

have no other claim to this word than that of location; for example, the Ghiljīs are classed by Sir Thomas Holdich and others, as of Turkī descent. Crude as the list is, I hope it will be thought worth insertion because it illustrates the extent to which the men amongst whom Bābar lived were divided consciously and often antagonistically.

In one particular of transliteration, I have obeyed the spirit instead of the rules of the Oriental Congress; as there is no instance in which this could cause mistake, I have spared my pages the underlined *ch*, *kh*, *sh*. Words are transliterated according to the system of Dr. Steingass, with a few exceptions made to correspond with the titlepage of the Trustees.

The printing of the Indexes has required great care, and I wish to express my thanks to those members of Mess^{rs} BRILL's staff who have so patiently and admirably helped me in the task. For the model of their arrangement I am indebted to the editors of the *Kitābu'l-Aghānī*, from whom I have borrowed in all particulars, even including the useful line which binds together the varying type and is a real touch of finish.

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

Pitfold, Shottermill. August, 1905.

few blanks through worms or wear; some places have baffled both light and workmen, and these are mostly made good in an appendix.

By choosing a thin paper, toned to match some part of the several-shaded original, weight and glare have been avoided; perhaps too, a little of the restful air of the manuscript has been attracted to its *replica*.

The facsimile is one tenth smaller than its original; to this accrues the gain of sharper outlines. Unfortunately it was necessary to foliate as this has been done. The alien figures may plead at least that they do not obtrude and may urge merit even, in that they serve as reminders that the facsimile is not the manuscript.

In the Personal Index more has been tried for than simple ^{The Indexes.} or analytical reference, namely, some lessening of the confusion engendered by paucity of names, the use of sobriquets and the crowd of actors. Tribal and family designations have been added and the stage has been cleared by entry of the date of death when this could be found readily. Events have been dated with the same purpose of definition. This dating also allows rough reference to every text and version of the book. As this is the first index made to the *Bābar-nāma*, it will be of general use. Information enclosed in brackets has usually been brought in from other sources.

In the Geographical Index all that has been practicable beyond simple reference, is to locate to known sub-divisions the place-names of the wide field of Bābar's activities. Little critical work has been done; the names are set down as they stand in the text.

Following the Personal Index is a list of the tribes and classes mentioned by Bābar which seemed out of place elsewhere. Most of these are classified on his authority; others on that of Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt. Some tribes located in what is now Afghanistan and described as Afghān, may

to the excellence of the process of photo-zincography by which it has been made. No doubt many difficulties of which I know nothing were overcome by Messrs Nops before the stage of proofs. On one of which I had experience, it is right to dwell.

When, as my contribution to the renaissance of the *Bābar-nāma*, I undertook in 1902 to correct the proofs of the facsimile, make the indexes and write an introduction, the first item of the work sat lightly on my thoughts because I then had much more confidence in light as a copyist than has been able to survive its transcription. For I had to learn that it seizes on and exaggerates unobtrusive defects of plate and paper, creates blots and blurs out of nothing, and strews clusters of spots where none attract attention in the manuscript. The broad interlinear spaces were mostly cleared before the proofs reached me but numerous dots remained between the words where they might assume diacritical authority. It was imperative to try to reproduce in facsimile a manuscript which is so isolated as the Haydarābād Codex, which contains so many proper names of unsettled form, and which, as the work of light, would be accepted by all but the sternly initiated few as necessarily accurate and authoritative. Seven or eight months were ground out in trying to import as few errors as time and the tenacity of the workers permitted. It was a hard grind in which my sympathy went out to the men who worked mechanically on the proofs and without the knowledge which would let them realize the value of their labour. Accuracy has not been attained and some of the labour has been lost, since other dots have been developed during the printing-off, but it was tried for, and faulty as the outcome may be, the reproduction may claim to be safer than any process other than photography could make it.

The manuscript has been in careful hands and contains

fails which Bābar might well expect to learn from some one of the many Harātīs or from Khwānd Amīr, who were with him.

On f. 288 occur two highly significant spaces. The first waits for the names of Signs of the Zodiac that correspond to Hindī months; the second for Hindī names of the days. These blanks are in the record of Bābar's first year in Hindūstān, when what he needed to fill them might well have been unfamiliar to him.

A shred of evidence as to the value of the archetype of the Haydarābād MS. and certain proof of the faithfulness of its scribe is given by the doubled statement of Bābar's departure from Farghāna on f. 120. Those two lines must have been under the eyes of the copyist.

All these specialities of the Codex indicate accuracy in the scribe. It would be too much to assume two such in succession, as one would have to do, if the Haydarābād Codex were not a copy of Bābar's own manuscript.

In this lies the obstacle mentioned by anticipation when speaking of the first class of testimony.

The Haydarābād Codex contains the maximum of the Its contents. known contents of the *Bābar-nāma*. It has few omissions; the longest equals a page of the Memoirs (p. 406, l. 13, "boat" to p. 407, l. 9, "river". Text f. 363 b).

Of lesser matters that are not shewn in the facsimile is the entry on a fly-leaf, in what looks like an English hand, of a price, — S.Rs. 35. This stands near the *raqam* price of which it seems the equivalent.

The Codex may now be left to speak for itself through its facsimile. It is pleasant to be sure that, except through some vagrant dot, it can only utter truth and that there now exists this mine of interest where scholars may work free from the lurking doubt which must beset human handiwork.

The Reproduction of the Haydarābād Codex bears witness The Reproduction.

Bilgrāmī arranged for the loan to me of the precious volume, and he also has given me much information about it, its owners and its seals. Many thanks are due to him for the unwavering kindness of his help.

Its date. The Haydarābād Codex is not dated and no inferred date would be of use in estimating its value. Since an ancient manuscript might be copied accurately today and the scribe of this one was careful, what is of real importance to us here, is to consider the date of its archetype.

There are indications within the Codex that it is a copy made from Bābar's own manuscript.

It must always be borne in mind that few copies of the Turkī text appear to have been made at any time.

The first class of testimony is negative; the Haydarābād MS. has none of the marginal notes which distinguish the Elphinstone MS. and have been transmitted from this into the Persian translations. If it had contained even one of these notes, *e. g.* the earliest, that made by the Emperor Humāyūn in 938 H. (1551—52), one would be tolerably certain that it was a copy of the old and valuable Elphinstone transcript, which I surmise to be either Bābar's own MS., or one made in the year of his death (937 H.—1530).

The Haydarābād Codex might have been copied, of course, from the Elphinstone MS. before Humāyūn made his note; but ~~against~~ this there is the doubt awakened by the paper on which it is written. Moreover there is another obstacle which will be seen after considering the second class of testimony.

This second testimony is given by certain blanks which have been left in the text and so left, it can hardly be doubted, because they were under the eyes of the scribe. All are of one kind; all wait for information.

On f. 27 one waits for the names of two princesses which could certainly have been supplied by some kinsman who was with Bābar in Hindūstān. On f. 212*b*, a single name

The Haydarābād Codex.

Before giving of the Haydarābād Codex such particulars as cannot be gleaned easily from its facsimile, there comes the pleasant duty of thanking those to whom gratitude is due in connection with it. That much is owing, is clear from its unique position amongst the manuscripts and from the consequent danger in which the original text of the *Bābar-nāma* has stood. A real service to literature has been done first, by its careful preservation and then by its loan for inspection and reproduction. The service is double, it is to Bābar's memory and to scholarship. Students whether of history, language or character will gain by the emergence of the Haydarābād Codex into the world of published books.

Gratitude must run back first to the unknown scribe, little indeed could he forecast the honour to which his careful work would bring him. It is a pity he did not sign his transcript and thus enable his commemoration by name for what he is, the significant factor in the renascence of the *Bābar-nāma*.

One cannot but feel grateful too, to another person who in the past had his share in the good work, the first known owner of the manuscript, whose seal is twice impressed in it with inscription Munīru'l-mulk 1206 H. (1791). He was the father of Sir Sālār Jang and would seem to have obtained and to have repaired and rebound the Codex.

For the loan of the Codex, its present owner, Mīr Abū'l Qāsim Yūsuf 'Alī Khān, the grandson of Sir Sālār Jang, is to be thanked. He cannot but be glad that it has been in his power to serve literature so truly as has been done by the reproduction of his manuscript.

It was my husband, Mr. Henry Beveridge, who brought to my knowledge the existence in Haydarābād of the Codex, which he saw there first in 1900. Shamsu 'l-'ulamā Sayyid 'Alī

TABLE OF THE TURKĪ MSS. KNOWN TO HAVE EXISTED.

	Date of Completion.	Number of Folios ¹ .	Location.	Name of Scribe.	Why Ineligible for Reproduction.
1. Bābar's autograph MS.	Conjectural, 937 H. (1530).	At least 382.	Not known, 1905.	Bābar.	Not known to exist.
2. Khwāja Kalān <i>Aḥvārī's</i> MS.	935 H. (1528).	At most 363.	Agra, 1529.	Unknown.	Not known to exist.
3. Elphinstone MS.	Conjectural only.	In 1816, 289.	Edinburgh, 1842 and 1848; missing 1905.	Conjectural only.	Missing and mutilated.
4. Bukhārā MS.	Uncertain, 1026 H. or 1126 H. (1617 or 1714).	Approx. and conj., 382.	Reputed in Bukhārā, 1900.	Unknown.	Not available; copies defective.
5. British Museum MS.	1039 H. (1629—1630).	97.	British Museum, 1905.	Dā'ud bin 'Aliyyī'l-kashmīrī.	Fragments only.
6. Nazār Bāy's MS.	Rajab 5, 1121 H. (August 31, 1709).	Unknown: its copy has 215.	Owned by a Bukhariot, 1824.	'Abdu'l-wahhāb <i>Ghāyde-zāwī.</i>	Not known to exist; copy partial only.
7. Kehr's Transcript, St. P. Foreign Office.	1150 H. (1737).	Approximate, 382.	St. Petersburg, 1905.	George Jacob Kehr.	Defective and western.
8. John Rylands Library MS. (<i>Bib. Lindesiana</i>).	Scribe alive in 1035 H. (1625).	71.	Manchester, 1905.	Nūr Muḥammad, nephew of Abū'l-faḥl.	A partial transcript.
9. Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. <i>cong.</i> the Mysore MS.	Conjectural only, 1780 A. D. to 1800 A. D.	Approximate, 222.	Calcutta, 1900, and presumably 1905.	Unsigned.	Defective.
10. India Office MS. (<i>Bib. Leydeniana</i>).	Between 1805 and 1811.	Approximate, 222.	London, 1905.	Unsigned.	Defective.
11. Senkovski MS., St. P. Asiatic Museum.	Ramazan 5, 1239 H. (May 4, 1824).	215.	St. Petersburg, 1905.	Joseph Ivanovitch Senkovski.	A partial transcript.
12. St. P. University MS.	Sha 'bān 29, 1255 H. (November 6, 1839).	Approximate, 370.	St. Petersburg, 1905.	Mulla Faizkhanov?	Defective and modern.
13. Haydarābād MS.	Unestimated.	382.	Haydarābād, 1905,	Unsigned.	[Reproduced.]

¹ The standard taken is the 382 folios of the Haydarābād Codex, and by this all others have been estimated approximately.

With economy of words in view and for the sake of precision, it may be recalled here that the English translation of the *Bābar-nāma* is called the *Memoirs*¹ and the French *Les Mémoires*²; also that European writers have used the analogous titles "Commentaries" and "Institutes" of Bābar.

An attempt will be made here to show that of the Turki manuscripts available, the Haydarābād Codex only is worthy of reproduction. In the following table are enumerated all of which I have heard, and of these it gives particulars such as allow comparison in decisive points. Of the eight accessible transcripts I have examined seven. The eighth is Dr. Kehr's transcript, and its rank can be estimated from the imprint which Dr. Ilminsky based upon it in 1871. Its manu-
scripts.

The number of manuscripts tabulated is thirteen. Of these two (Nos 1 and 2) have eluded my search altogether; a third (N^o 3) is well-known but missing from its assigned place; a fourth and fifth (Nos 4 and 6) are known only through descendants which are imperfect; a sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth³ (Nos 5, 8, 9, 10, 11) are defective or incomplete or both; an eleventh (N^o 7) is complete⁴, western and defective; a twelfth⁵ (N^o 12) appears to be a transcript of the last named, shares its defects, and is modern; the thirteenth is complete, well-preserved, careful, and is the Haydarābād Codex.

¹ "Memoirs of Zehir-ed-din Muhammed Baber, Emperor of Hindustan". Written by himself in the Jaghatai Turki, and translated, partly by the late John Leyden, Esq. M. D., partly by William Erskine Esq., London, 1826.

² "Mémoires de Babar (Zahir-ed-din Mohammed) traduits pour la première fois sur le texte jagatai par A. Pavet de Courteille. Paris, 1871".

³ Details about the Turki MSS. which do not find place here, are given in "Notes on the Turki MSS. of the '*Bābar-nāma*'" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1900, 1902 and 1905.

⁴ By complete is meant here, with more or fewer minor omissions but a transcript of the whole book and not a copy of a part only.

⁵ Thanks are due to Dr. C. Salemann and to Dr. Alexander Kreisberg for the loan of N^{os} 11 and 12 and to Mr. F. W. Thomas for taking charge of them in the India Office Library.

to the title chosen to distinguish its *replica*, and there appears to be firm ground on which to base a rule and thus to work against confusion.

Three names are in common and indiscriminate use for the Turkī and Persian texts; *Wāqi'āt-i-Bābarī*, *Bābar-nāma* and *Tūsūk-i-Bābarī*. Of these, the first has the best claim to distinguish the Turkī original, because Bābar speaks of his writings as *Wāqi'* (f. 363), and his daughter Gul-badan Begam¹ calls them *Wāqi'a-nāma*.

But a modern tendency to define the Persian text as *Wāqi'āt-i-Bābarī* has set in, and this precision is so useful that it dictates the use of the second good name, *Bābar-nāma*, to distinguish the Turkī text. Another advantage of thus appropriating the word *Bābar-nāma* is that it brings this volume under a rule already established in the Russian libraries where three Turkī transcripts are catalogued by it.

A somewhat early use of this title for Bābar's book is made by Khāfi Khān, and it is moreover the name which stands within the Haydarābād Codex itself, upon the reverse of the first page of the manuscript.

Those who know the use in India of the word *tūsūk* in some one or other of its narrowed vocal forms, may question the propriety of its rejection as a title for Bābar's book. They may do this the more because by it Mr. Erskine mentions the Elphinstone MS. and because it is inscribed in at least one other Indian *Bābar-nāma*. There is however a simple and valid reason for its rejection here; its use would not accord with its Turkī meaning.

In what are known as the "Fragments", which are certain passages attached to two of the St. Petersburg transcripts, (Nos 7 and 12), the word *Bābariyyah* occurs. Its use is light; it is not used in any integral part of the *Bābar-nāma*.

¹ *Humāyun Nāma* of Gul-badan Begam, f. 26, published by the Royal Asiatic Society in the Oriental Translation Fund New Series.

PREFACE.

This volume contains a facsimile of the Turkī¹ text of the Emperor Bābar's Memoirs², taken from a manuscript which it is convenient to distinguish as the Haydarābād Codex because its owners have been and are members of the family of the well-known statesman, the late Sir Sālār Jang.

There is much to lead to the opinion that few copies of the original Turkī text of Bābar's book have ever existed; of those known to survive, the Haydarābād MS. only is at once good, complete and accessible.

It is not too much to say therefore that to multiply copies of it has become a literary necessity of the first importance. This Preface aims at defining its rank; this done, it will be made clear that, in its first form, the Emperor's famous book was in real peril of extinction.

On the *Bābar-nāma* as a Turkī classic scholars have passed judgment. On its author comment is equally needless; he speaks for himself and has witness in the labours he has inspired, — Persian, German, English, Russian and French.

The Bābar-nāma.

The publication of this volume obliges selection amongst the names by which Bābar's autobiographical writings have been mentioned in literature or described casually on the flyleaves of manuscripts. Its title.

The rank of the Haydarābād manuscript will give weight

¹ The Chaghatāy-Turkish of Western nomenclature.

² *Bābar-nāma* or *Wāqī'āt-i-Bābarī* of Zahiru 'd-dīn Muḥammad Bābar; King of Farghāna 1494—1502 (899 H.—908 H.); King of Kābul 1504—1530 (910 H.—937 H.); Emperor of Hindūstān 1526—1530 (932—937 H.).

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perpetuate the Memory of her beloved son*

ELIAS JOHN WILKINSON GIBB,

*and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philo-
sophy and Religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs, to which, from
his Youth upwards, until his premature and deeply lamented Death
in his forty-fifth year on December 5, 1901, his life was devoted.*

تِلْكَ آثَارُنَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا * فَانظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْآثَارِ،

*"The worker pays his debt to Death;
His work lives on, nay, quickeneth."*

*The following memorial verse is contributed by 'Abdu'l-Haqq Hâmid
Bey of the Imperial Ottoman Embassy in London, one of the Founders
of the New School of Turkish Literature, and for many years an
intimate friend of the deceased.*

جمله یارانی وفاسیله ایدرکن تطیب
کندی عمرنک وفا گورمدی اول ذات ادیب
گنج ابکن اولش ایدی اوج کماله واصل
نه اولوردی باشامش اولسه ایدی مستر گیب

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SERIES.

VOL. I.

**(Translations of the three inscriptions
on the Cover.)**

1. Arabic.

**“These are our works which prove
what we have done;
Look, therefore, at our works
when we are gone.”**

2. Turkish.

**“His genius cast its shadow o'er the world,
And in brief time he much achieved and
wrought:
The Age's Sun was he, and aging suns
Cast lengthy shadows, though their time be
short.”**
(Kemál Páshá-zádé.)

3. Persian.

**“When we are dead, seek for our
resting-place
Not in the earth, but in the
hearts of men.”**
(Jalálu 'd-Dín Rúmí.)