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## **Exposition of Women in the Historiographical Sources of Medieval India**

### **Abstract**

*The historiographical literature of medieval India poses relative silence on mentioning of roles played by women in history. These sources, to a large extent, present a picture of male-dominance not only in the administrative realm but in sphere encompassing human abilities. Therefore, the present research will try to examine the historiographical texts in order to find mentions and names of women in the political history of medieval India i.e. from thirteenth century to the time of Emperor Jahangir. The main aim of this research is to break the myth around female participation and their 'perceived' roles in society as well as history by providing short life accounts of the mentioned women in the court histories of medieval India during the mentioned time frame.*

**Key Words:** *Sufi*, Sultans of Delhi, Maryam al-Zamani, Juzjani's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Barani's *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*, Afif's *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*, Isami's *Futuh al-Salatin*, Ferishta's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Sirhindi's *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, Babur's *Baburnama*, Gulbadan Begum's *Humayunnama*, Abu-l Fazl's *Akbarnama* and Jahangir's *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*

### **Introduction**

There exists a considerable silence on *sufi* women in medieval South Asia. This silence can be explained by carefully studying the medieval historiographical works. These historiographical sources provide political, military and administrative histories which mainly focus on the roles played by men; however, these sources mention royal ladies with respect to their political endeavours.

These women include Raziyya Sultana (the Sultan of Delhi and daughter of Sultan Iltutmish), Shah Turkan (the wife of Sultan Iltutmish), *Malika-i-Jahan* (the wife of Sultan Ala al-Din Khilji), *Makhduma-i-Jahan* (the mother of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq), *Khudawandzada* (the sister of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq), Aisan Daulat Begum (the grandmother of Emperor Babur), Qutlugh Nigar Khan (the mother of Emperor Babur), Maham

Begum (the Empress of Mughal empire and third wife of Babur), Bibi Mubarika (Empress wife of Babur and mother of Maham Anga), Masuma Sultan Begum (the daughter of Babur), Maham Anga (an ambitious and influential companion of Emperor Akbar), Chand Bibi (Muslim warrior from Ahmadnagar who fought against Akbar in 1599), Gulbadan Begum (the daughter of Babur and sister of Humayun), Hamida Banu Begum (the wife of Emperor Humayun and mother of

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Akbar), Maryam al-Zamani (Rajput wife of Emperor Akbar and mother of Jahangir) and Nur Jahan (the wife and queen of Emperor Jahangir).

The court histories of Delhi Sultanate as well as Mughal era such as Juzjani's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Barani's *Tarikhi-i-Ferozshahi*, Afif's *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*, Isami's *Futuh al-Salatin*, Ferishta's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Sirhindi's *Tarikhi-i-Mubarakshahi*, Babur's *Baburnama*, Gulbadan Begum's *Humayunnama*, Abu-l-Fazl's *Akbarnama* and Jahangir's *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* mention these women in order to revere their roles and accomplishments as no political discussion on political history of medieval India (mainly of Delhi Sultanate and early Mughal empire) would be complete without mentioning these women.

### **1.1 Understanding Silence, and Silence on the Role of Women in History**

Silence means 'forbearance from speech or noise.'<sup>1</sup> It is described as a sense of void and loss of power in a certain situation.<sup>2</sup> The term 'silence' is denoted with varied expressions of oppression, impotence and vacuum which give negative connotation to the term.<sup>3</sup> Silence can be intentional or unintentional, depending upon the fact if it was out of choice or imposed by varied agencies.<sup>4</sup> At times, silence is deeply rooted in certain cultural, political or historical traditions. In the present study, silence has been used as a concept with reference to historiographical silence, with particular focus on silencing of women's role in history.

The historiographical sources of medieval India provide information for political developments, and administration pattern of India under various rulers. These sources do not provide much information about fields other than politics. The political developments, explained in these texts provide comprehensive information about male rulers only. Yet these sources mention many influential women but again just those who were either rulers or were in any relation to the sultans or emperors. The details provided for these women in these texts do not give into much about the individual personalities as they are mentioned as a result of their role in political developments of their time. Therefore, the historiographical works respond in silence on the question of mention of women other than political realm.

### **1.2 Historiographical Literature of Medieval India**

The process of historical writing in Medieval Indian milieu revolves around mainly on the relationship between men and politics barring women any noteworthy mention except for those involved in state affairs.<sup>5</sup> There is plenty of works that deal with varied themes implying administration, religion and society of Medieval India. Most of the primary literature of medieval India revolves around men and politics in general and provide only passing references of women even those involved in politics. Some of these women were influential to an extent that no political study on medieval Indian period would be completed without discussing them.

In the present study, the historiographical sources of Delhi Sultanate and Mughal Empire are dealt under separate sections. These sections will provide enough information about the mentions of women in the historical writings of Delhi as well as Mughal Empire up-to the times of Emperor Jahangir. Although

the mentions of these women will be confined of those related to politics directly/indirectly yet this alone will be helpful in explaining the respective roles of these ladies.

## **Section A**

### **Women & Historiographical Literature of Delhi Sultanate**

The historiographical sources of Delhi Sultanate has provided the later generations with immense information about politics, rulers and administrative policies of that era. This section tries to find answers related to the mentioning of women and their subsequent roles in politics or administration if mentioned any of these historiographical sources. There are following women from Delhi Sultanate whose names are mentioned in the historical texts: Raziyya Sultana, Shah Turkan, *Malika-i-Jahan*, *Makhduma-i-Jahan* and *Khudavanzada*.

However, Raziyya Sultana and Shah Turkan's political affinities and their roles in the administration find more length in these sources as compared to other women, mentioned in these sources. Therefore, the lives of these women have been narrated depending upon the page-length given to them in these sources.

#### **1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri***

*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*<sup>6</sup> by Minhaj al-Siraj Juzjani still finds value because its author held multiple positions during Sultanate of Delhi especially during the reign of Sultan Shams al-din Iltutmish where he used to be the Imam and *qazi* at the same time.<sup>7</sup> It consists of twenty three sections known as *Tabaqats*. It gives first hand information about the life and personality of Sultana Raziya as Juzjani was made the controller of Madrasa-i-Nasiriyya in her time.<sup>8</sup>

Raziyya Sultana (d. 1240) was the Sultan of Delhi (r. 1236-1240). She is regarded as the only ruling lady of Delhi Sultanate. She was the daughter of third sultan of Mamluk dynasty, Sultan Iltutmish (r. 1211-1236). Raziyya being a monarch was a paradigm shift for its time as in those times no one could think of having a lady monarch purely on the basis of her talent and merit when *pardah* was strictly followed in Royal households.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, she carries the title of being India's first female ruler as no one before her managed to settle military as well as administrative affairs with so much intelligence.<sup>10</sup>

From an early age, she used to get excited about the stories of military expeditions and battle ground. Therefore, she took an actual use of her father's privileged position by learning the art of warfare and military techniques from experts, appointed specifically to train the favourite child of Sultan Iltutmish.<sup>11</sup> Her upbringing was unusual as she had not maintained a regular contact with the ladies of the *harem* and therefore she did not abide by the obligatory tradition of *pardah* in her later years of life.<sup>12</sup>

In order to examine Raziyya's administrative skills, Sultan Iltutmish nominated her to be the administrative in-charge during the time he was away fighting with the ruler of Gwalior in 1231; Raziyya must have outshined everyone with her skills that Sultan chosen her as the next sultan of Delhi. Sultan was so much impressed by her daughter that he not only issued *ferman* for Raziyya's succession but also gave the orders for releasing a silver coin for the same.<sup>13</sup> Juzjani mentions

another influential woman of Sultan Iltutmish's family, i.e. Shah Turkan in his *tabaqats*.

Shah Turkan (d. 1236) was the wife of Sultan Iltutmish and has been mentioned as *Khudavand-i-Jahan* Shah Turkan in many contemporary sources.<sup>14</sup> She was purchased by the Sultan as she was a slave girl and she rose to power when she influenced Sultan with her good looks and shrewdness towards certain political matters. She exercised great power not in the matters of *harem* but also used to influence Sultan in his political motives.<sup>15</sup> She took control of the administration in her hands and issued royal decrees in her name when her son Sultan Rukn al-Din (d. 1236) showed negligence towards state affairs. Turkan, with the help of nobility, was successful in making her son the sultan of Delhi by swiftly sliding the will of her husband to appoint Raziyya as the heir under the carpet.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi* by Barani

*Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*<sup>17</sup>, another significant historical work, was composed by Zia al-Din Barani during Ferozshah Tughlaq's era. Barani has discussed Khilji dynasty in detail and mentions *Malika-i-Jahan*. *Malika-i-Jahan* was the wife of Sultan Jalal al-Din Khilji (r. 1290-1296), the founder of the Khilji dynasty. Her first name was Mehr al-Nissa. She exercised full control over Sultan. He often used to request her to address nobility and military heads for his sake.<sup>18</sup> This indicates that *Malika-i-Jahan's* name was very out-spoken and confident woman as she manipulated nobility in order to materialize her own plans of getting power.<sup>19</sup>

She was excellent in reading between the lines, therefore, she suggested Sultan to be aware of Alla al-Din's motives as she sensed his plans for mapping out an independent kingdom for himself.<sup>20</sup> Barani suggests that she was a strong-minded yet foolish woman who haphazardly decided to rule the kingdom in the name of her son, Qadar Khan after the death of her husband.<sup>21</sup>

## 3. *Tarikhi-i-Ferozshahi* by Afif

*Tarikhi-i-Ferozshahi*<sup>22</sup>, written by Shams Siraj Afif, provides a biographical sketch for Sultan Ferozshah Tughlaq (r. 1351-1388). Afif was a member in Sultan's court. This particular source provides valuable information about Sultan's expertise in administration. Unlike other histories of that era, Afif finds Sultan's flexible attitude as the slow demise of his rule.<sup>23</sup> This source offers enough information about *Khudavandzada* (d. not known). She was the sister of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. She cherished a commendable place in politics particularly when she came up with the claims for her son, Dawar Malik to be the next sultan<sup>24</sup> and has been recorded to be involved in planning for the murder of Sultan Ferozshah Tughlaq.<sup>25</sup>

## 4. *Futuh al-Salatin*

*Futuh al-Salatin (Shahnama-i-Hind)*<sup>26</sup>, written by Malik Izzudin Isami, around the time of Muhammad bin Tughlaq focuses on state events. This particular draws attention towards the fact that not all sections of the society were happy with Raziyya Sultana's accession to power. Isami vigorously disapproves Raziyya as the monarch and finds minor reasons such as her clothing and her decision to abandon *pardah*.<sup>27</sup>

### **5. *Ajaib al-asfar***

*Ajaib al-asfar*,<sup>28</sup> the illustrious travel account of renowned traveler, Ibn Battuta finds its place in Indian history by recording first hand experiences with Indian people especially slaves, court dancers and singers. It mentions stories about Raziyya Sultana's reign.<sup>29</sup> He visited Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq. His mother *Makhduma-i-Jahan* (d. not known) welcomed Ibn Battuta wholeheartedly to the coronation ceremony of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq. She is counted among the very few imperial women who were known for their benevolence and generosity as she highly maintained a number of rest houses for the travellers and the travellers were offered free food all the time.<sup>30</sup>

### **6. *Tarikhi-i-Ferishta***

*Tarikhi-i-Ferishta*<sup>31</sup> of Muhammad Qasim Ferishta, provides the political histories for Delhi sultanate and Mughal Empire. It states political developments, up-to the reign of Emperor Humayun. It mentions Raziyya Sultana, and *Malika-i-Jahan*.

### **7. *Tarikh-i-Mubarkshahi***

*Tarikh-i-Mubarkshahi*<sup>32</sup> of Yahya Ahmad Sirhindi, manifests a great understanding into the lives of Saiyyid rulers, especially to Sultan Saiyyid Mubarkshah. This source provides mainly political history, starting from Muhammad Ghauri's rule to the year 1434. It mentions Hazrat Fatima (R.A.), Raziyya Sultana and Deval Devi, the wife of Ala al-Din's eldest son, Khizar Khan.

## **Section B**

### **Women & Historiographical Literature of Mughal Empire**

Like Delhi Sultanate, there were many influential women such as Aisan Daulat Begum, Qutlugh Nigar Khan, Maham Begum, Bibi Mubarika, Masuma Sultana Begum, Maham Anga, Chand Bibi, Gulbadan Begum and Hamida Banu Begum, Maryam al-Zamani and Nur Jahan in the Mughal period. These women acted either as *de facto* rulers when the emperor or king was weak enough to rule the kingdom or suggested meaningful tactics to their respective emperors in order to gain the rule. The following part of this section therefore explains a list of historiographical sources from the Mughal Empire up-to the reigns of Emperor Jahangir.

#### **1. *Baburnama***

*Baburnama*<sup>33</sup> is the autobiography of Emperor Babur.<sup>34</sup> Babur narrates Ferghana Valley and Samarkand highly for its fruits, grains and weather. He discusses India's weather, its people and their life style in an artistic manner. Therefore, historians till today compare it with the writings of St. Augustine<sup>35</sup>, Newton<sup>36</sup>, Rousseau<sup>37</sup>. Apart from culture and weather, Babur writes extensively of the influence that her grandmother Aisan Daulat Begum (d. 1505) had upon him as she used to narrate stories about warfare and military in order to attract towards politics and administration.<sup>38</sup> Babur also mentions his mother Qutlugh Nigar Khan (d. 1505) and recalls her mother's enthusiasm whenever her son used to learn new military skill.<sup>39</sup>

## 2. *Humayunnama*

*Humayunnama*<sup>40</sup> was composed by Gulbadan Begum, the sister of Emperor Humayun, on the request of her nephew, Akbar. It begins with her father (Babur)'s becoming the ruler of India and also provide a first-hand source for major happenings in the royal harem. It mentions the following women:

- I. Dildar Begum (the mother of Gulbadan Begum and Emperor Humayun, and Emperor Babur's Queen)
- II. Mahan Begum (d. 1534) was Empress of Mughal Empire from 1526-30 and was the companion and third wife of Babur. She took part in state affairs by solving the political riddles while sitting beside the Emperor Babur.<sup>41</sup>
- III. Bibi Mubarika (d. 1531) was the Empress wife of Babur<sup>42</sup> and was the mother of Maham Anga- an influential woman during Akbar's rule (1556-1605).
- IV. Masuma Sultan Begum (d. not known) was the daughter of Emperor Babur and his wife, Masuma Sultan Begum. Babur's wife was died immediately after giving birth to their daughter, Masuma, therefore, she was given the name 'masuma' in the memory of her mother.<sup>43</sup>
- V. Maham Anga (d. 1562) was a very ambitious and insightful companion to King Akbar. She used to assist the king in his childhood and functioned as *de facto* regent of empire during 1560-1562.<sup>44</sup>
- VI. Chand Bibi (d. 1599) was an Indian Muslim warrior from Ahmadnagar. She was well-known for her fight against Akbar in 1599, the battle in which she lost her life while defending her hometown.<sup>45</sup>
- VII. Hamida Banu Begum (d. 1604) was the wife of Humayun and mother of the third Mughal king, Akbar.<sup>46</sup>

## 3. *Akbarnama*

*Akbarnama*<sup>47</sup> by one of Emperor Akbar's eminent courtier Abu-l Fazl is an important in order to get information about administrative and military tactics of the emperor. It mentions Gulbadan Begum, Maryam al-Zamani (Rajput wife of Emperor Akbar and the mother of Emperor Jahangir), Chand Bibi, Qutlugh Nigar Khan, Maham Begum, and Maham Anga.

## 4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*

*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*<sup>48</sup> is the autobiography of Emperor Jahangir in which he discusses about many political events that he was a part both being the prince and the Emperor. He mentions Maryam al-Zamani, Nur Jahan (the beloved wife of Jahangir who was very ambitious woman of her time as she used to issue *ferman*-the Royal decrees under her name when her husband was too weak to rule the kingdom and she was a great administrator of *harem*. Above all these qualities, she acquired a taste for literature over the time and was highly appreciative of her aesthetic sense) and Sailha Banu (she was another wife of Emperor Jahangir who was bestowed with the title, *Padshah* Banu Begum by the emperor).

## **Conclusion**

The position and participation of women in South Asian society can never be explained exclusively on religious basis as it has more to do with cultural and traditional components of the society. In many cultures, women play a more central role in society and culture, including religion and spirituality. But the South Asian culture runs more on traditional cultural norms; hence, the silence on participation of women is more pronounced in the said region. The court histories of Delhi Sultanate as well as Mughal era such as Juzjani's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Barani's *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*, Afif's *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*, Isami's *Futuh al-Salatin*, Ferishta's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Sirhindi's *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, Babur's *Baburnama*, Gulbadan Begum's *Humayunnama*, Abu-l Fazl's *Akbarnama* and Jahangir's *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* mention these women in order to revere their roles and accomplishments in the politics as no discussion/debate on political history of medieval India can ever get completed without the mention of these women.

## Notes and References

- <sup>1</sup> Noah Webster, *New Webster's Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: Delair Publishing Company, 1981), 899.
- <sup>2</sup> Roby Fivush, "Speaking Silence: The Social Construction of Silence in autobiographical and Cultural Narratives", *Memory*, Vol.18, No.2 (2010), 90.
- <sup>3</sup> Tanvir Anjum, "Silencing of Chishti Sufism in the National Narrative in Pakistan," *Journal of Asian Civilizations*, Vo.39, No. 2 (2016), 153.
- <sup>4</sup> Ibid. See also, Fivush, "Speaking Silence," 88.
- <sup>5</sup> Ishwari Parsad, *History of Medieval India* (Allahabad: The Indian Press Limited, 1933), 22-25. See also, Khaliq Ahmad Nizami(ed.), *Politics and Society During the Early Medieval Period: Collected Works of Professor Muhammad Habib* (Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1981), 16-22.
- <sup>6</sup> Minhaj al-Siraj Juzjani, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Urdu tr. Ghulam Rasool Mehr (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1975).
- <sup>7</sup> Farhat Jahan, *Depiction of Women in the Sources of Delhi Sultanate (1206-1388)*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, 2012), 3.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>9</sup> Jahan, *Depiction of Women in the Sources of Delhi Sultanate*, 11-12.
- <sup>10</sup> Juzjani, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, 927-30.
- <sup>11</sup> Jahan, *Depiction of Women in the Sources of Delhi Sultanate*, 13. For more information regarding Raziyya Sultana's life, see Jamila Brij Bhushan, *Sultana Raziya, Her Life and Times: An Appraisal* (Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1990); Rakesh Gupta, *Raziya Sultan* (Haryana: Shubhi Publications, 2011) and Rafiq Zakaria, *Razia: Queen of India* (Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 1966).
- <sup>12</sup> Jahan, *Depiction of Women in the Sources of Delhi Sultanate*, 14.
- <sup>13</sup> Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1974), 40.
- <sup>14</sup> Jahan, *Depiction of Women in Sources of Delhi Sultanate*, 41.
- <sup>15</sup> *Tabaqat-i- Nasiri*, Vol.1, 454. See also, *Depiction of Women in Sources of Delhi Sultanate*, 41. For a note on her life, see Ugra Sain Goswami, *Woman in Man's World* (New Delhi: MD Publications, 1993), 17-19 and Tahera Azmat, *Women Mentors of Men* (Delhi: Sidharata Prakashan, 1970), 19-22.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid., 42.
- <sup>17</sup> Zia al-Din Barani, *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*, Urdu tr. Saiyyid Muin al-Haqq (Lahore: Urdu Science Board, 1969).
- <sup>18</sup> Barani, *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*, Vol.2, 22-24.
- <sup>19</sup> *Depiction of Women in Sources of Delhi Sultanate*, 46.
- <sup>20</sup> Barani, *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*, Vol.2, 50.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid., 70
- <sup>22</sup> Shams Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*, Urdu trans., Mawlawi Muhammad Fida Ali Talib (Hyderabad: Dar al-Tab Jamiah Uthmaniyyah, 1938).
- <sup>23</sup> E. Sreedharan, *A Textbook of Historiography (500BC to AD 2000)* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004), 347-8.
- <sup>24</sup> Afif, *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*, 45.
- <sup>25</sup> Ibid., 106.
- <sup>26</sup> Malik Izzudin Isami, *Futuh al-Salatin (Shahnama-i-Hind)*, Ed. Agha Mehdi Hussain (Allahabad: Hindustan Academy, 1938).
- <sup>27</sup> A practice of segregation between male and female members of society where the later must cover herself from head to toe in order to veil her identity mainly in Muslim Countries and some Hindu cultures.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibn Battuta, *Ajaib al-Asfar*, Urdu trans., Maulvi Muhammad Hussain (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1978).



<sup>29</sup> Battuta, *Ajaib al-Asfar*, 60-62.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, Vol.3 (London: Pan McMillan, 2003), 736.

<sup>31</sup> Muhammad Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Urdu trans., Mawlawi Muhammad Fida Ali Talib (Hyderabad: Dar al-Tab Jamiah Uthmaniyyah, 1926).

<sup>32</sup> Yahya Ahmad Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, English trans. K. K. Basu (Karachi: Karimsons, 1977).

<sup>33</sup> Zahir al-Din Babur, *Baburnama: Journal of Emperor Babur*, English trans., Annette Susannah Beveridge (Gurgaon: Penguin Books, 2006).

<sup>34</sup> Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur (d. 1530) was the founder and first emperor of Mughal Dynasty. Babur was born in Ferghana, Afghanistan into a ruler family who were from the descendants of Taimur- the founder of Taimur Empire by invading various Muslim areas including Delhi Sultanate and Ottoman rule until his death in 1405.

<sup>35</sup> St. Augustine (d. 430) was a philosopher and an expert on Christian theology from Numidia (now Algeria)-a Roman Province. His teachings changed viewpoints of the religious experts' as well common people regarding Christianity and became instrumental in the development of Western Christianity and philosophy. Therefore, his ideas on salvation and Divine grace made him among the fathers of the Protestant Reformation.

<sup>36</sup> Sir Isaac Newton (d. 1726/27) was a specialist in the fields of Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy and Theology from England. He is remembered till date as one of the leading scientist ever walked on the face of earth. Due to his '*Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*' (*Principia Mathematica*), he set the basics of the field of classical mechanics. His ideas on universal gravitation and Laws of Motion dominated the course of scientific theories for a long time until the Theory of Relativity came along.

<sup>37</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau (d. 1778) was born in Geneva and he rose to become an imminent philosopher and writer whose political theories largely moved human progression on the path of Enlightenment and modernity. He composed literary works such as *Discourse on Inequality* and *The Social Contract* became the hallmarks in studies regarding modern politics and social thought. His accomplishments earned him the status of a national hero in Paris, in 1794.

<sup>38</sup> Simmi Jain, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Women through the Ages: The Middle Ages* (New Delhi: Gyan Publications, 2003), 218-220. See also, Kiran Pawar, *Women in Indian History: Social, Economic, Political and Cultural Perspectives* (New Delhi: Vision & Venture, 1996), 103-4; R.D. Paloskar, *Babur: A Study in Generalship* (Pune: Southern Command Publishers, 1971), 15 and Mohibul Hassan, *Babur, Founder of the Mughal Empire* (New Dehli: Manohar Publishers, 1985), 34.

<sup>39</sup> Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 141-147. See also, Ruby Lal, *Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 69-107 and Radhey Shyam, *Babur* (Patna: Janaki Prakashan, 1978), 124.

<sup>40</sup> Gulbadan Begum, *Humayunnama (The History of Humayun)*, English trans., Annette S. Beveridge (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1974).

<sup>41</sup> Lal, *Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World*, 119-126. See also, Zinat Kausar, *Muslim Women in Medieval India* (Patna: Janaki Prakashan, 1992), 151; Renuka Nath, *Notable Mughal and Hindu Women in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries A.D.* (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, 1990), 25-27, and Paul L. Hanson, *Sovereignty and Service Relationships in the Timurid Corporate Dynasty under Babur: The Continuing Legacy of the Chingis Khanid Political System*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Department of History, University of Chicago, 1985, 242-243.

<sup>42</sup> Lal, *Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World*, 72-122. See also, Mukherjee, *Royal Mughal Ladies and Their Contributions*, 22; Tahera Aftab, *Inscribing South Asian Muslim Women: An Annotated Bibliography and Research Guide* (Boston: Brill, 2008), 46, Pawar, *Women in Indian History*, 107, Shaym, *Babur*, 263, 432 and Muni Lal, *Mughal*

Glory: Stories of Love, Loyalty, Honour, Courage (New Delhi: Konark Publishers, 1988), 47.

<sup>43</sup> Harbans Mukhia, *The Mughals of India* (New Delhi: Wiley India Private Limited, 2009), 129. See also Ishwari Parsad, *The Mughal Empire* (Allahabad: Chugh Publications, 1974), 115.

<sup>44</sup> Saiyyid Fayyaz Mahmud, *A Concise History of Indo-Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988), 138. See also, Everett Jenkins Jr., *The Muslim Diaspora: A Comprehensive Chronology of the Spread of Islam in Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas Volume II* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company Inc., 2011), 89-90, Bonnie G. Smith, *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Women in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 145-46.

<sup>45</sup> Gouri Srivastava, *The Legend Makers: Some Eminent Muslim Women of India* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2003), 21-23. See also, Subha Rao, *Chand Bibi (685)* (Assam: Amar Chitra Katha Private Limited, 1974).

<sup>46</sup> Kishori Saran Lal, *The Mughal Harem* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1998), 23. See also, Masudul Hasan, *Daughters of Islam: Being Short Biographical Sketches of 82 Famous Muslim Women* (Lahore: Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh Academy, 1976), 104-117 and Annemarie Schimmel, *The Empire of the Great Mughals: History, Art and Culture* (London: Reaktion Books Limited, 2004), 143-148.

<sup>47</sup> Abu-l al-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, English trans., H. Beveridge (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1921).

<sup>48</sup> Jahangir, *Tuzuki-i-Jahangiri*, English trans., Alexander Rogers (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1974).