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## THE BABAR-NAMA DESCRIPTION OF FARGHANA

By ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE

[THE following article contains a revised translation of Bābar's account of Farghāna, a passage discussed and quoted by many writers on Turkistān. Some mistaken inferences have been drawn from it as it stands in the *Memoirs* and *Mémoires*, because these both lacked a pure textual basis and modern local knowledge. I regret that, obeying a Turk in his Turkī, an autobiographer in his style, my wording departs from Mr. Erskine's. The speech of some Englishmen can go straight into Turkī: out of Turkī, Bābar's should go straight into theirs. They are not schooled, nor was he. Neither blurs meaning by complex statement; neither throws "and" into the pause between two thoughts. Mr. Symonds' rule gathers force from the clearness of the mould of Turkī speech: "A good translation should resemble a plaster cast, the English being *plaqué* upon the original, so as to reproduce its exact form, although it cannot convey the effects of bronze or marble which belong to the material of the work of art."]

[fol. 16<sup>1</sup>.]

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

<sup>2</sup>I became ruler<sup>3</sup> in the country of Farghāna, in my twelfth year, in the month Ramzān, at the date 899.<sup>4</sup>

Farghāna is of the fifth climate.<sup>5</sup> It is situated on the limit of settled habitation. It has Kāshghar on the east, Samarqand on the west, the mountains of the Badakhshān border on the south. On the north, though there may once have been towns,<sup>6</sup> such as Ālmāligh, Ālmātū, and

Yāngī which (*kīm*) in books they write Ūṭrār, all is now desolate; there remains no settled population whatever, because of the Mughūls and the Ūzbegs.<sup>7</sup>

Farghāna is a small country, abounding in grain and fruit. Round about it are mountains; to the west there are none, that is,<sup>8</sup> towards Khujend and Samarqand. During the winter an enemy can come in only from that side.<sup>9</sup>

The Saihūn River (*daryā*), commonly known as the Khujend Water [fol. 2], coming in from the north-east, flows westward through<sup>10</sup> the country. After passing Khujend on the north and Fanākat,<sup>11</sup> now known as Shāhrukhiā, on the south, it turns straight towards the north and goes to Turkistān. It does not join itself to any sea (*daryā*),<sup>12</sup> (but) sinks into the sand a good way below Turkistān.

Farghāna has seven separate townships,<sup>13</sup> five on the south of the Saihūn, two on the north. Of those on the south, one is Andijān which (*kīm*) has a central position and is the capital of the country. It produces much grain, fruit in abundance, excellent grapes and melons. In the melon season, to sell the fruit up at the beds is not the custom.<sup>14</sup> Better than the Andijān *nāshpātī* there is none.<sup>15</sup> Its walled town (*qūryhān*) is the largest in the Māwarā'u'n - nahr after Samarqand and Kesh. It has three gates; its citadel (*ark*) is on its southern side. Into it water goes by nine channels; out of it, it is strange that none comes at even a single place.<sup>16</sup> Along the outer side of its ditch<sup>17</sup> runs a gravelled highway; the width of this same road separates the town from its surrounding suburbs.

Andijān has good fowling and hunting. Its pheasants [fol. 2*b*] become so extremely plump that it is rumoured four people could not finish one they were eating with its stew.<sup>18</sup>

The Andijānis are all Turks—not a person in town or its bāzār but knows Turkī. The speech of its people is

correct for the pen ; hence, though Mir 'Ali Shir *Naṭwā'ī*<sup>19</sup> was bred and grew up in Herī,<sup>20</sup> his writings are one with their dialect. Good looks are common amongst them. Khwāja Yūsuf who (*kēm*) is famous in music, was an Andijānī.<sup>21</sup> There is malaria (*'ufānat*) in the air ; people generally get fever in autumn.<sup>22</sup>

Again, there is Ūsh, to the south-east inclining to east of Andijān and distant 4 *yīghāch* from it by road.<sup>23</sup> It has a fine climate ; running water abounds<sup>24</sup> ; its spring season is very beautiful indeed. Many traditions have their rise in its excellencies.<sup>25</sup> To the south-east of the walled town is a symmetrical hill, known as the Barā Koh.<sup>26</sup> On its summit, Sultān Maḥmūd Khān built a retreat (*hajra*), and on its shoulder, lower down, in 902 (1496), I built one, having a porch. Though his lay the higher, mine was the better placed, all the town and suburbs being at its feet [fol. 3].

The Andijān torrent<sup>27</sup> goes to Andijān after passing through the suburbs of Ūsh. Garden-plots (*bāghāt*)<sup>28</sup> lie along both its banks ; all the Ūsh gardens (*bāghār*) overlook it. Their violets are very fine ; they have running waters and in spring are most beautiful with the bloom of many tulips and roses.

There is a mosque, called the Jauzā Masjid, on the skirt of the Barā Koh<sup>29</sup> ; between this and the town a large canal flows from the direction of the hill ; below its outer court is a shady and pleasant clover-meadow where every passing traveller rests. If anyone fall asleep there, it is the joke of the raganuffins of Ūsh to let water out of the canal upon him.<sup>30</sup> In 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā's latter days, a very beautiful stone, waved red and white,<sup>31</sup> was found on the Barā Koh ; of it they make knife-handles and the clasps of belts and many other things.

For climate and pleasantness, no township in all Farghāna equals Ūsh.

Again, there is Marghīnān, 7 *yīghāch*<sup>32</sup> by road to the west of Andijān. It is a fine township, full of good things; its grapes and pomegranates are most excellent. They call one kind of pomegranate, the Great Grain (*dāna kalān*); its sweetness has a little of the sub-acid of the apricot and it may be preferred [fol. 3] to the Semnān.<sup>33</sup> Again, there grows an apricot which they dry after stoning it and putting back its kernel; they (then) call it *subhānī*<sup>34</sup>; it is very palatable.

Marghīnān has good hunting and fowling; *āq kīyīk*<sup>35</sup> are found close by. Its people are Sārts,<sup>36</sup> boxers, noisy and turbulent. Their pugnacity is known all over Māwarā'u'n-nahr; most of the noted bullies (*jangralār*) of Samarqand and Bukhārā are Marghīnānis. The author of the Hidāyat<sup>37</sup> was from Rushdān, a village of Marghīnān.

Again, there is Asfara, in the hill-country (*koh pāya*)<sup>38</sup> 9 *yīghāch*.<sup>39</sup> to the south-west of Marghīnān. It has running water, beautiful small gardens<sup>40</sup> and many fruit-trees, but in its gardens mostly almonds. Its people are all Persian-speaking Sārts.<sup>41</sup> Amongst the low hills, a *shar'ī* (circa 2 miles) to the south of Asfara (town), is a piece of rock called the Mirror Stone.<sup>42</sup> It may be about 10 *qārī* (arms'-lengths) long; it is as high as a man in some places, up to his waist in others. Everything is reflected in it as in a mirror.

The *wilāyat* of Asfara is (in) four hill-country divisions (*balūk*). One is Asfara, one Warūk, one Sūkh, one Hushyār. When Shaibānī Khān had defeated Sultān Maḥmūd Khān and Alacha Khān, and taken Tāshkent and Shāhrukhīa,<sup>43</sup> I went into the Sūkh [fol. 4] and Hushyār hill-country and there, after nearly a year spent in great misery, I decided for Kābul.<sup>44</sup>

Again, there is Khujend,<sup>45</sup> 25 *yīghāch* by road to the west of Andijān and 25 *yīghāch* by road to the east of Samarqand.<sup>46</sup> It is one of the ancient towns; of it were

Shaikh Maṣlahat and Khwāja Kamāl.<sup>47</sup> Fruit grows well there; the excellence of its pomegranates is well known; people talk of a Khujend pomegranate as they do of a Samarqand apple. Just now, however, Marghinān pomegranates are much more met with.<sup>48</sup>

The walled town of Khujend is on high ground, the Saihūn flowing to the north of it at the distance perhaps of an arrow's flight. To the north of both the walled town and the river is a range called Munūghul;<sup>49</sup> they say turquoise and other mines are to be found there; it has many snakes.

The hunting and fowling grounds of Khujend are first-rate; *āq kīnjik*,<sup>50</sup> *būghū*, *marāl*,<sup>51</sup> pheasants and hares are all had in great plenty.

The climate of Khujend is very malarious; in autumn there is much fever;<sup>52</sup> they rumour that the very sparrows get fever. The cause of the malaria, they say, is the hill lying on the north.

Kand-bādām<sup>53</sup> is a dependency of Khujend; though not a township (*qasba*), it makes rather a good approach to one (*qasbucha*). Its almonds are excellent, hence its name [fol. 4b]; they all go to Hormuz and Hindūstān. It is 6 or 7 *yīghūch*<sup>54</sup> to the east of Khujend.

Between Kand-bādām and Khujend lies a waste, known as Hā Darwesh. Here there is always (*hamesha*) wind: wind goes always (*hamesha*) from it to Marghinān which is to the east of it; wind comes continually (*dā'im*) from it to Khujend which is to the west of it.<sup>55</sup> It has violent, whirling winds (*tund yillār*). They say, some darweshes having met with this wind in this desert (*bādīya*), and not being able to find one another again, kept crying: "Hāy Darwesh! Hāy Darwesh!" All perished, and from that time forth people have called the waste "Hā Darwesh".

Of the townships to the north of the Saihūn Water, one is Akhsi. This in books they write Akhsikit; hence the

poet Aṣīru'd-din is known as *Akhsi-kūtī*.<sup>56</sup> After Andijān, Akhsi is the largest township in Farghāna;<sup>57</sup> it is 9 *yīghāch*.<sup>58</sup> by road to the west of Andijān. 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā made it his capital. The Saiḥūn River flows by below the walled town (*qūrghān*). This stands above great (*buland*) ravines. It has deep (*'umīq*) ravines in place of a ditch. 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā when he made it his capital, in several instances (*martaba*) cut other ravines from the outer ones.<sup>59</sup> No walled town in Farghāna is so strong as Akhsi [fol. 5].

The suburbs of Akhsi extend a *shar'ī* (*circa* 2 miles) beyond the walls (*qūrghān*).<sup>60</sup> The proverb, "Where is the village? where are the trees?" they seem to have said of Akhsi.<sup>61</sup> Its melons are excellent; one kind they even call Mir Timūri; it is not known to have its equal in the world.<sup>62</sup> The melons of Bukhārā are famous; I had some brought from there and some from Akhsi when I took Samarqand; they were cut up at an entertainment and nothing compared with those from Akhsi.

The Akhsi fowling and hunting are very good indeed. In the waste on the Akhsi side of the Saiḥūn *āq kīyīk* abound; in the jungle on the Andijān side are to be had many *būghā*,<sup>63</sup> *marīl*, pheasants and hares, all in very good condition.

Again, there is Kāsān, rather a small place to the north of Akhsi. The water of Akhsi comes from it in the way the water of Andijān comes from Ūsh.<sup>64</sup> Kāsān has excellent air and beautiful garden-plots. These, because they all lie along the bed of the torrent,<sup>65</sup> they call *postīn pesh barah*.<sup>66</sup> There is rivalry between Kāsānis and Ūshis about the beauty and climate of their townships.

In the mountains round Farghāna are excellent pastures. There and nowhere else grows the *tabalghū*,<sup>67</sup> a tree (*yīghāch*) with red bark [fol. 5b]. They make staves of it,

they make whip-handles of it, they make bird-cages of it. they scrape it into arrows ;<sup>68</sup> it is an excellent wood (*yīghāch*) and is taken away to distant places as a rarity.<sup>69</sup> Some books write that the mandrake<sup>70</sup> is found in these mountains, but for this long time past nothing has been heard of it. A grass called the heating (*īq*) grass and having the qualities of the mandrake, is heard of in Yiti Kint ;<sup>71</sup> it seems to be the mandrake under another name. There are turquoise and other mines in these mountains.

<sup>1</sup> The foliation marked in the text of this article is that of the Haidarābād Codex of the *Bābar-nāma*.

<sup>2</sup> In the Hai. and Elphinstone MSS. the text begins here ; in Kehr's MS. an invocation precedes.

<sup>3</sup> *Pādshāh*. To translate *pādshāh* by "king" or "emperor", as if part of the style of any Timūrid, previous to 913 A.H. (1507), is an anachronism, because till that date even a ruling Timūrid was styled Mirzā (fol. 215), and then first did Bābar change his title. The word *pādshāh* (it is hardly necessary to say) occurs frequently as a common noun in the writings of Bābar's circle. He himself says, e.g., that his father was an ambitious *pādshāh*, i.e. ruler (fol. 5b) ; it was proposed to make Jahāngir Mirzā *pādshāh* (ruler) in Farghāna (fol. 24b) ; Haidar Mirzā writes of Yūnas Khān as *pādshāh* in Mughūlistān, i.e. having chief authority (*Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*, Elias & Ross, p. 74). Gul-badan Begum writes of an amīr who was *pādshāh*, i.e. commandant, in Bhakkar (*Humāyūn-nāma*, trans., p. 148). I have seen an instance of its use for a chief boatman. In the *Tazkirātu'l-būghrā* the word *pādshāh* is part of the style of a Mughūl nomad, Sātūq-būghrā Khān *Ghāzī Pādshāh* and, it would seem, implies his supremacy amongst the Mughūl Khāns. Perhaps Bābar's assumption of it as a title in 913 A.H. asserted his then supremacy amongst living Timūrid Mirzās.

<sup>4</sup> Bābar was born on Saturday, February 15, 1483 (Muharram 6, 888 A.H.), and died December 26, 1530 (Jumāda i, 6, 937 A.H.). His father, 'Umar Shaikh whom he succeeded in Farghāna, died on June 4, 1494 (Ramzān 4, 899 A.H.), "the year of Charles VIII's expedition to Naples" (Erskine). Bābar was born nine months before Luther (b. November 10, 1483).

<sup>5</sup> See *Āin-i-akbarī*, Jarrett, pp. 44 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Shaharlār bār ikān dār*. The modern term suiting Central Asian towns is "Garden Cities". *Ālmāligh* (lit. "apple-like") was the old capital of Kulja ; *Ālmātū* (var. *Ālmāti*, named also from the apple) is the Russian Vierny ; the now ruined Ūtrār is on the Sir, somewhat below its intake of the Aris (var. Urus). "In the days of Timūr. Otrār was a place of great note ; he died there" (807 A.H., 1405 A.D.) "while preparing for his expedition to China" (Erskine).

<sup>7</sup> Of the clause here noted, there have been the following translations:—Haji, Elph., and Kehr's MSS., "*Muḡhūl u Ūzbeḡ jihat dīn*;" *Wāq'āt-i-bābarī* (i.e. Pers. trans.), I.O. MS. 217, "*az jihat 'ubūr Ūzbeḡ*;" Erskine (*Memoirs of Babar*, p. 1), "In consequence of the incursions of the Ūzbeḡs;" De Courteille (*Mémoires de Baber*, i, 1), "Grace aux ravages commis par les Mongols et Ūzbeḡs." The Persian '*ubūr*' may be thought to improve on Bābar, since the towns mentioned lay in the tide-way of nomad passage between east and west, but they are a departure from his words. The Persian text, here as elsewhere, has caused Mr. Erskine to diverge from Bābar. It may be said (though not in this instance) that some part of the deviation found in the French translation, deviation both from the true Turki text and from Erskine's, is the sequel of defect in Kehr's earlier and Persified pages. (Cf. JRAS., January, 1908, art. Bābar-nāma, for specimens of this Persification. For Erskine's comments on the peculiarities of the Persian text see his Preface, p. viii.)

<sup>8</sup> *kim* (*Samarqand u Khujend*) *būlghāi*. This frequent phrase of Bābar I do not find mentioned in the Turki grammars; it always, I think, expresses apposition: "that is to say" may be its meaning.

<sup>9</sup> Following the Persian trans. Abū'l-faḡl and Erskine omit Bābar's seasonal limitation here (*Akbar-nāma*, Bib. Ind. ed., i, 85, and trans. H. Beveridge, i, 221). For a description of the passes into Farghāna see Kostenko's *Turkistān Region*, trans. Simla, 1882, vol. i, sect. i, cap. 2 and 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Wilāyat nīng ichkārī bīla*; perhaps "through the trough of the country" (de Meynard, *ichkār*, creux).

<sup>11</sup> "A town in Māwarā'u'n-nahr, also called Shāsh, and in modern times Tāshkent" (Rieu, i, 79). Bābar does not identify Fanākat (var. Benākat, Fiākat) with Tāshkent; he does so with Shāhrukhīa. As he distinguishes between Tāshkent, i.e. Shāsh, and Fanākat, i.e. Shāhrukhīa while Rieu identifies the two, it may be that Rieu's statement applies not to "modern" but to old Tāshkent which stood some 14 miles nearer to the Sir than the newer town does. (Is its first syllable Ar. *fanā*, expressive of its bygone status?) Fanākat (Shāhrukhīa) is located by Bābar's and by Haidar's narratives near the Sir, perhaps near modern Chināz. For a discussion on the origin of the name Tāshkent see Von Schwarz's *Turkistān*, index s.n. Tāshkent; see too Kostenko, i, 320; Parker, *Asiatic Quarterly*, 1909, art. Samarqand, pp. 2, 74; JRAS., April, 1909, art. Bābar-nāma. Also Raverty's *Tabaqāt-i-nāṣirī*, index s.nn. Tāshkent, Fanākat, Shāhrukhīa.

<sup>12</sup> *Hech daryā gha qātilmās*. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 1b), *hech daryā'i dīgar ham-rāh na shuda*. E. and de C. have understood Bābar to say that below Turkistān the Sir is not tributary to any other river, but, although this is the fact, there is room for doubting if this is what he meant. He may preface his clear (but erroneous) statement that the whole Sir sinks (*sīnkār*) into the sand by one denying an alternative end of its course, i.e. fall into a *daryā*, a larger body of water, presumably the Sea of Aral. His preposition is *gha* (to), and E.'s "other" is the translation of the gloss *dīgar* of his Persian source.

Bābar, it is evident, did not know the whole course of the Sir. (See Schuyler, i, 550 ff., and Kostenko, i, 198, 218, amongst modern writers about it.)

<sup>13</sup> *Qaşbalār*. Bābar's geographical unit is the township, or, more exactly, the village, the inhabited and cultivated oasis. Of frontiers he says nothing.

<sup>14</sup> "i.e. passengers eat them gratuitously" (Leyden). Klaproth, "all ein es ist streng verboten sie zu verkaufen ehe sie reif geworden sind" (*Archiv für Asiatische Literatur*, pp. 101 ff.); cf. T.R. trans., p. 425. See Timkowskī's *Travels of the Russian Mission*, i, 419.

From this point there is a gap of two folios in the Elph. MS.

<sup>15</sup> One kind of melon is called the *nāshpātī*, but as Bābar has not mentioned the pear, *nāshpātī* here may mean this fruit. See *Āin-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, p. 6; Kostenko, i, 251; von Schwarz, p. 361.

<sup>16</sup> *Tāqaz tar nau sū kirār, bā 'ajab tār kīm bīr yīr dīn ham chīqmās*. Pers. trans., I.O. 217, fol. 2: *nūh jūy āb dar qīlā' dar nī āyīd u īn 'ajab ast kah hama az yak jā ham na mī bar āyīd*. Erskine (p. 2, using Mr. Metcalfe's MS., see Rien, p. 244), "The water-courses of the mills by which the water enters the city are nine, and it is singular that they all issue from the same place;" Erskine (p. 2 n., using his own MS., see Rien, l.c.), "Nine streams of water enter the fort, and it is singular that they do not all come out at the same place;" de Courteille (i, 2), "Neuf canaux entrent dans la ville, et il y a cela d'étonnant qu'ils ne sortent par aucune issue." Mr. Erskine had here only the Persian translation to guide him, there being still a gap in the Elph. MS. As he translated in India, the words *tar nau* took on their technical Indian meaning of channels or pipes serving mills. Bābar's meaning is, I think, that all the water brought into the town of Andijān by nine artificial channels was consumed there, leaving no surplus to come out at even one place.

<sup>17</sup> *Khandaq nīng tāsh yānī*. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 2), *dar kirār sang bast khandaq*. E. (p. 2), "On the edge of the stone-faced ditch;" de C. (i, 2), "sur le bord extérieur du fossé." There can be little doubt that the Persian trans. is wrong in its *sang bast*, both on the ground of the Turkī wording and because Bābar's point is the unusual circumstance of a road round a ditch; also because Andijān is built on loess and of loess.

<sup>18</sup> *Qirghāwal āshkina sī bīla*. *Āshkina* is allowed by dictionaries to be the rice and vegetables commonly served with the bird. Erskine (p. 2) writes "broth" and adds, in a note, "a sort of stew, or rather, jelly-broth." Hminsky prints *iskana*, whence de Courteille (i, 3), "quatre personnes ne peuvent venir à bout d'en manger une cuisse." Klaproth (p. 104), "so fette Adler dass vier Menschen von einem ausgewachsenen satt werden können." For a recipe likely to be *āshkina* see Kostenko, i, 287.

<sup>19</sup> b. 1440; d. 1500.

<sup>20</sup> *Heridā nashū u namā tābīb tār*. M. de Courteille applies these words to *Nawā'i's* writings: "quoique publiées à Herat, sont conçues dans cet idiom" (i, 3).

<sup>21</sup> See Daulat Shāh's *Memoirs of the Poets*, E. G. Browne, pp. 350, 351. Yūsuf was with Bāysanghar Mirzā; he may be one with Yūsuf *Badī* of Farghāna (fol. 181).

<sup>22</sup> *Gūzār il bizkāk kūh hūlūr*. The Pers. translator has read Turki *gūz*, autumn, to be Turki *goz*, eye, and adds (I.O. 217, fol. 2), *ashūb chashm u waram ān bisyār mī shūl u iḡbbā ānrā qirrat mī gūyand*. There is no Turki basis for the above gloss. For statistics of autumn fever in Turkistān and for a novel febrifuge, see von Schwarz, index s.n. Fieber, and also Kostenko, i and iii, Table of Contents.

<sup>23</sup> Pers. trans. *farsang*. Ujfalvy (*Expédition Scientifique*, ii, 179), "*L'igaldj ou le farsang vaut environ 6 kilomètres*." Cf. von Schwarz, p. 124. From de C.'s Dict. s.n. *yīghāch*, may be quoted what shows the variable length of this measure: "Trois fois la distance à laquelle un homme, placé entre deux autres, peut se faire entendre d'eux, soit un farsang, soit un mille." I cannot bring Bābur's statements of distance in *yīghāch* to agree with the *farsang* of about 4 miles. They work out more nearly to 8 miles per *yīghāch*. Here if the *yīghāch* equal the *farsang* of 4 miles, the distance from Ūsh to Andijān would be 16 miles, but Kostenko gives it (ii, 33) as 50 versts, i.e. 33 m. 1½ fur.

<sup>24</sup> *Āqār sū*, the irrigation channels on which in Turkistān all cultivation depends. Major-General Gérard writes (*Report of the Pamir Boundary Commission*, p. 6), "Osh is a charming little town, resembling Islamābād in Kashmir,—everywhere the same mass of running water, in small canals, bordered with willow, poplar and mulberry." He saw the Āq Būra, mother of all these running waters, as a "bright, stony, trout stream"; Dr. Stein saw it as a "broad tossing river" (*Buried Cities of Khotan*, p. 45). Cf. Réclus, vi, cap. Farghāna; Kostenko, i, 104; von Schwarz, index under related names.

<sup>25</sup> *Ūsh ning fazālatidā khaili aḡādiḡ wārid dūr*. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 2), *Fazilat Ūsh aḡādiḡ dar wārid ast*; E. (p. 3), "The excellencies of Ūsh are celebrated even in the sacred traditions;" de C. (i, 2), "On cite beaucoup de traditions qui célèbrent l'excellence de ce climat." Many and various legends have gathered round Ūsh; cf. e.g. Ujfalvy, ii, 172. It may be celebrated, as Mr. Erskine says, in the Sacred Traditions, because of places near it honoured of Musalmāns; it is open to question if Bābur's *fazilat* should be restricted, as M. de Courteille restricts it, to climate only. Ūsh has been distinguished for many centuries by its traditions, is a place of pilgrimage still and has revered objects of presumed curative power.

<sup>26</sup> A good deal has been written about the position of the Barā Koh (e.g. Ritter, v, 432, 732; Réclus, vi, 540; Schuyler, ii, 43; and the references of the first and second. Also, Timkowski, ii, 49). It seems safe to identify it with the Takht-i Sulaimān Ridge, as e.g. Ujfalvy and Schuyler's personal observations led them to do; but some considerations lead me to suggest that by Barā Koh Bābur does not mean the whole ridge, but one only of its four marked summits, i.e. the one shown in Madame Ujfalvy's sketch of it as the highest and as being symmetrical (Bābur's *mauzūn*). "Il y a quatre sommets dont le plus

élevé est le troisième comptant par le nord" (Ujfalvy, i, 96). Madame Ujfalvy's sketch would seem to be taken from the north, because its third summit is the highest (*De Paris à Samarcande*, p. 330). A permissible meaning of the words Barā Koh is Pointed Hill; this meaning suits her sketch and Bābar's *manzān*; it also helps out the identification of her third summit as the Barā Koh, since only this third is well-shaped and definite. There is this in favour of limiting the name Barā Koh; Bābar must have known that Takht-i Sulaimān was the name of the whole isolated rocky ridge. It would clear up a good deal of confusion about names and location, written of by Ritter, Réclus, Schuyler and others, if the name Barā Koh be taken as limited in the way I mention. (A suggestion made (i, 3 n.) by M. de Courteille that Barā Koh should be Bālā (high) Koh has no support in the MSS.)

<sup>27</sup> *Rūd*, a precise word, since the Āq Bāra, issuing as the Tūrūq from the Kordun Pass (13,400 feet), falls, after creating the Little Ālāi Valley, to Ūsh (3040 feet) through a canyon 1000 to 2000 feet deep; and thence again to Andijān (1380 feet). Kostenko, i, 104; Huntingdon, in Pumpelly's *Explorations in Turkistan*, p. 179; French Military Map of 1904.

<sup>28</sup> When Bābar uses a word twice, once with the Arabic plural *āt*, once with the Turkī *lār*, as here, or as elsewhere, *beḡāt u beḡlār*, he seems to mean "all, of every degree". Hence I translate *bāḡhāt* here by "garden-plots", not intending, however, to give it when it stands alone the meaning of *bāḡhcha*, small garden, but taking it as the complement of the closely following *bāḡhlār*, with the meaning of "gardens of all sorts". The point is small, but one does not follow Bābar's words without receiving the impression that it is safest to give each weight. He wastes none. Ujfalvy mentions that Ūsh "est situé sur le versant d'une montagne; presque toutes les rues sont en pente" (i, 96). Perhaps this explains why all the gardens were on the torrent and why Bābar mentions that they were so.

<sup>29</sup> Madame Ujfalvy has sketched its probable successor. Schuyler found two mosques at the foot of the Takht-i Sulaimān, perhaps Bābar's Jauza (Twin) Mosques. (Klaproth takes Jauza Masjid to mean "Nuss-tempel.")

<sup>30</sup> *Aūl shāh jāy dīn sā qūyārūr*. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 2b), *az in shāh* (var. *shah, sih*) *jāy āb miguzārānd*; Erskine (p. 3) tentatively, "carry across three streams;" de C. (i, 3), "verser de l'eau du torrent sur quiconque," etc.

<sup>31</sup> Ribbon jasper, presumably.

<sup>32</sup> Kostenko (ii, 30), 71½ versts, i.e. 47 m. 4½ fur., Postal Road.

<sup>33</sup> "A town between Khurāsān and 'Irāq, near Damghān" (Erskine).

<sup>34</sup> The Persian translator inserts *mayh-z-i būdām*, almonds, in the apricots, a fashion well known in *khubānī*, bought in India, but the Turkī words allow the return to the fruit of its own stoned kernel. Mr. Rickmers tells me that in the Zar-afshān Valley he has often met with apricots so stuffed. Steingass gives "*jauz-ūghand*, a peach stuffed with walnut-kernels". My husband has shown me that Nizāmī seems

to allude in the following passage from the *Haft Paikar*, to the practice of inserting almonds in fruits :—

“I gave thee fruits from the garden of my heart,  
Plump and sweet as honey in milk ;  
Their substance gave the lusciousness of figs,  
In their hearts were the kernels of almonds.”

<sup>35</sup> Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 2b), *ahū-i warāq*, “said to be the *arkali* described in many books of Natural History. See *Voyages de Pallas*, iv, 325” (Erskine). If, however, as is done by some travellers, the *arkali* (*arkhara*) be identified with *Oris poli*, it cannot be Bābar’s *āq kiyik* (white or light-coloured deer or sheep) found at the level of the Sir, *circa* 2000 feet (cf. fol. 5), unless, indeed, the habitat of *Oris poli* has changed. Parts of the Marghīnān and Khujend *wilāyat* are high enough for the present limit (10,000 feet) of *Oris poli*, running back as they do up the northern face of the Kok Sū and Khūtūr which, moreover, have their southern slope to the Pamirs, a haunt of the great sheep. Perhaps the *āq kiyik* found at Akhsi were *Oris Karelīni*; the *āq* of the name not needing to be taken as pure white, light and whitish being common meanings of the word. Cf. Curzon’s *Pamirs and the Source of the Oxus*, p. 26; Shaw’s *Voc.* s.n. *kiyik*; Atkinson’s *Amur*, index under related names.

<sup>36</sup> Pers. trans. Tājik. Bābar describes the Asfara people as Persian-speaking Sārts. Modern opinion distinguishes the Sārt as a settled resident, usually of mixed descent. This modern view would allow Bābar’s Marghīnānī Sārts to be Turkī-speaking, settled Turks, and his Asfara Sārts to be Persian-speaking Tājiks. Cf. Shaw’s *Voc.* s.n. Sārt; Schuyler, i, 104 and note; Nalivkine’s *Histoire du Khanat de Khokand*, p. 45 n.; von Schwarz, index s.n.

<sup>37</sup> Shaikh Burhān’ud-dīn ‘Alī *Qilich*, b. *circa* 1135, d. 1197 (b. 530 A.H., d. 593 A.H.). See Hamilton’s *Hidāyat*.

<sup>38</sup> Asfara town is in the foot-hills of the Turkistān Range; Asfara *wilāyat* runs back too far upon this for “foot-hills” to apply. Wārukūh (4470 feet) lies 34 miles back from Asfara town, Hushyār (Curzon, Ushiyār: French Map, Outchyār) about as far. “Hill-country” suits for both Sūkh and Hushyār.

<sup>39</sup> Measured on the French Military Map, the direct distance may work out at some 65 miles, but the road makes a *détour* round mountain spurs. To the word *farsang* of his source, Mr. Erskine here attaches an elaborate note concerning Indian measurements which, valuable as it is in itself, is made the less applicable here by the uncertain length of the *yighāch*.

<sup>40</sup> *Bāghcha*. Cf. n. 28.

<sup>41</sup> Hai. MS. *Fārsī gūy*, the word *Fārsī* being entered, apparently by the scribe of the MS., over the line, as if at first omitted. [The lacuna of the Elph. MS. still continues.] Kehr’s MS. has *kohi*, but its earlier pages are Persified; the Pers. trans. (I.O. 217) has also *kohi*, hence the “mountaincers” and “montagnards” of E. and de C. The *Fārsī* of the H. MS. would have been useful to Ritter (vii, 733-4) and to Ujfalvy (ii, 175).

<sup>42</sup> Of this stone neither Fedtchenko nor Uffaly could get news.

<sup>43</sup> Here Bābar distinguishes between Tāshkent and Shāhrukhia. Cf. fol. 2, n. 11.

<sup>44</sup> In 908 A.H. (first half of 1503). He left the hill-country above Sūkh in Muharram, 910 A.H. (mid-June, 1504).

<sup>45</sup> For an interesting account of Khujend see Kostenko, i, 346.

<sup>46</sup> Kostenko, ii, 29-31. Andijān to Marghinān, 47 m.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  fur.; Marghinān to Khokand, 56 m.  $2\frac{2}{3}$  fur.; Khokand to Khujend, 83 m.  $2\frac{2}{3}$  fur.; total, 187 m. 2 fur. from Khujend to Andijān. By help of the time-table of the Transcaspian Railway, the distance by rail from Khujend to Samarqand can be pieced out as 154 m.  $5\frac{1}{3}$  fur.

<sup>47</sup> Both are still honoured in Khujend. See Kostenko, i, 348. For Khwāja Kamāl's life and *diwān* see Rieu, ii, 632, and Ouseley's *Persian Poets*, p. 192.

<sup>48</sup> *Kūb ārtūq dār*. Perhaps this means that the fruit was the more taken to India where Bābar wrote. Pers. trans., *bisyr bihtar*; Erskine, "greatly excelled;" de Courteille, "beaucoup plus en vogue."

<sup>49</sup> Hai. MS. M( )nūgh( )l; Pers. trans. and Erskine, Myoghil; Hmin-ky, M( )tūgh( )l; de C., Mtoughuil; Réclus and Schuyler, Mogul Tau; Nalivkine, "d'après Fedtchenko," Mont Mogol; French Map of 1904, M. Muzbek; Kostenko, Mogol Tau. This is, says Kostenko (i, 101), the western end of the Kurāma Range (Kendir Tau) which comes out to the bed of the Sir. It is  $26\frac{2}{3}$  miles long and rises to 4000 feet. Von Schwarz says it is quite bare; various writers ascribe climatic evils to it.

<sup>50</sup> Pers. trans. *ahū-i safīl*, a variation of its rendering (fol. 3b) by *ahū-i warāq*.

<sup>51</sup> The *marāl* is frequently mentioned by Atkinson who takes it to be the red or fallow deer. Von Schwarz mentions it (index s.n.), and Kostenko (i, 57, and iii, 70) writes of the export of its fresh horns to China and of the value of its skin. Under the word *būghū* there stands in the Hai. MS. (fol. 4) *gazaran-kohī* and (fol. 5) *tika-kohī*. De Courteille (i, 7) takes *būghū marāl* to mean "cerf et biche", and this they could do if it were not open to give them the fuller meaning of two kinds of game. A precise parallel of the double meanings of these two words is found in von Schwarz's list of Turkistan game, where stand together *Hirsch Damhirsch*, stag and hind, or two varieties of deer.

<sup>52</sup> Here in the Pers. trans. recurs the misreading of "eye" for "autumn" noticed in n. 22.

<sup>53</sup> "The Village of the Almond." See Schuyler, ii, 3, and note.

<sup>54</sup> Schuyler (ii, 3), 18 miles.

<sup>55</sup> Hai. MS. *Hamesha bū desht tā yil būr dār. Marghinān ghā kīm shavāqī dār, hamesha māmlū yil būr; Khujend ghā kīm gharībi dār, dā'im māmlū yil kīlār*. Bābar seems to say that the wind goes always east and west from the steppe as from a central generating point. E. and de C. have given it alternative directions, but in saying that wind goes east or west in a valley hemmed in on north and south there is little point. Bābar's statement is limited by him to the steppe in the contracted mouth of the Farghāna Valley (*pace* Schuyler, ii, 51) where special climatic conditions rule. Of these, roughly put, are difference

of temperature on either side of the Khujend narrows, draughts resulting from this difference, the heating of the narrows by reflected sun-heat from the Mogol Tau and inrush of north-west wind through the pass near Mirzā Rabāt. Bābar calls the wind of Hā Darwesh a whirling wind and so modern travellers have found it. Thinkable at least it is that a strong westerly current (the prevailing wind of Farghāna) entering over Mirzā Rabāt and becoming, on the hemmed-in steppe, the whirlwind it does become—perhaps by conflict with the hotter indraught from the Khujend narrows—might force that indraught back into the narrows, in the way e.g. that one Nile forces back the other. Local observation only can guide the translator; the directness of Bābar's words compels belief in their significance and this most so when what he says is unexpected. The manuscript sources agree in having "to (*gha*) Marghinān" and "to (*gha*) Khujend". It is somewhat strange that Bābar should take for his eastern wind-objective a place so remote and sheltered as Marghinān. Makhraūn, where, moreover, there is a "cleft" to which evil climatic influence is attributed would suit his context better, but it finds no mention in the *Bābar-nāma*. Cf. Réclus, vi, 547; Schuyler, ii, 51; Cahun, *Histoire du Khanat de Khokand*, p. 28; Sven Hedin's *Durch Asiens Wüsten*, index s.n. *burān*.

<sup>56</sup> i.e. Akhsi Village. Kehr, Akhsikit; Ilimsky, Akhsikiş. Dr. Ethé mentions that in I.O. 1909, the *dīvān* of Aşiru'd-dīn, the place-name is written clearly Akhsikeş, the form to which Ilimsky has departed from Kehr. The ancient name of Akhsi was Akhsi-kīnt; the three dots which have been taken as those of *gā'i masallasa* might be those of the *nūn* and the *tā* in *kīnt*.

<sup>57</sup> See Rieu, ii, 563; Daulat Shāh, l.c., p. 131; Ethé, I.O. 1909.

<sup>58</sup> By measurement on the map the distance seems to be about 80 kilometres, i.e. 50 miles.

<sup>59</sup> Modern information about the oasis towns of Turkistān allows Bābar's description of Akhsi to be better understood than it has been either by earlier translators or by the numerous writers who have drawn inferences from their words.

I.—The Turki passage is as follows: II., Elph., Kehr's MSS. (Ilimsky, p. 6), *Saihūn daryā sī qūyghānī astīdīn āqār. Qūyghān baland jar austidā wāqī' būlūb tūr. Khandaqī nīny ārumīgha 'umīq jārūr dūr. 'Umar Shaikh M. kim mūnī pāy-takht gildī, bir ikī martaba tāshraq dūr yana jārūr sāldī.*

Of this the translations are as follows:—

(a) Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 3b), *Daryā-i Saihūn az pāyhā qila'-i o mī ruzūd u qila'-i o bar jar balandī wāqī' shuda ba jāy khandaq jārūr-i 'umīq ūftāda. 'U. S. M. kah ānrā pāy-takht sākhata, yak du martaba az bīrān ham bāz jārūr āndākhht.*

(b) Erskine (p. 5, translating from the Persian), "The river Saihūn flows under the walls of the castle. The castle is situated on a high precipice, and the steep ravines around serve instead of a moat. When 'U. S. M. made it his capital he, in one or two instances, scarped the ravines outside the fort."

(c) De Courteille (i, 6, translating from Ilminsky's imprint), p. 6, "Le Seiḥoum coule au pied de la forteresse qui se dresse sur le sommet d'un ravin, dont les profondeurs lui tiennent lieu de fossé. 'U. S. M. à l'époque où il en avait fait son capitale, avait augmenté à une ou deux reprises, les escarpements qui la ceignent naturellement."

2.—The key to Bābar's meaning is provided by the word *jar*, taken in the sense, common in Turkistān, of a ravine cut by water or by man, in the loess of oases, below the general level of the land. Writing of Tāshkent, Kostenko (i, 321) says of one subdivision (in which is *Jar Kūcha*, Ravine Lane) that it is on level ground and is divided by a deep ravine. Of another he says that it is cut by deep ravines (Bābar's *ʿumūq jarāʾir*). These statements, together with the information given by Kostenko and von Schwarz, about the plan of towns, the creation of oases and the characteristics of loess, allow Bābar to be understood as saying of Akhsi in the fifteenth century what Kostenko says of Tāshkent in the nineteenth, namely, that its *qārghān* stood above the ravines, natural or artificial, of the Kāsān Water and not on a precipice washed by the Saiḥūn.

3.—Wanting this modern light on the word *jar*, Bābar's meaning has not been clearly understood; of this there is sign in Erskine's location of Akhsi on a precipice with its walls washed by the river, and in his and de C.'s uncertainty as to the nature of the work done by 'Umar Shaikh. It is now clear that what the Mirzā did was not escarpment but the excavation of water-channels, whether for the completion of a pseudo-moat or to meet the needs of a population augmented by his residence.

4.—Wanting modern information, again, it has been thought that the walled town abutted on the river, and it has been inferred that Bābar's father, 'Umar Shaikh, met his death by falling into the Saiḥūn (cf. *tol. 6b*). Bābar's words, however, when taken with other available information, do not demand to be understood as locating the walls on the river's bank. If Akhsi, i.e. the *qārghān*, stood back (as it seems to have done) up the riverain slope, the Saiḥūn might be said to flow beneath it as the Thames flows below Richmond.

Circumstantial testimony is merely accessory to Bābar's plain statement that Akhsi stood above ravines; the Saiḥūn did not flow in a cleft near Akhsi; it could have been no part of the pseudo-moat. Circumstantial only, but weighty, since the permanent influence of the Kāsān Water fixes the site of Akhsi both in the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, is Yāqūt's statement that Akhsi had gardens through "a whole parasang" and entered from every gate. So too is Bābar's that the Akhsi suburbs stretched about 2 miles beyond the town (see *infra*, n. 61).

5.—It can be only in the passage under discussion that General Nalivkine found testimony by Bābar to what he sets forth in the following extract (*Histoire du Khanat de Khokend*, p. 53):—"L'emplacement que cette ville occupait alors était un lieu escarpé, assez élevé au-dessus du fleuve, par les eaux duquel il était constamment miné. Aussi la ville, au témoignage du sultān Bābar, recula-t-elle successivement vers le nord, ce qui obligea d'en reporter dans la même direction et à plusieurs reprises,

les murs et les fortifications. Il est très possible que cette destruction progressive du rivage par les eaux ait été l'une des causes qui firent abandonner l'antique capitale du Farghanah, réduite aujourd'hui à l'état de *kichlak* (*qishlāq*, winter quarters) insignifiant. Le site de celui-ci est à quelque distance de la berge, qui a cessé d'être affouillée par le fleuve, depuis qu'il s'est formé là un grand banc de sable."

An obvious objection to the theory that erosion has led to the retreat and dwindling of Akhsi, lies in the fact that the Kāsūn Water does not yet fall into the Saihūn. If in the fifteenth century the Saihūn was undermining the very walls of Akhsi, a town which in the twelfth century was, Yāqūt says, one parasang from the mouth of the Kāsūn Valley, how is it that land on which it stood remains?

Against this objection it might be urged that the water issuing from the valley may have become less and less in volume, whether by general desiccation or because of increased cultivation on the higher reaches of the stream. These points raise problems requiring scientific adjustment between (supposed) erosion, lessened rainfall and increase of cultivation.

6.—Mr. Pumpelly has posited the search for the site of old Akhsi as an archaeological task of the future. Approximately, that site is fixed by the Kāsūn stream and its oftakes. Perhaps the importance of Akhsi bulks too large in literature through the haze of imperfect information: the town was on and of loess; the valuables of past, as of present Turkistān, were movables; treasures of art or architecture are not to be looked for. Akhsi town in the fifteenth century was a small place; the measure of its gardens is the measure, not of its walled town, but of the oasis lands redeemed from the waste by the help of the Kāsūn Water. It became a "capital" by the caprice of one man; it ceased to be one because the boy Bābar's advisers stayed in Andijān.

7.—Cf. p. 114 for distances which would be useful in locating old Akhsi if Bābar's *yighāch* were not variable. Ritter, vii, 3, 733 ff.; Réclus, vi, index s.n. Farghāna; Ujfalvy, ii, 168 ff., and his references to Yāqūt; Nalivkine. pp. 14 ff. and 53; Schuyler, i, 324; Kostenko, Tables of Contents, for cognate general information, and i, 320, for Tashkent; von Schwarz, index under related names and especially p. 345 and plates; Pumpelly, pp. 18 and 115.

The maximum time during which Akhsi could have been his capital is twenty-eight years, i.e. from his appointment to the Farghāna Government, as a child, to his death (870 A.H. to 899 A.H.).

<sup>60</sup> *Maḥallātī qūrqhān dīn bīr shar'ī yarāq rāq tūshūbtūr*. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 3b), *maḥallāt o az qila' yak shar'ī dūrtar uftāda*. From these passages E. and de C. have understood that the suburbs of Akhsi were a *shar'ī* (circa 2 miles) from the walled town. The Turkī wording is against this, however, (1) in its comparative *dīn . . . yarāq rāq*, i.e. further than; (2) in its verb, *tūshūbtūr*, denoting extension; (3) in its use of *maḥallāt*, suburbs. It is far to go to Yāqūt for support of what Bābar says of Akhsi in the fifteenth century, but as in his century also the gardens depended on the Kāsūn Water, it is useful to know that Yāqūt describes all the gates of Akhsi as opening on gardens and waters which stretched a whole parasang (Ujfalvy, ii, 180.

who refers to Yāqūt, i, 162). For its *maḥallāt* not to adjoin a town would be not only a misnomer, but against the uniform plan of the oasis towns of Turkistān (cf. von Schwarz, pp. 133 ff.).

<sup>61</sup> I do not see the point of the Persian proverb Bābar quotes. As suits with his reading that the suburbs of Akhsi were 2 miles from their town, Erskine takes the questions as asked by a person coming out of town and looking for the suburbs. De Courteille (i, 8) translates by, "Ne me parlez plus de village ! Ne me parlez plus d'arbres !" If with Erskine, he had not understood the suburbs to be 2 miles from Akhsi, he might be thought to express the fatigue of one making for the walled town and wearying of the long suburban road. As he has not translated accurately, his varied wording suggests that he knew the proverb elsewhere. His rendering supports my location of the suburbs rather than his own.

(N.B. The lacuna in the Elph. MS. ends before the *rāq tāshkūtūr* of the passage under discussion.)

<sup>62</sup> *Andāq qawān ma'ūm imās kīm 'ālamā lā būlghāt*, a characteristic idiom.

<sup>63</sup> Pers. trans. *gawazn*. So too II. MS. beneath the word *būghū*. Cf. fol. 3b and note, fol. 4 and note.

<sup>64</sup> *Sā*, here and in some earlier instances seeming to be a common noun. It is used in Turkistān as we use "water" in "Allan Water" and "Water of Leith".

<sup>65</sup> *Sā'i*. Leyden (B.M. MS. trans.) and Erskine have read this as Pers. *sāya*, and have translated by "entirely in the shade" and "are sheltered along the banks of the stream". I.O. 217, fol. 4, l. 4, has *sā'i*.

<sup>66</sup> This Persian phrase has been found difficult of interpretation. It has been taken as follows :—

(a) Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 4), *postīn pesh b( )rah*.

(b) Pers. MS. quoted by E. (p. 6 n.), *postīn-i mīsh burra*.

(c) Leyden's MS. translation, "a sheepskin mantle for five lambs."

(d) Erskine (p. 6), "a mantle of five lambskins."

(e) Klaproth (p. 109), "*postīni pīsch brch*, d.h. gieβden vorderen Pelz."

(f) Kehr (p. 12), *postīn bīsh b( )rah*.

(g) De Courteille (i, 9), "fourrure d'agneau de la première qualité."

(h) Pers. annotator of Elph. MS. under the *pesh* or *bīsh*, *panj*.

(i) Hminsky (p. 6), *postīn bīsh b( )rah*.

Erskine's five lambskins carry on the notion of comfort started by his previous *sāyah*. De Courteille also lays stress on fur and warmth, but flowery gardens bordering a torrent seem less likely to prompt a phrase emphasizing warmth and textile softness than one bespeaking ornament and beauty. If the phrase might be read as *postīn pesh-porā*, what adorns the front of the coat, or as *postīn-pesh-i burāh*, the fine front of the coat, the gardens would be allowed to recall the gay, embroidered border of a leathern *postīn*. Cf. von Schwarz's plate, p. 9.

<sup>67</sup> Shaikh Sulaimān (Konos) explains this as the tamarisk ; if this it be, it seems likely to be the *Tamarix gallica* (Brandis, *Indian Trees*, p. 45, and Balfour's *Cyclopaedia*). Shaw (*Vocabulary*), "a mountain bush ;" Redhouse, (a) a tree of the buckthorn tribe, (b) the red willow, *Salix purpurea* or *Salix rubra*, (c) sappan-wood, the wood of the

*Corsalpinia sappan*. A rod-like plant such as the red willow would suit the several uses of it mentioned by Bābar. "*Tabalghū* has the same meaning as *tabarkhūn* or *fabarkhūn*. See Vullers, i, 420b, and Meninski, i, 1030, and ii, 3084, s.n., who quotes the *Lughat Ḥalīmī* and the *Lughat Ni'matū'l-Jāh*. See, too, Rieu, *Turki Cat.*, pp. 137, 142. It is the Hyrcanian willow" (H. Beveridge).

<sup>68</sup> Erskine (p. 6), "They also cut it into forked tops of arrows;" de Courteille (i, 9), "On la taille aussi en flèches." Steingass, s.n. *giz*, "a sort of arrow or dart without wing or point, the two ends being small, the middle thick," a description allowing the scraping (*tarāsh*) of the *Turki* text. Bābar distinguishes the *tir-giz* from the *ang*.

<sup>69</sup> *Tabarruklūq bila yarāq yirlār kā illār*. Erskine (p. 6), "It is carried to a great distance as a rarity much in request;" de Courteille (i, 19), "On le transporte au loin, où il trouve un débit avantageux." The text allows the statement that the trees (*yighāch*) are carried afar, and this would allow the word *yighāch* to be translated all through the passage by "tree" instead of both by "tree" and "wood". But if the *tabalghū* were rod-like, a statement about its wood would slip easily into the plural form. The *Burhān-i qāfi'* includes the *tabarkhūn*, the uses of which suit the *tabalghū*.

<sup>70</sup> *Yabrūju's-gannam*, "the mallow consecrated to idols" (Leyden). "The plant called mandragora or mandrake. See the *Ufi'iz Udu'iyeh* or *Materia Medica* of Noureddin Muh. Abdalla Shirazy, published with a translation by Gladwin, Calcutta, 1793. The name *atikoti* is derived from the *Turki* "(qy. Arabic)" word *ayk*, vivacity, and (*Turki*) *ot*, grass. *Mahoryāh* seems to be merely the Persian translation of the name, from *m-her*, affection, and *gūh*, grass. It is, however, called *atikoti* or dog-grass, a name which comes from the way in which it is said to be gathered. They have a fancy that any person who plucks up this grass dies; on which account they are said to dig round its roots, and when these are sufficiently loosened, tie it to the neck of a dog, who, by his endeavours to get away, pulls it out of the earth. See D'Herbelot, art. *Abrousanam* and *Astefrenk*. The same story is still told."

The *mih-r-giyāh* (*Mandragora officinarum*, love-apple) is mentioned in the *Hadīqatū'l-aqālim* of Murtazā Ḥusain *Bilgrāmī* (Pers. lit. ed., p. 426). Cf. *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January and April, 1900, art. Garden of Climes, II. Beveridge. Worldwide superstitions have prevailed and still prevail about the mandrake; some are preserved in English villages. Cf. Genesis xxx, 14, and Song of Solomon vii, 13. De Courteille translates *iq-ātī* by "Herbe aux ours" and *mih-r-giyāh* by "Herbe d'amour" (i, 9).

<sup>71</sup> Seven Villages. Mr. Ney Elias has discussed the location of this place (T.R., p. 180 n.). He mentions that it is placed in Arrowsmith's map of 1878 as a district of Kurāma, in the elbow of the Sir. The *Bābar-nāma* narrative where *Yiti Kint* is mentioned allows of Arrowsmith's location. Other names of similar form suggest, like this one, that the numeral in them denotes so many villages served by the same water. Biskent which is in the neighbourhood assigned to *Yiti Kint*, may mean Five Villages.