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

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

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

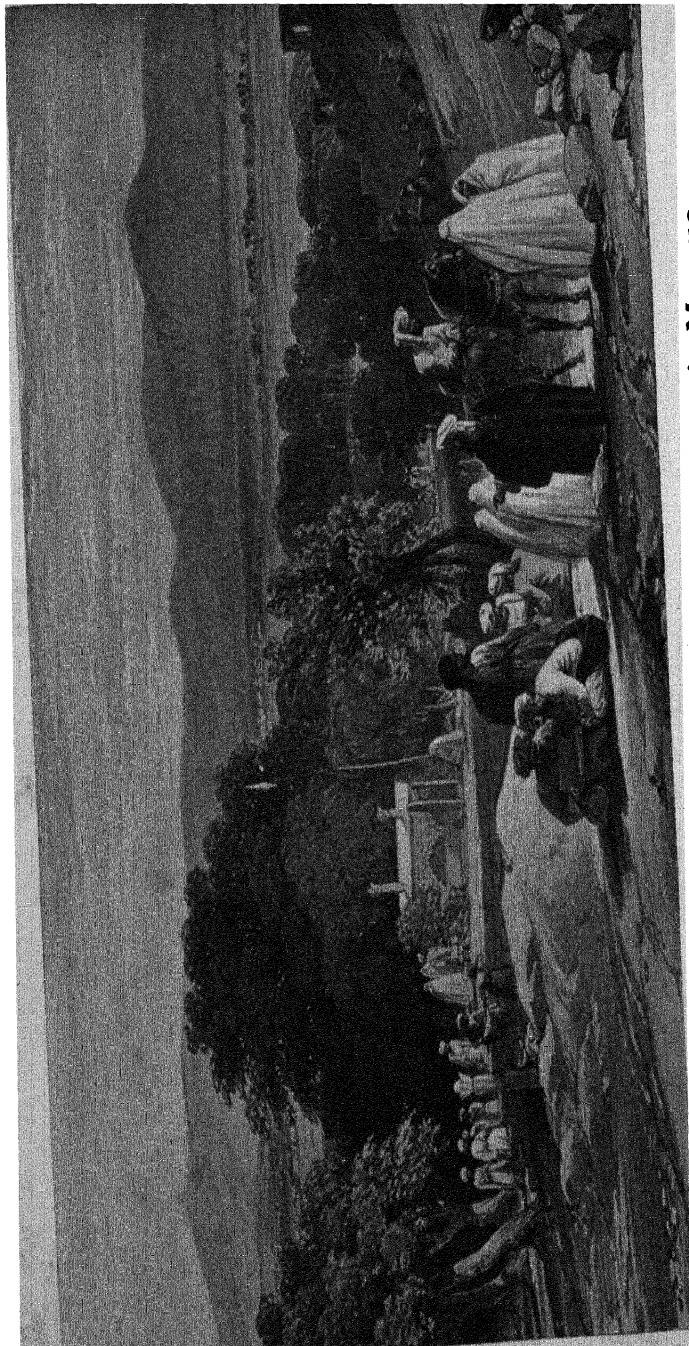
Humayun-nāma Pers. text ed. and trs. RAS. 1902.
(Out of print.)

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.

* See Bibliography of Dunfermline (Erskine Beveridge (*secundus*), LL.D.).



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

To face p. 367.]

The Bābur-nāma in English

(Memoirs of Bābur)

BY

Zahiru'd-dīn Muḥammad Bābur Pādshāh Ghāzī

Translated from the original Turki Text

BY

ANNETTE SUSANNAH BEVERIDGE.

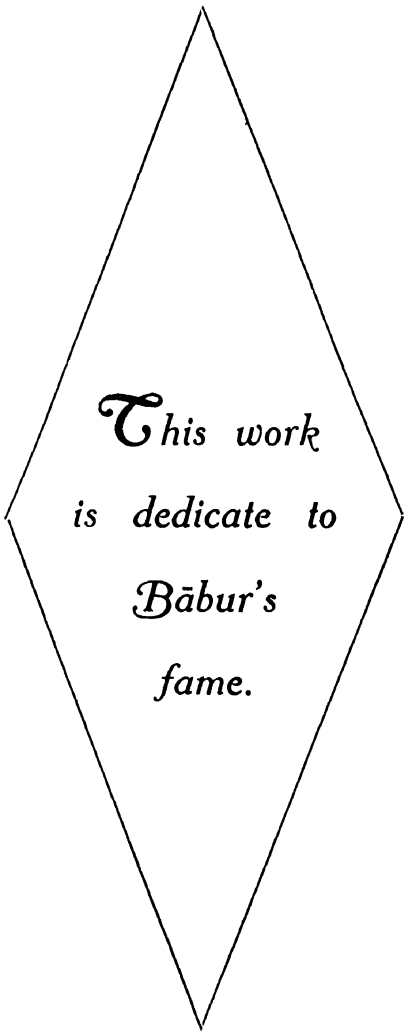
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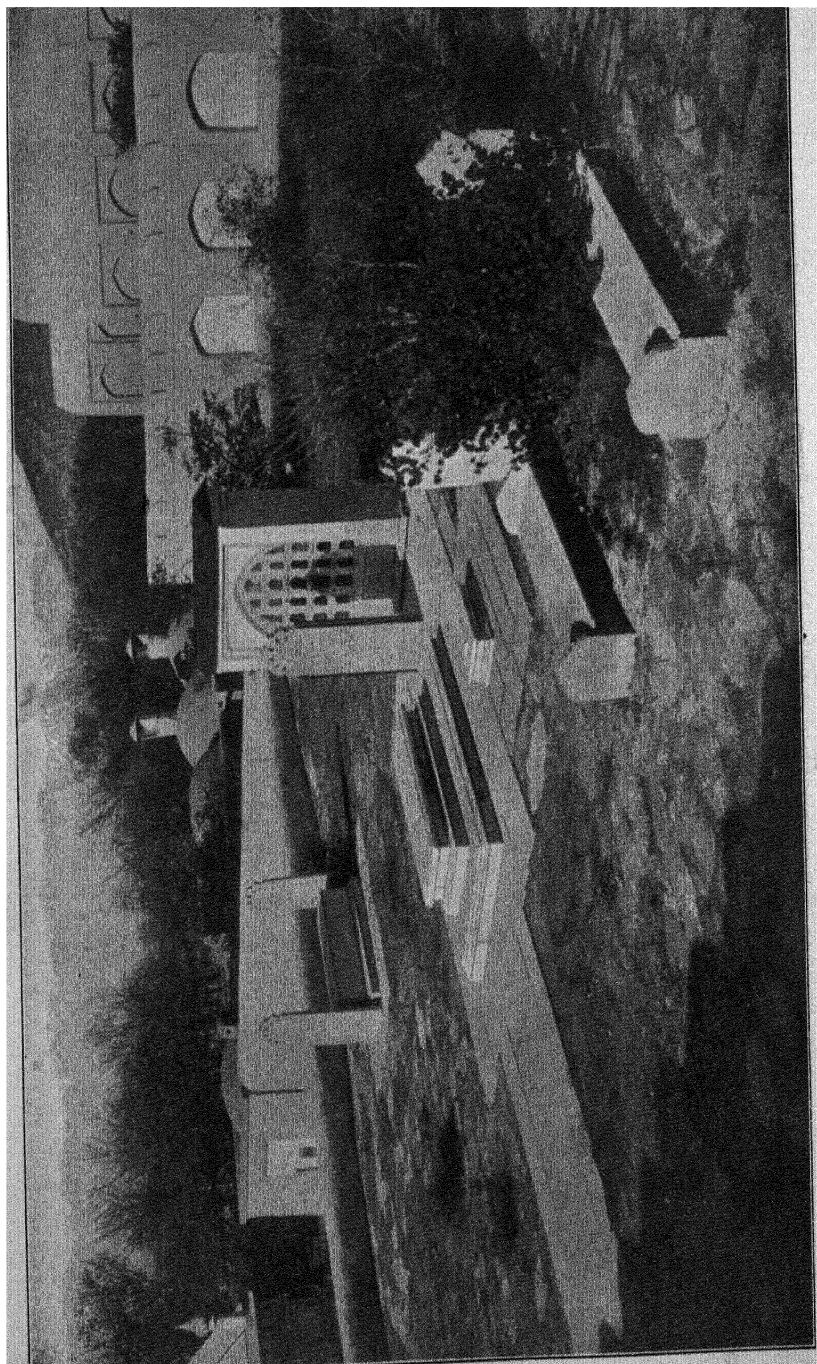
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Translator's Note.—908 to 909 AH.—1503 to 1504 AD.—Bābur will have been rescued—is with The Khāns in the battle and defeat by Shaibānī at Archiān—takes refuge in the Asfara hills—there spends a year in misery and poverty—events in Farghāna and Tāshkint—Shaibānī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

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 Ṭaghāi *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 Begchik chiefs—Ḥusain *Bāi-qarā* summons help against Shaibānī—Despair in Bābur's party at Ḥusain's plan of "defence, not attack"—Qam̄bar-i-'alī dismissed to please Bāqī—Khusrau makes abject submission to Bābur—Mirzā 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 Sultān Mas'ūdī Hazāra—Bābur's first move for Hindūstān—Khaibar traversed—Bigrām visited—Bāqī Beg prevents crossing the Sind—and persuades for Kohāt—A plan for Bangash, Bannū and thence return to Kābul—Yār-i-ḥusain *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 Begchik 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

- 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-ghilzāi—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 *Bāi-qarā* against Shaibānī—Shaibānī takes Khwārizm and Chīn Sūfī is killed—Death and biography of Ḥusain *Bāi-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 *Bāi-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 Mirzās against Shaibānī—their meeting with Bābur—etiquette of Bābur's reception—an entertainment to him—of the *Chīngīz-tūrā*—Bābur claims the ceremonial observance due to his military achievements—entertainments and Bābur's obedience to Muḥammadan Law against wine—his reflections on the Mirzās—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—Qasīm 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 Herīrud 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 Mirzā Khān in his place—Bābur concert's 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—Muḥ. Ḥusain *Dūghlāt* and Mirzā Khān banished—Spring excursion to Koh-dāman—Nāṣir, driven from Badakhshān, takes refuge with Bābur 294–322



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- 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—Irrresolution of the Tīmūrid Mīrzās—Infatuation of Zū'n-nūn *Arghūn*—Shaibānī takes Herī—his doings there—Defeat and death of two *Bāi-qarās*—The Arghūns in Qandahār make overtures to Bābur—he starts to join them against Shaibānī—meets Ma'sūma 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—Nāšir put in command—Bābur returns to Kābul rich in goods and fame—marries Ma'sūma—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 Nāšir—assumes the title of Pādshāh—Birth of Humāyūn, feast and chronogram 323–344
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- 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'id *Chaghatāi* takes refuge with him in a quiet Kābul—Shaibānī's murders of Chaghatāi and Dūghlāt chiefs 347–366
- 915 AH.—April 21st 1509 to April 11th 1510 AD.—Beginning of hostilities between Ismā'il *Şafawī* and Shaibānī—Ḥaidar *Dūghlāt* takes refuge with Bābur.
- 916 AH.—April 11th 1510 to March 31st 1511 AD.—Ismā'il defeats the Aūzbegs near Merv—Shaibānī is killed—20,000

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- 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 Tirmīz—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 Aūzbeḡ camp—in Ḥiṣār, he is attacked suddenly by Mughūls—he escapes to Qūndūz—the retributive misfortunes of Ḥiṣār—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 Khīshm—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 Ṭaghāi *Mughūl*—quiet restored—many rebels flee to Kāshghar—Sherīm refused harbourage by Sa'id Khān and seeks Bābur's protection—Haidar'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 Mirza *Bāi-qarā*—Bābur pursues the Mīrzā—has him brought to Kābul—gives him his daughter Ma'sūma 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 Hasan flees to Bābur—stays two years—date of his return to his father—Bābur begins a campaign in Bajaur against Haidar-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 Bibī Mubārīka—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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trees—a line offensive to Khalifa (*see* Add. Note p. 416)—Humāyūn makes a good shot—Beauty of the harvest near Istālif 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 Kīndir 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—Mirzā Khān's death.

- 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—Dibalpūr 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 Aūzbeḡ threat to Balkh—The Panj-āb garrison—Death of Ismā'il *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 Dibalpūr—'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 Aūzbeḡ 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 Biḡrām—Preparations for ferrying the Sind—Order to make a list of all with the army,

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 Aūzbeḡ chiefs in Ḥiṣār (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 *khutba* read for him in Dihlī—he goes to Āgra—Author’s Note on rulers in Gūaliār—The (Koh-i-nūr) diamond given by the Gūaliār 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—Khawāja 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—Biban *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

aside and to march to the East—Humāyūn leads out the army—Bābur makes garden, well and mosque near Āgra—Progress of Humāyūn's campaign—News of the Aūzbegs in Balkh and Khurāsān—Affairs of Gujrāt . . . 445-535

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—Ḥamid 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 Rājput prowess—Spadesmen sent ahead to dig wells in Madhākūr *pargana*—Bābur halts there—arrays and moves to Sikrī—various joinings and scoutings—discomfiture of a party reconnoitring from Sikrī—the reinforcement also overcome—The enemy retires at sight of a larger troop from Bābur—defence of the Sikrī camp Rūmī fashion, with ditch besides—Continued praise of Rājput 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 Miwāt 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

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 Ramzān-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 Saṃbal 536-586

934 AH.—Sep. 27th 1527 to Sep. 15th 1528 AD.—Bābur visits Kūl and Saṃbal 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 Sikrī—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 *Chaghatāi* 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

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 Kāmran and Dost-i-khāwand in Kābul—of Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī's* defeat at Jām of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Aūzbeḡ*—of the birth of a son to Humāyūn, and of a marriage by Kāmran—he rewards an artificer—is strongly attacked by fever—for his healing translates Aḥrārī's *Wālidīyyah-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 Kāmṛān, Humāyūn and others—also specimens of the Bāburī-script, and copies of the translation of the *Wālidīyyah-risāla* and the Hindūstān Poems—commends his building-work to his workmen—makes a new ruler for the better copying of the *Wālidīyyah-risāla* translation—letters written—**Copy of one to Khwāja Kalān inserted here**—Complaints from Kitīn-qarā *Aūzbeḡ* 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—Negotiations with an envoy of Naṣrat Shāh of Bengal—Examination into Muḡammad-i-zāman's objections to a Bihār appointment—despatch of troops to Bihār (town)—Muḡammad-i-zamān submits requests which are granted—a small success against Afghāns—Royal insignia given to Muḡammad-i-zamān, with leave to start for Bihār—Bābur's boats—News of the Bengal army—Muḡammad-i-zāman recalled because fighting was probable—Dūdū Bibī 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 Bāḡh-i-ṣafā—Bābur visits lotus-beds near Arrah—also

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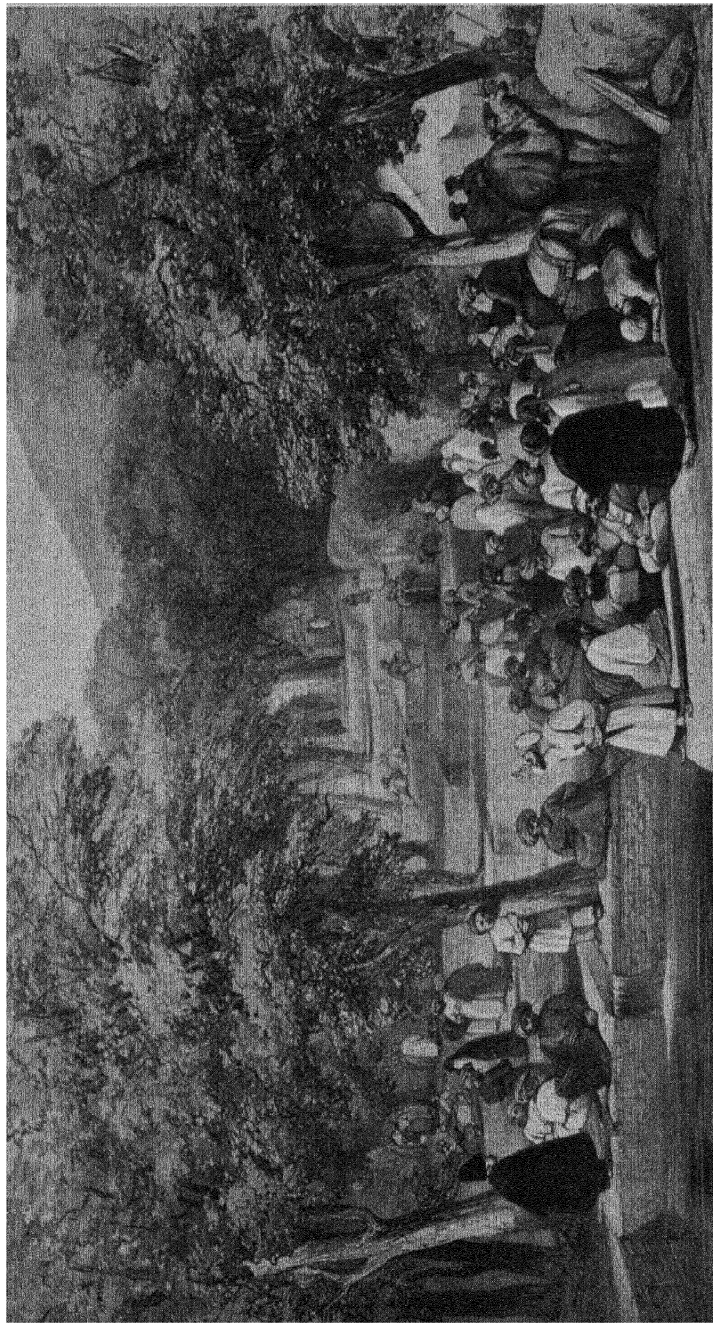
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|---|---------------------------------|
| Plane-tree Avenue in Babur's (later) Burial-garden ¹ | <i>facing</i> p. xxvii |
| View from above his grave and Shah-jahan's Mosque ¹ | <i>facing</i> p. 367 |
| His Grave ² | <i>facing</i> p. 445 |
| Babur in Prayer ³ | <i>facing</i> p. 702 |
| His Signature | App. Q, lxi |
| Plans of Chandiri and Gualiar | App. R, lxvii |

¹ From Atkinson's *Sketches in Afghanistan* (I.O. Lib. & B.M.).

² See p. 710 (where for "Daniels" read Atkinson).

³ See Gul-badan Begim's *Humayun-nama* Index III, *in loco*.



Plane-tree Avenue in Babur's (later) Burial-garden.

To face p. xxvii.

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

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 *Tarikh-i-rashidi*, trs. p. 174.

naming. 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.

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 accreditation 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

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 pleasance 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

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.

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. *cir.* 1732), *etc.*

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 commorable 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.

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

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.

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 [Khawaja '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 Tashkent, and to Samarkand (æt. 5, p. 35) where he

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).

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.

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.

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 <i>Ahrari's</i> 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 <i>Dughlat's</i> 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 <i>cir.</i> 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).

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 Codex¹ 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.

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.

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.

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.n.m.* 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.*

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

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. J.R.A.S. 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 Tūrki (*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.*

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 Association; 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:—

Denkwürdigkeiten 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.

- 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.

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 *cir.* 1521 (*eo cap. post*).

3 (*Imp. I*). 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.m.*; 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.

[Babur's history has been thus brought to an end, incomplete in the balance needed of 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 arche-type 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. Adelong, 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 IRAS. 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 negotiated with the Khan of Bukhara for the reception of a Russian mission.² 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 Turkmen, went back to Bukhara, and there stayed until it could attempt the devious route which brought it to the capital in 1725.

“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

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.

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 <i>aitas</i> Babur-nama. | 1121-1709. Date of colophon of earliest known example. | 'Abdu'l-wahhab <i>g. z.</i> Taken to be also the author. | Bukhara. | Believed to be the original compilation. | <i>See</i> 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 (trans- ferred) 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, brought to Petro. 1725. |
| 4. Kehr's Autograph Codex. | 1737. | George Jacob Kehr. | Pet. Or. School, 1894. London T.O. 1921. | No. 3. | <i>See</i> 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 (?). | — |

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 était 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 dénouement 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,

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

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

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 (*fīsq, fāsīq*). 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

POSTSCRIPT 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 redundancy is not the flower of a deft alchemy, but is the prosaic consequence of a secondary source.

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).

The Bābur-nāma in English

(Memoirs of Bābur)

BY

Zahīru'd-dīn Muḥammad Bābur Pādshāh *Ghāzī*

Translated from the original Turki Text

BY

ANNETTE SUSANNAH BEVERIDGE.

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¹ See Abū'l-ghāzī's *Shajarāt-i-turkī* on the origin and characteristics of the tribe (Désmaisons trs. Index s.n. Oūighūr, 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 H.S. than is given on p. 85 n. 2, is ii, 44 and iii, 167.

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

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


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

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

² At p. 22 n. 8 fill out to Cf. f. 66 (p. 13) n. 5.

Afghānī Āghāchā, see Mubārika.

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

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

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

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¹ Daulat-shāh celebrates the renown of the Jalāir section (*farqa*) of the Chaghatāi 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 Jalāir Sultāns 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 Ṭambal 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 Ṭambal 125 ; his death *ib.* ; his brother Ghiyās, his son Muḥammad-dost, and his servant Yūl-chūq *q.v.* ; [†a few years after 905 AH.—1500 AD.].
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- 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 Minūchihir and their Turk relation (389) *q.v.*
- 'Alī Khān Turkmān**, son of 'Umar Beg—defends the *Bāi-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'il *q.v.*
- Sayyid **'Alī Khwāb-bīn**, father of Sayyid Afzal *q.v.* (cf. H.S. lith. ed. iii, 346.
- Mullā Sultān **'Alī khwush-nawīs**, calligrapher of Ḥusain *Bāi-qarā*—particulars 291 ; given lessons in penmanship by Shaibānī (913) 329 ; [†919 AH.—1513 AD.].

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- ‘**Alī-mazīd Beg** *qūchīn* — particulars 26 ; leaves Bābur for home (903) 91.
- Mīr ‘**Alī mīr-akhwūr**¹—particulars 279 ; helps Husain *Bāi-qarā* to surprise Yādgar-i-muḥammad *Shāh-rukhī* in Herī (875) 134, 279.
- Sultān ‘**Alī Mirzā** *Mirān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Maḥmūd and Zuḥra—particulars 47 ; serving his half-brother Bāi-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 Mirzā 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 Sultānīm *Mirān-shāhī* and sister Makhdūm-sultān *q.v.* ; [†906 AH.–1500 AD.].
- Sultān ‘**Alī Mirzā Taghāi** *Begchīk* (Mirzā Beg Taghāi), 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.* ; Kāmran marries his daughter (934) 619 ; conveys Bābur’s wedding gifts to Kāmran (935) 642 ; takes also a copy of the *Wālidīyyah-risāla* and of the Hindūstān poems, with writings (*sar-khatt*) 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 *frīngīs* 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 qutnī** (?)—in the left centre at Bajaur (925) 369.

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

- ‘**Alī Sayyid Mughūl**—in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334; rebels(914)345¹; 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 Chaghatāi**, pen-names Nawā’i and Fanā’i—his obligations to Aḥmad Hājī Beg and return to Herāt 38; fails in a mission of Ḥusain *Bāi-qarā’s* (902) 69²; his Turkī that of Andijān 4; checks Ḥusain in Shī’a action 258; opposes administrative reform 282; particulars 271–2; his relations with Banā’i 286–7, 648; corresponds with Bābur (906) 106; exchanges quatrains with Pahlawān Bū-sa’id 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-āimāq of the Āq-qūlūq³ Turkmāns—his daughter Pasha, grandson Yār-i-‘alī *Balāl*, and descendant Bairām Khān-i-khānān *q.v.*
- Sulṭān ‘**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 Taghāi Mervī**(?)—holding Balkh for Badī’u’z-zamān *Bāi-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 Mirzā**—an Aūzbeḡ 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*—negotiates 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.

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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 *Jalāir Chaghatāi*, 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-sultān 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), *Bāi-garā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain and Pāyanda-sultān—particulars 265 ; [pre-deceased her husband who died †911 AH.—1504 AD.].

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

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

Āq Begīm (4), see Šāliha-sultān.

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

'**Āqil Sultān** *Aūzbeq-Shaibān*, son of 'Ādil and Shād *Bāi-garā*—his conjectured descent 264 n. 1 (where in l. 4 for "āqil" read 'ādil).

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

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

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

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

Asad Beg *Turkmān*—joins Ḥusain *Bāi-garā* 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 *Şafawī*

- (933) 540, 583 ; has charge of Ibrāhīm *Lūdi*'s mother 543 ; in the right wing at Kānwa 566, 569.
- Khwāja **Āṣafī**—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 Chandirī (934) 590 ; ordered on service (935) 638.
- '**Āshiq-i-muhammad 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** *Akhsikūtī*, a poet—his birthplace Akhsī-village (kīt-kīnt) 9-10 ; [†608 AH.—1211-2 AD.].
- Muḥammad '**Askarī** *Mirān-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, 699¹ ; 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** *Rājput*—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. Ātikā, Pers. Atka)—a surgeon who dresses a wound of Bābur's (908) 169.
- Atā** *mīr-ākḥwūr*—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-birdī** *Mughūl* (var. Afghān-birdī 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 Mirzā *Bāi-qarā Timūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Muhammad Sulṭān Mirzā—his (?) journey to Hindustan (933) 265.

Aūlūgh Beg Mirzā Kābulī, *Mirān-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-zāi App. K. xxxvi; his co-operation with Ḥusain *Bāi-qarā* against the Aūzbegs 190; his praise of Istālif 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 Mirān-shāh, his daughter Bega Begīm and daughter-in-law Manauwar *q.v.*; [†907 AH.—1501–2 AD.].

Aūlūgh Beg Mirzā Shāh-rukhī, *ut supra* (Ūlūgh), son of Shāh-rukh—his Trans-oxus rule 85¹; receives Yūnas *Chaghatāi* badly (832–3?) 19–20; defeated by Abā-bikr *Mirān-shāhī* 260; his family dissensions 20; his constructions, Astronomical and other 74, 77, 78–9²; his sportsmanship 34³; his murder and its chronograms 85; Bābur resides in his College (906) 142; his sons 'Abdu'l-laṭif 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 *Mirān-shāhī* and son Darwesh-i-muḥammad *q.v.*

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

Aurang-zīb Pādshāh *Mirān-shāhī Timūrid, 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 Mirzā's zeal as a sportsman and an illustrative anecdote by Shaikh 'Arif *'asari q.v.* (H.B.).

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

Aūzbeḡ Bahādur (Ūzbeḡ) — 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.].

Khawāja **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 Mīrim *q.v.*

'**Ayisha-sultān Begīm** *Bāi-qarā Timūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain—particulars 267 ; her husbands Qāsim *Aūzbeḡ-Shaibān* and Būrān, her sons Qāsim-i-Ḥusain and 'Abdu'l-lāh *q.v.*

'**Ayisha-sultān 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** *Begchik*—particulars 50 ; sent by The Khān (Mahmūd) to help Bābur (903) 92, (906) 138, 161, 170 ; his Mughūls misbehave at Sar-i-pul (Khawāja 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 *Chaghatāi* to betray Bābur (916) 351 ; does not then desert 352, 362 ; rebels in Ḥiṣār (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.].

'**Azīm Humāyūn** *Sarwānī*—invests Gūālīār 477 ; his title changed and why (933) 537 ; his son Faṭḥ 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 Khawāja (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 Aghā 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 *Bāi-qarā*—particulars 278; his son Yūnas-i-'alī and friend Badru'd-dīn *q.v.*

Bābā-qulī's Sultān **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 Ghogrā (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-rukḥ (*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 Sultān Chaghatāi Chingīz-khānīd, (*Bābājāk*), son of Aḥmad (Alacha Khan)—his ceremonious meeting with Bābur (908) 159; [living in 948 AH.—1542—T.R.].

Bābā Khān Chaghatāi, 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 Dibālpūr (930) 442; his brothers Malik Qāsim and Kūkī; his sons Shāh Muḥammad, Dost-i-muḥammad and Hājī Muḥammad Khān *Kūkī q.v.*; [†*cir.* 940 AH.—1553 AD.].²


Sultān **Bābā-qulī Beg**, son of Sultān 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 Muḥammad-i-zamān *Bāi-qarā*. For further particulars of his family group see Add. Notes under p. 404.

³ Sultān Bābā-qulī Beg is found variously designated Qulī Beg, Qulī Bābā, Sī. 'Alī Bābā-qulī, Sultān-qulī Bābā and Bābā-qulī Beg. Several forms appear to express his filial relationship with Sultān Bābā 'Alī (*q.v.*).

- Bābā Shaikh** *Chaghatāi*, 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 Taṃbal (908) 163; does well at Akhsi 174; fights against rebels at Kābul (912) 315; at Qandahār (913) 335.
- Bābā Sultān** *Chaghatāi 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.

Zahīrū'd-dīn Muḥammad **Bābur Pādshāh** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—b. Muḥarram 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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Khwāja **Bāqī**, son of Yahyā 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.

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

¹ See note, Index, *s.n.* Muhammad Zakaria.

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.

Shaikh **Bāyazīd**, *Farmūlī Afghān*—acts for his dead brother Muṣṭafa¹ (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 *Lūḍī* 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), *Bāi-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 *Bāi-qarā* (902) 264.

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Bega Sultān Begīm *Mervī*, wife of Ḥusain *Bāi-qarā*—particulars 261, 7, 8; divorced 268; her son Badi'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 Sultān, see Sa'adat-bakht.

Begī Sultān Aghācha, *ghūnchachī* of Ḥusain *Bāi-qarā*—particulars 269.

¹ His wife, daughter of a wealthy man and on the mother's side niece of Sultān Buhlūl *Lūḍī*, 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 Mirak Turkmān, a beg of the Chirās (Mughūl) *tūmān*—acts for Yūnas Khān 191 ; [†832 AH.-1428-9 AD.].

Beg Tilba Itārachī Mughūl, brother of Aḥmad Taṃbal—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.

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Malik **Bīban Jilwānī**?¹ *Afghān*—deserts 'Alam Khān *Lūdi* (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 *Lūdi* 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 *Farmūli q.v.*

Muḥammad Shāh, **Bihār Khān Bihārī, Nūhānī 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.].

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

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

³ Firūshā lith. ed. i, 202.

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[†] For "Mūnin" read Mūmin, which form is constant in the Hai. MS.

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- 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.*
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- 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.
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- Darwesh-i-'alī piāda** 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.
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Daryā Khān *Nūhānī, Afghān*—his sons Saif Khān and Bihār Khān, his grandson Jalāl *q.v.*

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

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

Dāūd *Sarwānī*, see Rāwū'i *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.].

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

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

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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 Hamida-bānū's father and, if so, became grandfather of Akbar.

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

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Dost-kildī *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 Mirīm q.v. ; particulars 395-7 ; [†925 AH.-1519 AD.].

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- Fīrūz Khān Mewatī**—reprieved (932) 477-8.
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Gauhar-shād Begīm, wife of Shāh-rukḥ *Timūrid*—Bābur visits her college and tomb (912) 305; [†861 AH.—1457 AD.].

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

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


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- Gul-barg Barlās Turk**, daughter of Khalifa—☞ betrothed (?) to Shāh Ḥasan *Arghūn* (924–5) 366 ; ☞ married (930) 443.
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- Hāfiẓ Mirak**—composes an inscription (913) 343.
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- Haibat Khān *karg-andāz, Hindūstānī***—leaves Bābur (933) 557.
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- Haidar *'Alamdār***—on Bābur's service (925) 383, (926) 421.
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- Haidar-Mirzā *Bāi-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk***, son of Ḥusain and Pāyanda-sultān—his Mirān-shāhī betrothal at *Hiṣār* (901) 48, 61; rejoins his father opportunely (903) 261; particulars 263; his wife Bega *q.v.*; [†908 AH.–1502–3 AD.].
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¹ On p. 22 n. 2 delete "*Chaghatāi Mughūl*" on grounds given in Additional Note, Page 22.

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- 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 'Alam Khān Lūdī (932) 445-6-7.
- Ḥājī piāda**—killed at the Lovers'-cave 68 ; [902 AH.—1497 AD.].
- Ḥājī Pīr bakāwal**—negociates for Ḥusain Bāi-qarā with the Ḥisār begs (901) 61.
- Ḥalāhil**—on service (925) 391, (925) 638.
- Ḥalwāchī Tarkhān Arghūn**—engages Bābur's left wing at Qandāhar (913) 336.
- Sayyid Mīr **Ḥamah**—gets the better of two traitors (932-3) 546 ; receives head-money (933) 546 ; in the right wing at Kānwa 566.
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- Ḥāmūsī**, son of Dīwa—sent to make a Hindū pact with Sangā's son (935) 616.
- Amīr **Ḥamza**—a poem mentioned imitating that in which he is celebrated 280 ; [†3 AH.—625 AD.].
- Ḥamza Beg qūchīn**, son of Qāsīm 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.
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- Ḥamza Khān**, Malik of 'Alī-shang—made over to the avengers of blood (926) 425 ; [†926 AH.—1520 AD.].
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¹ For Humāyūn's annotation of the *Bābur-nāma*, see General Index *s.n.* Humāyūn's Notes.

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

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

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
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¹ *Addendum* :—p. 49 l. 4, read "wife" of Muḥammadi "son" of Jahān-shāh.

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¹ His name might mean Welcome, *Bien-venu*.

² Khusrau-shāh may be the more correct form.

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- Khawāja **Khawānd-sa'id**—Bābur visits his tomb (925) 407.
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- Kīchik Begīm** *Bāi-qarā Timūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain and Pāyanda-sulṭān—refused in marriage to Mas'ūd *Mīrān-shāhī* 265; “afterwards” marries Multā Khawāja 266.¹
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- Kīchik Khawāja Beg**, son of Maulānā Muḥammad Ṣadru'd-dīn and elder brother of Khawāja Kalān—in the left wing at Khūbān (905) 113; killed at Qalāt-i-ghilzāi 248²; [†911 AH.—1505 AD.].

¹ The “afterwards” points to an omission which Khawānd-amīr's account of Ḥusain's daughters fills (lith. ed. iii, 327).

² No record survives of the Khawāja'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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- Rāja **Kirtī** *Gūālārī*, see Karna.
- Kitin-qarā Sultān** *Aūzbeḡ*—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.
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- Kūki**,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.].
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¹ This may be a tribal or a family name. Abū’l-ghāzī mentions two individuals named “Kouk”. One was Chingiz Khān’s grandson who is likely to have had descendants or followers distinguishable as *Kūki*. See Add. Note P. 673 on Kūki fate.

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- Langar Khān** *Niazāi Afghān*—one of a raft-party (925) 412; waits on Bābur (926) 421.
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¹ Cf. E. and D. for "Karānī" (*s.g.* vol. iv, 530). The Hai. MS. sometimes doubles the *r*, sometimes not.

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- 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 Sultān Mīrzā** *Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, 3rd son of Tīmūr—mentioned in a genealogy 14; his daughter's son Aḥmad *Bāi-qarā q.v.*; [†810 AH.-1407-8 AD.].
- Mīr Buzurg** *Tīmūzī*—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 Laghari**—*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 Bāi-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.
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¹ Shaikhīm *Suhailī* however was named Aḥmad (277) not Muhammad.

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Mohan *Mundāhir Rājput*—a punitive expedition against him (936) 700-1 ; [†936 AH.-1529 AD. ?].

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Muḥammad 'Alī bakhshī—on Abū-sa'id's service and defeated by Ḥusain *Bāi-qarā* (868) 259.

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- Muḥammad ‘Alī** *pāda*—deserts Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* (913) 343.
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¹ The record of the first appears likely to be lost in the *lacuna* of 934 AH.

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¹ See *Shāibānī-nāma*, Vambéry's ed. Cap. xv, l. 12, for his changes of service, and Sām Mirzā's *Tuḥfa-i-sāmī* for various particulars including his classification as a Chaghātāi.

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¹ He died serving Bābur, at Kūl-i-malik (H.S. iii, 344).—Further information negatives my suggestion (201 n. 7) that he and Mir Ḥusain (p. 288 and n. 7) were one.

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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 *yīgūt* (*aūghūl*) and thus loses the information that Yahyā's sons Bāqī and Zakariya were above childhood, were grown to fighting age—braves—but not yet begs (see Index *s.n.* *chuhra*).

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¹ See Add. Notes under p. 39.

² See Add. Notes under p. 266.

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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") Muḥammadi son of ("Jahān-shāh").

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¹ Cf. H.S. Ferti's trs. p. 70 for the same name Qaitmās.

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- Qarā-qūzī**—on Bābur's service (932) 471; in the left-wing [*tūlghuma*] at Pānīpat 473.
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[†] His capture is not recorded.

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- 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; [†934AH.—1528AD.].
- 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 Hai. MS. adds “Beg”, by clerical? error).
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

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¹ He joined Bābur with his father Yār-i-'alī *Balāl* (*q.v.*) in 910 AH. (Blochmann's *Biographies*, A.-i.-A. trs. 315).

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Shāh Beg Arghūn—Shuja' Beg—son of Zū'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 Aḥmadnagar to congratulate Bābur on his conquest of Dihli, 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.)

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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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¹ Down to p. 131 the Hai. 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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¹ The title “Aūghlān” (child, boy) indicates that the bearer died without ruling.

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¹ This cognomen was given because the bearer was born during an eclipse of the moon (*āz*, moon and the root *al* taking away); *see* Badāyūnī Bib. Ind. ed. i, 62.

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¹ Here *delete* “Sultān-nigar Khānīm”, who was his grandmother and not his mother.

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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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- Timūr 'Uṣmān** *Mirān-shāhī Timūrid, Barlās Turk*—mentioned 280.
- Tingri-birdī** *Bashaghī* (?) *Mughūl*—in the left wing [*tūlghumā*] at Pānīpat (932) 473.
- Tingri-birdī 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 Jūi-shāhī 410; acts swiftly for him (932–3) 546.
- Tingri-qūlī**, a musician—plays at Bābur's entertainments (925) 385, 386, 388; upset into the Parwān-water 407; first given wine 415.
- Tirahī Sultān**—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).
- Tizak**, son of Qūl-i-bāyazīd *bakāwal*—captured as a child and kept 4 years (910) 197.
- Tūfān** *Arghūn*—joins Bābur and so creates a good omen (913) 333.
- Sayyid **Tufān**—on Bābur's service (932) 453.
- Tūghlūq-timūr Khān** *Chaghatāi Chīngīz-khānid*—mentioned in Yūnas Khān's genealogy 19.
- Tūka** *Hindū* (var. Nau-kār)—given charge of gifts for Kābul (932) 525.
- Tūkhtā-būghā Sultān** *Chaghatāi 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; [†*cir.* 940 AH.—1533–4 AD.].
- Tūlik Kūkūldāsh**¹—Taṃbal 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** *Aūzbek*—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'asirū'l-umrā* i, 475.

Tūn-sultān (var. Yūn) *Mughūl*—*ghūnchachī* of ‘Umar Shaikh 24.
Tūqā Beg, son of Sherīm Ṭaghāi — captured by Ṭambal when serving Bābur (904) 106; killed as a prisoner 107; [†904 AH.—1499 AD.],

Khawāja ‘**Ubāidu’l-lāh** *Ahrārī 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 *Wālidīyyah-risāla* versified by Bābur 619–20, 468 n. 4, 604; his sons [Muḥammad ‘Ubaidu’l-lāh] Khwājakā Khwāja and Yahya *q.v.*; [†895 AH.—1491 AD.].

‘**Ubaidu’l-lāh Sultān Khān** *Aūzbeḡ, Shaibānī Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Maḥmūd and nephew of Shaibānī—defeats two pairs of Bāi-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 Ḥiṣār 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. 2¹; his wives by capture Ḥabība *Dūghlāt* and Mihr-angez *Bāi-qarā q.v.*; [†946 AH.—1539 AD.].

Rāwāl **Ūdai-singh** *Bāgarī*—his force at Kānwa (933) 562; his death 573; [†933 AH.—1527 AD.].

Ūlugh, Ūlūs, see Aūlugh, Aūlūs.


Mīr ‘**Umar Beg** *Turkmān*—particulars 279; his sons Abū’l-faṭḥ and ‘Alī Khān *q.v.*

‘**Umar Mīrzā** *Ṭīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Mīrān-shāh—mentioned 262 n. 3.

‘**Umar Shaikh Mīrzā I**, son of Ṭīmūr—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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- Umīd Āghācha** *Andijāni, ghūnchachī* of ‘Umar Shaikh—her son Nāšir *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.].
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- Sultān **Wais Kūlābī**—his friendship recommended to Humāyūn (935) 627 ;  reinforces Qila‘-i-ḡafar (935 or 936) 696 ; his daughter Ḥaram Begīm *q.v.*
- Wais Lāgharī Beg tūghchī**—particulars 28 ; joins The Khān (Mahmūd)(899) 32 ; safe-guards his ward Nāšir *Mirān-shāhī ib.* ; on service for Bāi-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.*
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- Sultān **Wālāma Taklū**—mentioned in Shāh Ṭahmāsp's account of the battle of Jām (935) 626 n. 2.
- Pir **Walī Barlas Turk**—loses Siwistān 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 Qibchāq Turk**, brother of Khusrau Shāh²—particulars 51; on his brother's service (901) 60, 64, (902) 71, (903) 93–4; mentioned (906) 129, (910) 191 by Ḥusain Bāi-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.].
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¹ See Additional Note under P. 372.

² See Additional Notes under P. 51.

³ Here the Hai. MS. and Ilminsky's Imprint add “Nāsir”.

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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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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 ('*ilmul-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*, *Rabāṭjik-aurchinī q.v.*

² Cf. *s.n.* Āhangaran-julga n. as to form of the name.

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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-şûf, often mentioned by the Arabian writers, seems to lie west of Bâmiân" (Erskine, *Memoirs*, p. 152 n. 1).

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¹ Bābur's itinerary gives Gharjistān a greater eastward extent than the Fr. map Maimènè allows, thus agreeing with Erskine's surmise (*Memoirs* p. 152 n. 2).—The first syllable of the name may be "Ghur".

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¹ On p. 7, l. 1, after "turbulent", *add*, "They are notorious in Mâwarâ'u'n-nahr for their bullying."

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² The confusion of identity has become clear to me in 1921 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 Rutilian 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 finno-ougriennes d'étroites affinités" (hence with the Mongol tongue). "Tarkhān" is "Türkhan" in Miles trs. p. 71 of the *Shajaratul-'atrāk* (H. B.).

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1 On this peg may be hung the following note:—The *Pādshāh-nāma* (*g.v.*) calls the author and presenter of the above translation “*Abū 'līlīb 'Husainī*” (Bib. Ind. ed. vol. i, part 2, p. 288), but its index contains many references seemingly to the same man as Khwāja Abū'l-husain *Tuybatī*. The P. N. says the book which it entitles *Wāq'āt-i-shāhīb-gīrān* (The Acts of Tīmūr), was in Turki, was brought forth from the Library of the (Turk) Governor of Yemen and translated by Mir Abū 'līlīb *Husainī*; that what Tīmūr had done with this book of counsel (*dastān-i-nasū'ih*) when he sent it to his son Pir-i-muhammad, 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 "parwān" read *parrān*, 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 *summaj* 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 *sāvriḡh* = thief; [*sāvriḡh* or *sāvriḡh* means a bird's song].

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¹ *Abū'l-ghāzi* classes *Manghit* with *Mughūl* tribes, *Radloff* with *Turk* tribes (*Récueils* p. 325), *Erschine* says, "modern *Nogais*."

Various :—'Arab 207, 522, 631; Arlāt (Turk?) 265; Ashpārī 101; Asqānchī [*var.* Saqānchī] 197; Balūchī 383, 459, 522; Bengālī (race) 482; Būgiāl 452; Kāfir 212-3, 342-72, 421; Kakar (*var.*) 387-9; Kas 484; Kib (or Kītib) 393; Meos 577; Farsī (Persian, race) 7, 207, 507-55; Ghiyās-wāl (or-dāl) 393; Gūjūr 250, 379-87, 454; Habshī 483; Janjuha-khail and Jūd-khail 379-80-87, Jats 250, 387, 454; Jigrāk (*var.*) 55, 101; Nikdirī (*var.*) 196-7, 200-1-7, 275, 326, 430 (*cf.* E. & D. iv, 304, *Tukdarī*) Nil-ābi 379 (*see Index I*); Parāji 207; —Rājput;—Chūhān 573, Tānk sept 481;—Tājik 6, 207, 420, 535;—

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Tuhfa-i-sāmī (a *Turkī* anthology), Sām M. *Safawi*—Marwārid 278; syphilis 279; a jeer 648.

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Turki tongue, Preface xvii, Cap. iv.

Turkistan, Alex. Petzhold—Šārts 6.

„ E. Schuyler—[*see nn. on pp. named*],

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„ Franz v. Schwarz—autumn fever 4; running-waters 4, recipe for *ma'yūn* 16; *yighāch* (measure) 4; a Kirghis measure 196, loess constructions 30; *charkh* (a hunting bird) 224; Mogol-tau 8; duties of the Lord of the Gate 24; *kūk būrā*, *baiga* 39; Greek descent 22; various App. A, v.

Tūzūk-i-jahāngīrī, Jahāngīr Pādshāh (*tr.* Rogers and Beveridge)—Bugials 452; Daulat Khān *Lūdī* 461; measures 189; birds 497; *kīshmīsh* 515; couplet 670; metrical amusement App. Q, lxvi-vii; its titles for Bābur varied *ib.* lxi; Jahāngīr's additions to the B.N. App. D, xiii, Preface xlv (No. viii), lii; his pilgrimage to B.'s burial-garden App. V, lxxx; his stay in B.'s Garden *ib.*

Noticeable words :—*tabalghā*, a tree 11; *tāsh-chantāi*, outside bag (?) 160; *tāsh*, stone confused with *tāsh*, outer 3, 43, 78, 80, 160; *taūrī*, complete, enclosed 109, 280, 501 (*where this better describes the koel's song*); *tīpūchāq* a horse and its points 38; *tīr-gīz*, arrow 34; *tīrik* 36, 362; P. *tū*, turn of a hill 205-8 *etc.*; *tālūk* vegetable food, other than grain 114; *tūn-yārīm*, half-dark 100; *tūrā* (ordinances) 38, *tūrā* (army mantelets) 108-13-55, 368, 469, 593; *tūmān*, 10,000, a district command 17; *tūq-bāi*, one using a standard 313; *tūlghuma s.n.* Military; *tusqāwal* 224, 314; *tūghāi* and *tuḡāi* 643.

'Umar Khayyām's *Quatrains* (*tr.* E. H. Whinfield)—a couplet Babur's words recal 203.

Upper Basin of the Kābul-river, Sir C. Markham (*PRGS.* 1879)—Hindu-kush passes 204, maps of Koh-i-baba 216.

Veliaminof-Zernof, editor of the *Sharaf-nāma* 635 and *Abūshqa* App. Q, lxiii.

Vergleichung-Tabellen des Muh. und Christlichen Zeitrechnung, F. Wüstenfeld—dates of 935 A.H. 629, App. S.

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Visit to Kāfiristan, W. W. Macnair (*PRGS.* 1884)—Ning-nahār App. E, xxiii.

Voyage dans le Turkistan, Fedtschenko (*tr.* G. du Laurens)—Sang-aina, Mirror-stone, 7.

„ *dans l'Asie septentrionale*, P. S. Pallas—*āq kiyīk*, *argāli* (Ovis poli) 6.

„ *des Pélerins Bouddhistes*, S. A. Julien—Nanganahāra App. E, xviii.

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Wāqi'-nāma-i-pādshāhī (Record of Royal Acts), 'Abdu'l-wahhāb akhund of Ghaj-

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dāvān (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 xlvi; **Described** (as it is in *Kehr's transcript*):—Preface, Cap. III, Parts I and III; its history liii, author and colophon lviii, (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 Farḡhāna 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; **Full contents**:—Preface li; their reconstruction by Ilminski lii-iv, (cf. his own Preface JRAS. 1900 and a separate form in *B.M., I.O., R.A.S. Libraries, etc.*); the "Fragments" Preface xlv (No. viii), lii, (*in loco*) 438, 549, (*a discussion*) 574, 630, 640 (cf. JRAS. 1900-6-8).

(c) The "*Bābur-nāma*" Imprint (constructed and edited by) N. I. Ilminski—referred to *in loco*, App. D, 227-59, 336, 420, App. I, 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 Baber*, (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 (*chīūrīka*), 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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Zafar-nāma (Book of Victory *i.e.* Timūr'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; Timūr'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.

Zainu'd-dīn K'hawāfī (Shaikh Zain)'s writings — (1) *Ṭabaqāt-i-bāburī q.v.*; (2) *Mubīn*, a Commentary on Bābur's *Mubīn* 438; (3) *Farmān* announcing Bābur's renouncement of wine and remission of *ṭamghā*-tax 553; (4) *Fath-nāma* of the victory at Kānwa 559 to 574; Bābur's reason for inserting it (4) in his book 559; the sole Letter of victory so preserved 561; grounds against supposing Bābur wrote a plain Turki account of the battle 574.

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. 24b.*
- 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 vineyard 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 "darogha-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 *charz* (florican) resembles the *tughdiri*.

- 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. "(366b)" *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.

CORRIGENDA.

To ensure notice many of these are entered in the Indices.

- | Pages | Pages |
|--|--|
| 6 l.4 "meadow" read plain (<i>maidan</i>). | <i>ib.</i> n.3 read Bai-sunghar. |
| 11 n.4, "siyar" unaccented; (H.S.) | 204 l.16 read Curriers'. |
| ii read iii n.n. pp. 18, 38, 48, 244. | 205 l.5 read Sir; l.13 read Wa(lian); |
| 12 n.4 l.3 "attack in" read attacking. | l.14 read Qibchaq. |
| 14 l.3 "and" read who. | 205 l.10 fr.ft. "three or four" read four |
| 16 l.10 n.ref. "3" <i>tr.</i> to "amorous". | or five (cf. omissions p.205). |
| 24 n.1 "932" read 923. | 211 para. 3, end, "920" read 924. |
| 27 para.2 read "Baba 'Ali Beg's | 212 n.2 l.2 read <i>chiqmaq</i> . |
| Baba-quli". | 213 n.5 "parwan" read <i>parran</i> ; and |
| 28 l.8 "leaders" read Mughul mir- | nn.5, 6, 7 read Blanford. |
| zadas. | 244 ll.8 and 25 "page" read preferably, |
| 29 n.6 l.5 "then" read his. | brave; l.19 read gallopers. |
| 37 l.8 "916" read 917; and <i>tr.</i> nn. | 273 n.2 read grand-"daughter". |
| 2 and 3. | 282 n.3 l.2 "345" read 348-9. |
| 38 l.9 "favour" run on to Ahmad. | 289 l.5 "wonderful" read metaphorist. |
| 44 l.9 55 l.12 delete "Sayyid". | 342 mid-page read Pur-amin. |
| 46 l.12 read Chikman. | 344 last line "Appendix" read <i>Trs.'</i> |
| 49 l.3 "Black" read White. | note 711. |
| 51 l.12 fr. ft. "Badakhshan" read | 351 l.15 "Akhsi" read Archian. |
| Hisar. | 387 n.3 delete sentence 2. |
| 55 "f. 34" read f. 32b. | 410 last line "khuntul" read <i>hunzal</i> . |
| 57 l.1, enter f. 33 and move "f. 33b" | 414 l.2 "18th" read 13th; and l.2 fr.ft. |
| to 58 l. 2. | "purslain" read poplar. |
| 61 l.4 "Beg" read Baba-quli Beg. | 438 l.15 "son" read grandson. |
| 63 l.10 fr. ft. <i>tr.</i> n. ref. 4 to "Aurgut". | 447 n.3 para.2 l.1 "month" read week. |
| 69 n.2, read <i>annutung</i> ; and <i>tr.</i> | 470 n. l.5 fr.ft. "p.66" read p.166. |
| <i>nakunid</i> and <i>bakunid</i> . | 482 n.3 "Gujrat" read Malwa. |
| 79 l.5 <i>tr.</i> n.ref. 3 to <i>qibla</i> ; in author's | 485 sec.e.l.7 "Gumti read Gui. |
| n. read Batalmius; and in n.4 read | 499 l.17 "yak-ran ^o " read <i>bak-jing</i> (see |
| <i>Ayin</i> . | Add. Note P.499). |
| 85 l.9 read 851 A.H.-1447 A.D.; l.3 | 500 l.15 <i>s.n.</i> crow "garcha" read |
| fr.ft. move "Jumada I, 22, 855 A.H." | <i>garqha</i> ; n. 6 "f. 136" read f. 135. |
| to p.86 l.1, after "years". | 505 l.6 <i>tr.</i> n.ref. "2" to, <i>bua</i> . |
| 94 l.6 "Chirik" read Char-yak. | 520 n.1 "1854" read 1845. |
| 95 l.2 fr.ft. "Aubaj" read Char-jui. | 534 l.2 fr.ft. "and" read 932. |
| 96 last line "Qasim" read Kamal (or | 535 l.2 fr.ft. delete "others". |
| Kahal). | 579 l.8 "April 13th" read April 3rd. |
| 109 l.16 "qasim" read qadus. | 591 n.2 "qurughir read quruqtur. |
| <i>ib.</i> n.5 l.3 read grand "father". | 604 n.1.1 read <i>Afaghana</i> . |
| 117 n.2 "909" read 908. | 616 l.5 read Madhakur; and Sect. m |
| 122 n.4 "bulghar" read buljar. | "gara-su" read <i>darya qaraghi</i> or |
| 129 l.14 "daben" read katal. | <i>qaraghina</i> . |
| 131 ll.3-4 fr.ft. read Khan-quli and | 620 l.7 <i>rahim</i> read <i>rahman</i> . |
| Karim-dad. | 621 l.11 after "servants" read Beg-gina |
| 134 l.3 fr.ft. and 136 l. 5 read in my | "had come". |
| 19th (lunar) year. | 622 l.12 read Siunjuk; l.13 Tashkint. |
| 144 para.3 "rain" read grain. | 631 l.13 delete the parenthesis (see Add. |
| 148 n.2 "f. 18" read f. 118. | Note P.631). |
| 149 l.17 read Khanim. | 632 l.4 read Farrukh. |
| 154 n.3 "f. 183b" read f. 103b and for | 636 l.7 "rest" read eight others. |
| f. 264b read f. 264. | 640 l.1 read quli. |
| 168 Sect. heading "Kasan" read | 643 (Feb. 4th) "Muhammad" read |
| Karnan. | Mahmud. |
| 175 l.11 read Mirza-quli. | 644 n.5 "323" read 232. |
| 183 last line "Kulja" read Khuldja. | 699 l.13 "935" read 938. |
| 192 l.3 read Taliqan. | 713 l.3 read Saliha; and l.11 fr.ft. |
| 194 l.12 read Quhlgha. | Miran-shahi. |

ADDITIONAL NOTES

- P. 16 l. 11.—Nizāmī mentions “lover’s marks” where a rebel chieftain commenting on Khusrau’s unfitness to rule by reason of his infatuation for Shirin, says, “*Hinoz az ‘āshiqbāzi garm dāgh ast.*” (H. B.)
- P. 22 n. 2.—Closer acquaintance with related books leads me to delete the words “Chaghatāi Mughūl” from Haidar *Dūghlāt’s* tribal designations (p. 22, n. 2, l. 1). (1) My “Chaghatāi” 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 Chaghatāi Khāqāns. But the Dūghlāt off-take from the common stem was of earlier date than Chingiz Khān’s, hence, his son’s name “Chaghatāi” is a misnomer for Dūghlāts. (2) As for “Mūghūl” to designate Dūghlāt, and also Chaghatāi 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, Chaghatāi 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 *Chaghatāi*. (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 Chaghatāi family, brothers of The Khān, Sa’id (see Chin-timūr, Aisan-timūr, Tūkhta-būghā). With these must have been their following of “Mughūls of the horde”.
- P. 34 l. 12.—“With the goshawks” translates *qirchīgha bīla* of the Elph. MS. (f. 12b) where it is explained marginally by *ba bāzi*, with the falcon or goshawk. The Hai. MS. however has, in its text, *pīāzi bīla* which may mean with arrows having points (*Sanglākh f. 144b* quoting this passage). Ilminski has no answering word (*Mems.* 1, 19). Muh. *Shirvāzi* [p. 13 l. 11 fr. ft.] writes *ba bāzi miandākhhtan*.
- P. 39.—The *Habību’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’id Mirzā, joined Husian *Bāi-garā* after the Mirzā’s defeat and death (873 A. H.), and (p. 218) was killed in defeat by Amir ‘Alī *Jalāir* who was commanding for Yādgār-i-muhammad *Shāh-rukhi*.
- P. 49.—An *Aimāq* 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 *aimāq*. *Aimāqs* are divided into *koshung*, i. e. banners (*Monqolia*, N. Prejevalsky trs. E. Delmar Morgan, ii, 53).
- P. 75 and n. 1.—For an explanation, provided in 94 A. H., 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 *Habību’s-siyar* confuses two cases of parricide:—‘Abdu’-latif’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 kūrmāk*) is *ba sar-i-tāziāna shumurdān*. Schafer translates *tāziāna* 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.

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 *Iabībū'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 tréfle*, but this does not suit the height and sometimes permanent snows of some of the separating ranges.—My bald "(great) dams" has been expanded to suit the meaning (as I take it to be) of the words *Yūr-ūnchaqā pul-dāk*, like embankments (*pul*) against going (*yūr*) further; (so far, *ūncha*). Cf. Griffiths' *Journal*, p. 431).
- P. 251.—Niẓāmī 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'sūma and her daughter. Perhaps "Junaid" like "Ma'sūma" was the name given to the child because birth closely followed the death of the parent (*see s.n.* Ma'sūma).
- P. 277.—Concerning Bih-būd Beg the *Sharbānī-nāma* gives the following information:—he was in command in Khwārmiz and Khiva when Shaibānī moved against Chīn *Sūfī* (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 *Sharbānī-nāma*, Russian trs. p. lxi.
- P. 372 l. 2 fr. ft.—Where the Hai. MS. and Kāsān Imp. have *mu'āraḡ*, rival, E. and de C. translate by representative, but the following circumstances favour "rival":—Wais 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 *fiqh 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 Bābā Qashqa's murder by Muḥammad-i-zamān *Bāi-garā* Gul-hadan (f. 23) makes record, and Badāyūnī (Bib. Ind. ed. i, 450) says that (*cir.* 952 AH.) when Bābā's son Hāji Muḥ. Khān *Kūkī* had pursued and overtaken the rebel Kāmran, the Mirzā asked, as though questioning the Khān's ground of hostility to himself, "But did I kill thy father

Bābā Qashqā?" (*Pidrāt Bābā Qashqā maḡar man kushta am?*).—(2) Of the death of Bābā Qashqā's brother "Kūki", Abū'l-faẓl records that he was killed in Hindūstān by Muḡammad Sl. M. *Bāi-garā* (952 AH.), and that Kūki's nephew Shāh Muḡ. (see p. 668) retaliated (955 AH.) by arrow-shooting one of Muḡ. Sl. Mirzā's sons. This was done when Shāh Muḡ. was crossing Minār-pass on his return journey from sharing Humāyūn's exile in Persiā (see Jauhar).—(3) Hājī Muḡ. Khān *Kūki* and Shāh Muḡammad Khān appear to have been sons of Bābā Qashqā and nephews of "Kūki" (*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 *Kūki* dictionaries afford no warrant for taking it to mean foster-brother (*kokah*). Chīngīz 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 Chīngīz Khānid Kūki, either as descendants or as hereditary adherents, or as both. (See Abū'l-ghāzī's *Shajarat-i-Turk*, t. 1. 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 1. 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 Khalifa, 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 un pitying 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 *Deccan 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 *ūlvān* [Molesworth, any desolating calamity].

P. 540 n. 4.—An explanation of Bābur's use of Shāh-zāda as Tāhmāsp'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.—Iḡusam *Kashīfī*, also, quotes Firdausi's couplet in the *Anwār-i-suhailī* (Cap. I, Story XXI), a book dedicated to Shaikh Ahmad *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 Bīkrāmājīt 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 Daknī" of p. 631 is Sayyid Shāh Ṭāhīr *Daknī* (*Deccan*) the Shiite apostle of Southern India, who in 935 AH. was sent to Bābur with a letter from Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmad-nagar, in which (if there were not two embassies) congratulation was made on

the conquest of Dihli and help asked against Bahādur Shāh *Gujrātī*. A second but earlier mention of "Sayyid *Dakni*" (*Zakni*, *Rukni*?) *Shirāzī* is on p. 619. Whether the two entries refer to Shāh Ṭāhir nothing makes clear. The cognomen *Shirāzī* 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 A.H.) are as follows:—After Bābur took the Panj-āb, he ordered Shāh Ḥāsan *Arghūn* to attempt Multān, then held by one Sl. Maḥmūd who, dying, was succeeded by an infant son Husain. Shāh Ḥāsan took Multān after a 16 (lunar) months' siege, at the end of 934 A.H. (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 (*et. 12*) had in the matter is yet to learn; possibly he was nominated to its command and then recalled as Bābur mentions (935 A.H.).

