkī", Abū'l-faẓl records that he was killed in Hindūstān by Muḥammad Sl. M. *Bāī-qarā* (952 AH.), and that Kūkī's nephew Shāh Muḥ. (*see* p. 668) retaliated (955 AH.) by arrow-shooting one of Muḥ. Sl. Mīrzā's sons. This was done when Shāh Muḥ. was crossing Mīnār-pass on his return journey from sharing Humāyūn's exile in Persia (*see* Jauhar).—(3) Hāji Muḥ. Khān *Kūkī* and Shāh Muḥammad Khān appear to have been sons of Bābā Qashqa and nephews of "Kūkī" (*supra*). They were devoted servants of Humāyūn but were put to death by him in 958 AH.–1551 AD. (cf. Erskine's *H. of I. Humāyūn*).—(4) About the word *Kūkī* dictionaries afford no warrant for taking it to mean foster-brother (*kohah*). Chingīz Khān had a beg known as Kūk or Kouk (or Gūk) and one of his own grandsons used the same style. It may link the Bābā Qashqā group with the Chingīz Khānid Kūkī, either as descendants or as hereditary adherents, or as both. (*See* Abū'l-ghāzī's *Shajarat-i-Turk*, trs. Désmaisons, Index *s.n. Kouk* and also its accounts of the origin of several tribal groups.)

P. 416.—The line quoted by 'Abdu'l-lāh is from the *Anwār-i-suhailī*, Book II, Story i. Eastwick translates it and its immediate context thus:—

"People follow the faith of their kings."

"My heart is like a tulip scorched and by sighings flame;

"In all thou seest, their hearts are scorched and stained the same." (H.B.)

The offence of the quotation appears to have been against Khalīfa, and might be a suggestion that he followed Bābur in breach of Law by using wine.

P. 487 n. 2.—The following passages complete the note on *wulsa* quoted by Erskine from Col. Mark Wilks' *Historical Sketches* and show how the word is used:—

"During the absence of Major Lawrence from Trichinopoly, the town had been completely depopulated by the removal of the whole *Wulsa* to seek for food elsewhere, and the enemy had been earnestly occupied in endeavouring to surprise the garrison." (Here follows Erskine's quotation *see in loco* p. 487).

"The people of a district thus deserting their homes are called the *Wulsa* of that district, a state of utmost misery, involving precaution against incessant war and unpitying depredation—so peculiar a description as to require in any of the languages of Europe a long circumlocution, is expressed *in all the languages of Deckan and the south of India by a single word.* No proofs can be accumulated from the most profound research which shall describe the immemorial condition of the people of India with more precision than this single word. It is a bright distinction that the *Wulsa* never departs on the approach of a British army when this is unaccompanied by Indian allies."—By clerical error in the final para. of my note *ūlvash* is entered for *ūlvan* [Molesworth, any desolating calamity].

P. 540 n. 4.—An explanation of Bābur's use of Shāh-zāda as Tahmāsp's title may well be that this title answers to the Timūrid one Mīr-zāda, Mīrzā. If so, Bābur's change to "Shāh" (p. 635) may recognize supremacy by victory, such as he had claimed for himself in 913 AH. when he changed his Timūrid "Mīrzā" for "Pādshāh".

P. 557.—Ḥusain *Kashifī*, also, quotes Firdausī's couplet in the *Anwār-i-suhailī* (Cap. I, Story XXI), a book dedicated to Shaikh Aḥmad *Suhailī* (p. 277) and of earlier date than the *Bābur-nāma*. Its author died in 910 AH.–1505 AD.

P. 576 n. 1.—Tod's statement (quoted in my n. 1) that "the year of Rānā Sangā's defeat (933 AH.) was the last of his existence" cannot be strictly correct because Bābur's statement (p. 598) of intending attack on him in Chitor allows him to have been alive in 934 AH. (1528 AD.). The death occurred, "not without suspicion of poison," says Tod, when the Rānā had moved against Irij then held for Bābur; it will have been long enough before the end of 934 AH. to allow an envoy from his son Bikramājīt to wait on Bābur in that year (pp. 603, 612). Bābur's record of it may safely be inferred lost with the once-existent matter of 934 AH.

P. 631.—My husband has ascertained that the "Sayyid Dakni" of p. 631 is Sayyid Shāh Ṭāhir *Dakhnī* (*Deccanī*) the Shiite apostle of Southern India, who in 935 AH. was sent to Bābur with a letter from Burhān Niẓām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, in which (if there were not two embassies) congratulation was made on

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the conquest of Dihlī and help asked against Bahādur Shāh *Gujrāti*. A second but earlier mention of "Sayyid *Dakni*" (*Zakni*, *Rukni*?) *Shīrāzī* is on p. 619. Whether the two entries refer to Shāh Ṭāhir nothing makes clear. The cognomen Shīrāzī disassociates them. It is always to be kept in mind that preliminary events are frequently lost in gaps; one such will be the arrivals of the various envoys, mentioned on p. 630, whose places of honour are specified on p. 631. Much is on record about Sayyid Shāh Ṭāhir *Dakni* and particulars of his life are available in the histories by Badāyūnī (Ranking trs.) and Firishta Nawal Kishor ed. p. 105); B.M. Harleyan MS. No. 199 contains his letters (*see* Rieu's Pers. Cat. p. 395).

P. 699 and n. 3.—The particulars given by the *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* about Multān at this date (932–4 AH.) are as follows:—After Bābur took the Panj-āb, he ordered Shāh Ḥasan *Arghūn* to attempt Multān, then held by one Sl. Maḥmūd who, dying, was succeeded by an infant son Ḥusain. Shāh Ḥasan took Multān after a 16 (lunar) months' siege, at the end of 934 AH. (in a B.N. *lacuna* therefore), looted and slaughtered in it, and then returned to Tatta. On this Langar Khān took possession of it (H.B.). What part 'Askarī (*ær.* 12) had in the matter is yet to learn; possibly he was nominated to its command and then recalled as Bābur mentions (935 AH.).

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