

The Collected Works of Bābur

preserved at the Salṭanatī Library in Tehran

MANO, Eiji

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Foreword

The aim of this paper is to promptly inform the academic community of a manuscript that ought rightly be called *The Collected Works of Bābur*.¹⁾ The manuscript is possessed by the Salṭanatī Library (Kitābkhāna-yi Salṭanatī)²⁾ of the Golestan Palace (Kākh-i Gulistān) in the Iranian capital, Tehran.

The Bābur of *The Collected Works of Bābur* refers, of course, to Ṣahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur (1483-1530), a prince of the Central Asian Timurids, who was born in the second half of the 15th century and who was to found Mughal Empire in India early in the 16th century.

The existence of a manuscript related to *Bābur* in Tehran and the outline of its content has been known to the academic community for quite some time. The first report of the existence of the manuscript was a brief mention by the Turkish scholar Z. V. Togan in his report on the Chaghatay manuscripts that had been brought from India and that were found in libraries in Tehran.³⁾ The next person to address the manuscript was the Iranian scholar B. Ātābāy, whose *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Works of History, Geography, Diaries, and Travel Accounts Housed in the Salṭanatī Library*, from 1977, devoted four pages to the sub-

ject.⁴⁾

However, all that could be learned from these two reports was but a summary of the contents of the manuscript. Moreover, these reports contained serious flaws. Additionally, as the manuscript had been considered an extremely valuable volume of the former Iranian Royal Collection, and because Iran was passing through the vicissitudes of the Islamic Revolution, the number of scholars who had an opportunity for direct access to the manuscript was extremely limited.⁵⁾

As a result of these circumstances, speculation of various sorts regarding the manuscript circulated in the academic world.⁶⁾ Among these, perhaps that which attracted the most attention, was that of Tursun Sultanov of the Saint Petersburg Branch, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Relying on the description in Ātābāy's catalogue, Sultanov repeatedly stated in academic papers and book review the bold speculation that the memoirs of Bābur, the *Bābur-nāma*, found in the manuscript, had likely been composed in the lifetime of Bābur and were thus invaluable.⁷⁾ If such a manuscript were shown to exist, the present academic consensus (the consensus that no manuscript composed in Bābur's lifetime was extant) would be utterly shattered.

This author had employed four variant Chaghatay texts in publishing a critical edition of the *Bābur-nāma* in Arabic script in 1995.⁸⁾ Fortunately, the *Critical Edition* was well received in the academic world. Favorable reviews were published in Russia, the United States, and Japan, as well as in Uzbekistan, the birthplace of Bābur.⁹⁾ However, if, as Sultanov had speculated, the manuscript of the *Bābur-nāma* found in the Saṭṭanāfi Library, which this author had not been able to employ in collating the text, were in fact produced in the lifetime of Bābur, then it of course should have been the first text consulted in the editing process. The question remains whether in fact the manuscript is actually of superior quality and such value.

Given these circumstances this author had long hoped to be able to examine the manuscript. Although he was not soon granted an opportunity to do so, as luck would have it, quite recently, i.e., January 1998, this author was able to obtain a copy of the entire manuscript¹⁰⁾ in exchange for a volume of this author's *Critical Edition* through the efforts of Professor Kazuyuki Kubo, who was in Iran as an overseas scholar of the Ministry of Education. This author would like to express his heartfelt gratitude to Professor Kubo and the Saṭṭanāfi Library for generously providing a copy of a most valuable manuscript.

As I discovered immediately upon inspection of the copy of the manuscript, there are several new aspects of the work that ought to be promptly reported to the academic community, and I have chosen to make a summary report here. However, as the manuscript is over 1000 pages in length, my inspection of the manuscript cannot be deemed to have been exhaustive, and

for that reason I wish to characterize this report as preliminary.

1 An overview of the manuscript

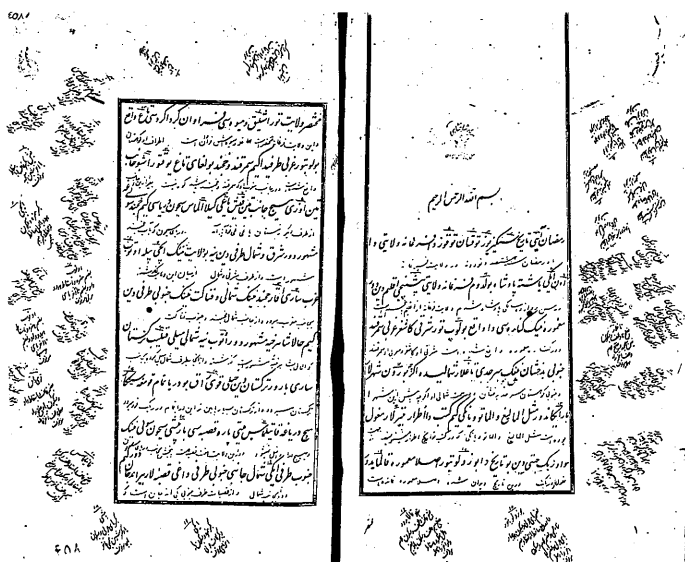
This overview relies on both the description found in Ātābāy's catalogue and the recently acquired copy of the manuscript. As noted above, the manuscript was introduced in Sultanov's paper,¹¹⁾ and also in Yücel's study of the *Bābūr Divānī*, Bābur's collection of verse.¹²⁾ However, both Sultanov and Yücel's descriptions were nothing more than translations of Ātābāy's Persian into Russian and Turkish respectively. For that reason, I wish to begin my overview of the manuscript enumerating those points that had not been recorded by Ātābāy.

(1) The manuscript number

Togan recorded the Saḡṭanātī Library's reference number of the manuscript to be 671, however, the seal of the Imperial Library of Iran (*Kitābkhāna-yi davlat-i 'ālīya-yi Īrān*) impressed on the cover of the manuscript contains the library reference number 2936. Moreover, the library, under the jurisdiction of the Agency for the National Cultural Legacy, *Sāzīmān-i mirāth-i farhangī-yi kishvar*, since the Iranian revolution, has assigned the new reference number 2249 to the manuscript, and it is now so indicated on the cover.

(2) Title

The title used to refer to the manuscript has been *Vaqāyī-i Bāburī* from the



Saḡṭanātī Codex pp. 457~458. The opening of the *Bābur-nāma*

time of its placement in the Imperial Iranian Library until the present day. The term *vaqāyi*‘ means events or record of events, and the *Vaqāyi*‘ was the original title of the memoirs of Bābur, but, at present, that work is generally called the *Bābur-nāma*, that is to say The Book of Bābur.¹³⁾ Thus the entire manuscript has come to be called by the title of the most celebrated work of Bābur, which has thus come to represent the whole. Furthermore, the manuscript is listed as *Tārikh-i vaqāyi*‘i *Bāburī* (*Bābur-nāma*) *yā* (*Tūzūk-i Bāburī*), in Ātābāy’s catalogue. The *Tūzūk-i Bāburī* therein is the commonly used title of the memoirs in India.

(3) Form

The manuscript is twenty-four centimeters in width and forty-one centimeters high. It is a rather large format manuscript. The paper is, according to the description on the cover, from Davlatābād¹⁴⁾ and Bukhārā. The calligraphy is in a firm and clear nasta‘liq style. The manuscript contains no miniatures.

The manuscript is made up of 1036 pages on 518 folios. Even-numbered pages contain a page number in Arabic numerals impressed on the bottom left of the page. There are no odd-numbered page designations in the manuscript. Each page contains eighteen lines of text. The odd-numbered lines, the first, third, on through the seventeenth line, contain the original Chaghatay text written in black ink. Beneath the Chaghatay passages, that is to say, on the even lines, two, four, on through eighteen, (between lines of Chaghatay text) is found a corresponding Persian translation recorded in red ink in somewhat smaller letters. However, when the main text is written in Persian, as on odd-numbered lines on pages 187-189 and 304-306, the translation has of course been omitted and the lines below have been left blank.

The Chaghatay pronunciation of words of the entire *Mubayyin* and the opening passages of the *Bābur-nāma* have been recorded in extremely small letters in the margins.¹⁵⁾ It seems likely that the original intention was to record the Chaghatay pronunciations of all the words in each of the works included in the manuscript. One receives the impression that the project was aborted in mid-course due to the onerous nature of the task. There are no indications of the pronunciation of Chaghatay words in the *Five hundred and four rhythms*, the *‘Arūḍ risālasī*, or the *Validiya risālasī*.

(4) Organization

The manuscript includes the following five works of Bābur in the order listed below.¹⁶⁾ With the exception of the *Bābur-nāma*, the titles and nature of the remaining four works had not been indentified in Ātābāy’s catalogue.¹⁷⁾ The organization of the manuscript is as follows.

Cover, on which have been recorded the title of the manuscript and manuscript number

Inner cover, bearing the imprints of seals from various libraries

Pages 1 ~ 184, the *Mubayyin*

Pages 185 ~ 186, blank

Pages 187 ~ 303, *Five hundred and four rhythms*

Pages 304 ~ 377, the '*Arūḡ risālasī* (part 2)

These pages are misordered. This portion would have originally followed the '*Arūḡ risālasī* (part 1), pages 379-455. Not cognizant of the disordered pages, Ātābāy took pages 187 through 377 as a single work concerned with the study of poetic meter.

Page 378, blank

Pages 379 ~ 455, the '*Arūḡ risālasī* (part 1)

Page 456, containing two library seals

Pages 457 ~ 1010, the *Bābur-nāma*

Pages 1011 ~ 1012, blank

Pages 1013 ~ 1036, the *Vālidīya risālasī*

As has been made clear from the above, the *Bābur-nāma* occupies approximately half of the entire manuscript.

(5) Provenance

Ātābāy's account of the intriguing history of the manuscript based chiefly on the library seals on the inner cover of the manuscript runs as follows. The date 27th day of Rabī' al-Avval 1022 (1613.5.17) appears on the manuscript, as does the name 'Ālamgīr-shāh. 'Ālamgīr-shāh refers either to Avrangzīb (reigned 1658-1707) or perhaps 'Azīz al-Dīn (reigned 1754-1760), emperors of Mughal India. In other words, this manuscript once belonged to the imperial library of the Mughal empire. The next date is the ninth day of Shavvāl 1248 (1833.3.1), on which day the manuscript was purchased in Tabriz and came into the possession of the Kitābkhāna-yi Dārā'ī. Later, on the fourteenth day of Rabī' al-Avval 1277 (1860.9.30), the manuscript was presented to Nāṡir al-Dīn Shāh (reigned 1848-1896), the sovereign of the Qājār dynasty through the good offices of Muḡsin Mīrzā mīrākhūr. The manuscript has remained in Tehran thereafter.

To summarize its provenance, it is clear that the manuscript, containing the five works of Bābur and their Persian translations, must first have been produced by the year 1613, at the latest, in India under Mughal rule, and have been kept in the imperial library there. Subsequently, it was for a time kept in the Kitābkhāna-yi Dārā'ī in Tabriz, but eventually came into the possession of the Qājār dynasty, whose capital was Tehran, where it remained thereafter in the imperial library within the Golestan Palace.

(6) The dating of the manuscript

According to the seal of the Iranian Imperial Library visible on the cover of the manuscript, the manuscript was produced in the year 935 (1528-29), and the current cover records the same date.¹⁸⁾ On the basis of these notations, Ātābāy and Sultanov both assumed that the manuscript had been completed prior to 937 (1530), the year of Bābur's death, and thus that the manuscript had been composed within his lifetime. This, however, was a complete misconception.

The genesis of this type of misconception can be traced to the following circumstance. At the conclusion of the entire manuscript, i.e., on the last two lines of page 1036, appear the words "*yıl toquz yüz edi vā otuz besh*" in Chaghatay and "*sāl-i nuḥṣad sī u panj būd*" in Persian indicating the year 935. Ātābāy, Sultanov, and the author of the seal of the Iranian Imperial Library all understood this as the date of the completion of the copying of the manuscript.

However, the phrase "it was the year 935" is not a part of a colophon concerning the entire manuscript, but is simply from the final lines of the *Vālidīya risālasī*, which occupies pages 1013-1036 of the manuscript. In other words, the wording at the close of the *Vālidīya risālasī*, *bil tūkātāndā bu söz bī kam u bish, yıl toquz yıl edi vā otuz besh*, means "Let it be known that this work assumed its final form in the year 935".¹⁹⁾ The section of the *Bābur-nāma* dated 935 (1528-29) also reads,²⁰⁾

Friday, the 23rd day of the same month, Ṣafar,²¹⁾ I began to feel feverish. I was only barely able to complete the congregational prayers in the mosque in great agony. I carried out noontime prayers in the library, finally completing them after some time.

Sunday, two days later, I am feverish, and have begun to tremble a bit with chills.

Tuesday night, the 27th day of Ṣafar, the notion of rhyming the *Vālidīya risālasī* of His Excellency Khvāja 'Ubayd-Allāh [of the Naqshbandīya sect] came to my mind. As I relied on the spirit of His Excellency, the following notion came to my mind. That is to say, if these verses were acceptable to His Excellency, just as qasīda of the author²²⁾ of the *Qasīda al-Burda* were accepted, so just as that author was freed from paralysis, I would be delivered from my illness and this would surely be proof of the acceptance of my verses.

With this intention, I set about rhyming the *Risāla* employing the *Ramālī musaddas-i makhbūn* meter,²³⁾ in which the final foot is sometimes *abtar* and at times the *makhbūn*, as had Mavlānā 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī in his *Subḥa*.²⁴⁾ That night I created thirteen *bayt*.²⁵⁾ I treated it as my duty to see that no day passed without my having created at least ten *bayt*. I rest no more than

a single day from my self-imposed labors. My ailment continued for at least one month or forty days last year, or whenever it was that I was stricken with this illness. Due to the grace of Allah and the love of His Excellency, I was freed from my illness, except for Friday the 29th, when my condition had worsened somewhat.

Saturday the eighth day of Rabīʿ al-Avval, 935,²⁶⁾ I completed my task of transforming all the passages of the *Risāla* into verse. I created forty-two *bayt* in a single day.

As can be seen from the above, the task of creating the *Valīdiya risālasī* was completed in the year 935. The phrase "it was the year 935" refers to nothing other than the completion of the *Valīdiya risālasī* itself. But if that is the case, when in fact was the entire manuscript completed?

As will be explained more fully later, the famed Persian translation of 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān was employed nearly in whole, with only minor modifications, as the translation of the Chaghatay of the *Bābur-nāma* section of the manuscript. The Persian translation of Khān-i Khānān was completed in 1589. Given this fact, it is clear that at a minimum the *Bābur-nāma* portion of this manuscript was completed after 1589. Moreover, in light of Ātābāy's aforementioned remarks that the manuscript existed prior to 1613, it is also clear that the manuscript must have been created prior to 1613.

Moreover, the entire manuscript is written in a single hand. If this point is also entered into consideration, it becomes clear that the entire manuscript must have been copied between the years 1589 and 1613. Thus, the manuscript cannot be the astounding manuscript produced within the lifetime of Bābur, as Sultanov would have it.

Nevertheless, the manuscript is undoubtedly extremely valuable, belonging to the earliest of extant manuscripts that containing the works of Bābur.

I wish hereafter to report on the individual works included in *The Collected Works of Bābur* in chronological order of their creation.

2 The *Mubayyin*

Composed by Bābur in 1522-23, the *Mubayyin*,²⁷⁾ meaning Commentary, is a poetic work concerned with Islamic law. It was intended for his second son, Kāmran, then in his early teenage years, as a readily comprehensible guide to the precepts observed in the Islamic Ḥanafī law school. As regards this work, an edition had been published in Tashkent in 1905,²⁸⁾ but it is an extremely rare edition and I have not viewed it. This text, however, does not appear to have been a critical edition.²⁹⁾ Additionally, the chapter on "Prayer" of the book was published in Tashkent in Uzbek.³⁰⁾ S. Azimdjanova and others have already published studies using this work,³¹⁾ but there has not yet been a suffi-

cient explanation of its content or organization, nor have either a critical edition or translation been published. The work remains a prime candidate for further study. The very fact that the entire *Mubayyin* is included in the Saltanatı library manuscript of the *Collected Works of Bābur* is invaluable.

The content of the *Mubayyin* in the manuscript is as follows.

Pages 2-33,	Overview
Pages 33-121,	Prayer, <i>Kitāb al-Ṣalwāt</i>
Pages 122-128,	Alms, <i>Kitāb al-Zakāt</i>
Pages 128-147,	Fasting, <i>Kitāb al-Sawm</i>
Pages 147-184,	Pilgrimage, <i>Kitāb al-Hajj</i>

However, when this manuscript is compared with that in the national library in Berlin,³²⁾ missing pages and misordered pages are apparent. For example, while the passage that runs through the first four lines of page 119 of this manuscript corresponds to that ending on the second line of the reverse of folio fifty-eight of the Berlin manuscript, the next three lines, beginning with line five, cannot be found in the Berlin manuscript,³³⁾ and the passage on lines seven through nine of the seventy-sixth folio of the Berlin manuscript has strayed into this manuscript. The next page of the manuscript, i.e., page 120, begins with the passage on the eighth line of the reverse of the sixty-fourth folio of the Berlin manuscript. In other words, between pages 119 and 120 of the present manuscript, a portion of the Berlin manuscript approximately six folios, fifty-eight through sixty-four, or twelve pages in length, has either been omitted or conflated. Furthermore, page 121 of this manuscript concludes on line three on the reverse of the sixty-fifth folio of the Berlin manuscript. The contents of page 122 follow on the sixty-ninth folio of the Berlin manuscript. In other words, between pages 121 and 122 as well, the content of approximately four folios of the Berlin manuscript is missing. Because the chapter on alms begins in the lost portion, the manuscript actually lacks this chapter title. Moreover, between pages 127 and 128 of this manuscript, a portion of approximately six folios in length (from the first line of the reverse of the seventy-first folio to the second line of the reverse of the seventy-seventh) of the Berlin manuscript has also been omitted.

In this manner, this manuscript suffers from the omission of many pages, which probably occurred in the binding process. Despite this flaw, as this manuscript is one of the very few extant texts of the *Mubayyin*,³⁴⁾ it would of course be worth consulting in the creation of a critical edition.

3 The 'Arūd risālası

The 'Arūd risālası is a prose work on the theory of poetic meter. The following is a quotation describing the work from the explanatory matter found in the recently published *Zāhīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, Bābur-nāma (Vaqāyi')*. Translation

and Annotation with Introduction and Indexes.³⁵⁾

This is a work on prosody containing a treatise on poetic meter. The work was written in the years 1523~1525.³⁶⁾ Although the work itself is in prose, many verses are quoted in the text.

The title does not appear to have been originally applied to the work by Bābur himself. For that reason, the work today goes by the titles *A Treatise on Prosody* ('*Arūḍ risālası*'), and *A Brief Treatise* (*Mukhtaşar*). This work is, however, lengthy; the Paris manuscript is composed of one-hundred-seventy-two folios, 344 pages. For this reason, the title *A Brief Treatise* is not likely to have been appropriate for the original work. It might be supposed that Bābur himself may have called the work this way in a gesture of humility. Thus, I too will call this work *A Treatise on Poetic Meter*, '*Arūḍ risālası*', from here on out.

A manuscript of the work was discovered by the Turkish scholar M. F. Köprülü in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in 1923, and E. Blochet listed it in his *Bibliothèque nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, Tome II as item No. 1308, under the title *Mukhtaşar fi'l-'Arūḍ*. Facsimile editions of this work have already been published by the Russian scholar I. V. Stebleva³⁷⁾ and the Uzbek scholar Saidbek Ḥasan.³⁸⁾

In this fashion, heretofore only the Paris manuscript of the '*Arūḍ risālası* was known to the academic world. The existence of a second manuscript is now confirmed.

However, the Salṭanatī library manuscript is not complete. Dropped and disordered pages are conspicuous.

The text on pages 379-455 of the Salṭanatī manuscript corresponds to that beginning at the top of the first folio and continuing through the thirteenth line of the reverse of the forty-sixth folio of the Paris manuscript. Nevertheless, the text on page 411 concludes on the thirteenth line of the tenth folio of the Paris manuscript, but the passage on page 412 commences on the fifth line of the fifteenth folio of the Paris manuscript. In other words, between pages 412 and 413, more than four folios of the Paris manuscript have been omitted. Additionally, between pages 413 and 414, approximately nine folios of the Paris manuscript have been dropped. The content of approximately five folios of the Paris manuscript is missing between pages 421 and 422, approximately six folios between pages 433 and 434, and five folios between pages 442-443. Furthermore, the drawings of the *dā'ira*, the metrical circle used to designate certain meters, seen on the front and back of folios thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, and on the reverse of folio sixteen have been completely excised. The *shajara*, a symbol resembling the forking tree branches and marking a divergence, that is found on the reverse of folio forty-six of and the face of folio forty-seven of

the Paris manuscript has not been included.

The portion that follows the *shajara* in the Paris manuscript has been erroneously written on pages 304-376 of the *Salṭanātī* manuscript. The portion of the manuscript that corresponds to that from the top of the reverse of folio forty-seven through the middle of the sixth line of the reverse of the ninety-first folio of the Paris manuscript is particularly marred by omitted and disordered pages. The contents of approximately two folios of the Paris manuscript are missing from between pages 339 and 340, approximately that of five folios from between pages 347 and 348, approximately two folios from between pages 361 and 362, approximately five folios from between pages 367 and 368, and that of approximately three folios from between pages 371 and 372. Moreover page 355 should actually follow 368.

The Paris manuscript of the '*Arūd risālasī*' is a lengthy work composed of 172 folios, but the *Salṭanātī* manuscript amounts only to that portion corresponding to that runs through the middle of the sixth line of the ninety-first folio of the Paris manuscript and must be deemed seriously incomplete. Large portions of the work were probably lost in the binding process. Nevertheless, the remaining portion constitutes a fine quality manuscript that should be considered second only to the Paris manuscript and certainly to be used in the creation of any critical edition.

4 The *Five hundred and four rhythms*

Regarding the *Five hundred and four rhythms*, which occupies pages 187-303 of the *Salṭanātī* manuscript, Bābur himself wrote in the section of the *Bābur-nāma* for the year 933 (1526-27) the following record,³⁹⁾

Friday, the second day of the month of Zhī'l-Hijja (1527.8.30), I have begun the recitation of a section of the *Qur'ān* for forty-one times.⁴⁰⁾

Just at that time, I analysed the 504 varieties of rhythms (*vazn*)⁴¹⁾ of the one line (*bayt*) of my verse, and prepared a treatise (*risāla*) on it.

Shall I tell of your eyes, your brows, your words, your way of speaking?

Shall I tell of your figure, your cheeks, your hair, your waist?

It is clear from this entry that the Bābur's treatise was completed in 1527. Yet, it is unclear from this entry whether in fact the treatise had been titled or not. For that reason, I have chosen to provisionally call the work the *Five hundred and four rhythms*.

A. S. Beveridge has touched briefly on this passage from the *Bābur-nāma*,⁴²⁾ but the details of the treatise have not been illuminated, and it has been thought in the academic community that the work had been lost. Now, however, for the first time it has been confirmed that the work is included in the

Salṭanatī library manuscript of *The Collected Works of Bābur*.

As the work has not previously been known to the academic community, I wish to introduce the contents at this point in some detail.

Bābur's treatise commences with the following brief preface written in Persian.⁴³⁾ As this material is newly discovered, I have not romanized the text and provide the original Arabic script here in order to accurately convey Bābur's own spellings.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بعد از حمد و سپاس و درود یقیاس چنین کوید سر کشته وادی تحیر ظهیر الدین محمد بابر، در آن تاریخ که عروض من
بخراسان رفت، یکی از شعرای آن جانب این بیت

قاشغه بارغالی کونکول اوزیکا کیلمادی نیتای یوزیکا توشکالی کوزوم کوزیکا ایلمادی اول ای

در دوپست و پنجاه و دو وزن تقطیع کرده نوشته فرستاده بود، الحق تحقیق تمام کرده و تدقیق لا کلام بجا آورده، ولی از انواع
وزن شعر که، مثنی و مسدس و مریعست، در یک نوع مثنی راست می آید، در دو نوع دیگر که، مسدس و مریع باشد،
راست نمی آید، دیگر این همه اوزان از بحر بود از دوازده بحر باقی وزنی نبود، بخاطر فاطر رسید که، اگر بیتی باشد که، جامع
جمع انواع وزن شعر باشد، و از اوزان هر بیست و یک بحر در آن باشد، پسندیده تر خواهد بود، این بیت خود را

کوز و قاش و سوز [و] تیلی نی مودی خد و قد و ساج و بیلی نی مودی

در پانصد و چهار وزن تقطیع کرد، و در جمع انواع وزن که، مثنی و مسدس و مریع باشد، خواند، و درین بیت از هر بیست
و یک بحر اوزان آورد، چنانکه خواننده این اجزا و اوراق را روشن و داننده این ارکان و اوزان را مبین خواهد بود، ملتمس آنکه
اگر سهر و خطائی باشد بپوشند، بلکه به تصحیح و بصلاح آن

In the name of Allah, the merciful, the compassionate.

Having offered infinite praise, gratitude, and lauds [to Allah], Ṣahīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, who has been wandering in the fields of bewilderment, states the following.

When my treatise on poetic meter and rhythm had been sent to Khurāsān, a poet of that same region replied in writing with these couplets, *bayt*.⁴⁴⁾

qashigha barghālī köngül özigä kelmädi netäy

yüzigä tüşgäli közüm közigä ıladı ol ay

Ever since my heart has traveled to your side,⁴⁵⁾ I have not returned to my senses. What am I to do?

Ever since my eyes have poured into that face, that moon will not retain me in its gaze.

and he analysed (*taqī'*) its 252 varieties of poetic rhythms (*vazn*).

Truly, he had studied it, and his careful attention was beyond reproach. Yet, among the various poetic rhythms (*vazn*), — those of eight feet (*muthamman*), six feet (*musaddas*), and four feet (*murabba'*) — he succeeded brilliantly

with one, that of eight feet, but of the other two, the six and the four, he missed his mark.

Over and above that, all of the *vazn* recorded here are associated with twelve varieties of *bahr* (meter), not one *vazn* associated with the other meters has been written.

The notion occurred to my feeble mind that if one wished to cover comprehensively all varieties of *vazn* in poetry, and (furthermore) if there were one *bayt* that were to include all the various *vazn* associated with the twenty-one varieties of *bahr*, it would surely be even more wonderful. (Thus) the following *bayt* of my composition, i.e.,

köz u qash u söz [u]⁴⁶⁾ tilini mu dey

khadd u qad u sach u belini mu dey

Shall I tell of your eyes, your brows, your words, your way of speaking?

Shall I tell of your figure, your cheeks, your hair, your waist?

I made a poetic analysis of the rhythm of its 504 varieties of *vazn*. I recited all the varieties of *vazn*, i.e., those of eight feet, of six, and of four. I inserted the *vazn* that belong to the twenty-one varieties of *bahr*.

It is hoped that (this brief treatise) illuminates the readers of these passages and pages and is clear to those who are familiar with these poetic feet and *vazn*. If there be deficiencies or errors herein, I humbly request the reader's indulgence and aid in correcting and improving it.

The above is the preface of *Five hundred and four rhythms* in the original and in translation.

According to the remarks in Bābur's '*Arūḍ risālasī*,⁴⁷⁾ it appears that Bābur first took an interest in the parsing of the rhythm of poetry when he viewed a book concerned with the study of poetic meter and rhythm as he came to Khurāsān for the fateful showdown with the Uzbek Shaybānī Khān in 1506. He retained his interest in poetic meter and rhythm for some twenty years thereafter, crowning his study with the production of a single treatise.

An analysis of the poetic rhythms follows the preface. In order to indicate what is meant by analysis of rhythm, I will provide here examples of three of the rhythms that follow the preface. Regarding the explanation of the technical terms *mutaqārib*, *bahr*, *muthammanāt*, *sālim*, '*arūz*, *ḍarb*, and *maḥdhūf*, etc., used in relation to the study of poetic meter, I wish to refer to the writings of a specialist in the field.⁴⁸⁾

bahr-i mutaqārib (the *mutaqārib* meter) 22⁴⁹⁾

muthammanāt-i sālim (a perfect eight feet)

- (1) '*arūz va ḍarb maḥdhūf* (the final foot of the first hemistich and of the second hemistich are *fa'al*)

kö-zū-qā / sh^ə-sō-zū / ti-lī-nī / ne-dey

- kha-ddū-qad / u sâ-chū / be-lī-nī / ne-dey
fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'al
(v-- / v-- / v-- / v-)
- (2) *duvvum rukn-i ḥashv maqbūd, ḍarbayn maḥdhūf* (the second foot of the dyadic middle portion is fa'ūl, and the final foot of both the first and second hemistich are fa'al)
kō-zū-qā / sh^o-sō-zū / ti-lī-n^o / ne-dey
kha-ddū-qad / u-sâ-chū / be-lī-n^o / ne-dey
fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūl fa'al
(v-- / v-- / v-- / v-)
- (3) *avval rukn-i ḥashv maqbūd, ḍarbayn maḥdhūf* (the first foot of the dyadic middle portion is fa'ūl, and the final foot of both the hemistiches is fa'al)
kō-zū-qā / sh^o-sō-z^o / ti-lī-nī / ne-dey
kha-ddū-qad / u-sâ-ch^o / be-lī-nī / ne-dey
fa'ūlun fa'ūl fa'ūlun fa'al
(v-- / v-- / v-- / v-)

This manner of analysis of poetic rhythm runs from page 190 through 303. According to Bābur's preface, there should be 504 *vazn* included in the treatise, however, found therein are only 498 *vazn*, which are associated with the 21 different *bahr*, i.e., *mutaqārib*, *mutadārik*, *hazaj*, *rajaz*, *ramal*, *qarib*, *jadid*, *vāfir*, *muj-tathth*, *sarī*, *basit*, *amīq*, *kāmil*, *ṭavīl*, *khafīf*, *madid*, *ārid*, *muqtaḍab*, *munsariḥ*, *muḍāri*, *mushākil*. The remaining six were probably lost in the process of copying the manuscript.

The Saltanātī manuscript is, at present, the sole copy of the *Five hundred and four rhythms* known to exist anywhere in the world, and as a heretofore unknown text concerned with Bābur's work on poetic meter and rhythm, I believe it should be published as soon as possible in a facsimile or other edition.

5 The Bābur-nāma

As I noted in the introduction of my *Critical Edition*,⁵⁰⁾ there are great lacunae in the extant *Bābur-nāma*—of the thirty-six years originally thought to have been recorded by Bābur records for only about twenty can be found in the currently available texts.

On the basis of the *Critical Edition*, I will indicate the contents of the currently available *Bābur-nāma*.

First Section, Farghana (Central Asia)

Events of the year 899, Events of the year 900, Events of the year 901,
Events of the year 902, Events of the year 903, Events of the year 904,

Events of the year 905, Events of the year 906, Events of the year 907,
Events of the year 908.

Second Section, Kabul (Afghanistan)

Events of the year 910, Events of the year 911, Events of the year 912,
Events of the year 913, Events of the year 914 (partial),
Events of the year 925, Events of the year 926.

Third Section, Hindustān (India)

Events of the year 932, Events of the year 933, Events of the year 934,
Events of the year 935, Events of the year 936 (partial).

In contrast, the *Salṭanatī* manuscript includes the following.

First Section, Farghana (Central Asia)

Events of the year 899, Events of the year 900,
Events of the year 901 (partial),⁵¹⁾ Events of the year 902 (partial),⁵²⁾
Events of the year 903, Events of the year 904,
Events of the year 905, Events of the year 906 (partial).⁵³⁾

Second Section, Kabul (Afghanistan)

Events of the year 925 (partial).⁵⁴⁾

Third Section, Hindustān (India)

Events of the year 932, Events of the year 933 (partial).⁵⁵⁾

As is clear from the comparison of the two texts, the *Salṭanatī* manuscript lacks the records for the years 907, 908, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 926, 934, 935, 936, which are found in the *Critical Edition*. Additionally the records for years 901, 902, 906, 925, 933 are partial. The last line of the *Bābur-nāma* found in the *Salṭanatī* manuscript ends abruptly in the midst of year 933, or as far as the seventh line of page 501 of the *Critical Edition*. Following the incomplete phrase, i.e., *ni girdini berkitūk*, in the last line of the *Bābur-nāma* is found the Arabic formula "Allah is omniscient" (*va Allāhu bi-kulli shay'in 'alimūn*), which is not found in the original.

In this fashion, the *Salṭanatī* manuscript of the *Bābur-nāma* is incomplete in terms of quantity of the contents, and, therefore, must have been completed at some time after many parts of the original work had already been lost. However, as it can be considered a manuscript of superior quality, rivaling both the Hyderabad ms. and the Edinburgh ms. (the Elphinstone ms.) in quality, the manuscript should be employed in any task of creating a critical edition, as I note below. There are indications that the creator of the manuscript made considerable corrections to the manuscript.⁵⁶⁾

However, when compared with the *Critical Edition*, the manuscript version displays several varieties of errors; from one to several lines of text may have been dropped, e.g., between the words *girdāgirdi* and *tamām* on line thirteen on page 459, the line reading *khandaq-ning tash yanı sang-rizā-lik shāh rāh tūshūp tur gal'a-ning girdāgirdi* has been omitted,⁵⁷⁾ or several words may have dropped,

e.g., between the words *yoqtur* and *Andijān* on line thirteen of page 462, the phrase *yana bir Margīnān dur* has been dropped, or certain words or phrases have been repeated, e.g., the words *bar erdi khuluqī daghī sakhāvatiḥa* on lines five and seven of page 475 have been written twice. Nevertheless, these flaws are also apparent in the Hyderabad and Edinburgh manuscripts, which have been judged of superior quality,⁵⁸⁾ and they do not significantly detract from the value of the manuscript.

Upon careful comparison of the texts, checking word for word the section of the manuscript for the year 899 (pages 457-528) against the *Critical Edition* for the same year (pages 3-35), I discovered two sections of the *Critical Edition* that should be corrected.

In the first instance, the phrase "although it was not a city," *agarcha qaṣaba emās edi*, on line three of the eighth page of the *Critical Edition* appears as "although it was not a great city," *agarcha ulugh qaṣaba emās edi*, on the first line of page 466 of the manuscript. In this case, it can be surmised that the manuscript is closer to Bābur's original as is seen in the Persian translation *agarcha qaṣaba-yi kalāni nist*.⁵⁹⁾

The second case involves the phrase "Truly, they suffered defeat on the crossing of the Chir," *Chir suyi-ning gudhari-da oq shikast tapıp edilār*, on the third line of the twenty-fifth page of the *Critical Edition*, that reads "They suffered a major defeat on the crossing of the Chir," *Chir suyi-ning gudhari-da ulugh shikast tapıp edilār*, spanning lines seventeen of page 504 and line one of 505 of the manuscript. In this case as well, it can be surmised on the basis of the Persian translation, i.e., *dar gudhar-i daryā-yi Chir shikast-i kalāni yāfta būdand*,⁶⁰⁾ that this manuscript is closer to the original.

As regards the portion of the *Critical Edition* devoted to the year 899, thirty-five pages in length, there are but these two places where the *Critical Edition* should be corrected on the basis of the Salṭanatī manuscript. These examples provide something of a criteria for determining the value of this manuscript. They are albeit only two instances, but, given the fact that the *Critical Edition* can be corrected on the basis of these parts of the manuscript, the manuscript should be appraised highly. However, if one were to focus on the fact that there were but two instances within thirty-five pages that provided corrections, this manuscript cannot be judged to surpass in quality the manuscripts used in preparing the *Critical Edition*.

This author has previously indicated in his Foreword,⁶¹⁾ that after commenting on the manuscripts that he was unable to employ in creating the *Critical Edition* that,

Still, since for this critical edition I was able to make use of both of the manuscripts that vie for recognition as the best text - namely, the Hyderabad manuscript and the Edinburgh (Elphinstone) manuscript - I do

not expect that it would have been necessary to make any great changes to the corrected text if I had been able to use any of the other manuscripts [referring to the *Salṭanatī* manuscript, etc.].

Now that I have been able to consult the *Salṭanatī* manuscript, I believe that my presumption was not in error. However, as it is true that this manuscript can be used in correcting the *Critical Edition*, albeit in a small number of instances, I will strive hereafter to revise the *Critical Edition* on the basis of this manuscript.

I would next like to comment on the Persian translation of the *Bābur-nāma* written on the even-numbered lines of this manuscript.

First, I will provide a transliteration of the Persian from the beginning of the First section, the Farghana section, i.e., the beginning of the year 899, of the manuscript.⁶²⁾ A back-slash, i.e., /, indicates a line break in the manuscript.

dar mäh-i ramaḍān sana-yi hashtšad u navad u nuh dar vilāyat-i Farghāna /
dar *sann-i* davāzdah sāligī pādishāh shudam. vilāyat-i Farghāna az 'iqlīm-i
panjum ast. / va dar kanāra-yi ma'mūra vāqī' shuda *ast*. sharqī-yi ū Kāshghar,
gharbī-yi ū Samarqand / va janūbī Kūhistān sar ḥadd-i Badakhshān va dar
samt-i shumālī-yi ū agarcha pīsh-i īn shahr-hā / būda *ast* mithl-i Almālīgh va
Almatū va Yāngī, ki dar kutub-i *tavārikh* Uṭrār mashhūr *ast*, az jihat-i /
Moghūl va Uzbeg darīn tārikh vīrān shuda ašla ma'mūra namānda *ast* / va
īn *vilāyat-i* Farghāna mukhtašar *ast*. *ghalla va mīva-ash farāvān ast*.

Next, I will provide the same passage from Wheeler Thackston critical edition of the Persian translation⁶³⁾ that was completed by 'Abd Rahīm Khān-i Khānān in 1589 by the order of Akbar, the third Mughal emperor. I have, however, corrected the obvious errors in the Thackston edition on the basis of other manuscripts.⁶⁴⁾

dar mäh-i ramaḍān sana-yi hashtšad u navad u nuh dar vilāyat-i Farghāna dar
davāzdah sāligī pādishāh shudam. / vilāyat-i Farghāna az 'iqlīm-i panjum ast.
va dar kanāra-yi ma'mūra-yi 'ālam vāqī' shuda. sharqī-yi ū Kāshghar, / va
gharbī Samarqand va janūbī Kūhistān sar ḥadd-i Badakhshān va dar
shumālī-yi ū agarcha pīsh *az* īn shahr-hā / būda mithl-i Almālīgh va Almatū
va Yāngī, ki dar kutub-i *tārikh ba-Uṭrār* mashhūr *ast*, *ammā* az jihat-i / 'ubūr-i
(correctly, Moghūl va) Uzbeg darīn tārikh vīrān shuda *va* ašla ma'mūra
namānda / va īn Farghāna mukhtašar *vilāyatist*. *ammā mīva va ghalla farāvānst*.

In the same fashion, I will now provide one other portion of the Persian translation of the manuscript,⁶⁵⁾ i.e., the beginning of the Third section, the Hindustān section, or in other words, the start of the year 932.

dar rūz-i jum'a gharra-yi shahr-i šafar ba-tārīkh-i nuḥṣad u sī u dū ki / āftāb dar burj-i qūs būd ba-'azīmat-i Hindūstān safar karda az pushta-yi Yak-langa gudhashta az ṭaraf-i gharbī-yi Āb-i Dih-i Ya'qūb ba-avlang furūd āmada shud.

Then the same portion in the translation of Khān-i Khānān.⁶⁶⁾

rūz-i jum'a gharra-yi māh-i šafar dar tārīkh-i sana-yi nuḥṣad u sī u dū ki / āftāb dar burj-i qūs būd ba-'azīmat-i Hindūstān safar karda az pushta-yi Yak-langa gudhashta dar avlangi ki ba-ṭaraf-i gharbī-yi Āb-i Dih-i Ya'qūb ast furūd āmada shud.

Comparing the two translations from these two passages, one sees several discrepancies between the two, which have been italicized above. These discrepancies are, however, only minor, and it is surely clear that the two translations are very similar. This author has pondered which of the translations was used by the translator of the other. Which translation was employed as the basis of the other? Which of the two translations existed prior to the other?⁶⁷⁾

It appears that the answer to this question can be obtained by comparing the contents of the two Persian translations and determining which is the superior manuscript. And in this case, it is of course presumed that, as the superior translation could not have relied on the inferior, the better of the two translations must have preceded the other. For that reason, I compare the quality of the contents of the two translations below.

First there is the matter of quantity. The Persian language translation of Khān-i Khānān includes nearly the entire content of the Chaghatay original of the *Bābur-nāma*.⁶⁸⁾ In contrast, because so much of the Chaghatay original itself has been dropped from the Salṭanatī manuscript, as was noted above, the corresponding Persian language translation of the manuscript must also include many lacunae. In other words, from the standpoint of quantity, the Khān-i Khānān translation is superior.

Next is the issue of quality. The Persian translation of the *Bābur-nāma* by Khān-i Khānān has been judged to be extremely faithful to the Chaghatay original.⁶⁹⁾ The Salṭanatī manuscript is likewise a faithful translation of the Chaghatay original. However, the latter text displays distinct characteristics that are explained hereafter.

As stated above, the format of the Persian translation of Salṭanatī manuscript has the text written below each line of the corresponding Chaghatay original. For that reason, where there is a lacuna in the Chaghatay text, the Persian translation faithfully reflects the lacuna.

For example, the Chaghatay phrase *barīdīn ulugh oghlī* appears on the fifth line of page 485 of the Salṭanatī manuscript. However, as can be seen in the phrase *barīdīn uluq Mihr Niḡār Khānum edi kim Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā uluq oghlī* on

lines eleven and twelve of page sixteen of the *Critical Edition*, a sentence nearly a line in length beginning *Mihr Nigār Khānim* has been dropped from between the words *ulugh* and *oghli* in the Saṭṭanātī manuscript. However, the Persian translation of the Saṭṭanātī manuscript is faithful to the Chaghatay, translating it *az hama kalān pīsarash*. In the Khān-i Khānān translation the corresponding passage has been rendered *kalān Mihr Nigār Khānim būd ki Sultān Abū Sa'īd Mirzā pīsar-i kalān-i khud*.⁷⁰ This translation corresponds precisely to the Chaghatay text in the *Critical Edition*. It is perfectly clear that the Persian translation in the Saṭṭanātī manuscript has completely departed from the content of the original sentence found in the *Bābur-nāma*.

Nevertheless, the words *az hama* seen in the Saṭṭanātī manuscript are not found in the Khān-i Khānān translation. This might be termed a more faithful translation of the Chaghatay *baridn*. Furthermore, the word *pīsarash* also differs from the translation in the Khān-i Khānān translation, and it could also be called a literally faithful translation of the Chaghatay *oghli*.

In this fashion the Persian translation of the Chaghatay in the Saṭṭanātī manuscript is accurate. However, since it also accurately reflects the lacunae, it is of lesser quality as a translation of the original *Bābur-nāma*. In a word, the Khān-i Khānān translation is far superior in terms of quality as well.

In this way, both in terms of quantity and quality, the Persian translation of Khān-i Khānān is superior to that found in the Saṭṭanātī manuscript. If that is the case, then it is clear that the Saṭṭanātī manuscript must have relied on the Khān-i Khānān translation. The reverse is unthinkable. It can thus be concluded that the Khān-i Khānān translation must have existed prior to the creation of the Persian translation in the Saṭṭanātī manuscript.

The Russian scholar T. Sultanov thought that the *Bābur-nāma* in the Saṭṭanātī manuscript was created in the year 935, during the lifetime of Bābur. On the basis of this observation, he reasoned that the Persian language translation was also completed within Bābur's lifetime. This conception is remarkably at odds with the conventional view that presumes that the Persian translation of the *Bābur-nāma* was first completed in era of Akbar, Bābur's grandson. However, as the Khān-i Khānān translation, which was completed in the time of Akbar, was employed in creating the Saṭṭanātī manuscript translation, this new hypothesis cannot be sustained. The Persian language translation of the *Bābur-nāma* was indeed first produced in the age of Akbar.

Moreover, the fact that the *Bābur-nāma* found in the Saṭṭanātī manuscript employed the Persian language translation of Khān-i Khānān discloses that the *Bābur-nāma* of the Saṭṭanātī manuscript was produced after the year 1589. This fact, as I have already stated, can be utilized to estimate the date of the creation of the entire Saṭṭanātī manuscript.

6 The *Vālidīya risālasī*

In order to explain the circumstances of the creation of the *Vālidīya risālasī*, I would first like to quote from explanatory material from my *Zahīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, Bābur-nāma (Vaḡāyi)*. *Translation and Annotation with Introduction and Indexes*.⁷¹⁾

Bābur's physical condition began to deteriorate from the time of the summer of 1527. His condition worsened following the autumn of 1528, and by the eleventh month, Bābur, in a feverish state, was barely able to complete the congregational prayers. Relying on the spirit of an Islamic holy man in hopes of recovering from his illness, he hit upon the idea of versifying the *Vālidīya* (A book for my father), a work of Khvāja 'Ubayd-Allāh Aḥrār of the mystic Naqshbandīya sect. He felt that if the spirit of Khvāja recognized his effort, he might be delivered from his illness. Bābur began his project of versifying on the night of the ninth day of the eleventh month, employing the same meter used in the *Subḥat al-Abrār* of Jāmī, who was also an influential figure in the Naqshbandīya sect. He took it upon himself to create at least ten *bayt* each day and completed the work by the twentieth day of the eleventh month of 1528. His efforts during the period were rewarded, and he was delivered from his illness.

It has been thought that the *Vālidīya* (A book for my father), which was written by Khvāja Aḥrār on the request of his own father, was lost and now exists only in the versified creation of Bābur.⁷²⁾

However, the Süleymaniye library in Istanbul has several manuscripts of the *Vālidīya*.⁷³⁾ I shall discuss these manuscripts in another paper.

The work carefully explains the daily regime of spiritual training required to attain the realm of "unity with Allah" sought by Islamic mystics. The work extolls the constant repetition of the *dhikr*, the formula that "there is no god but Allah."

This work has been studied by scholars of various nationalities, E. D. Ross, M. F. Köprülü, N. A. Ayyubi, A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, Saidbek Ḥasan, and B. Yücel among others,⁷⁴⁾ and critical editions and translations have already been published. With the exception of the *Bābur-nāma*, it can be deemed as the most studied of the works of Bābur.

According to Bodrogligeti, the following four manuscripts of the work have heretofore been known to the academic world.⁷⁵⁾

- (1) Istanbul University Library, MS. T3743
- (2) Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Suppl. turc 1230
- (3) Rampur Raza Library (India)

(4) Topkapı Palace Library (Istanbul), Revan 741

The Saṭṇatī manuscript of the *Vālidīya risālasī* is nearly a complete text, missing only the portion between pages 1017 and 1018 corresponding to that of the critical edition of Ayyubi, approximately three pages in length from line five of 3 r to the first of 4 v. Because the four manuscripts are known and two varieties of critical edition have been published, the discovery of the Saṭṇatī manuscript does not bear major significance. Nevertheless it is certain that, as a fifth manuscript of the work, it can be employed in supplementing the critical editions.

Conclusion

The following points constitute a summary of the new information reported in this paper – previously unknown to the academic world.

1) The Saṭṇatī library manuscript, which includes five works composed by Bābur and which should rightly be called *The Collected Works of Bābur*, was already known to the academic world on the basis of Ātābāy's catalogue of manuscripts. However, of the five works included in the manuscript, the title of only one, the *Bābur-nāma*, had been fully known to the academic world.⁷⁶⁾ As a result of this author's examination of the remaining four works, it was confirmed that they are the *Mubayyin*, the '*Arūd risālasī*', the *Vālidīya risālasī* and a treatise that should be termed the *Five hundred and four rhythms*. It should be noted that Bābur's own poetry collection, the *Divān* is not included in the manuscript. It would thus be inappropriate to refer to the manuscript as the *Kulliyāt-i Bāburī*, *The Complete Works of Bābur*.⁷⁷⁾

2) As regards the *Mubayyin*, relatively few manuscripts, such as that in Berlin, had heretofore been known to the academic community. I have been able to confirm here the existence of the work in this manuscript. Although the manuscript lacks a large number of pages, it would still be useful in the task of creating a critical edition of the *Mubayyin*.

3) As regards the '*Arūd risālasī*', the Paris manuscript had heretofore been thought to be the sole extant manuscript. I have been able to confirm here the existence of a previously unknown second redaction. Although partial and imperfect, the text would be useful in creating a critical edition.

4) The treatise on prosody that ought rightly be called *Five hundred and four rhythms* had been known only to the extent of Bābur's statement in the *Bābur-nāma* that he had in fact composed this sort of treatise. However, it has been thought that the treatise had somehow been lost and was never to be seen again. I have, however, discovered the work in the *Collected Works of Bābur* and have hereby made its existence known to the academic world.

5) The *Bābur-nāma*, which occupies the greatest portion of the *Collected Works of Bābur*, was composed in India between the years 1589 and 1603. It is

not a most precious manuscript, nor was it completed in the lifetime of Bābur, as repeatedly claimed by the Russian scholar T. Sultanov. In terms of quantity, the manuscript is incomplete, containing but a portion of the previously known *Bābur-nāma*. Only one part of "Events of the year 925" from the Kabul chapter, for example, is included in the manuscript. And, of course, the manuscript does not contain any of the lacunae previously known to have been missing from the extant *Bābur-nāma*. However, in terms of quality, the manuscript is superior and can be employed in the task of supplementing the previously published *Critical Edition* of the *Bābur-nāma*.

6) As regards the *Vālidīya risālasī*, four manuscripts had already been known and two varieties of critical edition published. For that reason the redaction of the *Vālidīya risālasī* in the *Collected Works of Bābur* cannot be said to be of major significance. However, I have hereby been able to inform the academic world of the existence of a complete and previously unknown fifth manuscript of the work. Additionally I have been able to inform of the existence of several manuscripts of the original *Vālidīya* of Khvāja Aḥrār in Istanbul.

7) India between the years 1589 and 1613 are the location and date of the composition of the *Collected Works of Bābur*, not the erroneous 935 (1528-29) recorded in Ātābāy's catalogue of manuscripts and repeated by Sultanov and others. The year 935 does not mark the completion of the *Collected Works of Bābur*, but, is, instead, the date found at the conclusion of the *Vālidīya risālasī* indicating the date of the completion of that work.

8) The *Collected Works of Bābur* contains many disordered pages and major omissions of others, probably incurred during the process of binding the work. Despite these flaws, it is an extremely important manuscript given the fact that the remaining portion constitutes a relatively early redaction and that it contains the *Five hundred and four rhythms*. This manuscript is undoubtedly of superior quality and should be consulted by any future researcher concerned with Bābur.

Given its significance, it is hoped that a facsimile of the entire manuscript will be published at the earliest possible date.

Notes

- 1) As is mentioned below, this manuscript is referred to as *Vaqāyi-i Bāburi* at the Salṭanatī Library, but judging from the content of the manuscript, I believe it would be more appropriately titled *The Collected Works of Bābur*. Thus, hereafter, I refer to the manuscript as *The Collected Works of Bābur* throughout this paper.
- 2) The library generally known as the Salṭanatī Library has come to be called the Golestan Palace Manuscript Library (Kitābkhāna-yi khaṭṭī-yi Kākh-i Gulistān), but to avoid confusion I have employed the commonly used name of the institution.
- 3) This report was delivered in English to Pakistan Orientalist Congress in Lahore on January,

- 1, 1957. It was published as "Chaghatay Linguistic and Timurid Artistic Remains in the Moghul-Time Works Preserved in the Teheran Libraries," *Oriental College Magazine*, 34-2-3, 1958, and republished in Turkish translation as "Tahran kütüphanelerinde Hindistan'dan gelen eserlerde Çagatay dil ve Temürlü sanat âbideleri," *Belleten*, cilt:24 Sayı 95, 1960.
- 4) I was able to consult this catalogue due to the effort of Prof. Koichi Haneda, who obtained a copy of the work from Tehran. I wish to record my deepest gratitude to Prof. Haneda here.
- 5) As far as I am aware, the only non-Iranian scholar to view the manuscript since Togan seems to have been the French Turkologist Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont. Bacqué-Grammont, however, seems to have viewed the manuscript more than thirty years ago. Perhaps for that reason, Bacqué-Grammont was unable to respond specifically to this author's queries about the manuscript. Additionally, the Turkish scholar B. Yücel, who has recently published on the poetry of Bābur, has written that despite his hopes he was unable to refer to the copy of the manuscript (Bilāl Yücel, *Bābūr Divānı* (Gramer-Metin-Sözlük-Tıpkıbasım), Ankara, 1995, pp. 25-26). As I note in the main body of this paper, Prof. Kazuyuki Kubo has recently been able to view the manuscript in person and reports that it is beautiful and in fine condition.
- 6) This author was told by a noted Russian scholar at an international conference completely erroneous information and an unfounded report that it was impossible to view the manuscript because it is in very poor condition having been soaked in water.
- 7) Турсун И. Султанов, "О прижизненном автору списке «Эписок» Бабур," *Письменные памятники и проблемы истории культуры народов Востока. XVII годичная научная сессия ЛО ИВ АН СССР (доклады и сообщения). Часть 1*. Москва, 1985; его же, "Обстоятельства и время написания «Бабур-наме», " *Тюркские и монгольские письменные памятники. Текстологические и культуроведческие аспекты исследования*, Москва, 1992; его же, "*Zahīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, Bābur-nāma (Vaḳāyi)*". *Critical Edition based on Four Chaghatay Texts with Introduction and Notes* by Eiji Mano, Kyoto Shokado, 1995", *Восток 1996 No. 5* (Москва, 1996); T. Sultanov, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 2-1 (St. Petersburg-Helsinki. 1996).
- 8) *Zahīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, Bābur-nāma (Vaḳāyi)*. *Critical Edition based on Four Chaghatay Texts with Introduction and Notes* by Eiji Mano, Kyoto, 1995. I refer to this edition as the *Critical Edition* hereafter.
- 9) Т. И. Султанов, *Восток 1996 No. 5* (Москва, 1996) [English version: T. Sultanov, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 2-1 (St. Petersburg-Helsinki. 1996)]; Абдурашид Абдугафуров ва Асомиддин Уринбоев, *Ўзбекистон Адабиёти ва Санъати* 15 март 1996 (Ташкент); Абдурашид Абдугафуров, *Ўзбекистон Адабиёти ва Санъати* 24 январ 1997 (Ташкент); R. Dankoff, *Journal of American Oriental Society*, 117-4, 1997; 菅原睦 M. Sugahara, 『東洋史研究 *Journal of Oriental Researches*』 56-1, 1997.
- 10) A portion of the manuscript is found in a microfilm kept in the Tehran University Library.
- 11) Турсун И. Султанов, "Обстоятельства и время написания «Бабур-наме», (op. cit.), стр. 91-93.
- 12) Bilāl Yücel, *Bābūr Divānı* (op. cit.), pp. 25-26.
- 13) Please see pages xxv-xxvi of the *Critical Edition* (English Version: *Zahīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, Bābur-nāma (Vaḳāyi)*. *Concordance and Classified Indexes* by Eiji Mano, Kyoto, 1996. pp. xxv-xxxvi).
- 14) Known as a center of paper production, Davlatābād is a city on the Deccan plateau in west central India (*EI*, new ed., vol. 2, 1965, p. 18). Ātābāy, however, judged the paper to be from Samarqand. But, as the manuscript seems to have been composed in India, the description on the cover is probably correct. Professor K. Kubo, who actually touched the manuscript, felt that it was of somewhat different quality from that of Samarqand.
- 15) For example, the pronunciation of the Chaghatay word 𐱃 found on the first page of the *Bābur-nāma* appears in the margin as *ba-madd ba-hamza va ba-dū yā avval kusūr va thānī mavqūf* in Persian, indicating that it should be read *ay*.

- 16) The significance of this order is unclear and should probably be an object of further study.
- 17) However, Yücel surmised that the *Mubayyin* and the '*Arūḍ risālası* were included in the manuscript. Bilāl Yücel, *Bābūr Dīvānı* (op. cit.), p. 17.
- 18) Togan has the year 931, but there must have been some misapprehension or perhaps a typographical error. Z. V. Togan, "Tahran kütüphanelerinde Hindistan'dan gelen eserlerde Çagatay dil ve Temürlü sanat âbideleri," (op. cit.), p. 444.
- 19) A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, "Bābur Shāh's Chagatay Version of the *Risāla-i Vālidīya*: A Central Asian Turkic Treatise on How to Emulate the Prophet Muhammad," *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*, 56, 1984, p. 43; N. Akmal Ayyubi, *A Versified Treatise on Mysticism of Zahir-ud Din Muhammad Bābur or The Risāle-i Wālidīyye Terjümesi*, Aligarh, 1968, p. 51. See the close of the *Vālidīya Risālası* that appears in Bodrogligeti and Ayyubi's critical edition. Additionally, I was able to obtain and employ Ayyubi's work due to the kind assistance of Mr. Hiroyuki Mashita, who was studying in India. I wish to express by gratitude to Mr. Mashita.
- 20) *Critical Edition*, pp. 554-555.
- 21) 1528.11.6.
- 22) This refers to Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Būṣhīrī (1212-1295 ca.), an Egyptian Sufi poet of Berber origin. Known as a calligrapher, folklorist, and reciter of the *Qur'ān*, he is particularly celebrated as the author of the *Qaṣīda al-Burda*, which extolled the prophet Mohammed. Please refer to *EI*, new ed., Supplement, 3-4, 1981.
- 23) The *Ramali musaddas-i makhbūn* meter is $\cup\cup\cup\cup / \cup\cup\cup\cup / \cup\cup\cup\cup$. When the final foot is *abtar* the final foot is not $\cup\cup\cup$ but $\cup\cup\cup\cup$ instead. Regarding this point, consult *The Baburnama. Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor*, Translated, Edited, and Annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, New York & Oxford, 1996, p. 410, n. 194.
- 24) This refers to the *Subḥat al-Abrār* (*The Prayer Beads of the Pious Ones*) composed by Jāmī in the *mathnavi* poetic form. It is one of the works in the seven-part *Haft Avrang* (*The Seven Thrones*), a work with a religious theme concerned with mysticism and morals.
- 25) The *bayt*, sometimes translated as couplet, is composed of two hemistiches (*miṣrā'*) and is generally written in one line of Arabic text. Thirteen *bayt* is the equivalent of thirteen lines of text.
- 26) 1528.11.20.
- 27) This work has been called both the *Mubīn* or the *Mubayyan*. In this paper I refer to it as the *Mubayyin* following the practice of S. Azimdjanova (С. Азимджанова) and others.
- 28) *Mubayyin al-islām*, Lith. ed., Tashkent, 1905.
- 29) Given the fact that the Uzbek scholar Azimdjanova is currently considering publishing a critical edition, this published edition must have been a single manuscript and not have been critically edited recension.
- 30) Захириддин Мухаммад Бобур, *Китаб-с-салат*, Нашрга тайёрловчи: Саидбек Хасан, Масъур Мухаррир: Алибек Рустам, Тошкент, 1993.
- 31) С. А. Азимджанова, "Экономические взгляды Захириддина Мухаммада Бабура," *Из истории развития общественно-экономической мысли в Узбекистане в XV-XVI вв.*, Ташкент, 1960; его же, "Некоторые экономические взгляды Захир ад-Дина Мухаммада Бабура, изложение в «Мубайине»," *Труды XXV Международного конгресса востоковедов, Москва 9-16 августа 1960*, Том 3, Москва, 1963.
- 32) Staatsbibliothek Ms. or. oct. 2212.
- 33) It is not clear at present whether these three lines may supplement the lacuna in the Berlin manuscript, or whether they have strayed into the text from another page.
- 34) In addition to the Berlin ms., that of the Saint Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, as well as those of the Institutes of Oriental Studies and of Literature at the Academy of Sciences, Tashkent are known to exist.
- 35) *Zahir ad-Din Muhammad Bābur, Bābur-nāma* (*Vaqāyī*). *Translation and Annotation with Introduction*

- and *Indexes* by Eiji Mano, Kyoto, 1998, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.
- 36) Захир ад-Дин Мухаммад Бабур, *Трактат об 'арӯзе. Факсимиле рукописи. Издание текста, вступительная статья и указатели* И. В. Стеблевой, Москва, 1972. стр. 21.
- 37) Стеблева, *op. cit.*
- 38) Захириддин Мухаммад Бобур, *Мухтасар*, Нашрга тайёрловчи: Саидбек Ҳасан, Масъур муҳаррир: Ҳамид Сулаймон, Тошкент, 1971. I was able to consult the book that contains the text in Uzbek and the lavish Paris facsimile due to the goodwill of Professor Kazuyuki Kubo. I wish to thank him here in print.
- 39) *Critical Edition*, p. 529.
- 40) That is to recite a specific passage from the *Qur'ān* forty-one times in succession in order to recover quickly from illness.
- 41) The analysis of rhythm (*taqtī'*) means to parse one couplet, *bayt*, of a verse in terms of its rhythm, indicating the name of the rhythm and its form. For example, if the *bayt* is in the *mutaqārib bahr* (meter), and is a perfect eight feet (*muthammanāt-i sālim*), it is identified as the 'arūd *va qarib mahdhūf* rhythm (*vazn*), and its form is shown as fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'al (--- / --- / --- / ---).
- 42) A. S. Beveridge, *The Bābur-nāma in English (Memoirs of Bābur)*, Translated from the original Turki Text of *Zahīru'd-dīn Muḥammad Bābur Pādshāh Ghāzī*, 2 Vols., London, 1922; Repr. in one Volume, London. 1969, p. lxxv.
- 43) Regarding the rather difficult to interpret content of portions of this preface, I have received the guidance of Professor Koichi Haneda. I wish to express my gratitude to him for kindly providing appropriate advice.
- 44) This *bayt* is Bābur's own composition. This *bayt* appears, for example, in Bilāl Yücel, *Bābūr Divān* (*op. cit.*), p. 306, No. 520.
- 45) The word *qash* originally meant eyebrow, but came to take on the meanings edge or side by way of analogy. Sir Gerard Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*, Oxford, 1972, p. 669.
- 46) This *u* has been omitted from the *Salṭanatī* manuscript, but I have corrected the text on the basis of the same *bayt* as appears in the *Bābur-nāma*.
- 47) Paris ms., 36a-36b; *Salṭanatī* ms., pp. 435-437.
- 48) The description in Finn Thiesen, *A Manual of Classical Persian Prosody*, Wiesbaden, 1982 is the most concise.
- 49) This number seems to mean that the twenty-two *vazn* associated with the *mutaqārib bahr* (meter) were recorded. However, there are actually thirty *vazn*, not twenty-two, recorded in the manuscript. This problem is not confined to the *mutaqārib* meter. Of the twenty-one *bahr* only five, including the *mujtathth*, correspond to the correct number. I wish to postpone to some later date the question of how these discrepancies should be interpreted.
- 50) Pages xxiii-xxiv (English Version: *Zahīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, Bābur-nāma (Vaḳāyī')*. *Concordance and Classified Indexes* by Eiji Mano, Kyoto, 1996. p. 34).
- 51) Concluding with the words *Mīrzā-gha qaṭṭi* on the ninth line of the fifty-sixth page of the *Critical Edition*. A lacuna of approximately one page of the *Critical Edition* in length follows thereafter.
- 52) There is a lacuna of approximately one page in length preceding the words *mī'ād-bilā* on the seventh line of the fifty-ninth page of the *Critical Edition*.
- 53) Concluding with the words *bīr tīrgāz atımı* on the fifteenth line of page 132 of the *Critical Edition*. There follows, without a break, the record of the events of the year 925, which appear on page 340 of the *Critical Edition*.
- 54) Concluding with the phrase *barṭ edī keldī* on the twenty-first line of page 380 of the *Critical Edition*. This is followed by a blank space of two lines in width and then follow the events of the year 932, which appear on page 430 of the *Critical Edition*.

- 55) Concluding with the phrase *ni girdini berkitūk* on line seven of page 501 of the *Critical Edition*. This point is touched upon in the main body of this paper.
- 56) For example, a passage approximately two lines in length that had been omitted from the main text is supplied outside the margin on page 481.
- 57) For example, another case of the omission of several lines are those between the words *edi* and *ākhir* on the thirteenth line of page 495 of this manuscript from which approximately three lines beginning on the second half of the twenty-first line of twentieth page of the *Critical Edition* have been dropped.
- 58) As regards the lacunae in the Hyderabad ms. and the Edinburgh ms., see parts four and five of the Introduction of the *Critical Edition* (pp. xxvi-xxxviii) (English Version: *Zahīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, Bābur-nāma (Vaḳāyi')*. Concordance and Classified Indexes by Eiji Mano, Kyoto, 1996, pp. xxxvii-xlix).
- 59) Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr., *Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur Mirza, Bāburnāma*, Chaghatay Turkish Text with Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan's Persian Translation, Turkish Transcription, Persian Edition and English Translation, 3 Vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1993, Vol. 1, p. 8.
- 60) *ibid.*, p. 32.
- 61) *Critical Edition*, p. xlvi.
- 62) Pages 457-458 of the manuscript.
- 63) Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr., *ibid.*, p. 2.
- 64) *Vaḳi'āt-i Bāburī*, Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) MS. Suppl. persan 265.
- 65) Pages 837-838 of the manuscript.
- 66) Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr., *ibid.*, p. 538.
- 67) Concerning this issue, I received profitable suggestions from Miss M. Tanabe. I wish to record my gratitude here.
- 68) This fact is probably most readily understood by the fact that in Thackston's edition of the *Bābur-nāma* (Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr., *ibid.*), the Persian translation of Khān-i Khānān is provided on the left-hand, odd-numbered pages and the corresponding Chaghatay original on the facing, right-hand, even-numbered pages.
- 69) Please refer to the seventh section of the Introduction in the *Critical Edition* "The nature of the Persian translation" (pp. xxxix-xl) (English Version: *Zahīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, Bābur-nāma (Vaḳāyi')*. Concordance and Classified Indexes by Eiji Mano, Kyoto, 1996, pp. l-li).
- 70) Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr., *ibid.*, p. 20.
- 71) *Zahīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, Bābur-nāma (Vaḳāyi')*. Translation and Annotation with Introduction and Indexes by Eiji Mano, Kyoto, 1998. A Japanese translation and annotation of the *Bābur-nāma*.
- 72) For example see N. Akmal Ayyubi, *A Versified Treatise on Mysticism of Zahīr-ud Din Muḥammad Bābur* or *The Risāle-i Wālidīyye Terjūmesi*, Aligarh, 1968, p. 10; and A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, "Bābur Shāh's Chagatay Version of the *Risāle-i Wālidīya*: A Central Asian Turkic Treatise on How to Emulate the Prophet Muhammad," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, 56, 1984, p. 1.
- 73) Professor Masatomo Kawamoto and Dr. Nevzat Kaya kindly gave me this important information. I would like to express my gratitude toward them.
- 74) E. D. Ross, "A Collection of Poems by the Emperor Babur (Divān-i-Babur Pādīshāh)," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VI, Extra Number, 1910, pp. i-vi, 1-43; M. Fuad Köprülü, "Risāle-i Wālidīyya tercūmesi, published by M. Fuad Köprülü," *Millî Tettebbülar Mecmuası*, I, 1331/1915, pp. 113-124; N. Akmal Ayyubi, *A Versified Treatise on Mysticism of Zahīr-ud Din Muḥammad Bābur* or *The Risāle-i Wālidīyye Terjūmesi*, Aligarh, 1968; A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, "Bābur Shāh's Chagatay Version of the *Risāle-i Wālidīya*: A Central Asian Turkic Treatise on How to Emulate the Prophet Muhammad," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, 56, 1984, pp. 1-61; *Ҳазрати Хожа Убайдулло Аҳрор, Рисолаи Волидия. Заҳириддин Муҳаммад Бобур тарҷимаси*. Ношир: Саидбек Ҳасан, Тошкент, 1991; Bilāl Yücel, *Bābūr Dīvānı (Gramer-*

Metin-Sözlük-Tıpkıbasım), Ankara, 1995. I received notice from Mr. Hiroyuki Mashita of the existence of a new facsimile edition of the *Risāla* in Rampur. Mr. Mashita provided me a copy thereof (Siddiqi, W. H. (Editor of the *Journal*), Facsimile of the *Risāla*, *Rampur Raza Library Journal*, No. 3-1996). I would like to record my gratitude here. The edition includes a color facsimile of a portion of the manuscript. A black and white facsimile of this manuscript was published formerly by E. D. Ross. However, this facsimile edition appears between pages 32 and 33 of said magazine without a credit for the editor or a title. The reason for its publication is unclear. For that reason, I provisionally recorded the name of the editor of the magazine itself as the editor of the facsimile edition.

- 75) A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, *ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
- 76) Both Togan and Ātābāy had noted that the *Bābur-nāma* was included in this manuscript. Moreover, as noted above, Yücel correctly surmised from Ātābāy's description that the *Mubayyin* and the '*Arūḍ risālası*' were also included.
- 77) Togan had mistakenly written that the *Divān* was included. For that reason, Yücel, also a Turkish scholar, was of the same opinion, presuming that the manuscript was probably the complete works. It should not be designated the complete works, but rather the collected works.