«TASDIQLAYMAN»

Filologiya fakulteti
dekani: _____ dots. R.Karimov

«___» _____ 2012 yil

Muhr

Namangan Davlat Universiteti

Filologiya fakulteti

Ingliz tili va leksika-stilistika kafedrasi

Bitiruv malakaviy ishini tayyorlab topshirish rejasi

Talabaning ismi, sharifi
va otasining ismi: Jamalova Dilafruz

Guruxi: 403 o'quv yili: 2011-2012

Mavzu: «Babur and baburids in the works of world writers»

Ilmiy rahbar: M.Qoraboyev, katta o'qituvchi

Ilmiy maslahatchi: R.Karimov, f.f.n., dotsent

Taqrizchilar:

1. Ichki taqriz: Q.Sidiqov, f.f.n., katta o'qituvchi

2. Tashqi taqriz: M.Bobohanov, Nemis va frasuz tillari kafedrasi katta o'qituvchisi

Namangan davlat universiteti rektorining buyrug'i:
_____

_____

Namangan-2012

Annotation

This state qualification work is dedicated to the study of the problems of teaching language material (vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation) in dynamic and static stage in foreign language teaching.

Theme: Babur and baburids in the works of world writers

Plan

INTRODUCTION

The actuality of the theme: The 2012 year has been declared as the Year of Strong family.[1] This was announced by Islam Karimov at a ceremony dedicated to the 19th anniversary of the Constitution. In order to implement a wide range of targeted measures on the further strengthening and development of the institution of the family as basis of the society, to raise to a qualitatively new level of the whole of the work to strengthen the legal and socio-economic protection of the interests and support of the family, especially young families, increase of the role of the family in the upbringing physically healthy and spiritually Mature and harmoniously

[1] I.Karimov's speech on the 19 anniversary of the Constitution of Uzbekistan. Xalq suzi. December 8.

developed generation, strengthening of the status and the strengthening of the role of community in the practical implementation of target tasks on formation of a strong, healthy families, and also in connection with the proclamation of the Republic of Uzbekistan 2012, "Year of the strong family". In Uzbekistan, from the first years of independence, a lot attention has been paid to the institute of family. The goal of the reforms, carried out sequentially in the country, is to protect human interests and to provide peace and prosperity in each family. Healthy atmosphere, prevailing here, makes a solid foundation for upbringing well-rounded people, who can take good position in society. Quiet and prosperous life of each member of a family is the factor for sustainable development and prosperity of the state as a whole.

Historical memory, the restoration of an objective and truthful history of the nation and its territory is given an extremely important place in the revival and growth of national self-consciousness and national pride. History can be a genuine tutor of the nation. The deeds and feats of great ancestors enliven historical memory, shape a new civil consciousness, and become a source of moral education and imitation. The history or Central Asia reveals many outstanding personalities who had political wisdom, moral valour, and a religious perception of the world. Our great ancestors — Imam Bukhari, At-Termizi, Naqshband, Ahmad Yassavi, Al-Khorezmi, Beruni, Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Amu Timur (Tamerlane), Ulughbek, Babur (the first Mogul Emperor of India) and many others — have greatly contributed to the development of our national culture. They became the national pride of our people But these men and then outstanding contribution to the development of world civilization are also known today in the whole world. Historical experience and traditions should become the values on which new generations are brought up. Our culture has become a centre of attraction for the whole of mankind: Samarkand, Bukhara and Khiva are places of pilgrimage not only for scientists and connoisseurs of art, but for all people who are interested in history and cultural values.

In order to is to acquaint international community with the achievements and results of the reform in the sphere of continuous education development in Uzbekistan, the role of the government in training highly educated, intellectually advanced generation, under the patronage of President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov the International Conference "Upbringing of Educated and Intellectually Advanced Generation – the Most Important Condition of Sustainable Development and Modernization of the Country" was held on 16-17 February, 2012. About 1000 people, 300 of them are representatives of foreign and prestigious international organizations, leaders of educational and research institutes, scholars, scientists and specialists in the sphere of education, science and culture participated in the Forum. There were six sessions of the sections in the course of which questions outlined in the agenda were discussed and perspectives of concrete types of education development and trends of activity of continuous education were determined, namely:

1. School Education is the Basis for Upbringing of Intellectually Advanced Generation.

2. Vocational Education and Establishment of Modern Labour Market.

3. Priorities of Development of Higher Education and its Role in Modernization of the Country.

4. Modern Information-Communicative Technologies in the Educational Process.

5. Education and Science – Continuous Relations.

6. Education and Development of Culture.

The Conference enabled to exchange mutual experience, analyse the results of the implementation of the Laws of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Education" and "National Program of Personnel Training", on the basis of it to define evidence-based tendencies and highlight number of issues requiring their solution in the nearest perspectives in the system of continuous education of Uzbekistan and to work out agreed recommendations on the problems of

improving of organization and content of education and upgrading of personnel training quality as well as developing international cooperation. The participants of the Conference outlined the peculiarities of developing education in the world and in Uzbekistan at the current stage, and underlined its important role in providing sustainable development and modernization of economy and social sphere, highlighted important functions of education in cultural and spiritual renovation of the society, and formation of new public conscious. At present education is considered as a main factor and unprecedented condition of socio-economic progress, the most important value and basic capital of modern society, priority and a powerful force in progress is an individual who is able for searching, thinking independently and creatively in mastering of new knowledge, socio-professional activity and creation.[2]

In this Qualification Paper we've set forth to study the translation methods, their types and ways of the translation, to consider the function of literature in everyday life of the humanity.

The objects of this Qualification paper are the works written by Babur and baburids, and books devoted to this tremendous dynasty. It can be considered as one that gives the detailed review of the ways literature and terms can be translated into the languages. It also helps to improve one's understanding of the principal rules of translation which plays leading role while processing translation.

The aim of this work is to introduce the students with the books written by Baburids and the works about them written by foreign historians and writers. Translation approaches to literature so that to make it easy to perceive for those willing to keep up their educational and scientific carrier in the science of translation, it was purposed to broaden their view on translation studies and peculiar features while translating literature.

In this work we set the following tasks:

- to review all the sources of classic literature
- to reveal the methods of translation of classic literature
- to investigate grammatical, lexical, stylistic and phraseological difficulties of translation of classical literature

We should mention that this research work represents a great theoretical value for those willing to take up their future carrier in the field of translations as invaluable reference to the methods and the ways of translation of classic and historical literature.

And the practical value of this work involves the idea that translation represents a field aimed at training future translators/interpreters to translate verbal and written materials on the subjects basing on the study of literature and history.

The source information for this research work has been carefully studied and investigated before it was applied to the given work.

The originality of this work is in its creative approach to the study and methods of translation, besides, it contains a detailed review of ways and methods of translation.

The given Qualification paper contains of introduction, three chapters, conclusion and bibliography list.

The first chapter gives a detailed review of the study of the theory of translation and also reveals the role of classical literature and terms which are believed to be interesting to future translator/interpreters. It also discussed the methods of translation of classical literature with

[2] Speech of I.Karimov at The International Conference "Upbringing of Educated and Intellectually Advanced Generation as the Most Important Condition of Sustainable Development and Modernization of the Country", held on 16-17 February, 2012 in Tashkent. "O'zbekistan ovozi", 18.02.2012.

purpose to make it easier for translator to achieve adequate translation in the target language. There is also the information about Babur and his generation.

The second chapter deals with the detailed study of history writing and translation of "Baburnama" into different languages of world. It also gives some hints on translation of the work.

The third chapter gives a detailed review of the study of baburids and about created works by the authors of the world.

We have also attached some samples of translation of classical set expressions so that to enable the future translator to benefit from the given paper in their further researches in the fields of translation.

In conclusion we have summed up the results of our laborious investigation translation of classic literature.

At the end of the research paper we have attached the bibliography list to enable the future translator to use information sources used in this Paper.

Chapter I. Babur and his generation

1.1. Babur is the founder of the great dynasty

Zahir ud-Din Mohammad Babur (1483–1530) was the founder of the Baburid (Baburid) dynasty in India, which ruled the north and central Indian subcontinent from 1526 until its colonisation by the British, after which the Baburid Emperors ruled in name alone. Descended on his father's side from the Turkish conqueror Timur, Babur also claimed Kenghis Khan as a maternal ancestor. Growing up in Andijan, the young prince Zahir ud-Din was nicknamed Babur (meaning Tiger) from his youth. Z.M.Babur was born on 14 February 1483 in Andijan, in the family of the ruler of Ferghana Ulus whose name was Umar Sheikh Mirzo. At that time in Central Asia and Khurasan a fierce internecine wars between brothers, relatives,-descendants of the Great Tamerlane, -were fought. Zahir ud-Din being from his childhood in love with literature, art, nature's beauties, like all the princes -timurids was getting familiarized with the rudiments of that knowledge under the leading of eminent teachers in his father's palace. But his untroubled childhood didn't last long; in 1494, after his father's death, Babur aged 12, when sat himself on the throne of the ruler of Fergana Ulus, was forced to struggle for the Andijan's throne against his brother Jahongir Mirzo, uncles Sultan Ahmad Mirzo and Sultan Makhmud-khan and other feudal groups. To reconcile with the brother Jahongir Mirzo, Babur divided Ferghana Ulus and give away him sharp the half. Then Babur entered a struggle against with the

feudal groups for Samarkand. The vanquisher, Shebani-khan, who possessed an enormous military strength compelled Babur to leave Samarkand. After the conquest by Sheibani-khan of Andijan in 1504, Babur set off south and set his rule in Kabul Ulus. In 1505-1515 Babur several times tried to get back to Central Asia. But these attempts proved to be futile. Later, on purpose to strengthening his power, for the space of the period of 1519-1525 Babur led struggle against India. In 1526-27 he conquered it. The power of "Baburid dynasty" known in Europe "Great Moguls" lasted in India more than 300 years. After that victory Babur didn't live long - died in the town Agra in December 1530, later, according to his testament his remains were carried by his descendants to Kabul and buried there. Babur for that short time he had been ruling the state promoted a stabilization of the political situation in India, unification of Indian land, improvement of towns, organization of trade relations, planting with trees, shrubs and gardens. Building of libraries, caravanserais was widely practiced especially in the years of his sons" and descendants" governing. The Central Asian style appeared in the arts and architecture of India. Javaharlal Neru wrote that after Babur's arrival to India big changes, had taken place there, the new reforms improved life, enriched, arts and architecture. Side by side with the enormous State affairs Babur performed literary-art activity in India and created his most exclusive work that became popular all over the world, "Baburname". "Baburname" is the book including not only historical facts but a unique information on economic, political and social aspects, nature and geography-the information that is of tremendous world importance in the capacity of a unique historical and literary heritage.

As we have said, Babur was a member of the Timurid family, a Turko-Mongol aristocracy which ruled many of the region’s states as direct descendants of the great Timur, often known in the West as Tamerlane. These closely related rulers were perpetually plotting against each other in a tangle of shifting family alliances. Seven years later Babur was driven out of Samarkand, but he had more far-reaching ambitions. Though a hardened warrior, Babur was far from a barbarous, ignorant soldier. He was a cultured and pious man who wrote fine poetry and schooled himself in the culture, natural history and geography of Central Asia and India. His inquiring and observant mind and literary skill add a higher dimension to the battles and body counts of his memoirs. For some of this period Babur was a wanderer with only a few personal followers, seeking shelter with any powerful relative lucky enough to possess a kingdom for the moment. Finally he was settled as the ruler of Kabul in Afghanistan. Successive defeats of his Timurid relations left him as the head of the family. Many hopeful exiled princes then joined him in Kabul, but the possibility of regaining power in Central Asia was slight. Babur now spent some years consolidating his power in Kabul (the period approximately 1514 to 1525). Furthermore, unlike many of his successors, he was never much interested in the pleasures of the harem. He also kept up with the advancing technology of warfare. His first exercise of military and political power came with his claiming the throne of Samarkand, and taking control of the region around the fertile Fergana Valley. From his new powerbase at Kabul in modern-day Afghanistan, he set out to conquer the Sultanate of Delhi. In 1526 he defeated Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat and founded the Baburid (Baburid) dynasty. Babur first established his capital at Agra, which became the cultural and intellectual focus of one of the greatest empires of the late-medieval world. When he came to battle with the Sultan of Delhi, also in 1526, it would be with a well-trained and well-armed force.

Babur was already familiar with leading raids into the Punjab (modern day Pakistan) from his mountain base. This time he went further, crossing the Indus to march towards Delhi. The ruler, Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi, led out his army and set up a defensive position to bar the way. When Babur reached Panipat, he too dug in with his much smaller force. Now whichever side provoked the other to attack would have the advantage of prepared defenses. But Babur was more in need of immediate battle, because of the difficulty of supplying and maintaining his army so far from its home. Eventually a failed attempt at a night-time cavalry raid on the Sultan’s camp had the desired effect, possibly convincing Ibrahim Lodhi that the invaders lacked the stomach for a serious fight. The Sultan attacked the Moghul position, where Babur had engineered a corridor

formed on one side by a barrier of felled trees and massive earthworks, and on the other by the city walls of Panipat. The Sultan's army was channeled straight into the firing line of Babur's artillery and of groups of musketeers using overturned gun-carts for protection. He had also cleverly recreated in the open plains conditions similar to those in the narrow mountain passes where he and his troops were used to fighting. Finally Babur's cavalry swept in among the confused attackers to complete the slaughter. After Panipat, and with further victories over other claimants and local powers such as the Rajputs, Babur gained control of northern India. He was to live only another four years. He did not establish any efficient or enduring administration to tax the populace but gave his supporters land as their personal domains. He continued to behave somewhat as a plundering conqueror rather than a settled ruler, conditioned perhaps by the wandering life he had been forced to lead. He once boasted that he had never celebrated the feast of Ramadan in the same place for two successive years.

On the eve of his departure he was prostrated by a severe illness, and when at length he reached Ferghana it was to hear that his capital had surrendered to his enemies. He was, in fact, a king without a kingdom. To save Andijan, he wrote, "I had given up Samarkand: and now I found that I had lost the one without preserving the other."[3] He persevered, however, recovered Ferghana, though a Ferghana somewhat shorn of its proportions, and once more made a dash at Samarkand. After many adventures and strivings with fortune, he resolved with the aid of the very few adherents who remained to him, to return and attempt the surprise of Samarkand. It was a very daring venture, for his entire following numbered but two hundred and forty men. He made the attempt, was foiled; renewed it, and succeeded. He was but just in time. For the last of the garrison had but just yielded, when the chief of the Uzbeks was seen riding hard for the place, at the head of the vanguard of his army. He had to retire, baffled. But Babur could not keep his conquest. The following spring the Shaybanids returned in force. To foil them Babur took up a very strong position outside the city, on the Bukhara road, his right flank covered by the river Kohik. Had he been content to await his enemy in this position, he would probably have compelled him to retire, for it was too strong to be forced. But he was induced by the astrologers, against his own judgment, to advance beyond it to attack the Shaybanid army. In the battle which followed, and which he almost won, he was eventually beaten, and retreated within the walls of the city. Here he maintained himself for five months, but had then to succumb to famine. He was allowed to quit the city with his following, and made his way, first to Uratipe, ultimately to Dehkat, a village assigned to him by the reigning Khan of the former place. For three years that followed he lived the life of an adventurer: now an exile in the desert; now marching and gaining a throne; always joyous; always buoyed up by hope of ultimate success; always acting with energy and vigour.

This incident took place when Babur was on his way to India. At one point, just before reaching Kabul, he and his troops encountered a severe storm. It was raining heavily and then it began to snow. There was no place for the army to take shelter. Then, to their wide surprise, they discovered a tiny cave, so they begged Babur to enter into the cave while all of them remained outside. They were ready to be drenched to the skin. But Babur said, "How can I do that? You are my intimate friends and companions. This protection is not enough for all of us. Since it is not adequate for all, I do not need it. I cannot sleep in comfort while you remain in misery. Whatever hardship has to be faced, I will face it with you. I am more than happy to pass the night outside with you."[4] So Babur did not enter into the tiny cave. The storm lasted for a long time and then they were able to proceed to their destination. This was Babur's loving oneness with his friends and admirers. Babur himself wrote about this incident in his famous memoirs, which are called Babur-nama. Babur was a good poet, a great hunter and a man of wisdom. He was extremely kind, extremely generous and extremely powerful. It is said that he swam every river on his way to India and crossed the Ganges in just thirty- three strokes. After defeating

[3] "Baburnama" translated by A.Beveridge, London, 1958
[4] "Baburnama" translated by A.Beveridge, London, 1958

Ibrahim Lodi, Babur seized Delhi and sent Humayun with an advance army to march on Agra. In the mosque at Delhi, Babur proclaimed himself ‘Padishah' of Hindustan. The people were very pleased with their new ruler, for the former ruler had not been at all nice. At Agra, Humayun was greeted by the wives of the Raja of Gwalior, who had been killed in the Battle of Panipat. They brought their jewels to propitiate Humayun. Among them was India's most precious diamond, the rose-tinted Kohinoor. The value of the Kohinoor was such that it could provide two and a half days' food for the whole world. When Babur arrived in Agra, Humayun showed the diamond to his father and said, "Father, this is for you." But Babur replied, "No, my son, you deserve it. You have been given it and you should keep it. I am very proud of you. You have fought so bravely. You are a great warrior. That is why you have been given this diamond. Now you keep it. I will be so happy if you do."

There was nothing that the great Emperor Babur would hesitate to do for his subjects. He used to regard his subjects as his own children. From time to time, Babur used to go out of the palace grounds and walk along the streets and through the markets to mix with his subjects and see for himself the conditions in which they were living. Often, if he saw someone who was poverty-stricken, he would help that person with a little money or food. People did not recognise their Emperor during these wanderings because he would dress very simply. Also, he wore a kind of turban over his crown to disguise it. Now it happened that there was a young man who cherished tremendous jealousy towards Babur because everybody appreciated, admired and adored the Emperor. Babur's subjects always extolled him to the skies for his bravery, kindness, nobility and other divine qualities. For this reason, the young man had been harbouring a desire to kill Babur. He had heard that from time to time the Emperor walked in the city all alone. So this young man always carried a sword, hoping that someday he would meet the Emperor when he did not have his bodyguards with him and then have the opportunity to kill the Emperor. Usually, when Babur went out, his guards would secretly follow him to protect him. Although Babur did not want anyone to go with him, his guards were afraid for his safety. Babur was the ruler of the whole empire, but in this respect his own bodyguards would not listen to him. One particular afternoon, Babur managed to walk out of the palace gates alone, without his guards. As usual, he went himself. As he was walking along observing the daily activities of his subjects, he saw a mad elephant coming down the street. The elephant was trampling everything in sight. Pandemonium broke out. People were shouting and trying to escape from the elephant's path and everybody was panicking. But there was one little, helpless child who could not run fast enough to get out of the elephant's way. Everybody was frightened to death, but nobody dared to try to save the child. Just as the elephant was about to trample the little child, the Emperor ran over at top speed and snatched the child out of the way. Babur saved the child, but as he was running away with the child in his arms, his turban fell to the ground. When the mad elephant had passed by, some men ran to pick up the turban of the brave hero. Immediately they saw the Emperor's crown inside the turban. The young man who had wanted to kill Babur was one of those who witnessed the whole scene. Although he himself had known that the child's life was in grave danger, he had not been brave enough to try to save him. He had run away, just like everybody else. When he realised what had happened, he fell at Babur's feet and said, "O Emperor, forgive me." Babur asked him, "What have you done?" The man replied, "I have been cherishing the desire to kill you for many years because I was terribly jealous of the admiration you receive. Now I see that you truly deserve it. As Emperor, you are far more precious to the kingdom than any of us, but you were ready to give up your own life to save an ordinary human being. What I have learned from you is that it is infinitely better to give life than to take life. This is what you have taught me. Now, instead of taking your life, I am giving you mine. Please take my life." Then he offered Babur the selfsame sword with which he had planned to kill him. Babur took the sword and said, "I taught you how to give life. Now I am going to take your life, but not in the way that you think. Come with me. From now on, you will be one of my bodyguards. I can see that your sincerity is truly remarkable and I am sure that you will be a faithful guard." So Babur took the man's life, only to make it into a useful and fruitful one. Instead of killing him, instead of punishing him, Babur made the man one of his personal bodyguards.

When Humayun was still a young man, he fell seriously ill. Day by day his condition grew worse, until death seemed imminent. The most eminent doctors were called in, but no one was able to cure him. They all said his days were numbered. Many people prayed for Humayun's recovery, but to no avail. Then a saint came to Babur and said, "If you make a great sacrifice, if you sacrifice something most precious to you, only then will your son be cured." The Emperor Babur asked, "What kind of thing should I sacrifice?" The saint replied, "Give away the Kohinoor diamond. It is most precious." But Babur said, "The Kohinoor is my son's possession. What kind of sacrifice would that be? I have to sacrifice something of my own. I have so much wealth and such a vast kingdom. But the most precious Kohinoor diamond is not mine. Therefore, I cannot sacrifice it. And even if I did own the Kohinoor, it would not be a real sacrifice to give it away. Even if I were to give away all my wealth and power—my entire kingdom—I do not think this is the most precious sacrifice that I could make. My life alone is most precious. There is nothing dearer to me than my own life. Humayun is my eldest and dearest son. I am ready to give my life for my son."[5] After saying this, the Emperor folded his hands and circled his dying son's bed three times, praying. He said, "Allah, everybody is telling me to offer You the most precious thing so that You will kindly save my son's life. I feel that my life is the most precious thing I have to offer. Please take my life instead of my son's. Let me die in his place, and let him live on earth. This is my only prayer and my most willing sacrifice."[6] To Babur's wide surprise, after he had completed three rounds, his son stood up completely well. But immediately Babur fell deathly ill. Humayun wept with gratitude and love for his father. He said to Allah, "My father is going to die, but I shall eternally treasure my father's fondness for me and my father's implicit faith in Your Compassion." And in three months' time Babur died. This is the kind of love that an earthly father can have for his beloved son.

1.2. Baburid kings and princes

The foundation of the Baburids Empire begins since the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The Baburids lived and reigned in India from 1526 to 1858. Their dynasty was the greatest, richest and longest-lasting Muslim dynasty to rule India. In 1526, Babur, who had lost his kingdom in central Asia to other Turks, invaded India from Afghanistan, ushering in a period in which Islam became a potent force in South Asia. The booty from his raids in India supported unsuccessful campaigns to recover his initial kingdom. Babur's troops defeated the last of the Lodi rulers of Delhi at the battle of Panipat. Within two years of his entry into India, Babur controlled much of the Indus and Ganges River valleys. He established a capital at Delhi, but did little to reform the previous Lodi administration. This dynasty produced the finest and most elegant arts and architecture in the history of Muslim dynasties. The favorite cities of Baburids,

[5] "Humayunnama" translated by A.Beveridge, New Deli, 2001
[6] "Humayunnama" translated by A.Beveridge, New Deli, 2001

writes art historian Barbara Brend included Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Lahore. Baburs Empire extends eastward from Kabul and Badakhshan through the Punjab to the borders of Bengal.

He was succeeded in 1530 by his son Humayan. When Babur died, his son Humayun (1530–1556) inherited a difficult task. He was pressed from all sides by a reassertion of Afghan claims to the Delhi throne and by disputes over his own succession. Driven into Sindh by the armies of Sher Shah Suri, in 1540 he fled to the Rajput Kingdom of Umarkot then to Persia, where he spent nearly ten years as an embarrassed guest of the Safavid court of Shah Tahmasp. During Sher Shah's reign, an imperial unification and administrative framework were established; this would be further developed by Akbar later in the century. In addition, the tomb of Sher Shah Suri is an architectural masterpiece that was to have a profound impact on the evolution of Indo-Islamic funerary architecture. In 1545, Humayun gained a foothold in Kabul with Safavid assistance and reasserted his claims, a task facilitated by the weakening of Afghan power in the area after the death of Sher Shah Suri in May 1545. He took control of Delhi in 1555, but died within six months of his return, from a fall down the steps of his library. His tomb at Delhi represents an outstanding landmark in the development and refinement of the Baburid style. It was designed in 1564, eight years after his death, as a mark of devotion by his widow, Hamida Banu Begum.

Within a decade rival forces drove Humayan into exile with the Safavids. Only in 1556 was Humayan able to restore his rule in India. The Middle Ages of Indian history is divided in ancient India and modern India. The seeds of the new life which bloomed so vigorously in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were planted during the seemingly barren years of the sultanate; nevertheless the Baburid Empire has a different atmosphere from the preceding era. It can be argued that the beginning of modern Indian history is to be dated not from the establishment of British hegemony in the early nineteenth century, but from the coming of the Baburids in 1526. His death is as poetic as his life, for he immolates his own life to save the life of his beloved son, Humayun. Khandamir's famous historical works Tarikh-Habib-al Siyar and Qanun-Humayun were written during the reign of Babur's son, Humayun. A mystic, he dies as he has lived, cultivating love and discipline, which sparkle to this day in his last injunction to his son Humayun - *'Do naught against thy brothers, even though they may deserve it.'*[7] After Babur's death in 1530, his eldest son Humayun was chosen as his successor. Humayun ascended the throne at Agra on December 30, 1530, at the age of 23, four days after his father's death. Humayun "The Fortunate" was the eldest son of Babur. He had three younger brothers, Kamran, Askari and Hindal. Born on March 6, 1508, at Kabul, he learnt Turkish, Arabic and Persian at a very young age. He assisted his father in the governance of the country. In 1520, he was appointed the Governor of Badakshan at the age of 12 years. When Babur invaded India in 1526, Humayun joined him with a contingent from Badakshan. Humayun won a maiden victory in this campaign. He also led contingents under his father's rule against various Afghan insurgents, as well as participating in the battle of Kanwaha. Although lacking his father's abilities, Humayun was a cultivated gentleman. He was unrivalled in the science of astrology and mathematics. Mild and benevolent in character, he was very kind towards his brothers; and despite their treachery, forgave them again and again. He possessed a very charitable and magnificent personality. Although Humayun had recovered his kingdom, he was not destined to rule it for long. In January 1556, he met his tragic end by slipping from the famous building known as Din Panah. Humayun constructed a citadel at Delhi. Named Din-Panah (Refuge of Religion), this structure is thought to have been destroyed during the reign of Shir Shah Sur. The most celebrated building associated with Humayun is his tomb at Delhi. Humayun's mausoleum is a devotion of Hamida Begum, his widow, who supervised its construction during the reign of their son Akbar. He was also deeply superstitious, and fascinated by Astrology and the Occult. Upon his accession as

[7] "Humayunnama" translated by A.Beveridge, New Deli, 2001

Padishah (Emperor), he began to re-organise the administration upon mystically determined principles. The public offices were divided into four distinct groups, for the four elements. The department of Earth was to be in charge of Agriculture and the agricultural sciences, Fire was to be in charge of the Military, water was the department of the Canals and waterways while Air seemed to have responsibility for everything else. His daily routine was planned in accordance with the movements of the planets, so too was his wardrobe. He refused to enter a house with his left foot going forward, and if anyone else did they would be told to leave and re-enter. Emperor Humayun was deeply immersed in Persian literature. He wrote poetry under the pen-name Humayuni, which was incorporated into his Divan (Collection of Poetry). Humayun's biography, Humayunnama, which was written after his death of by his sister Princess Gulbadan Begum, provides useful information on Humayun's interests in astronomy, astrology and arts. (Gulbadan Begum also wrote her own Memoirs in this period). Among the outstanding literary works compiled during Humayun's reign are Jauhar's 'Tazkirat-ul Waaqiyat-i-Humayun (Chronicle of Events related to Humayun) and Abdul Latif's historical work, Lub-ul Twarikh.

Akbar

Humayan's successor, Akbar, was the most successful of the Baburid rulers. Humayun's untimely death in 1556 left the task of conquest and imperial consolidation to his thirteen-year-old son, Jalal-ud-Din Mohammad Akbar (r.1556–1605). Following a decisive military victory at the Second Battle of Panipat in 1556, the regent Bairam Khan pursued a vigorous policy of expansion on Akbar's behalf. As soon as Akbar came of age, he began to free himself from the influences of overbearing ministers, court factions, and harem intrigues, and demonstrated his own capacity for judgment and leadership. A workaholic who seldom slept more than three hours a night, he personally oversaw the implementation of his administrative policies, which were to form the backbone of the Baburid Empire for more than 200 years. With the aide of his legendary Navaratnas, he continued to conquer, annex, and consolidate a far-flung territory bounded by Kabul in the northwest, Bengal in the east, Kashmir in the north, and beyond the Narmada River in central India. Akbar rapidly developed a more centralized military and administrative system to govern India. After consolidating his hold on the government by 1560, Akbar expanded his control over the Indian subcontinent. The literary activities reached their apex during the almost half century reign of Emperor Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar. Numerous books were written on diverse subjects along with translations of important pieces of literature from Arabic and other languages. Among the towering literary personalities, who adorned Akbar's Court, was Abul Fazl, the author of Ain-i-Akbari (a historical account of Akbar's rule), and Akbarnama, Akbar's biography. Abul Fazl's brother, Abul Faiz (Faizi), was Akbar's poet laureate as well Imperial LibrarianAmong the most popular poets in Akbar's Court were Urfi from Shiraz {who wrote qasidas as well as popular verse), and Muhammad Hussain Naziri from Nishapur. He attempted to join the Hindu and Baburid (Baburid) aristocracies of India through intermarriage. As a further incentive for Hindus to support the Baburid rule, Akbar abandoned the traditional Islamic tax on unbelievers. Hindu advisors and bureaucrats filled his administration. Akbar's most imaginative attempt to bridge the cultural differences between the Islamic elite and Hindus was his introduction of a new religion, the Din-i-Ilahi, which sought to combine beliefs of many faiths. The Muslim and Hindu aristocracy were granted lands in the countryside in return for pledges of military support. Local administration remained in the hands of local Hindu rulers who promised loyalty to the Baburids. Akbar sought to improve living conditions through public works, living quarters for the urban poor, and the regulation of alcohol. The ruler attempted to improve the condition of women in India. He permitted remarriage of widows, discouraged child marriages. Akbar encouraged merchants to establish separate market days for women. Baburid Splendor and Early European Contacts. Despite his administrative and military successes, Akbar's attempts to unify Muslims and Hindus failed. Baburid India reached the peak of its prosperity under Akbar's successors, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The Baburid (Baburid) cities and military power impressed European visitors, although the more perceptive noted the poverty of the masses and the lack of military discipline and

advanced technology. Europeans came to India with products from Asia to exchange for the valuable cotton textiles of the subcontinent. Indian cotton became fashionable among all classes in Britain.

Starting in 1571, Akbar built a walled capital called Fatehpur Sikri (Fatehpur means "town of victory") near Agra. Palaces for each of Akbar's senior queens, a huge artificial lake, and sumptuous water-filled courtyards were built there. However, the city was soon abandoned and the capital was moved to Lahore in 1585. The reason may have been that the water supply in Fatehpur Sikri was insufficient or of poor quality. Or, as some historians believe, Akbar had to attend to the northwest areas of his empire and therefore moved his capital northwest. In 1599, Akbar shifted his capital back to Agra from where he reigned until his death. Akbar adopted two distinct but effective approaches in administering a large territory and incorporating various ethnic groups into the service of his realm. In 1580 he obtained local revenue statistics for the previous decade in order to understand details of productivity and price fluctuation of different crops. Aided by Todar Mal, a Hindu scholar, Akbar issued a revenue schedule that optimized the revenue needs of the state with the ability of the peasantry to pay. Revenue demands, fixed according to local conventions of cultivation and quality of soil, ranged from one-third to one-half of the crop and were paid in cash. Akbar relied heavily on land-holding zamindars to act as revenue-collectors. They used their considerable local knowledge and influence to collect revenue and to transfer it to the treasury, keeping a portion in return for services rendered. Within his administrative system, the warrior aristocracy (mansabdars) held ranks (mansabs) expressed in numbers of troops, and indicating pay, armed contingents, and obligations. The warrior aristocracy was generally paid from revenues of non-hereditary and transferable jagirs (revenue villages).

An astute ruler who genuinely appreciated the challenges of administering so vast an empire, Akbar introduced a policy of reconciliation and assimilation of Hindus (including Jodhabai, later renamed Mariam-uz-Zamani Begum, the Hindu Rajput mother of his son and heir, Jahangir), who represented the majority of the population. He recruited and rewarded Hindu chiefs with the highest ranks in government; encouraged intermarriages between Baburid and Rajput aristocracy; allowed new temples to be built; personally participated in celebrating Hindu festivals such as Deepavali (or Diwali), the festival of lights; and abolished the jizya (poll tax) imposed on non-Muslims. Akbar came up with his own theory of "rulership as a divine illumination," enshrined in his new religion Din-i-Ilahi (Divine Faith), incorporating the principle of acceptance of all religions and sects. He encouraged widow re-marriage, discouraged child marriage, outlawed the practice of sati and persuaded Delhi merchants to set up special market days for women, who otherwise were secluded at home.

By the end of Akbar's reign, the Baburid Empire extended throughout north India and south of the Narmada river. Akbar's empire supported vibrant intellectual and cultural life. The large imperial library included books in Hindi, Bangla , Persian, Greek, Kashmiri, English, and Arabic, such as the Shahnameh, Bhagavata Purana and the Bible. Akbar regularly sponsored debates and dialogues among religious and intellectual figures with differing views, and he welcomed Jesuit missionaries from Goa to his court. Akbar directed the creation of the Hamzanama, an artistic masterpiece that included 1400 large paintings. Architecture flourished during his reign. One of his first major building projects was the construction of a huge fort at Agra. The massive sandstone ramparts of the Red Fort are another impressive achievement. The most ambitious architectural exercise of Akbar, and one of the most glorious examples of Indo-Islamic architecture, was the creation of an entirely new capital city at Fatehpur Sikri.

Shah Jahan

Nur Jahan's abortive efforts to secure the throne for the prince of her choice (Khurram-later Shah Jahan) led the first-born, Prince Khusrau (Maharani Maanbai's son) to rebel against Jahangir in 1622. In that same year, the Persians took over Kandahar in southern Afghanistan, an event that struck a serious blow to Baburid prestige. Jahangir also had the Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri composed as a record of his reign. Shah Jahan married the girl because of the wealth that would come from her. It had nothing to do with love but more about the land he would get.

The Taj Mahal is the most famous monument built by the Baburids. It was built by Prince Khurram who ascended the throne in 1628 as Emperor Shah Jahan. Between 1636 and 1646, Shah Jahan sent Baburid armies to conquer the Deccan and the lands to the northwest of the empire, beyond the Khyber Pass. Even though they aptly demonstrated Baburid military strength, these campaigns drained the imperial treasury. As the state became a huge military machine, causing the nobles and their contingents to multiply almost fourfold, the demands for revenue from the peasantry were greatly increased. Political unification and maintenance of law and order over wide areas encouraged the emergence of large centers of commerce and crafts — such as Lahore, Delhi, Agra, and Ahmadabad — linked by roads and waterways to distant places and ports. However, Shah Jahan's reign is remembered more for monumental architectural achievements than anything else. The single most important architectural change was the use of marble instead of sandstone. He demolished the austere sandstone structures of Akbar in the Red Fort and replaced them with marble buildings such as the Diwan-i-Am (hall of public audience), the Diwan-i-Khas (hall of private audience), and the Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque). The tomb of Itmad-ud-Daula, the grandfather of his queen, Mumtaz Mahal, was also constructed on the opposite bank of the Jamuna or Yamuna. In 1638 he began to lay out the city of Shahjahanabad beside the Jamuna river further North in Delhi. The Red Fort at Delhi represents the pinnacle of centuries of experience in the construction of palace-forts. Outside the fort, he built the Jama Masjid, the largest mosque in the empire. However, it is for the Taj Mahal, which he built as a memorial to his beloved wife, Mumtaz Mahal, that he is most often remembered.

Emperor Shahjahan received broad based education on the basis of which he developed highly sophisticated tastes in arts, crafts and architecture. Like his predecessors, Shahjahan also provided extended patronage to men of letters as well as painters, particularly from Persia. The Chronicle of Shahjahan’s reign, the Padshahnama was initially compiled by the court historian Muhammad Amin Qazvini. It covers the first ten years of Shahjahan’s reign. Later Abdul Hamid Lahori extended Qazvini’s Padshahnama to include the next ten years of Shahjahan’s reign also. Jalaluddin Tabatabai also wrote another version of the Padshahnama. Among the Persian poets in Shahjahan’s court, Abu Talib Kalim Kashani excelled in descriptive verse, while Muhammad Jan Qudsi Mashhadi wrote a number of poems in praise of Prophet Muhammad.

The Reign of Aurangzeb

Shah Jahan fell ill in 1657, and a succession struggle emerged among his four sons, Dara Shikoh, Shah Shuja, Aurangzeb, and Murad Baksh. In 1658 Aurangzeb defeated Dara Shikoh's army near Agra, and Dara Shikoh fled north. Aurangzeb captured Agra, crowned himself emperor, and imprisoned Shah Jahan. Dara Shikoh and Murad Baksh were captured and later executed, while Shah Shuja fled into exile in 1660. Shah Jahan remained imprisoned in the citadel at Agra until his death in 1666. Aurangzeb Alamgir was the last of the Great Baburids. During his fifty-year reign, the empire reached its greatest physical size (the Bijapur and Golconda Sultanates which had been reduced to vassaldom by Shah Jahan were formally annexed), but also showed unmistakable signs of decline. The bureaucracy had grown corrupt; the huge army used outdated weaponry and tactics. Aurangzeb restored Baburid military dominance and expanded power southward, at least for a while. Aurangzeb was involved in a series of protracted wars against the sultans of Bijapur and Golconda in the Deccan, the Rajputs of Rajasthan, Malwa, and Bundelkhand, the Marathas in Maharashtra and the Ahoms in Assam. Peasant uprisings and revolts by local leaders became all too common, as did the conniving of the nobles to preserve their own status at the expense of a steadily weakening empire. From the early 1700s the campaigns of the Sikhs of the Punjab under leaders such as Banda Bahadur, inspired by the martial teachings of their last Guru, Guru Gobind Singh, also posed a considerable threat to Baburid rule in Northern India.

The last of the powerful Baburids, Aurangzeb, inherited an empire in which expenditures for art and architecture rivaled military outlay. He determined to extend Baburids control to the entire Indian subcontinent and purify Islam of its Hindu influences. His successful campaigns to enlarge the Empire drained his treasury and increased his enemies. Even during his successful campaigns in the south, rebellions broke out in the north. Local rulers became increasingly

autonomous. Aurangzeb's religious policies threatened to break the long established alliance between the Baburid administration and the Hindu elite. Attempts to halt construction of Hindu temples and reimpose the tax on unbelievers increased resistance to his regime. Following Aurangzeb's death in 1707, rebellions tore the Baburid Empire apart. Islamic invaders, Hindu separatists, and Sikh revolutionaries weakened Baburid power. The last of the Great Baburids, Emperor Aurangzeb was more inclined towards mystic philosophy and religion, and spent a lot of time in the company of mystics. He wrote a 33-volume book on edicts under the title Fatwa-i-Alamgiri. The official biography of Aurangzeb, the Alamgirnama, was written by Mirza Muhammad Kazim in 1688. It covers only the first ten years of Aurangzeb's half a century period of rule. Two other historical accounts of Aurangzeb's reign, Masir-i-Alamgiri and Miraat al-Alam were written by Saqi Mustad Khan and Bakhtawar Khan respectively. Inayatullah Khan compiled volumes of letters of Aurangzeb under the titles Kalmat-i-Tayyabai and Adab-i-Alamgiri.

After the reign of Aurangzeb two important developments took place: ***First,*** the Baburids Empire was split into a number of semi-autonomous states under the rule of Nawabs, who were feudatories of the Baburids Emperors. This meant the pomp and glory surrounding the Baburid Courts was vastly diminished. As a result the patronage of men of letters was vastly reduced. This together with other political events in Persia resulted in virtual disappearance of Persian poets and authors from the courts of Baburid Emperors, and vastly reduced patronage was available to local Ahl-e-Qalam (Men of letters) Some patronage was offered to the poets and authors by the Nawabs, but mostly the men of letters had to develop their own place in educational and other institutions in the changing socio-cultural scenario.***Second,*** the almost exclusive Persian monopoly in the field of Culture in Baburid Courts, gave way to indigenous cultural movements. In the first quarter of 18th century Urdu began to replace Persian as the major medium for literary expression. A number of outstanding Urdu poets and other men of letters emerged, who enjoyed great popularity among the masses. Among the outstanding Urdu writers belonging to the 18th and early 19th centuries are such famous names as Mir Taqi Mir, Khwaja Mir Dard, Mirza Rafi Sauda and Momin Khan Momin. During the rule of the last Baburid Emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar (1837-1858), a large number of Urdu poets gathered around the Emperor, who was himself a highly accomplished poet. Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib, who is regarded as the greatest Urdu poet, also compiled his poetry in this period.

The lesser Baburids

Bahadur Shah I (Shah Alam I), b. October 14, 1643 at Burhanpur, ruler 1707–12, d. February 1712 in Lahore.
Jahandar Shah, b. 1664, ruler 1712–13, d. February 11, 1713 in Delhi.
Furrukhsiyar, b. 1683, r. 1713–19, d. 1719 at Delhi.
Rafi Ul-Darjat, ruler 1719, d. 1719 in Delhi.
Rafi Ud-Daulat (Shah Jahan II), ruler 1719, d. 1719 in Delhi.
Nikusiyar, ruler 1719, d. 1719 in Delhi.
Mohammed Ibrahim, ruler 1720, d. 1720 in Delhi.
Muhammad Shah, b. 1702, ruler 1719–48, d. April 26, 1748 in Delhi.
Ahmad Shah Bahadur, b. 1725, ruler 1748–54, d. January 1775 in Delhi.
Alamgir II, b. 1699, ruler 1754–59, d. 1759.
Shah Jahan III, ruler 1760
Shah Alam II, b. 1728, ruler 1759–1806, d. 1806.
Akbar Shah II, b. 1760, ruler 1806–37, d. 1837.
Bahadur Shah II aka Bahadur Shah Zafar, b. 1775 in Delhi, ruler from 1837–57, d. 1862 in exile in Rangoon, Burma.

Present-day descendants

A few descendants of Bahadur Shah Zafar are known to be living in Delhi, Kolkata (formerly Calcutta), Hyderabad, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Myanmar. Some of the direct descendants still identify themselves with the clan name Timur and with one of its four major

branches: Shokohane-Timur (Shokoh), Shahane-Timur (Shah), Bakshane-Timur (Baksh) and Salatine-Timur (Sultan). Some direct descendants of the Timur carry the surname of Mirza, Baig and Jangda are found predominantly in India especially in major cities like Delhi and also in Bangladesh and the Pakistani city of Lahore. Descendants in India, Bangladesh and Pakistan are now known of the surname of Malik. However, good genealogical records exist for most families in the Indian Subcontinent and are often consulted for establishing the authenticity of their claims. Some descendants of the Baburid empire have even settled in the West in places like Europe and North America. Some Burmese decedents of Bahadur Shah Zafar live in Rangoon, France and Canada. The Pashtun tribe Babar living in Baluchistan regard themselves as direct descendants of Babar. However this claim has not been proven authentically.

However, there are descendants of Baburid kings living all over India. The surname Sheikh is also commonly known to be of the descendents of the Baburid Empire and the these type of families do have their family tree (Shajra-e-Nasab) which can be traced back to Babar and some times to Tamerlane, written to prove them authentic. Some descendants are also called Chughtai after the Mongol tribe descended from a son of the Mongol conqueror, Chengiz Khan to which Babar belonged. Although not the descendants of the many heirs to the Baburid empire's throne, the descendants of Bahadur Shah II's brother Mirza Nali (the crown prince of the empire, as decided by his father Akbar Shah II) live in Rajshahi and Dhaka, Bangladesh. The present day heir to the throne is Colonel HH Prince Azam II, the son of Nali's great grand daughter (GulBadan Begum). GulBadan became the head of the family as she was born well before her siblings. Mirza Nali's descendants are very well off, owning lots of land around North Bengal.

Chapter II. Babur's memoir "Baburnama" and Gulbadan begums "Humayunnama"

2.1. About "Baburnama"and its translations

Translation is the bridge between nations. Translation brings the people closer to each other. There are three, most identified types of translation: literary, special and sociopolitical. The ways of achieving the adequacy and completeness in those three types of translation will never completely coincide with each other because of their diverse character and tasks set to translator. The object of literary translation is the literature itself, and its distinctive feature is a figurative-emotional impact on the reader, which is attained through a great usage of different linguistic means, beginning from epithet and metaphor up to rhythmical-syntactic construction of phrases. Thus, in order to preserve figurative-emotional impact on the reader while translating a work of art, the translator will try to render all specific features of the translating material. The objects of special translations are materials that belong to different fields of human activities, science and technology. The distinctive feature of this type of translation is an exact expression of the sense of translating material, which is attained through wide usage of special terms. Thus, in order to render an exact and clear meaning while translating such materials alongside with the selection of term equivalents. The objects of social-politic translations are the materials of propaganda and agitation character, and therefore a bright emotional sense abundant with special terms. Concerning the achievement of adequacy this type of translation possesses the features of literary and special types of translation as well.

Memoirs of Babur. This is the personal journal of Emperor Babur, founder of the Baburid dynasty. It records the events of his remarkable life from the age of 12 until his death in 1530. His grandson Akbar had the memoirs translated into Persian from their original Chaghatay Turkish so his grandfather's achievements might be more widely known. This is the largest of four major illustrated copies made during Akbar's reign. Written and illustrated around 1590, it contains 141 paintings by many different artists.

The "Memoirs of Babur" or *Baburnama* are the work of the great-great-great-grandson of Timur (Tamerlane), Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur (1483-1530). "Baburname" is the book including not only historical facts but a unique information on economic, political and social aspects,

nature and geography-the information that is of tremendous world importance in the capacity of a unique historical and literary heritage. As their most recent translator declares, "said to 'rank with the Confessions of St. Augustine and Rousseau, and the memoirs of Gibbon and Newton,' Babur's memoirs are the first-and until relatively recent times, the only--true autobiography in Islamic literature." The Baburnama tells the tale of the prince's struggle first to assert and defend his claim to the throne of Samarkand and the region of the Fergana Valley. After being driven out of Samarkand in 1501 by the Shaibanids, he ultimately sought greener pastures, first in Kabul and then in northern India, where his descendants were the Baburid dynasty ruling in Delhi until 1858. The memoirs offer a highly educated Central Asian Muslim's observations of the world in which he moved. There is much on the political and military struggles of his time but also extensive descriptive sections on the physical and human geography, the flora and fauna, nomads in their pastures and urban environments enriched by the architecture, music and Persian and Turkic literature patronized by the Timurids. The selections here-all taken from his material on Fergana--have been chosen to provide a range of such observations from the material he recorded at the end of the 1490s and in the first years of the sixteenth century. It should be of some interest to compare his description of Samarkand with that of the outsider, Clavijo, from a century earlier.

This translation is based on that by Annette Beveridge, *The Babur-nama in English*, 2 v. (London, 1921), but with substantial stylistic revision to eliminate the worst of her awkward syntax. An elegantly produced modern translation is that by Wheeler M. Thackston, *The Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor* (Washington, D. C., etc., The Smithsonian Institution and Oxford University Press, 1996). Interspersed in the text are illustrations, some being contemporary views of places Babur describes; the others taken from the miniatures of an illustrated copy of the *Baburnama* prepared for the author's grandson, the Baburid Emperor Akbar. It is worth remembering that the miniatures reflect the culture of the court at Delhi; hence, for example, the architecture of Central Asian cities resembles the architecture of Baburid India. Nonetheless, these illustrations are important as evidence of the tradition of exquisite miniature painting which developed at the court of Timur and his successors. Timurid miniatures are among the greatest artistic achievements of the Islamic world in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The translation was ordered by Babur’s grandson, the Emperor Akbar, who ruled the Baburids Empire from 1556 to 1605. He had amasses a great library devoted to subjects such as history, classical Persian literature and translations of Sanskrit texts. Akbar entrusted the work of translating Babur’s memoirs into Persian to an army general and close friend called Abd al-Rahim, who enjoyed the title Khan-i khanan, meaning ‘commander of commaders’. In the Baburids world, conquest and culture went hand in hand. The Khan-i khanan was not only one of Akbar’s greatest army commanders; he was also known for his poetry and his writings on astrology. His combination of military experience and literary discernment made him ideal for the job. The two men had known each other since their youth: Abd al-Rahim’s father, Bayram Khan, had served as Akbar’s mentor in his early years. This copy of the ‘Memoirs of Babur’ was made around 1590. The Persian text is written in the flowing ‘nasta‘liq’ script, sometimes also known as the ‘bride of scripts’ because it was created by combining two earlier scripts: ‘naskhi’ and ‘nasta‘liq’. From the 15th century on, naskhi continued to be used for Islamic religious writings, while nasta‘liq came into its own for secular literature, especially poetry. Good nasta‘liq is distinguished by its more horizontal and cursive appearance, and by subtle transition and contrast between thick and thin lines. The elegant calligraphy is richly complemented by miniatures and decorative borders of outstanding quality painted by a team of at least 54 artists drawn from over two hundred employed in Akbar’s shop in Lahore. Of its 141 pictures, 68 are whole-page illustrations of Babur’s narrative. Akbar insisted on the highest standards from his artists. Though Akbar was a Muslim, his Hindu subjects were allowed to rise to high office. Most of the miniatures in this manuscript carry Hindu names. Four among them, Kisu, Sanwala, Jagannath and Mahesh are noted elsewhere as being master-painters in the royal studio. Fewer in number, the Muslim artists include Mansur, Ibrahim Qahhar and Farrukh.

What do these two pages show? This opening comes from a passage in which Babur describes the country around the Fergana Valley. The right-hand page, painted by Bhavani, shows the almond harvest in Kand-i Badam, whose name means 'almond town'. Babur writes: "Kand-i Badam is a dependency of Khujand; although it is not a fully-fledged township, it is close to one. Its almonds are excellent, hence its name; they are all exported to Hormuz or Hindustan. It is 18 miles east of Khujand." The left-hand picture was painted by Thirpal and illustrates a story about the windy wasteland between Kand-i Badam and Khujand. "Its violent, whirling winds continually strike Marghilan to the east and Khujand on its west," Babur notes, adding "People say some dervishes, encountering a whirlwind in this desert, lost one another and kept shouting out, 'Hay Darvesh! Hay Darvesh!' until all had perished, and that the waste has been called Ha Darvesh ever since."

Why are the 'Memoirs of Babur' important? Covering some 36 years in the life of one of Central Asia and India's most powerful figures, Babur's detailed and insightful autobiography presents vivid picture of his life and times, the peoples he ruled, and the lands they inhabited. For example, we read in his own words the story of events leading up to the defeat of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and fall of Delhi: "During the seven or eight days we lay in Panipat, our men went close to Ibrahim's camp a few at a time, rained arrows down on the ranks of his troops, cut off and brought back their heads. Still he made no move, nor did his troops venture out. At length, we acted on the advice of some Hindustani well-wishers and sent four or five thousand men to deliver a night attack on his camp. It being dark, they were unable to act well together and, having dispersed, could achieve nothing on arrival. They stayed near Ibrahim's camp until dawn, when nagarets [kettle drums] sounded and his troops came forth in force with elephants…".[8] Alongside accounts of military conflicts and strategies, there are well-observed descriptions of landscapes and cities, local economies and customs, plants and animals. Subjects discussed by the Emperor Babur and illustrated in this manuscript include Hindu ascetics at Bagram (today in Afghanistan); the elephant, rhinoceros and buffalo; the peacock, parrot, and stork; the water-hog, and crocodile; trees and shrubs such as the plantain, tamarind, and oleander; and the author supervising work on his own gardens in Kabul. Babur also provides what is probably the first reliable record of the famous diamond known as Koh-i-Noor, the 'Mountain of Light'.

Translations of "Baburnama"

The history of Central Asia reveals many outstanding personalities who had political wisdom, moral valour, and a religious perception of the world. Our great ancestors - Imam Bukhari, At-Termizi, Naqshband, Ahmad Yassavi, Al-Khorezmi, Beruni, Ibn Sina, Amir Temur, Ulughbek, U.Hayyam, A.Navoi, Babur and many others - have greatly contributed to the development of our national culture. They became the national pride of our people. The science, literature and art of Central Asia always attracted the world, scientific and literary works of our great ancestors were learned and translated into many languages of the world.

Babur wrote the Baburnama mainly between 1526-1529 in his native Turkic language, known today as Chaghatay. The text was translated into Persian in the court of Akbar. Muhammad Haydar Dughlat spent most of his career in Kabul. He was in close contact with Babur during this period, and his work (composed in 1545-1546) is valuable as it highlights the political and cultural intricacies of those parts of Central Asia and Afghanistan that Babur was dealing with at the time.

Translation of Uzbek classic literature began in the 18th century. One of tremendous dynasties in the world history was the Baburids' dynasty. Z.M.Babur and his generation left a great literary heritage in the world history. Many writers, translators and scientists worked and are still working on the history of Babur and his dynasty. The foundation of the Baburids' Empire had begun since the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The Baburids' lived and reigned in India from 1526 to 1858. Their dynasty was the greatest, richest and longest-lasting Muslim dynasty to

[8] "Baburnama" translated by A.Beveridge, London, 1958

rule India. This dynasty produced the finest and most elegant arts and architecture in the history of Muslim dynasties. The representatives of this dynasty had done so much good works that they still admire the whole world. Babur did most of his writing, including his autobiography, Baburnama or Tuzuk-i-Baburi, and some poetry, in his mother tongue Chagatai Turkic.

2.2. Gulbadan begum and her book "Humayunnama"

Babur and his generation have left a great step in the world history. Many writers, translators and scientists worked and still working on the history of Babur and his dynasty. The foundation of the Baburids Empire begins since the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The Baburids lived and reigned in India from 1526 to 1858. Their dynasty was the greatest, richest and longest-lasting Muslim dynasty to rule India. This dynasty produced the finest and most elegant arts and architecture in the history of Muslim dynasties. The representatives of this dynasty have done so much good works that they still admire the whole world.

Baburid princesses played important role in state affairs, they also participate in gardening of the country, in architecture, art and literature with this works they left their names in the history. One of the women who had a main place in Baburids' state was Gulbadanbegum. She was the daughter of Babur, sister of Humayun, and aunt of Akbar. Babur says that he cherished the desire to conquer beyond the Indus for nineteen years. At the date of Gulbadan's birth he was engaged in the attempt, and succeeded when she was about two and a half years old. He then became the first Turki sovereign in India, and the founder of its miscalled Baburid dynasty. Princess Gulbadan was born somewhere about 1523 and when her father had been lord in Kabul for nineteen years; he was master also in Kunduz and Badakhshan; had held Bajaur and Swat since 1519, and Qandahar for a year. During ten of those nineteen years he had been styled *padshah*, in token of headship of the house of Timur and of his independent sovereignty. To translate *padshah*, however, as is often done, by the word *emperor* would give a wrong

impression of Babur's status amongst rulers at this height of his rising fortunes. Nevertheless, Gulbadan was born the child of a strong and stable chief, and of one who was better followed in war than his nominal domains would allow, because his army was drawn for the most part from tribes not under his government, and was not territorial and of Kabul but personal and inherited. If the princess had first seen light in London instead of in Kabul, she would have had Henry VIII for king, and the slumbers of her birth-year might have been troubled as men marched forth at Wolsey's will to fight and lose in France. Her personal vicissitudes were the greater that she was a Timurid and Turk. She spent her childhood under her father's rule in Kabul and India; her girlhood and young wifehood shared the fall and exile of Humayun; and her maturity and failing years slipped past under the protection of Akbar. Her mother was Dildar Begam—the Heart-holding Princess—of whose descent, it is noticeable to observe, neither her husband nor her daughter gives any information. This peculiarity of omission she shares with Maham, the wife of Babur's affection and the mother of his heir; and with Gulrukh, the mother of Kamran and 'Askari. All three ladies are spoken of by our begam with the style befitting the wives of a king; all were mothers of children, and for this reason, if for no other, it seems natural that something should be said of their birth. Babur frequently mentions Maham, and calls her by this name *tout court*. Dildar's name occurs in the Turki version of the Memoirs, but not in the Persian, and she is there styled *aghacha— i.e.*, a lady, but not a begam, by birth. Gul-rukh is, I believe, never named by Babur. This silence does not necessarily imply low birth. It may be an omission of the contemporarily obvious; and also it may indicate that no one of the three women was of royal birth, although all seem to have been of good family.

Three Timurids had been Babur's wives in childhood and youth. These were: 'Ayisha, who left him before 1504 and who was betrothed to him when he was five; Zainab, who died in 1506 or 1507; and Ma'suma, whom he married in 1507 and who died at the birth of her first child. Maham was married in Khurasan, and therefore in 1506; Dil-dar and Gulrukh probably considerably later, and after the three royal ladies had passed away from the household. The next recorded marriage of Babur is one of 1519, when a Yusufzai chief brought him his daughter, Bibi Mubarika, as the seal of submission. She had no children, and was an altogether charming person in the eyes of those who have written of her. To return now to Dildar. She bore five children, three girls and two boys. The eldest was born in an absence of Babur from Kabul and in Khost. This fixes her birth as occurring somewhere between 1511 and 1515. She was Gulrang (Rose-hued), named like her sisters from the rose; then came Gulchihra (Rose-cheeked); and then Abu'n-nasir Muhammad, the Hindal of history, who was born in 1519; next was Gulbadan (Rose-body); and last a boy, whom his sister calls Alwar, a word which looks like a sobriquet drawn from the Indian town. He died after the migration of the household to Agra, and in 1529. Princess Gulbadan was born some two years before Babur set out on his last expedition across the Indus, so her baby eyes may have seen his troops leave Kabul in November, 1525, for the rallying-place at Jacob's Village (*Dih-i-ya qub*). It is not mere word-painting to picture her as looking down from the citadel at what went on below, for she tells of later watching from this view-point which would give the farewell glimpse of the departing army, and, as weeks and years rolled on, the first sight of many a speck on the eastern road which took form as loin-girt runner or mounted courier.

We who live upon the wire, need a kindled imagination to realize what it was to those left behind, to have their men-folk go to India. With us, fancy is checked by maps and books, and has not often to dwell on the unknown and inconceivable. To them, what was not a blank was probably a fear. Distance could have no terrors for them, because they were mostly, by tribe and breeding, ingrain nomads; many of them had come from the far north and thought the great mountains or the desert sands the desirable setting for life. Such experience, however, would not help to understand the place of the Hindus, with its heats, its rains, strange beasts, and hated and dreaded pagans. It is not easy to say wherein lies the pleasure of animating the silhouettes which are all that names, without detail of character, bring down from the past. Perhaps its roots run too deep and close to what is dear and hidden in the heart, for them to make way readily to the

surface in speech. But it is an undoubted pleasure, and it is what makes it agreeable to linger with these women in Kabul in those hours when our common human nature allows their thoughts and feelings to be clear to us. Sometimes their surroundings are too unfamiliar for us to understand what sentiments they would awaken, but this is not so when there is news of marches, fighting, defeat, or victory. Then the silhouettes round, and breathe, and weep or smile. Babur left few fighting men in Kabul, but there remained a great company of women and children, all under the nominal command and charge of Prince Kamran, who was himself a child. His exact age I am not able to set down, for Babur does not chronicle his birth, an omission which appears due to its falling in one of the gaps of the Memoirs. Babur left the city on November 17th, and was joined on December 3rd by Humayun at the Garden of Fidelity (*Bagh-i-wafa*). He had to wait for the boy, and was much displeased, and reprimanded him severely. Humayun was then seventeen years old, and since 1520 had been governor of Badakhshan. He had now brought over his army to reinforce his father, and it may well be that Maham had something to do with his delayed march from Kabul. She could have seen him only at long intervals since she had accompanied Babur, in 1520, to console and settle her child of twelve in his distant and undesired post of authority.

Shortly after the army had gone eastwards, disquieting news must have reached Kabul, for three times before the middle of December, 1525, Babur was alarmingly ill. What he records of drinking and drug-eating may explain this; he thought his illness a chastisement, and set himself to repent of sins which were bred of good-fellowship and by forgetfulness in gay company; but his conflict with them was without victory. He referred his punishment to another cause than these grosser acts, and came to regard the composition of satirical verses as a grave fault. His reflections on the point place him near higher moralists, for he says it was sad a tongue which could repeat sublime words, should occupy itself with meaner and despicable fancies. 'Oh, my Creator! I have tyrannized over my soul, and if Thou art not bountiful to me, of a truth I shall be numbered amongst the accursed.' These are some of the thoughts of Babur which lift our eyes above what is antipathetic in him, and explain why he wins the respect and affection of all who take trouble to know him.

"She spent her childhood under her father's rule in Kabul and Hindustan; her girlhood and young wifehood shared the fall and exile of Humayun; and her maturity and failing years slipped past under the protection of Akbar"[9], as her translator, Annette Beveridge, wrote it in 1902. Gul-badan Begam the daughter of Zahirid-din Babur after her nephew's order wrote a book "*Humayun-nama" (The history of Humayun).* This book was about her father Babur and especially her elder brother Humayun. And it was the main source for Abul-Fazl's book *"Akbar-nama"(The history of Akbar-Humayun's son).*When she was 60 years old her nephew Akbar asked her to write whatever she remembered about her father Babur and brother Humayun. Then she wrote the book which is called Humayun name. The original title of her work is: *Ahwal Humayun Padshah Jamah Kardom Gulbadan Begum bint Babur Padshah amma Akbar Padshah.* Gulbadanbegum wrote in simple Persian without difficult words and she used many Turki words, Turki was her native language. Gulbadanbegum wrote what she remembered and saw with her own eyes. It is the only writing by a woman of Baburid dynasty written in the sixteenth century. The manuscript of Humayun-nama is incomplete - it ends in 1552 instead of carrying the story forward to Humayun's death in 1556. It is not known if the ending has been lost or if the work was left unfinished. In her memoir, Gulbadanbegum discusses the period of her father, Babur's life. Here, she produces detail quite similar to that contained in Babur's autobiography, about his wanderings in parts of Afghanistan, and Hindustan, his wars and victories at the time, information about Babur's marriages, his wives and children, his relationships. She also writes about her brother Humayun and his reign. Humayun's expeditions and reconquest of Hindustan, the impressive detail provided of the celebrations and feasts held

[9] Gul-Badan Begim. The History og Humayn (Humayn-name), trans-lated by A.S. Beveridge from the only known MS of the British Museum, London, 1902

by the senior women on occasions such as Humayun's accession, and at the time of his stepbrother Mirza Hindal's wedding, and so on.

It was not known to Mr. Erskine, or he would have given fuller and more accurate accounts of the families of Babur and Humayun. It escaped even professor Blochmann's wider opportunities of acquaintance with Persian MSS. Until the begam's *Humayun-nama* was catalogued by Dr.Rieu. And since that time has been little better. Bayazid's *Tarikh-i-humayun* was reproduced several times on its completion. Gul-badan Begam's *Humayun- nama* was written under the same royal order and for the same end. It would have been natural to reproduce it also. But no second example of it can be discovered by us in any of the accessible book-catalogues of Europe or India. And prolonged search, made by advertisement, private inquiry. Once hope arose that a second MS. was to reward the search, because a correspondent intimated that possessed for sale a MS. which was inscribed as being the begam's. On examination this was found to be so, but the MS. was a copy of the *Kanun-i-humayun* of Khwand-amir. It is now in the British Museum.

Hope was again aroused by a mention of Gul-badan's book in a recent work, the *Darbar-i-akbari* of Shamsu-l-ulama Muhammad Husain *azad*. Mr.Beveridge paid two visits to the author in Bombay, but could learn nothing from him. He appeared mentally alienated, denied all knowledge of the work, and that he had ever written of it. His reference may conjecturally be traced to this article in the *Calcutta Review* upon Gul-badan Begam's writings, and does not, unfortunately, appear to indicate access to a second MS.

The MS. From which Beveridge translated belongs to the Hamilton Collection in the British Museum, and was bought in 1868 from the widow of Colonel George William Hamilton. It is classed by Dr. Rieu amongst the most remarkable of the 352 MSS. Which were selected for purchase out of the 1,000 gathered in by Colonel Hamilton from Lucknow and Delhi? It does not bear the vermilion stamp of the King of Oude, so the surmise is allowed that it came from Delhi.

The absence of a second MS., and, still more, the absence of mention of the work, seem to indicate that few copies ever existed.

Dr. Reiu's tentative estimate of the date of the British Museum MS. (seventeenth century) does not, preclude the possibility of transcription so late in the sixteenth century as 1587 (995 H.) onwards. It may be the first and even sole example.

Gul-badan Begam, as is natural, uses many Turki words, and at least one Turki phrase. Her scribe does not always write these with accuracy; some run naturally from the pen as well-known words do; some are labored in the writing, as though care had to be taken in the copying or original orthography.

Turki was Gul-Badan's native language; it was also her husband's; it would be the home speech of her married life. Persian was an accomplishment. These considerations awaken speculation; Did she compose in Persian or in Turki? That she read Turki is clear from her upbringing and her reference to her father's book. She has one almost verbal reproduction of a passage from it retained in Turki. The disadvantage of working from a single MS. Is felt at every point and nowhere more than when the MS. itself is under consideration.

Besides Gulbadanbegum's "Humayun nama" there were written three more books devoted to Humayun and his reign. They are the Qanun-i Humayuni (also called Humayun-nama) was composed in 1534 under Humayun's patronage by one of his officials, Khvandamir. He was the grandson of the famous historian Mirkhvand. Khvandamir's memoir is, as he tells us, an eyewitness's account of the rules and ordinances of Humayun's reign, accompanied by descriptions of court festivities, and of buildings erected by the king, the second is the Tazkirat-ul-Vaqi`at (also called the Humayun Shahi, and the Tarikh-i Humayun) was written in 1587 by Jawhar Aftabchi, Humayun's ewer-bearer. And the last one is the Tazkireh-i Humayun va Akbar by Bayazid Bayat, completed in 1590-91. It is about the reigns of Humayun and Akbar from 1542 to 1591. The author was a native of Tabriz and later joined the army of Humayun.

2.3. Challenge of a Princess' Memoir

Gulbadan Banu Begum was the daughter of Babur, sister of Humayun, and aunt of Akbar. She was born in 1523 in Kabul, and traveled to Hindustan (to Agra) at the age of six-and-a-half (1529), after Babur had made some substantial conquests in that region. Her mother was Dildar Begum, but Maham Begum, 'the wife of Babur's affection', adopted her. As her memoir reveals, Gulbadan witnessed the early turmoil of Babur and Humayun's ruler(ship): she was one of the women who moved with the Baburid household time and again, participated in the births, festivities, and joined in the mourning of deaths and other losses to the family. She was married to her second cousin Khizr Khvajeh Khan, a Chaghatai Baburid, but no details of her marriage are found in her text. She as well as Khizr Khvajeh Khan seem to have spent much of their time wandering with what may be described as her peripatetic Baburid family home. "She spent her childhood under her father's rule in Kabul and Hindustan; her girlhood and young wifehood shared the fall and exile of Humayun; and her maturity and failing years slipped past under the protection of Akbar", as her translator, Annette Beveridge, put it in 1902.

Gulbadan Banu Begum was thus witness to the processes and mechanisms of a monarchy in the making, seeing it through many vicissitudes from the inception of the Baburid kingdom in the early conquests of Babur to its established splendour in Akbar's reign. She came to write about all this at the behest of her nephew, Akbar, whose efforts to consolidate and institutionalise Baburid power included the command that a comprehensive and authoritative official history be written of its early stages and of his reign. Around 1587, when Akbar had commissioned an official history of his empire, the 'servants of the state' and 'old members of the Baburid family' were requested to write down or relate their impressions of earlier times. Gulbadan herself reports, "There had been an order issued, 'Write down whatever you know of the doings of *Firdaus-makani and Jannat-ashyani*.' " "It was in obedience to this order that Bayazid Bayat, who was then holding an office in Akbar's kitchen, dictated his memoirs to a clerk of Abu'l Fazl", writes Henry Beveridge. "The same order produced the charming memoirs of Princess Gulbadan, Akbar's aunt, and apparently also those of Jawhar, the ewer-bearer."

What Gulbadan wrote, however, was no panegyric. Her writing was markedly different from anything that others (servants or other members of the court) produced at the time. As the list of the sources for the *Akbarnama* shows, other informants wrote their accounts under the following genres: *tarikh*, a word referring to annals, history, or chronological narrative; *tazkireh*, written in the form of biographies and memoirs; *nameh*, included biographies and exemplary accounts, aside from histories, epistles, and accounts of exemplary deeds; qanun, written in the mode of normative accounts or legal texts; and *vaqi*'at meaning a narrative of happenings, events, and occurrences. Interestingly, the genre title that Gulbadan chose was different from all of these: it was *Ahval*, a word meaning conditions, state, circumstances, or situations. Does this title index a different conception of what a 'history' of the times should be? It is not possible to give a

straightforward answer to this question. We know little about the conditions of Gulbadan's writing, what language she wrote in, or even whether she wrote her memoir in her own hand or dictated it to a scribe. Did she write in Turki or Persian? We know from her own account that she had arrived in Agra at the age of six-and-a-half and, except for brief interludes, stayed on in Hindustan. Turki was her native language, and one finds many Turki words in her account. But from Humayun's time on, the influence of Persian had clearly increased in the Baburid court. Gulbadan Begum, his sister, is very likely to have learnt the language as she grew up in these surroundings. Indeed, two lines of poetry by her in Persian are preserved in the work of Mir Mahdi Shirazi. The very choice of Gulbadan to write a memoir of the times suggests she was recognised to be 'learned'; the Persian verse attributed to her is further testimony to her standing in this respect.

A further disadvantage is that only one copy of Gulbadan's Ahval survives today. It is incomplete, ending abruptly some three years before Akbar's accession. We do not know what models Gulbadan drew upon to write her own text. It certainly does not appear to adhere to any available format, differing markedly in this respect from most Baburid court chronicles of the time. Gulbadan does seem to have read some contemporary memoirs and chronicles of the kings. Her father Babur wrote an unusual autobiography, which she read. However, as we can tell from her Ahval, the Baburnama was not the literary model for it. Annette Beveridge informs us that the Begum had a copy of Bayazid Bayat's *Tazkireh-i Humayun* va Akbar in her library. Beveridge also found a copy of Khvandamir's *Qanun-i Humayuni*, inscribed with the Begum's name.[42]However, she did not imitate the styles of either of these accounts, which were in any case contemporaneous with her own, and thus perhaps unavailable at the time of her writing.

Whatever we may conclude about the problems of authorship, and of personal memory, given the uncertainties surrounding the Begum's memoir, one thing is clear. If most chronicles of the age aimed to be authoritative histories in the manner of the generic histories of rulers, Gulbadan moved away from this genre to produce an account of far more 'modest' incidents in the lives of Babur and Humayun. Her account of the everyday lives of this royal family in peripatetic circumstances is a unique piece of writing. Gulbadan creates an unusual space in her writing, and helps to compose a different picture of many areas of Baburid life about which we know very little from other sources.

Before we go on to illustrate the unusual character of this source, a brief description of the contents and the organisation of Ahval is necessary. What we have today of the memoir is divided into two parts. The second part, dealing with Humayun's reign, breaks off abruptly after a discussion of the event concerning the blinding of the king's stepbrother (his incessant rival to the Baburid throne) Mirza Kamran. In the first part of her memoir, Gulbadan discusses the period of her father, Babur's life. Here, she produces detail quite similar to that contained in Babur's autobiography, about his wanderings in parts of Afghanistan, and Hindustan, his wars and victories at the time, and the early years of his establishment of Baburid rule in Hindustan. The specialty of the Begum's memoir, however, is to be found in the pictures she provides of her father's 'home' life: extensive information about his marriages, his wives and children, his relationships with his kith and kin, especially the senior women of the Baburid lineage, and so on. The memoir in fact is remarkable not only for this rare account of domestic life, but also for the complexity that the author brings out in those episodes that are discussed in other chronicles of the time. To take one example: Gulbadan's list of the presents that Babur sent to his relatives in Afghanistan after his initial victory in Hindustan, is an extraordinary inventory not only for its detailing of his relatives and other close associates, but also for bringing to life the correct deportment in the preparation of presents and the manner of accepting them – so central to the

sensibilities of this world. In contrast, Babur makes only a casual, and far less interesting, mention of the presents in his autobiography.[10]

The second part of Gulbadan's memoir begins on the 19th folio with her brother, Humayun's reign. Here too, aside from a discussion of the king's expeditions and reconquest of Hindustan, the memoir provides other kinds of historical data. For example, we learn of Baburid women lost during wars, and of Akbar's birth in the harsh circumstances of Humayun and Hamideh Banu Begum's itinerant life. The Begum's reminiscences of royal women's articulations about how they should marry are telling. So is her elaboration of Humayun's frequent visits to the senior women of the family, and the tension that arose between him and his wives owing to these continual visits. Add to these, the impressive detail provided of the celebrations and feasts held by the senior women on occasions such as Humayun's accession, and at the time of his stepbrother Mirza Hindal's wedding, and we have a lost world of courtly life in camp discussed by the Begum in a way that no other chronicler of the time manages to do.

Let me now quote two short extracts in which Gulbadan writes of the varied roles and activities of the women of the Baburid household. In the following episode, she discusses the time Humayun spent with the women of the family when the court was settled for some time in Agra:

"On court days *(ruzhaye divan*), which were Sundays and Tuesdays, he used to go to the other side of the river. During stay in the garden, ajam (Dil-dar Begam) and my sisters and the ladies (*haraman*) were often in his company. Of all the tents, Ma'suma Sultan Begam's was at the top of the row. Next came Gul-rang Begam's, and *ajam*'s was in the same place. Then the tent of my mother, Gul-barg Begam, and of Bega Begam, and the others. They set up the offices (*kar-khaneha*) and got them into order. When they had put up the pavilions (*khaima*) and tents (*khar-gah*) and the audience tent (*bar-gah*), the emperor came to see the camp and the splendid set-out, and visited the Begams and his sisters. As he dismounted near Ma'suma Begam's (tent), he honoured her with a visit. All of us, the begams and my sisters were in his society. When he went to any begam's or sister's quarters, all the begams and all his sisters used to go with him."[11]

Note the careful attention paid to precise rules: designated days to go to the other side of the river, arrangements of the tents of women, or the padshah himself coming to see the first arrangement, the manner of visitation, the adab (correct deportment) of accompaniment, and so forth.

In another description of the role of the haraman (women of the haram), the Begum recounts an episode that occurred during the period when Humayun was on the run owing to the challenge of the Afghan ruler Sher Shah. Humayun's movements through various parts of Hindustan and central Asia at this time were complicated by the struggle for power with his own stepbrothers (a conflict which continued for the most part of their lives). In this conflict, Mirza Kamran and Mirza 'Askari, his two stepbrothers, were often accomplices.

At one point during this struggle, Mirza Kamran suggested to 'Askari that they should work together to take Qandahar from Mirza Hindal, the third stepbrother of Humayun. On hearing of what was transpiring, Humayun approached Khanzadeh Begum, his paternal aunt (sister of Babur), and requested her to go to Qandahar to advise Mirza Hindal and Mirza Kamran that since the threat of the Uzbiks and Turkmans (rival clansmen) was great, it was in their best interests to be friends among themselves. Khanzadeh Begum traveled from Jun to Qandahar, and

[10] Gul-Badan Begim. The History og Humayn (Humayn-name), trans-lated by A.S. Beveridge from the only known MS of the British Museum, London, 1902

[11] Gulbadanbegum's "Humayunnama", translated by A.S.beveridge, New Deli 2001

Kamran arrived there from Kabul. Mirza Kamran urged Khanzadeh Begum to have the khutba read in his name. As regards the matter of khutba, he also wrote to Hindal's mother (and his stepmother) Dildar Begum, who suggested he asked Khanzadeh Begum, their elder kinswoman, "the truth about the khutba (haqiqate khutbeh)." When Kamran finally spoke with Khanzadeh Begum, she advised him thus: "…as his Majesty Firdaus-makani (Babur) decided it and gave his throne to the Emperor Humayun, and as you, all of you, have read (khandeh-id) the khutba in his name till now, so now regard him as your superior and remain in obedience to him."

These two extracts, picked almost at random, reveal a haram far different from that commonly presented, even in recent academic accounts. The first says something about the manner in which the Baburid padshah spent time with his women; the density of relationships and the sense of community that emerges is noteworthy. The second describes a woman in the 16th century playing a key role in the reading of the khutba – the decree for the proclamation of a new kingship. These two extracts from Gulbadan's *Ahval-i Humayun Badshah* are enough to indicate the kinds of questions that the text immediately raises, and that it is necessary for us to ask – and if possible answer – about the imbrication of the Baburid 'domestic' world in the everyday life of the courts and kings, or equally, the imbrication of courts and kings in the everyday life of the 'domestic' world.

To explore the point about the potential for raising newer questions through a source like Gulbadan's memoir, let me consider two more extracts in some detail. In addition to demonstrating the memoir's rare contents, these extracts should also flag its unusual character, derived from allusions to the very process at work in the making of the Baburid monarchy and its history. The extracts that I consider here deal with the place and meanings of negotiation in a royal marriage, the meanings of birth, and the definition of 'seniority'. As the language of Gulbadan's memoir suggests, all these can be seen to have far more complicated and contested meanings and implications in the early Baburid world than the available literature would lead us to believe.

In the midst of a protracted war between Humayun and his stepbrother Kamran, there was a brief settlement when Humayun permitted Kamran to march to Kabul and he himself left for Bikaner. At Pat, Humayun's stepmother Dildar Begum organised an entertainment "at which all the ladies of the court were present." Amongst these was Hamideh Banu Begum, the daughter of the preceptor of another of his stepbrothers, Mirza Hindal. Humayun made enquiries about her and decided to marry her. On hearing this, Mirza Hindal is reported to have said: "I thought you came here to do me honour, not to look out for a young bride…" This displeased Humayun, and he left. Dildar Begum then patched up matters: "you (Hindal) are speaking very improperly to his Majesty, whom you ought to consider as the representative of your late father."[12] The Begum gave 'a nuptial banquet' the next day, "after which she delivered the young lady to his Majesty, and gave them her blessing." Humayun and Hamideh then proceeded to Bhakkar.

Mirza Hindal's response to Humayun's expressed desire to marry Hamideh Banu, and Dildar Begum's firm chiding of Hindal are both statements against the supposed *bi-adabi* (bad behaviour, lack of good breeding and refinement)[49] of two people. They point to the importance of correct behaviour in the matter of seeking brides and making marriages.

The above account is taken from the Tazkirat-ul-vaqi'at, memoirs of Humayun padshah recorded by his servant, Jawhar. However, the same affair is given a somewhat different rendering in Gulbadan Banu Begum's *Ahval-i Humayun Badshah.* Although the detail concerning Hindal and Humayun's argument over Hamideh Banu and that of Dildar Begum's intervention up to the point of marriage is almost identical, what Jawhar's memoir does not indicate is that Hamideh, in fact, initially refused to be married to Humayun. According to Gulbadan, she objected when she

[12] Gulbadanbegum's "Humayunnama", translated by A.S.beveridge, New Deli 2001

was invited to Dildar's quarters on Humayun's insistence: "If it is to pay my respects, I was exalted by paying my respects the other day. Why should I come again?" Dildar Begum advised her, "After all you will marry someone. Better than a king who is there?" Hamideh's response was: "Oh yes, I shall marry someone; but he shall be a man whose collar my hand can touch, and not one whose skirt it does not reach."

One may see Hamideh's reluctance as a part of a continuous debate, indeed a tension, in matters of appropriate behaviour in the lives of people at the court. In one of the communications that Hamideh sent to the emperor, she said: "To see kings once is lawful; a second time it is forbidden. I shall not come." It is precisely conduct, or rather the question about proper conduct, that is raised and to which Humayun must attend. Humayun responded to the concern implicit in Hamideh's refusal to visit him a second time: "If she is not a consort (na-mahram-and), we will make her a consort *(mahram misazim*)." He then married her.

The marriage of Humayun and Hamideh Banu is an interesting example of organisation and 'control' in marriages. Women's choice in matters of matrimony reflects their concern for whom they married and, importantly in the Timurid-Baburid context, their attention to genealogy and dynasty. In this instance the negotiation of marriage is especially striking for the careful attention paid to tradition and protocol, and to the minute rules of social interaction – the number of times it was legitimate to visit a king, and the importance of making a marriage, even when a padshah desired to take a woman. There were many different kinds of royal women, and they worked in different ways to preserve the lineage and its practices. The senior women made dynastic linkages through marriages; in those marriages the name of the Timurid-Baburids was carried forward by young wives (like Hamideh Begum, Bigeh Begum, and Miveh-jan) who produced heirs. The function required of senior women was neither sexual nor reproductive; but as young mothers, these senior women too had been expected to give birth to children. Tradition was preserved (and perpetuated) by their bodily, reproductive functions, but also by their role as elders and advisers – inheritors and transmitters of tradition, in both roles.

Against the background of these fragments from the *Ahval-i Humayun Badshah,* it is possible to consider the way of life of the early Timurid-Baburids and the conditions of their peripatetic domestic lives. An analysis of the roles and positions of the members of this domestic world allows us to explore the meanings of relationships among Baburid men and women, which were extremely varied, mostly hierarchical, at times conflictual, and in other contexts displaying diverse forms of community. Different kinds of relationships are seen in the participation of women and men in the making of marriages, in festivities and other celebrations, and the observance of customs and rituals at births and deaths and more everyday occasions. It is through an examination of these moments and happenings that we are likely to be able to delineate forms of Baburid sociability as well think through other categories like those of motherhood and wifehood, for instance, the ways in which marriages were effected (and why in those ways), and similarly the prevailing notions of duty, loyalty, and love.

Gulbadan's memoir thus helps us question many of the assumptions that have commonly been made about the Baburid world – in both its public and domestic domains. In the case of the latter, our understanding has been collapsed into the stereotypical image of something called the *haram*. The memoir on the other hand takes us through the complex set of relations in which women of the nobility were involved in the domestic sphere. It points to the public-political affairs that were necessarily conducted here as well as in the courts; and through all this to the very different meanings attaching to family, married life, and domestic affairs in this 16th century world. Thus the domestic world of the early Baburids may be imagined as a domain in which many different kinds of duties and activities, bonds of solidarity, notions of sexuality, questions of reproduction and reproductive rights (and duties), varying states of celebration and joy, loss and grief, differing concepts of genealogy, and diverse traditions and practices come together.

The very language of Gulbadan's text points to attributes of the domestic world of the early Baburids that have been insufficiently noticed. The vocabulary used to describe the kings' kin and associates illustrates the extent to which differences in the physical, political, and cultural circumstances of the early Baburids affected their domestic relationships. Varied contexts and diverse units of reference are invoked in thinking of these relationships. Consider only a few of these terms, dispersed through the Begum's memoir: *ahl-u-'ayal, ahl-i Baburid, ahl-i haram, haraman va khishavandan, haraman-i padshah,* and *nasl-i Sahib Qiran*.

The first of these words (also often used by Babur in the *Baburnama*) is *ahl-u-'ayal. Ahl* means companion or relative, person, people of distinction, servant, and attendant: and in the plural (kasan), kinsmen (*khishavand*), relatives of men, race or tribe (*qawm*), friends (*payruvan, yaran, ashab*), or wife and children of someone (ahl-i-bayt-i-kisi or zan-u-farzand-i kisi). *Ayal* carries with it the connotation of dependency (*muhtaj*). It is used for person(s) living with a man, who bears his/her expenses: for example, a servant, a wife, or a small child. It is used thus for a *ghulam*, a slave, and servant. By applying the above definition of ahl to *ahl-i Baburid*, the meaning we get is kinsmen, wives, children and dependants of the Baburids. Likewise, extending the meaning of *ahl* to ahl-i haram, the definition of the latter is, the people of the *haram*. Haraman va *khishavandan* implies kinsmen and women of the haram (in certain contexts used only in the relation to the wives); and *haraman-i padshah*, the wives of the king. Nasl of Sahib Qiran (Timur) incorporated children (*awlad, bachcheh*), descendants (*akhlaf*), and great grandchildren (nabireh). It implied the *khandan, dudman, dudeh,* and pusht (several generations). *Khandan* means household or the family, to use Dehkhoda's translation. Khandan also carries the following meanings – *dudman* or genealogy, tabar or extraction, dudeh or genealogy.

The words and phrases discussed above are far from being synonymous. Different terms are used in different contexts to refer to diverse conceptions of the Baburid family or community. For instance, a strong genealogical component is woven into Babur's conception of his kinfolk. Gulbadan quotes him saying as, "Whoever there may be of the family (nasl) of Sahib-qiran and Chingiz Khan (*az nasl-i Sahib Qiran*), let them turn towards our court." In Babur's own comment – "For nearly a hundred and forty years the capital of Samarkand had been in our family (khanivadeh)" – we come across another term, khanivadeh. This is a compound noun meaning khandan, carrying also with it indications of *dudman, tabar, or dudeh*, as may be seen in Babur's statement above. It could also be used in the sense of 'pertaining to an illustrious family', 'familial' or khanivadigi. As a compound noun, khanivar, it means people of the same house.

Even a brief review of this terminology is sufficient to jolt our long held assumptions about the life and spirit of Baburid women and men. At the very least, the diversity and variability of these terms should show that the fixed, unchanging, clearly demarcated haram of received Baburid historiography was hardly possible in Babur's and Humayun's peripatetic reigns. It is important to note that the term haram comes to be applied regularly to the royal women and their living quarters only in Akbar's time. It is only then that a clearly demarcated, 'sacred incarcerated' sphere emerges, as the space of the Baburid domestic world.[63]

Other Sources in the Light of Gulbadan's Text

If the multiplex character of Gulbadan's memoir opens some fascinating arenas for us, it also helps us read other Baburid chronicles very differently, for these too turn out to be richer in meaning and content than the historians have made them out to be.

In histories of the Baburids, there is a sharp focus on the personality and politics of the Baburid kings and their most prominent lieutenants. The emperor, his nobles and their political-administrative-military exploits are explored over and over again; other worlds are hardly even scratched. There are two problems that flow from this. First, as feminist writings have shown in

so many other contexts, a large part of the human experience falls outside history. This happens partly because ordinary, everyday, 'domestic' events are not always documented by the state, or institutionalised in public archives. As a consequence, the account of the great historical changes and developments also fails to come to life. Few Baburid histories have been histories of people building lives, relationships, or domestic worlds; and, in a word, even the description of the momentous and the extraordinary sometimes becomes empty.

Gulbadan Begum's *Ahval-i Humayun Badshah* draws our attention to the importance of the quotidian at the very moment of extraordinary, momentous events. The challenge of her memoir may be summed up in a number of ways. Perhaps the easiest point to note is that she raises important questions about life and activities in the household of the early Baburids: the place and meanings of negotiation in a royal marriage, the definition of seniority, the role and construction of tradition, lineage and so on. Gulbadan's text poses a second, and less obvious, challenge too. The Begum shows us the Baburid empire in a very different light from that of the official histories and much of its subsequent historiography. Her empire is not yet fully institutionalised. Though Gulbadan's text was actually used as a source for the official chronicle of Akbar's empire, interestingly it is her text, and not the imperial history, that tells us about the making of the empire. What the *Akbarnama* (and the A'in-i *Akbari*) provides is an institutionalised history of an empire already in place – fully formed, so to speak. Gulbadan's text, on the other hand, shows us the empire (and its history) being formed. Thus her *Ahval* appears important in at least three ways. First, chronologically speaking, it evokes a powerful impression of an empire that is not already known or made, a political formation taking unsteady steps from infancy to maturity. Secondly, in terms of domestic manners and emotional life, the text provides much food for thought on the less tangible (and less documentable) aspects of Baburid history. Finally, on the question of history (and empire) itself, the text serves as a symbol of how official 'history' came to be written as part of the construction of an empire; of course, the Begum's memoir ended up in historiographical flotsam, suggesting both the entrenched politics and the machinations involved in the construction of historical archives.

Once we have been alerted to some of these hidden dimensions of Baburid history by a text like Gulbadan's, we discover that the canonical, mainstream sources long used by Baburid historians themselves yield information on many of these matters when we go to them with new questions: unusual and unexpected evidence on the rough and tumble of social life, on everyday struggles, fears and pleasures, on the construction of new subjectivities and new historical conditions.

After a brief tour of Gulbadan's text, it is interesting to refer to Abu'l Fazl's grand compendium, the Akbarnama, the place where we find detailed reference to a women's 'hajj' (pilgrimage) led by Gulbadan Begum herself. The exceptional character of this event – a hajj of women, initiated by a woman, and to a large extent organised by women – remains an unusual happening in the annals of high Baburid history. The hajj is remarkable precisely because it is a women's hajj; it tells us something about the process of the consolidation of a Muslim empire in south Asia. The women's hajj seems to be one of the major pietistic activities that Akbar supported during his reign, part of a whole series of moves that he and others in his court and household perhaps saw as necessary to the consolidation of a new Muslim empire in a predominantly non-Muslim land. We never hear of such an incident again in the reigns of Akbar's well-established successors. Is this because they were already so well established? Or because the royal women, now better 'incarcerated', had far less opportunity to take exceptional initiatives and set off on such a pilgrimage? Indeed, the royal women's hajj led by Gulbadan comes as a startling discovery because, while the Akbarnama provides considerable detail about the hajj, historians have paid little or no attention to it.

In a similar way, Gulbadan's memoir leads us to a set of new questions on the message of some of the miniature paintings made in Akbar's atelier. Baburid miniatures are surely among the few documents that provide us with a rich body of materials for the study of the Baburid court and

society. But even where their importance as sources has been recognised, the questions asked have been chiefly about processes of production, and about assigning authorship and dates; or, in the hands of a 'social historian' like K.S.Lal, about the 'reality' of these representations (do these miniatures stand for real Baburid women?). The fact is that these idealised, and stylised, representations – for that is what they are – still have much to tell us about hierarchies and relationships in the Baburid world.

The royal atelier became a major department under Akbar; the production of miniatures as illustrations for manuscripts and other compendiums was part of the process of institutionalisation that I have referred to above. These paintings are especially important in the light of the fact that Abu'l Fazl placed Akbar on an awesome pedestal in the authoritative 'Akbarnama' – representing him as the all-powerful monarch at the helm of a new order. In this new order, a world where the monarch innovatively proclaimed his superior position even in the organisation of architectural space, the entire imperial domain, including the Baburid domestic world, would have provided a site for the display of the splendour of Akbar's supreme power. Interestingly, the matter appears in a more textured light in these contemporary visual illustrations, although Akbar may still seem to be at the helm of affairs. Even in the context of Akbar's newly consolidated grandeur, the other domains, as revealed through these paintings, do not automatically become a passive ground for the display of the new monarchical power. In these representations, the emperor by no means appears as the exclusive source of authority in the new political culture of the Baburid court. Rather, this visual representation seems to hint at continuing tensions flowing from the multiple bases of legitimacy and power.

For all their idealisation, and attempt to elevate the emperor and his court, many of these paintings depict unusual situations in which Akbar is not always, and certainly not solely, the centre of life and energy. Let me refer to a couple of examples from a widely available catalogue put together by Andrew Topsfield, entitled *Indian Paintings from Oxford Collections.* In one painting from this collection, "A Prince and a Maid with a Wine Cup", Topsfield suggests that the figures are most likely 'idealised types', though the prince resembles Akbar in early manhood. Part of his description is worth noting: "The pavilion behind, with its thin sandstone pillars, arabesque carpet, wine-flasks in niches, half-furled curtain and half-open door to an inner chamber, suggests a mood of amorous expectancy….". Although Topsfield accurately draws our attention to the mood of the painting, there is in fact more to be seen in this miniature. Here the maid is cast in a direct upstanding posture, holding the cup, and Akbar stands in a graceful, almost shy manner: he looks downward and his posture suggests delicacy and uncertainty. In this representation, no one central position of authority emerges clearly.

Or take a very different miniature from the same collection as above that depicts other layers of court society and activity. This one is entitled "The Court Scene with Chaghatai Dancers". Andrew Topsfield reads this painting in the following way: "A ruler, probably the young Akbar, receives two noblemen who are introduced by an elderly courtier, beneath a richly ornate canopy. Attendants stand on either side, while in the foreground a spirited group of dancers and musicians provide the Emperor's entertainment." In fact, there are two parts to the painting. In the first, Akbar is shown seated on a raised platform, engaging with three men, as we can see from the gesture of his hand. The canopy above the three men, like the dais of the emperor and the raised pavilion in which he is seated, speaks of nobility and hierarchy. This upper portion of the painting seems to be demarcated from the rest of the folio by two men bearing different royal symbols. On the emperor's right hand side, next to the three nobles, stands a man with a falcon (a sign of kingship). Across from him stands another person with another regal symbol. Their presence divides the upper half of the image from the lower area where the Chaghatai dancers perform.

The gestures of the noblemen portrayed have a great deal to say about Baburid manners and decorum. Likewise, in the bottom half of the painting, where dance and music abound,

performers, musicians, and other servants, like the ewer-bearer, speak of other moments in the life of the court. Although the emperor is the focal point in this painting, these zones of activities, it seems to me, can be read as metaphors for the many worlds of the emperor – worlds that relate to him but are not necessarily always concentrated upon him. Especially in the context of Akbar's reign, the question of many points of initiative remains an important one. For a more layered understanding of Baburid court and society, historians need to pay far closer attention to these kinds of illustrations, and the power and hierarchy symbolised in them.

Once such challenging complexities are noted in one set of materials, it is to be hoped that the historian would look at other texts, with a very different eye. European travellers' accounts, for example, another major source of information for historians of Baburid India, also contain unusual and valuable details on several aspects of Baburid social life and hierarchy. The point is to attend to them carefully because they depict social visions and contests in other interesting ways. Father Moserrate's 1580s account of Akbar's court, to refer to one example, like that of other travellers can be seen to be full of scandalous stories and hasty generalisations. Witness his not so subtle observation that Akbar had 'more than 300' wives and yet 'only five' children. At the same time, he records that Akbar's mother, Hamideh Banu Begum, acted as the head of the province of Delhi, when he marched to Kabul in the late 1570s to suppress a conspiracy involving several rebels to install Mirza Hakim, the emperor's half-brother, as the ruler of Hindustan. Add to this, his reference to the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken by the women of Akbar's *haram* in 1578. As we have noted earlier, this pilgrimage was organised under the guidance of the emperor's aunt Gulbadan Banu Begum. Both the latter episodes are remarkable examples of the high profile of the senior Baburid women, and the power they could sometimes attain – instances that are, interestingly, not detailed in any of the court chronicles of the time. This in itself should serve as sufficient invitation for us to explore further how European travellers' accounts might contribute to a better understanding of Baburid society and culture.

Thus, the easily available but neglected memoir of a Baburid princess enables us to raise questions about a Baburid 'becoming' that Baburid historians have all too often skirted. This relates both to the coming into being of an empire, and to the simultaneous institution of an archive. By making it possible for us to see how one of the most vaunted Baburid sources (the *Akbarnama*) came into being, rendering its own 'sources' peripheral as it did so, the memoir opens up the question of the making of sources, even as it raises questions about the assigned limits of Baburid history.

The Begum's text challenges some of Baburid historiography's most beloved propositions, such as the one that the sources are simply not available for this or that inquiry. Sensitised by the Begum's account of the struggles involved in the establishment of a new royal life and culture, one also learns what other ('central', official) frequently mined sources for a study of the times are capable of telling us about these very processes. For what Gulbadan's *Ahval-i Humayun Badshah* suggests very clearly indeed is the fact of the fluidity and contestation that went into the founding of this new polity in its new setting – not only its new power and grandeur, but also its new regulations and accommodations, its traditions and its hierarchies. Her writing points to the history of a subjectivity and a culture, of political power and of social relationships, struggling to be born. Historians wishing to extend the frontiers of Baburid history cannot but ask, as part of this endeavour, for a more sustained history of everyday lives and associations based on sources like Gulbadan's memoir, but hardly on that alone.

Chapter III. Works about babur and his dynasty

3.1. Stephen F. Dale and his book 'The Garden of the Eight Paradises.'

Stephen Dale has undertaken a remarkable endeavour in writing this book on Zahir al- Din Muhammad Babur. In his own words Babur was the last great 'Timurid-Chinggizid', the man who initiated the 'Timurid Renaissance' and carried forward Timur's legacy from Samarkand to Kabul and more importantly to Agra in North India thus creating the 'Timurid-Baburid' epoch. Stephen F. Dale wrote the book 'The Garden of the Eight Paradises: Babur and the Culture of Empire in Central Asia, Afghanistan and India (1483-1530)' and it was published by Prajakti Kalra, Cambridge Central Asia Forum, Cambridge, United Kingdom in 2007. He presents in his book, 'The Garden of the Eight Paradises,' a thorough reading and analysis of the Baburnama substantiated with a chronicle of Islamic prose and poetry of the period (15th-16th centuries), and cross-referenced with historical sources ranging from Al-Baruni's travelogue of Hindustan (11th century) to Abu Fazl's 17th century Persian translation of Babur's memoirs under Emperor Akbar (Babur's grandson). Given the massive scope of the project there is on occasion a slide into erring to the side of too much detail making the material too dense and thus unreadable. For example, when Dale talks about various autobiographies written by other Muslim rulers or when he talks about Alisher Navoi's (acclaimed Turki poet) life or even that of Amir Khusrau (court-writer under Ala-u-Din Khalji) of Hindustan.

The primary source that Dale has used is Babur's memoirs which he calls the 'Vaqa`i' or Events and is more commonly referred to as the Baburnama, though Babur never gave it a title. The Vaqa`i or the Baburnama is Babur's diary, an account of his life in Chaghatay Turkish language (Turki). According to Dale, Babur's prose in the form of his memoirs and the numerous Persian and Turki poetry and couplets (gazals, and ruba`iyat) that he has left behind are a rich source of information and events that transpired in Central Asia, Afghanistan and Northern India roughly between 1483 and 1530. The Vaqa`i tells the story of a young 'Timurid- Chinggizid' prince who inherits a part of the Timurid realm at the age of twelve when his father died in an accident and covers his life's journey to the time Babur founded the great Baburid Empire in Hindustan. The quality and the sheer volume of information in the pages of the Vaqa`i is indeed noteworthy, as is the fact that it is a unique example of an Islamic autobiography with few other comparisons. Dale clarifies for us that the Vaqa`i not only paints a vivid picture of the life and times that Babur lived in but is also full of details about bio-diversity (plants and animals) that Babur came across in his travels thus identifying it as a fantastic source for historical research.

Dale is in no way blinded by the beatific prose dripping of honesty and moral superiority found abundantly in Babur's reflections, but there is a slant toward giving Babur too much credit for his literary skills and commending him on his poetic skill (comparing him to Alisher Navoi). However, as discussed before, Dale's assertion that Babur's poetry is a largely untapped source by academics is duly noted. Dale assigns a large section to the description and translation of Babur's poetry and contextualises his work with that of other Timurid-Chinggizid rulers of the time, such as Husayn Bayqara of Herat who was almost as well known for his skill as a poet as a successful militaristic leader. Babur in his memoirs and Dale in this book turn to Husayn Bayqara consistently for comparison but Dale fails to give any examples of actual verses written by Husayn Bayqara to evaluate the quality of Babur's verses, instead focusing on Alisher Navoi who was a professional poet.

Stephen Dale also misses out on one significant point that even though Babur saw himself or at least wanted to express his thoughts of being the perfect ruler, in other words a civilised (Persianised) ruler of a sedentary population, his memoirs are essentially the diary of a nomad. For the majority of his life Babur was a nomadic Timurid prince who had been ousted from his homeland (Andijan, Ferghana, and Samarkand) and forced to escape into Herat, and then Afghanistan where much time was spent raiding and subduing rebellion and his rule was only secure after Shaibani Khan died and the Uzbeks left Kabul alone. It is important to point out that Babur wrote most of the Vaqa`i when he was in Hindustan. The story of his trials and travails took formal shape after he finally found success in conquering Kabul and Hindustan. The author does not dwell on this aspect and in that leaves himself open to criticism despite his assertions of a generous self-serving bias found in Babur's writings. **Dale** *also takes some facts on face-value, mainly Babur's assertion that he has Chinggizid blood from his mother's side traced via his 'Mongol' grandfather Yunus Khan. This is not a universal truth accepted by most historians of today. It is unclear in the light of no extant detailed family tree of Yunus Khan, which was commonly found among Mongols, whether he actually was a descendant of Chinggiz Khan.*
The commentary on Babur's life, travels, poetry, the politics and intrigues in society are brilliantly covered in Dale's description and analysis of the Vaqa`i. Along with an exhaustive reading of the Vaqa`i, Dale makes a concerted effort to discuss in detail sources that have been used by historians to study Babur. These sources include Mirza Haydar Dughlat's (Babur's cousin) Tarikh-i-Rashidi, Gulbadan Begam's (Babur's daughter) Humayun Nama, all be it Dale has used translations already available. There is also an attempt at corroborating Babur's impressions with works of other historians like that of Khwandamir, Hasan-i Rumlu, and Amir Khusrau. The analysis that Dale provides us with in relation to the language that Babur uses (Turki as opposed to Persian) brings to the fore a heavy burden on the statement that Babur had an audience in mind when writing his memoirs. Dale contradicts himself when he says that the Baburnama was first and foremost Babur's personal diary and then follows it up with how Babur intended it for a particular audience. The use of Turki does not emphasise a Samarkand-Ferghana audience and the lack of Farsi does not necessarily imply an exclusion of the Indo-Persian world but rather goes to show that Babur grew up in an environment speaking both the languages and since he was writing a diary he used whichever language that best provided him with access to expressions that suited what he wanted to put down on paper. In summary, the author has done a magnificent job of taking on the task of explaining and analysing Babur and his life via principally the reading of his memoirs. He focuses on a thrust toward giving Babur's poetry a more careful reading for the purposes of providing a more holistic picture of the Central Asian prince, Babur, who became the Padshah of Hindustan and Kabul. It serves as a fantastic repository of sources and information for 15th-16th century Central Asia, Kabul and Hindustan. At times too much to get through but overall an engaging account of the founder of the Baburid Empire in Northern India, the great-grandfather of the builder of the Taj Mahal, whose legacy continues to play a significant role in the identity and nation building processes in Central and South Asia even today.

3.2. Ruby Lal and his book '*Domesticity and Power in the Early Baburid World*.'

The Professor of Emory University R.Lal wrote the book "*Domesticity and Power in the Early Baburid World" which was printed in Oxford:Cambridge University Press in 2005.* The book concerns the state and its rulers dominated the historiography of Baburid India. While some scholars argue for the centralized character of the Baburid state, others have pointed out its contested and negotiated nature. More recent scholars have come up with studies that underline the fluidity of the state. Ruby Lal's Domesticity and Power in the Early Baburid World is one of the two major works on the contestations and negotiations inherent in the functioning of the Baburid state. This supposedly unconventional subject, the domestic world of the Baburids, is predisposed to question the politics of history writing (which had hitherto been centred on politics and trade), and this book marks a first attempt to understand gender relations at the Baburid court. Lal revisits the Baburids, and their domestic world in particular, provides a detailed genealogy of the rulers, and takes to task colonial caricatures. The author refers to early travellers' emperor-centric accounts, which referred to women only marginally. For them, the harem was worth exploring and examining but they ended up giving, at times, misleading—even fantastic—accounts of it. The efforts to understand the oriental culture and society during the colonial period resulted in a concoction of information from, what Lal calls, 'fluid and self-contradictory travellers' accounts'. This had an impact on the understanding of the domestic world of the Baburids as the numerous incidents that the early writers had keenly observed were interpreted as symbolic of perversion. Intrepidly, Lal's book provides an alternative to the sensuous, voyeuristic Baburid harem marquee, reproducing instead the vibrant and contested nature of the harem/domestic of the Baburids. Such a portrayal of the royal domestic space, akin to the research of Leslie Peirce in the context of the Ottoman harem, challenges the common notion that gender segregation indicates limited and restricted involvement on the part of royal women. Instead, Lal demonstrates that the decisions of the Baburid emperor, and thereby the policy of the Baburid state, were formed by the politics and complexities of the royal household. This study of the royal household falls into that genre of feminist writing that envisages the household as an institution in which gender relations are structured, enforced, and, possibly, contested. Underlining the fluidity of the domestic arrangements of the Baburids, this book builds upon the role that the royal Baburid household, especially the females, had in the making of the Baburid state structure. This approach problematizes and broadens the polarized character of the public-private model, and the book takes us through the various meanings attached to the concept of the 'public-private domain', especially in the non-western world. By taking up issues such as the intersection of the political interests of women and men, the book emphasizes the superfluity of such distinctions, and contends for the dynamism and contestation of the Baburid

harem. Domesticity and Power, which covers the period from the sixteenth century to the early-seventeenth century, is divided into six chapters, besides an introduction and a conclusion, that underscore the differences in the domestic world of the peripatetic period of Babur and Humayun from that of Akbar's centralized administration. The book focuses on a re-reading of contemporary historical literature in the light of the new set of questions it poses. The oft-repeated inadequacy of the sources in matters related to women and domestic life has been challenged, and information culled from Gulbadan begum's Ahval-i Humayun Badshah has been critically analysed. Gulbadan's account of Babur and Humayun's reigns was part of a programme commissioned by Akbar, and was to become the official source for the chronicling of his rule. Through Ahval, which gives an account of the nascent Baburid monarchy, Domesticity and Power shows how the harem metamorphosed over a period of time into a bounded space which could be understood as a family. The record of routine events (like the king's visits to the royal women, preparation of marriages, and distribution of gifts) in the Ahval, is, for Lal, a repertoire of the processes involved in the making of 'hierarchical relationships, building alliances and reinforcing kinship solidarities'.[13] Lal examines how royal life evolved through a period of struggle, how the Baburid monarchy was made, and the role royal women played in Baburid politico-cultural thought. Making good use of Persian terminology, Lal shows how the domestic/harem, and the relations between different communities within it, evolved over time: from kin and intimate relationships to an awe-inspiring monarchy whose women/harem was to be much more secluded. This is a necessary step to reaching an understanding of the political power, and consequent social relations, of the Baburid world. The book describes the reign of three successive Baburid rulers. The first is Babur, whose reign was fraught with incessant conflict among his cousins which necessitated direct deliberations with his fellow men. Lal finds in this a homo-social domestic environment, in which emotions played an important role. The second ruler is Humayun. Even though the court was still peripatetic during his reign, and although he faced outside rivals, he developed a tighter royal entourage in which hierarchies were more clearly defined than before, and where there was greater formality—to the extent that 'elaborate rituals of comportment' were being written down. Babur had invoked his ancestral connections to legitimize his rule. Humayun also invoked his exalted pedigree, but he preferred to enforce his power by demanding a strict adherence to the code of conduct. This led in turn to the 'beginning of settlement of his court, its increased organization, of peoples, of relationships, of roles'. There were certain stringent regulations which governed the conduct of close associates (pp. 96–99), and Lal attempts to show the debates and tensions in the lives of the people at court which mirrored the intersection of private and public-political affairs. Turning the pages over, we come across women-specific information. One finds themes such as marriage, motherhood, and wifehood, through which Lal locates the harem in the peripatetic world of the Baburids. Babur never discussed the harem as an institutionalized entity (which was, of course, only a later development); and among other things the harem meant, simply, 'women'. By Humayun's time, the word was being used more frequently, but it still referred to the imperial women, the haraman-i padshah. As for their contribution, the royal women had a due place in the construction of the monarchy. They were not only the carriers of the new dynasty, but they also socialized new members. This created the opportunity for women's agency in the production and circulation of power. The intersection of the interests of men and women undermines any conception of a separate and independent domestic sphere. Amidst the multifaceted and intimate community which encompassed the domestic world the Baburids, Lal's account relives various episodes and stories to reveal the hierarchical and emotional relationships within the harem, which were respected by the kings, and how women played a crucial role, such as in brokering peace, as one may find many entanglements in the making of monarchy. Thus Lal considers the deliberations over marriages, Humayun-Hamideh Banu's, and bases upon them a narrative of the making of Baburid political norms, traditions, protocols, and the agency women enjoyed

[13] http:www.ziyonet.uz

(concerning their own marriage). Thus instead of being a segregated domain, the domestic/harem of the Baburids was open to negotiations and challenges from within.

In contrast to his predecessors, Akbar's presence and charisma were not dependent on an exalted ancestry, as he was divinely ordained; God granted him kingship. The leader of religion and realm, Akbar needed to exhibit an extraordinary magnificence and distinctiveness. He tried to consolidate his power first by disciplining his own body, including his sexual behaviour, so that one finds hetero-social and masculine sexual ethical comportments; secondly, by carefully constructing, and separating, spaces for different activities and rituals; and, thirdly, through a network of marriages which was a necessary adjunct of imperial power and control. If he were to be an awe-inspiring monarch, his harem had to be quite unique too. It now became an institutionalized body, which, according to Lal, had its genesis in the formation of royalty itself. At this time, the word harem began to be used to refer not only to the women themselves, but also to the spaces they occupied and their service-class. It is now, too, that one begins to find a neatly compartmentalized space. Various invocations, analysed in the book, convey the sense that Akbar and his dwellings were in close proximity to the Prophet and the holy sites associated with him. Under such circumstances, the places associated with Akbar, largely his harem, drew respect and, thereby, seclusion. The construction of a new capital at Fatehpur Sikri, that spatially organized the various people and structures within it, was one of the ways to create quarters manifesting the power of the monarchy. In this scheme, the women came to occupy demarcated spaces. Further, the invisibility of women was achieved, Lal argues, through the complete obliteration of the names of the mothers of the future heirs. By making the private apartments more sacred and, therefore, invisible to those outside the immediate family, the monarchy created for itself an aura of being beyond the reach of its subjects. In this scheme the domestic world is more subjugated, as Akbar's persona encompassed both spiritual and temporal powers. Lal in various ways tries to show how in reality the domestic world of Akbar betrayed such a characterization. Instead she discusses diverse ways by which women gained a central role at various junctures, such as intercessions or the provision of counsel. Thus even though the Baburid order was much more formalized and the domestic more secluded, Lal brings out the women's role in the contestation of those sovereign ideals—a contestation that was part of Baburid political traditions. Besides the intimate community, Lal is aware of the importance of Akbar's foster community, thus there is also a detailed description of this community. As this promoted relationships with individuals who were not kinsmen, it took to a higher level the politics of marriage making; such a promotion of foster-relations did have an impact on the socio-political relations of the actors concerned.

One episode that has triggered the author's anxiety is the decision of Gulbadan begum to lead the hajj party in 1578. The author has mapped onto this venture the desires and agency of the imperial women; something which helps to accentuate the fact that these women remained visible, despite the fact that they now resided in secluded places. Hajj was undeniably more than a spiritual journey on the part of the women. It fostered an Islamic image of the empire, which was one reason why it had been fully supported by the settled and consolidated government of Akbar. It was an exceptional enterprise of, and for, the royal women, who had a more or less secluded life, and it consequently slams the door on the notion of a domestic world of the Baburids (p. 213).

The conclusion sums up the findings of each chapter, including the introduction, providing a picture of the development of domestic life that follows the growth and formation of the Baburid Empire. An attempt has also been made to compare Baburid women with Ottoman and Safavid women (p. 216). All three empires inherited Central Asian political traditions, but adopted different techniques to consolidate of their rule. Each experimented with different domestic arrangements, social hierarchies, rituals, and symbols. These experiments involved the creation of the harem. The rule of hasekis (the sultan's favourite concubine) or the walide sultan in the Ottoman Empire, or the naturalness of royal women's political authority in Safavid Iran have no

parallels among the Baburids. In the Baburid context, it was only the uncommonly determined and talented women who gained political importance. It was this experimentation and negotiation that give the Baburid harem a unique character. That is why the author is tormented by the omission of the names of the mothers of the Baburid heirs from contemporary chronicles; equally, Nur Jahan's marriage to Jahangir does not get a mention in his autobiography. These absences are ascribed to the patriarchal nature of the sources (p. 225). The 'final thoughts' call for a rethinking of the ways in which Islamic societies were formed and configured at a particular historical juncture.

Through this lively description of women's role in the making of the empire, its traditions, and grandeur, the Baburid social and domestic world becomes a part of the historical discourse. The book also embodies some provocative thoughts. The hajj episode, for example, emphasizes, among others things, the agency and autonomy of the women who undertook the journey. More than simply claiming women's agency in this enterprise, however, one could also notice its recognizable importance to the political economy of the day, where the 'actors in women' were performing their delineated roles. In such a big venture as the hajj, an admixture of trading and political enterprises cannot be ruled out. As the succeeding centuries would show, the ships bound to Mecca were loaded with merchandise for the vendors of that city. Thus, it may be that the hajj venture of Gulbadan was part of this exchange nexus. Although not within the thematic purview of this book, a peep into the local harem, that is the Rajput antahpura, would have added to the understanding of the evolution of the Baburid harem and the members constituting it. Could it be that the obliteration of a mother's name was the result of indigenous traditions, in which the requirements of respect hampered the so-called public pronouncement of the names of women! Written lucidly, the book opens up a new paradigm which will stimulate further researches into a neglected domain where gender relations can be tapped.

3.3. Other authors and translators about Baburids

Babur and his generation have left a great step in the world history. Many writers, translators and scientists worked and still working on the history of Babur and his dynasty. Many European and American authors and translators wrote their books, articles about Babur and his generation. They are Leyden, John & William Erskine (Life of Baber, Emperor of Hindustan, London, 1844), Thackston.Wheeler M., (Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur Mirza. Baburnama. Chaghatay Turkish Text with Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan's Persian Translation, Turkish Transcription. 3 Vols., Cambridge. Mass., 1993.), Beveridge,A.S. (The Babur-nama in English (Memoirs of Babur), Translated from the original Turki Text of Zahiru'ddin Muhammad Babur Padshah Ghazi by Annette S.Beveridge, 2 Vols., London, 1922; Repr, in one Volume, London, 1969; New Delhi, 1970; Lahore, 1975.), M.R.Godden (Gulbadan, New Dehli 2001), Farzana Moon (Six sagas in sequence from 1st to the 6th Moghul emperors.), Eygi Mano, honorary professor at Kyoto University (Japan), Harold Lamb (Babur The Tiger. New-York. 1961), Bacque-Grammond J.L. (Le livre de Babur, Paris, 1980.), King L., Leyden.J. & W.Erskine (Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed Baber, Emperor of Hindustan. London, 1826), Lane-Poole (Babar. Oxford, 1899), Stammler W. (Die Erinnerungen des esrten Grossmoguls von Indian:Das Babur-nama, Zïrich, 1988), Elliott and Dowson (History of India, London, 1867), W.Erskine (History of Baber. London, 1854). Now we shall speak about some of these authors and their books.

Margaret Rumer Godden was born on December 10, 1907, in Sussex, England. She was nine months old when her family moved to India, where her father ran a shipping line. Her works are a powerful blending of the cool English blood in her veins and the hot India sun under which she lived for so many years. "Our house was streaked with Indian or Indian streaked with English," Godden wrote in "Two Under the Indian Sun," a memoir co-authored with her sister Jon Godden in 1966. She returned to London at age 20 to learn how to teach dance to children, and opened a school back in India. She fell in love with a stockbroker, Laurence Sinclair Foster, became pregnant and married him. Returning to England while she was pregnant, she wrote her first book, "Chinese Puzzle," published in 1936. The baby died at birth, but the ill-suited couple later had two daughters. The marriage ended in 1941, and Foster left her penniless and alone in Calcutta. "I have distrusted charm ever since," she said. She tried to repay his debts, and moved her family into a mountain cottage where she ran a school, made herbal teas for sale, and wrote books. The family survived an apparent poisoning attempt by two servants, an episode that figured in her 1953 novel, "Kingfishers Catch Fire." Another novel of India, "The River," published in 1949, was one of her most acclaimed books and was made into a film by Jean Renoir in 1951. She returned to England to stay in 1945, and made a happy second marriage in 1949 to James Haynes-Dixon, who died in 1973. Rumer Godden was the author of more than 60 books, including novels, short story collections, poetry, plays and non-fiction. She published her 21st novel, "Cromartie vs. the God Shiva," in 1997. Rumer Godden died November 8, 1998, in Thornhill, Scotland, at the age of 90.

Khwandamir, Ghiyas ad-Din Muhammad. Khwandamir also spelled KHONDAMIR (b. c. 1475, Herat, Khorasan [now in Afghanistan]--d. 1534/37; buried in Delhi, India), Persian historian, one of the greatest historians of his time. Grandson of the Persian historian Mirkhwand, Khwandamir entered the service of Badi' al-Zamin, the eldest son of the Timurid ruler of Herat, Husayn Baykara. Khwandamir was an ambassador to the Uzbek ruler Muhammad Shaybani when the latter captured the city of Herat in 1507; he also witnessed the Iranian monarch Shah Esma'il I Safavi take the city and defeat the Uzbek ruler in 1510. Khwandamir then retired temporarily and began writing. Except for a brief

period spent with the eldest son of his former patron, Khwandamir seems to have settled in Herat until his departure for India in 1528. Reaching Agra, he entered the service of Babur, heir to the Timurid tradition and the first of the great Baburids rulers of India, and accompanied him on various missions. After Babur's death the historian served his son, Humayun. Returning from a march on Gujarat, Khwandamir fell ill and died. A prolific writer, Khwandamir's most outstanding works are Khulasat al-Akhbar ("The Perfection of the Narratives"), written in 1499-1500 for the Timurid minister and author Mir Ali Sher Navai; Habib al-Siyar ("The Friend of Biographies"), a general history finished in 1524, the most valuable sections of which deal with the reigns of Sultan Husayn Baykara and Shah Esma'il I Safavi; the seventh and final volume of the history Rowdat al-Safa' ("The Garden of Purity") of his grandfather, Mirkhwand; and the Humayunname ("The Book of Humayun"), in which he describes the buildings and institutions of the great Baburids empire.

Wheeler M. Thackston was born in 1944. He is an Orientalist and distinguished editor and translator of numerous Chaghatai, Arabic and Persian literary and historical sources. Thackston is a graduate of Princeton's Oriental Studies department and Harvard's Near Eastern Studies department (Ph.D., 1974), where he has been Professor of the Practice of Persian and other Near Eastern Languages since 1972. He studied at Princeton under Martin Dickson and at Harvard with Annemarie Schimmel. His best known works are Persian and Classical and Koranic Arabic grammars and his translations of the "Baburnama", the memoirs of the Baburids prince and emperor Babur, and the memoirs of Emperor Jehangir, or the "Jehangirnama".

Thackston's work is the first English translation in 70 years of Babur's candid 16th-century autobiography the earliest known autobiography in Islamic literature. Babur, one of the most significant figures in Indo-Islamic history, was descended from Timur (known in the West as Tamerlane). During the 15th century, Timurid influence on eastern Islamic art and architecture was incalculable. Driven from Timurid lands in eastern Iran and central Asia, Babur established a new domain in northern India. One of Babur's Mogul descendants would build the Taj Majal. Thackston's richly illustrated translation is extremely readable and straightforward; it captures the spirit of one of the most attractive figures in Islamic history.

Annette Susannah Akroyd Beveridge was an English educationalist, social reformer and orientalist, is remembered primarily for her early efforts at women's education in India. Born into an English business family she received the best possible education available to young women of her time. After studying at Bedford College, London, she took the decision to sail for India in order to advance the cause of women's education. Prior to her visit, Mary Carpenter had visited India and Bethune had started his school but it was yet to attract students in a big way. Around the time she went to India, members of the Brahmo Samaj, who led the campaign for women's emancipation and education, were sharply divided on what girls should be taught. The "progressive" section led by Sen was disinclined to educate women, whereas the women of the "conservative" Tagore family were highly accomplished. Her father had been a liberal Unitarian, who in 1849, supported the establishment of Bedford College, one of the earliest institutions providing higher education for women in England.

Sometimes in the early 1860s she had met a Brahmo, Monomohun Ghose, in England, with whom she formed an abiding friendship. She thus had a fair idea of the social reform program of the Brahmo Samaj even before she met Sen or had decided to sail to India. Arriving in India in October 1872, she was the house guest of Ghosh and his wife. All sections of Brahmos welcomed her. While she was highly impressed by Ghosh and his wife (who were allied with the "conservative" faction), her meetings and discussions with Keshub Chunder Sen shocked her. Annette Akroyd felt that Sen, the rhetorician of women's education in England was a typical Hindu MCP back home in India, trying to keep knowledge from the minds of women. On the other hand, Sen maintained that while he was progressive he wanted to "go slow" as he wanted to give women the inner strength with which to protect themselves. Sen had started a female and

adult normal school on 1 February, 1871. The school supplied teachers to Bethune's school and other schools later on.

Once she was married and left the school, her husband warned her not to become too much identified with Anglicised Bengalis, and that included Monomohun Ghosh and his wife. Henry Beveridge said, "I have nothing to say against Mr. and Mrs. Ghosh, who were kind to me but I do not believe that they represent the best section of Young Bengal or that Bengal will eventually follow in the track they are going." She retreated from the feverish public activity into the life of a district judge's wife traveling all over both parts of Bengal and Bihar. She learnt Persian and Turkish languages and turned to the world of oriental scholarship, in which her husband was already adept. She is an acknowledged translator of oriental texts. Among these are Gulbadan Begum's "Humayunnama", and a fresh translation of "Baburnama" - works that are treated as masterly renditions.She was opposed to the Women's suffrage movement gaining ground in England at the time. She died in London in 1929. Her son Lord William Beveridge has written a masterly biography of his parents, "India Called Them" (1947)

WILLIAM ERSKINE (1773-1852), the distinguished Orientalist, was born in Edinburgh on November 8, 1773. His father, David Erskine, was a writer to the Signet, and his grandfather, John Erskine (1605-1768), a well-known writer on Scottish law. He was educated at the Royal School and the Edinburgh University, where he was apparently a fellow student of John Leyden, whom he met again in Calcutta. He was also associated at the time with Thomas Brown, the metaphysician, and the poet Thomas Campbell. He was apprenticed for seven years (1792-9) to James Dundas, Writer to the Signet, but, the work proving uncongenial, he left Edinburgh in 1799 to become factor to Mr. Hay of Duns. There he remained till 1803, but as the salary was small, and his prospects poor, he threw up his appointment, and returned to Edinburgh with the intention of studying medicine. A fortnight later Sir James Mackintosh, who had accepted the Recordership of Bombay, invited him to accompany him to India, promising him the first appointment in his gift. Mackintosh was attracted to him by his taste for philosophical studies, and, in a letter to Dr. Parr written in 1807, he speaks of him as 'one of the most amiable, ingenious, and accurately informed men in the world'. Erskine sailed from Ryde with Mackintosh in February 1804, reaching Bombay in May of the same year. There he attended a meeting convened by Mackintosh for the purpose of founding the Literary Society of Bombay, of which Erskine was the first secretary. Soon after his arrival he was appointed Clerk to the Small Cause Court, and later served for many years as one of the stipendiary magistrates of Bombay. Erskine must have begun his Persian studies early, for he states that he had translated a small portion of Bābur's Memoirs before 1810-11. In 1820 he was appointed Master in Equity in the Recorder's Court, Bombay. Here he enjoyed the friendship and confidence of Mountstuart Elphinstone, and was a member of the committee that drew up the Bombay Code of Regulations. He did not, however, hold the office of Master in Equity for long, as he was removed from it, and left India under a cloud in 1823. The Chief Justice, West, appears to have behaved harshly to Erskine, the honesty of whose intentions was never open to doubt, though he may have been neglectful of his duties, the result perhaps of sickness. On his return from India Erskine at first settled in Edinburgh, where in 1826 he published the translation of Bābur's Memoirs, which had been completed and sent home ten years previously. He tells us in his preface that he had been working at this translation from the Persian version, while Leyden in Calcutta was engaged in translating the same work from the Tūrki original. Leyden, however, died in 1811 before his translation was half finished, leaving his papers to Erskine, who received the MS. in 1813. By this time Erskine had completed his translation, and had just finished the work of comparing the two versions, when he received from Elphinstone his copy of the Tūrki original. This compelled him to undertake the task of comparing his translation throughout with the Tūrki, of which he had only an imperfect knowledge. Though Leyden was associated with Erskine as joint translator of the Memoirs, and the book was published for the benefit of Leyden's father, the chief credit of the performance belongs to Erskine. Leyden translated only down to page 318 (Vol. I), and pages 79-94 (Vol. II) of the Memoirs, and supplied practically no notes; Erskine, on the other

hand, contributed a valuable preface and introduction, corrected Leyden's version, and translated the remainder of the work. He also supplied the notes, which Lord Jeffreys described as 'the most intelligent, learned, and least pedantic, notes we have ever seen attached to such a performance', and filled up the gaps in Bābur's narrative with scholarly memoranda. In 1827 Erskine went to Pau, and there he resided for two or three years. He became Provost of St. Andrews in 1836, and in 1839 he returned to Edinburgh. He again went abroad in 1845, and lived in Bonn till 1848. Most of his later years were spent in Edinburgh, and during the last of these he became blind. He died on May 28, 1852, and was buried in St. John's Episcopal Church. Erskine married in Madras Maitland, second daughter of Sir John Mackintosh, who died in 1861, and by whom he had fourteen children. Four of his sons were in the Indian Civil Service, of whom the eldest, James (1821-93), became judge of the Bombay High Court, and the youngest, Henry (1832-93), rose to be Commissioner of Sinde. Apart from his edition of Bābur's Memoirs his chief work was the *History of India under Bābur and Humāyūn*, which was edited by his son James, and published after his death in 1854, though it had been completed several years before. This work is a valuable contribution to Indian history, and is marked throughout by good sense, accuracy, and impartiality.

JOHN LEYDEN, M.D. (1775-1811), physician and poet, son of John Leyden and Isabella Scott, was born on September 8, 1775, at Denholm, Cavers, Roxburghshire. He received some elementary schooling at Kirktown, and from 1790 to 1797 was a student of the Edinburgh University, where he greatly distinguished himself as a scholar. During the vacations he studied Natural Science, Scandinavian and Modern Languages, Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian, while his professional pursuits included Theology, Philosophy, and Medicine. Among his associates were Brougham, Sydney Smith, Jeffreys, Horne, and Thomas Brown. From 1796 to 1798 he was tutor to the sons of Mr. Campbell of Edinburgh, and accompanied them to St. Andrews (1797-8), where he was licenced as a preacher. He contributed poems to the *Edinburgh Literary Magazine* through Anderson, the editor of *British Poets*, and was one of the first to welcome the *Pleasures of Hope*, though subsequently he and Campbell had a ridiculous quarrel, which led to amusing consequences. In 1799 he came to know Heber, who introduced him to Sir Walter Scott, whom he materially helped with the earlier volumes of *Border Minstrelsy*. About 1799 Leyden published 'An Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries and Settlement of the Europeans in Northern and Western Africa at the close of the eighteenth century'. He also contributed a poem 'The Elf King' to Lewis's *Tales of Wonder* in 1801, and edited for Constable *The Complaynte of Scotland*, with an elaborate introduction and glossary. For six months in 1802 he edited the *Scots Magazine*, contributing both prose and verse to it. His best poetic qualities, however, are shown in his 'Miscellaneous Lyrics'. Through the influence of Dundas he secured the appointment of Assistant Surgeon in Madras and after six months' study at St. Andrews he took out a nominal M.D. degree. Meanwhile he zealously studied Oriental languages, and prepared for publication his *Scenes of Infancy*. In August 1803 he reached Madras, and at first held charge of the Madras General Hospital. He subsequently accompanied, in the capacity of surgeon and naturalist, the Commission on the Mysore Provinces, taken from Tippu Sultan, and prepared an elaborate report on the geology, crops, diseases, and languages of the districts traversed. Having contracted fever he was obliged to stay at Seringapatam, where he was befriended by Sir J. Malcolm. In 1805 we find him travelling to Malabar, Cochin, and Quilon, and thence to Penang, for the benefit of his health. At Penang he wrote a 'Dissertation on the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations'. Returning to India in 1806, Leyden settled in Calcutta, and his 'Essay on the Indo-Persian, Indo-Chinese, and Dekhan Languages', which appeared in 1807, led to his appointment as professor of Hindustāni in the Calcutta College. He did not hold this post for long, as soon afterwards he was appointed to the Judgeship of the twenty-four Pergunnahs. In 1809 he became Commissioner of the Court of Requests, and was appointed Assay Master of the Calcutta Mint in the following year (1810). In 1811 he accompanied Lord Minto to Java as interpreter in the Malay language. He died of fever at Cornelis after a three days' illness on August 28, 1811. In an eulogium delivered before the Literary Society of Bombay, William Erskine claimed that Leyden in eight years had done

almost as much for Asia as the combined scholarship of the West had done for Europe. Scott embalmed his 'bright and brief' career in the *Lord of the Isles* (IV, 2). Lord Cockburn, after referring to his unconscious egotism, uncouth aspect, and uncompromising demeanour, declares 'there was no walk in life in which Leyden could not have shone'. The 'Ettrick Shepherd' bewailed the loss of the poet's 'glowing measure', and Lockhart in his *Life of Scott* fully recognized his extraordinary abilities and attainments as a scholar. Sir Walter Scott contributed a memoir of Leyden to the *Edinburgh Annual Register* in 1811. His 'Poetical Remains' with a memoir were edited by the Rev. James Morton in 1819, and in 1858 his 'Poems and Ballads' with Scott's Memoir were published. He translated one or more of the Gospels into Pushtu, Belūchi, Maldivian, Macassar, and Bugis, and in 1821 his *Malay Annals* with introduction by Sir Stamford Raffles appeared (*Dictionary of National Biography.*)

CONCLUSION

The science, literature and art of Central Asia always attracted the world. Scientific and literary works of our great ancestors were learned and translated into many languages of the world for many times. As our president Islam Karimov said "Our great ancestors — Imam Bukhari, At-Termizi, Naqshband, Ahmad Yassavi, Al-Khorezmi, Beruni, Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Amu Timur (Tamerlane), Ulughbek, Babur (the first Mogul Emperor of India) and many others — have greatly contributed to the development of our national culture. They became the national pride of our people But these men and then outstanding contribution to the development of world civilization are also known today in the whole world. Historical experience and traditions should become the values on which new generations are brought up. Our culture has become a centre of attraction for the whole of mankind: Samarkand, Bukhara and Khiva are places of pilgrimage not only for scientists and connoisseurs of art, but for all people who are interested in history and cultural values.

The Middle Ages of Indian history is divided in ancient India and modern India. The seeds of the new life which bloomed so vigorously in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were planted during the seemingly barren years of the sultanate, nevertheless the Mughal Empire has a different atmosphere from the preceding era. It can be argued that the beginning of modern Indian history is to be dated not from the establishment of British hegemony in the early nineteenth century, but from the coming of the Mughals in 1526.

The foundation of the Baburids Empire begins since the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The Baburids lived and reigned in India from 1526 to 1858. Their dynasty was the greatest, richest and longest-lasting Muslim dynasty to rule India. This dynasty produced the finest and most elegant arts and architecture in the history of Muslim dynasties. The favorite cities of Baburids, writes art historian Barbara Brend included Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Lahore.

Babur and his generation have left a great step in the world history. Many writers, translators and scientists worked and still working on the history of Babur and his dynasty. Translation of Uzbek classic literature began since the 18th century. Many European and American authors and translators wrote their books, articles about Babur and his generation. They are Leyden, John & William Erskine (Life of Baber, Emperor of Hindustan, London, 1844), Thackston.Wheeler M., Jr..(Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur Mirza. Baburnama. Chaghatay Turkish Text with Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan's Persian Translation, Turkish Transcription. 3 Vols., Cambridge. Mass., 1993.), Beveridge,A.S. (The Bābur-nāma in English (Memoirs of Babur), Translated from the original Turki Text of Zahiru'ddin Muhammad Babur Padshah Ghazi by Annette S.Beveridge, 2 Vols., London, 1922; Repr, in one Volume, London, 1969; New Delhi, 1970; Lahore, 1975.), M.R.Godden (Gulbadan, New Dehli 2001), Farzana Moon (Six sagas in sequence from 1st to the 6th Moghul emperors.), Eygi Mano, honorary professor at Kyoto University (Japan), Harold Lamb (Babur The Tiger. New-York. 1961), Bacque-Grammond J.L (Le livre de Babur, Paris, 1980.), King L., Leyden.J. & W.Erskine (Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed Baber, Emperor of Hindustan. London, 1826), Lane-Poole. (Babar.

Oxford, 1899), Stammler W. (Die Erinnerungen des esrten Grossmoguls von Indian:Das Babur-nama, Zïrich, 1988), Elliott and Dowson (History of India, London, 1867), W.Erskine (History of Baber. London, 1854).

Under the Baburids, India was the heart of a great Islamic empire and a prolific center of Islamic culture and learning. According to historian Gavin Hambly, the Baburids provided the setting for a brilliant court and a vigorous cultural life which was equal to Isfahan under the Safavid Shahs or Istanbul under the Ottoman Sultans. The Baburids lived and reigned in India from 1526 to 1858 AD. Their dynasty was the greatest, richest and longest-lasting Muslim dynasty to rule India. This dynasty produced the finest and most elegant arts and architecture in the history of Muslim dynasties. The name Baburids, writes art historian Barbara Brend (1991), is an Indian version of Mongal; to dwellers in India, the term referred to anyone from Central Asia. Hambly notes that the favorite cities of the Baburids included Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Lahore.

Baburids historiography is still largely rooted in a tradition of writing about military and political power, in this instance, the emergence of the Baburids Empire – and its decline. British colonial rulers (and writers) were enamored with the Great Baburids, whom they saw as their immediate predecessors. Postcolonial Indian historiography has continued to be fascinated by the Baburids achievement, seeing in it evidence of India's historical greatness, autonomous development, and even secularism. For all that, mainstream Baburids historians continue to be engaged in a fairly traditional manner with the political and economic bases of Baburids power. They have had little to say about social conditions and cultural relations, not to mention questions of gender – a marked difference, one might add, from the ways in which historians and others have engaged with the history of India in colonial and postcolonial times.[1] The task of studying gender relations at the Baburids court, and rethinking political, social and cultural milieu in light of new questions that one might ask about domestic life and familial relationships, remains an important one; for it has scarcely begun.

How does one construct an alternative history of the Baburids, one that takes distance from the legacy of overwhelmingly political-administrative-institutional accounts, and of those social histories in which history is presented in such static terms that it gives the reader an image of royalty valid for all times and places. It has been claimed that part of the reason for not writing such alternative histories, for example, the history of the Baburids domestic world and its women (around which I build my arguments in this paper), lies in the inadequacy of available source material. However, the term 'inadequacy' requires some unpacking. Are sources so scarce as not to provide even the possibility of raising new kinds of questions? Are there not other attendant questions of 'inadequacy'? For example, how have the most 'important' Baburids sources become available to us? In other words, what happens to their content and context in the process of collating, editing, and translating? Surely these procedures affect the way in which a source is 'archived' (made into a 'source') and 'read'.

The following discussion that centres on the first three Baburids kings, Babur (1487-1530), Humayun (1508-1556), and Akbar (1556-1605) should show that the question of inadequacy is only part – and perhaps a small part – of the problem. Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur was a descendent of Chingiz Khan on his mother's side and Timur on his father's. He spent most of his life fighting with the princes of other Timurid territories. Defeated in these struggles to gain a territorial foothold, Babur was pushed to Afghanistan. He finally acquired a territorial base in Hindustan in 1526 by defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodi of Delhi. Thus he laid the foundation of Baburids rule in India.

Humayun, son of Babur and the second Baburids 'padshah' (king), encountered massive difficulties in retaining his father's conquests in India. The biggest challenge to his kingship came from Sher Khan Sur who ruled southern Bihar. After being defeated by Sher Khan in 1540

near Kanauj, Humayun became an exile in Persia and parts of Afghanistan. In 1554, however, he led his army back and fought a victorious battle and restored the Baburids monarchy. Jalal al-Din Muhammad Akbar, the son of Humayun, was the third Baburids ruler. The Baburids 'empire' in the strict sense of the term, with all its regalia and splendor, came into being in Akbar's time.

Let us begin with the question: what are the records that make up the accepted archive for early Baburids India? For Babur, his autobiography, the *Baburnama*, and the *Tarikh-i Rashidi* by Muhammad Haydar Dughlat, an account composed by his cousin in 1545-46, remain the most popular texts for scholars. Muhammad Haydar Dughlat spent most of his career in Kabul. He was in close contact with Babur during this period, and his work is valuable as it highlights the political-cultural intricacies of those parts of central Asia and Afghanistan that Babur was dealing with at the time.

For Humayun, the following histories have been used most extensively. The *Qanun-i Humayuni* (also called *Humayun-nama*) was composed in 1534 under Humayun's patronage by one of his officials, Khvandamir. The latter was the grandson of the famous historian Mirkhvand, the author of *Rawzat-us-Safa.* As Hidayat Hosain notes, "even when Khwandamir was still young his renown as a student of history was acclaimed by the scholars of his day". The author spent time at the court of Ghazi Sultan-ibn-i Mansur-ibn-i Husiyn Bayqura, the ruler of Herat (1468-1505), and in Khurasan and Persia, before joining Babur in 1528. Khvandamir's memoir is, as he tells us, an eyewitness's account of the rules and ordinances of Humayun's reign, accompanied by descriptions of court festivities, and of buildings erected by the padshah (king). The *Tazkirat-ul-Vaqi`at* (also called the *Humayun Shahi*, and the *Tarikh-i Humayun*) was put together in 1587 by Jawhar Aftabchi, Humayun's ewer-bearer. Composed in a 'shaky and rustic' Persian, the text was subsequently revised by Ilahabad Fayzi Sarhindi. This contemporary and rather candid account by a servant has been one of the major source books for the reconstruction of the life and times of the second Baburids, although it has not been adequately explored in some respects.

Next in the corpus of materials is the *Tazkireh-i Humayun va Akbar* by Bayazid Bayat, which was completed in 1590-91. It is a history of the reigns of Humayun and Akbar from 1542 to 1591. The author was a native of Tabriz and later joined the army of Humayun. He was apparently suffering from paralysis when he wrote the memoir, and therefore dictated it to a scribe. These two later biographies owe their origins to the time when materials were being collected for an official history during Akbar's reign. It was in this same context that Gulbadan Banu Begum, the aunt of the emperor, wrote her account – the *Ahval-i Humayun Badshah* – about which I shall say more in the next section.

The first official history of the Baburids court was commissioned by Akbar. The *Akbarnama* (completed in 1596), a history of Akbar's life and times, and its official and equally voluminous appendix, the *A'in-i Akbari* (an administrative and statistical report on Akbar's government in all its branches), written by a close friend and minister of the emperor, Abu'l Fazl Allami, have remained the most important sources for all histories of his reign. Apart from the imperial history, 'Abd al-Qadir Badauni's three-volume *Muntakhab-ut-Tavarikh* has also been very important. Badauni, a severe critic of Akbar's policies, wrote his history in secrecy. The text was hidden, and subsequently copied and circulated after the death of Akbar. Historians have found this chronicle as a useful counter to the panegyric account of the court chronicler, Abu'l Fazl; using it either to cross-check Abu'l Fazl's 'facts' or to get a 'fuller picture' of the political and religious issues of the time. In the same vein of getting a rather more 'objective' picture, students of Akbar's reign have found a neutral middle ground in the cautious, even-handed manner of description of the *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, written by another member of Akbar's court, Nizam al-Din Ahmad.

One illustration of the pivotal position ascribed to these sources may be found in Harbans Mukhia's well known study entitled *Historians and Historiography During the Reign of Akbar*. The arrangement of the book is telling. In the three central chapters of the book, the author discusses the three 'major' historians of Akbar's empire: the court-chronicler Abu'l Fazl, the critic `Abd-ul-Qadir Badauni, and Nizam al-Din Ahmad, the moderator, as it were. Mukhia's aim, in his own words, was to write about the "basic form; contents; attitudes towards the sources of information; treatment of history and historical causation; (and) style" of these chroniclers. His penultimate chapter is entitled "Some Minor Historical Works Written During Akbar's Reign". Here Mukhia selects for discussion the *Tazkirat-ul-Vaqi'at* by Jawhar, Humayun's ewer-bearer, the *Tazkireh-i Humayun va Akbar* by Bayazid Bayat, and the *Tuhfa-i Akbar Shahi* by 'Abbas Sarwani. While reading this chapter, I expected to find Gulbadan's text among the 'minor historical works'. Instead, all we have is a footnote in which the author says, "I have not included a study of the *Humayun Nama* of Gulbadan Begam in this chapter though it falls in the same class of works as the three mentioned above. The reason is that I feel I have practically nothing to add to what its translator, Beveridge, has said in her introduction to the translation."

Mukhia, in fact, adds little to our knowledge of the meaning and significance of the minor texts he discusses. It is striking that he does not find even a tiny space for the Begum's memoir. The fact that the author provides no more than a single footnote, and his comment that he has nothing to add to what the translator of the text said in 1902, invites some reflection. Two suggestions might be made in connection with Mukhia's silence on this question. His reasons for not including the Begum's memoir in his monograph may stem from the fact that the author himself distinguishes between major (political-administrative, and emperor-centered) and minor (of royal women, servants, and so forth) sources, privileging the 'hard politics' of the former against the 'soft society' of the latter, thus neglecting to see the power-relations that go into the making of such categories. The presumption of the supposedly central character of some sources, as opposed to the peripheral (or minor) status of others, derives in this case, from a belief that despite limitations, certain texts like the *Akbarnama*, for instance, are authentic because they were based upon "official documents as well as memoirs of persons involved in, or witness to, the events."

At the same time, Mukhia is likely aware of the challenges posed by feminist perspectives and questions in history writing, and does not know what to do with this unusual memoir – or those challenges. Therefore in his writing, the Begum's text becomes even more peripheral than the other so-called minor historical works. In any case, all this amounts to a refusal to take on the task of looking anew at sources, and to acknowledge major developments that had occurred in history writing even before his book came out in 1976.

What has marked Baburids historiography for a long time now is that a canonical position has been ascribed to particular sources. The scholars' choice of certain sources as basic and central has, of course, in turn, coloured their own history writing. Relying heavily on texts like the *Akbarnama*, historians have often uncritically reproduced the primary sources themselves, and therefore duplicated one or another chronicler's assessments of the empire, imperial relations and other related matters. In this way many of our modern histories have turned out to be not very different from the primary text (or texts) through which they are constructed.

Thus a particular focus in Baburids historiography has privileged certain kinds of sources; and the substantial nature of those privileged sources has, in turn, tended to perpetuate only certain kinds of histories. The interest in agrarian-administrative-institutional histories has made chronicles like the *Akbarnama* and the A'in-i Akbari appear essential to any undertaking in Baburids history. However, as may already be evident, there are numerous other accounts and descriptions available for a reconstruction of other histories of Baburids times.

One has to ask why it is that the Akbarnama and the A'in-i Akbari immediately capture the historian's attention when we turn to a reconstruction of the history of Akbar? Why is it that the *Tarikh-i Khandan-i Timuriyan*, *Takmila-i Akbarnama*, *Zubdat-ut-Tavarikh* or *Haft Iqlim* for instance, do not figure in our minds in the same way? Part of the answer surely is that the *Akbarnama* and the A'in-i Akbari have been singled out – because of their historical 'accuracy' and 'objectivity', but perhaps most of all because they are the official sources that deal most directly with political-administrative matters. Consequently, other chronicles do not stand on their own in the same way; they simply become adjuncts to these authoritative documents. Several of the other texts mentioned above are well known but little used. There is no doubt that many different dimensions of Baburids history could be more fully explored through an examination of a wider range of known, but neglected sources.

Indeed, there are other kinds of sources, apart from the 'minor' texts mentioned above, that would repay closer examination. Among these is the great fund of Baburids miniature paintings, as well as Baburids buildings and architectural sites that survive in large numbers. These too are not hidden or unrecognised. Akbar and his successors had the existing royal biographies, and other important volumes of histories and legends, illustrated – so that miniature paintings form a striking and important part of many of the historians' most prized sources, including the *Baburnama* and the *Akbarnama*. However, these other sources – visual materials, the anecdotal and poetic accounts of women and servants and so on – have been rendered peripheral by existing historiography, either because it treats them as belonging to a separate, specialised discipline (such as art history), or because they are thought to address trivial matters. Let us consider only one of these, Gulbadan Banu Begum's *Ahval-i Humayun Badshah*, and what it tells us about the lively and changing domestic lives of the early Baburids, as they battled, struggled, dreamed of progeny and empire, and survived to live another day.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Karimov I. Jahon moliyaviy -iqtisodiy inqirozi, O'zbekiston sharoitida uni bartaraf etishning yo'llari va choralari. - T.: O'zbekiston, 2009.- 56 b
2. Karimov I. Mamlakatimizda demokratik islohotlarni yanada chuqurlashtirish va fuqarolik jamiyatini rivojlantirish kontseptsiyasi.-T.: O'zbekiston, 2010- 56 b
3. Karimov I. O'zbekiston Respublikasi mustaqilligining 19 yilliga bag'ishlangan tantanali marosimda so'zi, "O'zbekiston ovozi" gazetasi, 2010 yil 1- sentyabr';
4. Karimov I. "Mamlakatmizni modernizatsiya qilish yo'lini izchil davom - taraqqiyotimizning muhim omilidir", "Ishonch" gazetasi, 2010 yil 8 dekabar';
5. Karimov I. "Barcha reja va dasturlarimiz Vatanimiz taraqqiyotini yuksaltirish, xalqimiz farovonligini oshirishga xizmat qiladi", "Xalq so'zi" gazetasi, 2011 yil 22 yanvar
6. Speech of I.Karimov at The International Conference "Upbringing of Educated and Intellectually Advanced Generation as the Most Important Condition of Sustainable Development and Modernization of the Country", held on 16-17 February, 2012 in Tashkent. "O'zbekistan ovozi", 18.02.2012.
7. Islom Karimov. "O`zbekiston mustaqillikka erishish ostonasida", Toshkent "O`zbekiston", 2011 - 440 b.)
8. Boboxonova L.T., Salimov G.X., Bekturganova S.L. Tarjimaning leksik-grammatik masalalari bo'yicha metodik ko'rsatma.T., ToshDU nashr., 1987.
9. Musaev q. Badiiy tarjima va nutq madaniyati. T., o'qituvchi, 1976. 337 b.
10. Musaev K. Perevod leksicheskix i frazeologicheskix edinits kak problema chastnoy teorii perevoda. ADD Tbilisk, 1988. 230 s.
11. Mustanov K. Sharqu G'arb adabiy aloqalari hususida ilmiy axborot. o'zbek tili va adabiyoti - 2000 ¹1. 37 b.
12. Po'latov Yu. CHet el adabiyotidan kilingan tarjimalar, 76 b.
13. Salomov G. Tarjima nazariyasi asoslari. T., o'qituvchi, 1983, 230 b.
14. Salomov G. Tarjima tashvishlari. T., q.qulom, 1983, 127.
15. Salomov G. Til va tarjima. T., Fan, 1966, 136.
16. Barxudarov L.S. YAzik i perevod. - M.: Mejdunarodnie otnosheniya. - 1975.
17.Vlaxov S., Florin S. Neperevodimoe v perevode. - M.: Mejdunarodnie otnosheniya. - 1980. - 341 b.
18.Vlaxov S.I. Florin S.P. Muki perevodcheskie - M. Progress. - 1980. s-29
19.G'aybulloh as-Salom zamondoshlari xotirasida. Toshkent: Toshkent Islom universiteti. - 2002. - 193 b.
20.Jirmunskiy V.M. Sravnitel'noe literaturovedenie. - L.: Nauka. -1979. - 494 b.
21.Jo`raev K. Tarjima san`ati. - Toshkent: FAN. - 1982. - 60 b.
22.Latishev L.K. Kurs perevoda (ekvivalentnost' perevoda i sposobi ee dostijeniya). - M.: Mejdunarodnie otnosheniya. - 1981.-s 56
23.Levitskaya T.R., Fiterman A.M. Problemi perevoda. - M.: Mejdunarodnie otnosheniya. - 1976.-s 12.
24.Fedorov A.V.Osnovi obhey teorii perevoda. - M.: Visshaya shkola. - 1983.
25. Shveytser A.D. Perevod i lingvistika. - M.: Mejdunarodnie otnosheniya. - 1973.
26. Gul-Badan Begim. The History og Humayn (Humayn-name), trans-lated by A.S. Beveridge from the only known MS of the British Museum, London, 1902
27. History of Baber. By W.Erskine. London, 1854
28. History of India. By Elliott and Dowson. London, 1867.
29. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, last edition.
30. Akbarnameh. Translated by A.S. Beveridge, 1907.
31. General History of Hindustan. Dow's translation, vol.II. –London, 1770.
32. Thackston. Wheeler M., Jr.. Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur Mirza. Baburnama. Chaghatay Turkish Text with Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan's Persian Translation, Turkish Transcription.

Persian Edition and English Translation by W.M.Thackston. Jr., 3 Vols., Cambridge. Mass., 1993.

33. Memoirs of Zehir-Ed-Din Muhammed Babur, Emperor of Hin-dustan, written by himself, in the chaghatai Turki and translated by John Leyden, Esg., M.D. and William Erskine, Esg. annotated and revised by Sir Lucas King, C.S.I.,LL. "D,F,S,A.," Professor of arabic and Persian, and lecturer in Idian history in the University of Dublin; Late of the Indian civil service, in two volumes. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Copenhagen, New York, Toronto, Melbourne, Cape town, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Shanghai.- Pekin, 1921.

34. Thackston. Wheeler M., The Baburnama. Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor, Translated, Edited, and Annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, New York & Oxford, 1996, Tumur, Xemit, Baburnama.Beijing, 1992.

35. Leyden, John & William Erskine, Life of Baber, Emperor of Hindustan, Written by Himself and Trnsl. from the Jaghatai Toorki, London, 1844 (2nd ed. of the 1826 ed.).

36. Beveridge,A.S., The Bābur-nāma in English (Memoirs of Babur), Translated from the original Turki Text of Zahiru'd-din Muham-mad Babur Padshah Ghazi by Annette, Susannah Beveridge, 2 Vols., London, 1922; Repr, in one Volume, London, 1969; New Delhi, 1970; Lahore, 1975.

37. Annette S.Beveridge, The Babar-name in English (Memories of Babur), translated from the original Turki Text of Zahirud-din Muhammad Babur Padshah Chazi. Issued in four Fasciculi:- Farghana-1912-Kabul-1914-Hindustan 1917-Preface, Indices, ect.-London, 1921.

38. Бобур З.М. Бобурнома /Нашрга тайёрловчи: П.Шамсиев.- Т.: Юлдузча, 1989.-367 б.
39.Бобур З.М. Бобурнома / Нашрга тайёрловчи ва сыз боши: П.Шамсиев. Иккинчи нашри.-Т.: Юлдузча 1990.-367 б.
40. Бобур-наме. Записки Бабура /Перевод С.М.Салье. Издание второй, доработанное. Обшая редакция, доработка и предисловия – члена корреспондента АН Республики Узбекистана, премии Берунии и международной премии им. Джавахарлала Неру С.Азимджановой.-Т.: Гл. ред. Энцикл., 1993.-464 с.
41.Annette S.Beveridge, The Babar-Name, being the autobiography of the Emperor Babar, the founder of the moghul dynasty in India, written in chaghatay turkish; now reprodused in facsimile from a manus-script belonging to the late Sir Salar Jang of Hay-darabad, and edited with a preface and indexes.- London-Leyden, 1905.
42.Annette S.Beveridge, The Babar-name in English (Memories of Babur), translated from the original Turki Text of Zahirud-din Muhammad Babur Padshah Chazi. Issued in four Fasciculi:- Farghana-1912-Kabul-1914-Hindustan 1917-Preface, Indices, ect.-London, 1921.
43. History of Baber. By W.Erskine. London, 1854
44. History of India. By Elliott and Dowson. London, 1867.

Lug'atlar ro'yxati

1. Bol'shoy anglo-russkiy slovar'. Pod.red.prof.Gal'perina I.R. M, Izd.Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya.1972, tom I, II .
2. Bo'ronov J., Raqmonberdiev K., A`loev I. English - Uzbek dictionary. T., o'qituvchi, 1977.
3. Webster's New World Thesaurus, New American Literary, 1975.
5. Muller V.K. English - Russian dictionary. 24 th ed. M., 1997.
6. Ruscha - O'zbekcha luqat. T., o'zbek Sovet Entsiklopediyasi Bosh redaktsiyasi. I - II tom. 1984.
7. Raqmonov V. O'zbek klassik adabiyoti asarlari uchun qisqacha luqat, T., o'qituvchi, 1983.
8. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English. 5th ed. Oxford University, 1972.
9. O'zbek tilining izohli lug'ati. T, 2007,

Internet materiallari

1. http:www.ziyonet.uz
2. http:www.rambler.ru
3. http www.namsu.uz