

Further Notes on Baburiana

Author(s): Annette S. Beveridge

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Further Notes on Baburiana

By ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE

- I. THE IDENTITY OF THE "BUKHĀRĀ BĀBUR-NĀMA"
II. PATERNAL COUNSELS ATTRIBUTED TO BĀBUR IN A
BHOPAL MS. [Dec. 1922].

I

*Description of the "Bukhārā Bābur-nāma"*¹

THE full story of the Turki book on which, in Kehr's Codex, Ilminski based his *Bābur-nāma* (1857) is a very comedy of blameless error and mischance, primarily due to textual poverty; it has yet to be told but is too long for admission in the *Journal*; hence the purpose of this article is restricted to showing, on the evidence of its colophon and contents, that it is not the Bābur-nāma proper it passed for in Europe from 1725 to 1903, but is a work of independent authorship, plan, and date.

Its colophon, which is preserved by the "Senkovski Bābur-nāma" (*JRAS.* 1900, p. 474), is to the following purport: "*Known and entitled Wāqi'-nāma-i-pādshāhi (Record of Royal Acts) this script and composition of Mullā 'Abdu'l-wahhāb-akhwund of Ghaj-davān in Bukhārā—God pardon his mistakes and the weakness of his endeavour!—was finished on Monday, August 31st, 1709 (Rajab 5, 1121). Thank God!*"

As Kehr shows the book it is a Compilation planned to contain the histories of Bābur and Humāyūn; as Ilminski's rescension shows it, it is a History of Bābur, in varied diction, true to fact but supplemented by alien items. Being a rare book, it should be described here somewhat in detail in order to preserve a record of what its author made it. To thus describe it has been made practicable by the presence on loan

¹ For economy of space reference is asked to the *Babur-nama in English* and to my earlier Notes (*JRAS.* 1900-2-5-6-7-8(ii)-9).

to the India Office, through many years, of Kehr's autograph Codex. Its contents are as follows:—

A. PRELIMINARY ITEMS

1. Memo. concerning the purchase of Kehr's archetype (1714): "*I, Tīmūr-pulād, son of Mīrzā Rajab, son of Pāy-chīn, bought this Bābur-nāma book after coming to Bukhārā with the Russian Florio Beg Beneveni, envoy of the Pādshāh*" (Peter the Great) "*whose army is numerous as the stars. . . . May it be well-received! Amen! O Lord of both Worlds!*"

2. A letter dispatched on 3rd January, 1527, by Bābur to Kāmṛān; it is not known elsewhere (*B. in E.*, p. 544; *JASB.*, Vol. XV, 1919, H.B.'s trans.), verses and another letter (?) (*JRAS.* 1908, p. 828).

B. PART I. BĀBUR-NĀMA

3. Memo. of a transfer of Kāmṛān's Codex of his Father's book, in 1550, to a victor, presumed by its presence in Bukhārā in 1709, to be his Aūzbeḡ opponent of 1550 (*JRAS.* 1908, p. 828; 1909, p. 452; and Klaproth's articles).

4. Compiler's Preface of Praise.

5. Bābur's Acts in Farghāna, introduced by a few alien lines, and in singular diction, seemingly due to retranslation into Turki of the Persian text of 1589, employed to piece together tatters of Kāmṛān's Codex (No. 9; see *JRAS.* 1908, p. 87, for example).

6. Spurious "Rescue-passage" attributable to Jahāngīr (*B. in E.*, Preface, xlv, and App. D).

7. Babur's Acts in Kābul, retranslated like No. 5, but having a sounder Turki basis.

8. Spurious passage about Hindāl's adoption (*B. in E.*, App. L).

9. A few lines of Bābur's own Hindustān Section, much damaged and thus indicating the condition of Kāmṛān's Codex in 1709. Near their page is a fragment about a Feast.

10. The "Fragments" of discussion, a continuous passage translated from the *Akbar-nāma* winding up Bābur's story to

his death and Court (Ilminski's Preface, (*trans.*) *JRAS.* 1900 ; Teufel, *ZDMG.* 1883 ; A.N. *trans.*, cap. xix ; De Courteille, vol. ii, pp. 443-64 ; *JRAS.* 1908, p. 76 ff.).

Here in Kehr's volume follow a few pages blank, except for a Library-mark, (trans.) "Here end the writings of Shah Babur."

C. PART II. THE HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA

11. Compiler's Preface of Praise, followed by several brief notices of Khāns and Sultāns, leading down to "*Bābur Mīrzā who was the Father of Humāyūn Pādshāh*". Of Bābur what is said concerns the battle of Ghaj-davān (1512) and reads like local tradition, known to the Ghaj-davāni Compiler.

12. Under the heading "*Humāyūn Pādshāh*" is an account (presumably) of his Accession Feast ; it breaks off after a short while, and with its lost pages may have gone the story of Humāyūn's expulsion from Hindustān, exile, and efforts for the upper hand.

13. The last item in the Compilation is the surprising one of a good copy of Bābur's authentic Hindustān Section, apparently taken by the Mullā to describe Acts of Humāyūn, because it bears the scribe's date 1714, Kehr copied from his archetype, and because the tattered No. 9 is replaced, not by it, but by the Akbar-nāma Fragment.¹

On the fly-leaves at the end of Kehr's volume stand a quatrain in his large script; a library memo. of pages in 1825, and the signature of "Fr. v. Adelung", the then Director of the F.O. School.

ILMINSKI'S BĀBUR-NĀMA (1857)

Ilminski, primarily a missionary and teacher, wishing to publish a Turki reading-book, constructed one containing a History of Bābur by using from Kehr's Codex (my) Nos. 5, 6, 13 and the spurious passages Nos. 4, 6, 8, guiding himself entirely by the L. and E. *Memoirs* (1826). The "Fragments" (No. 10) he relegated to the end of his volume ; and he omitted

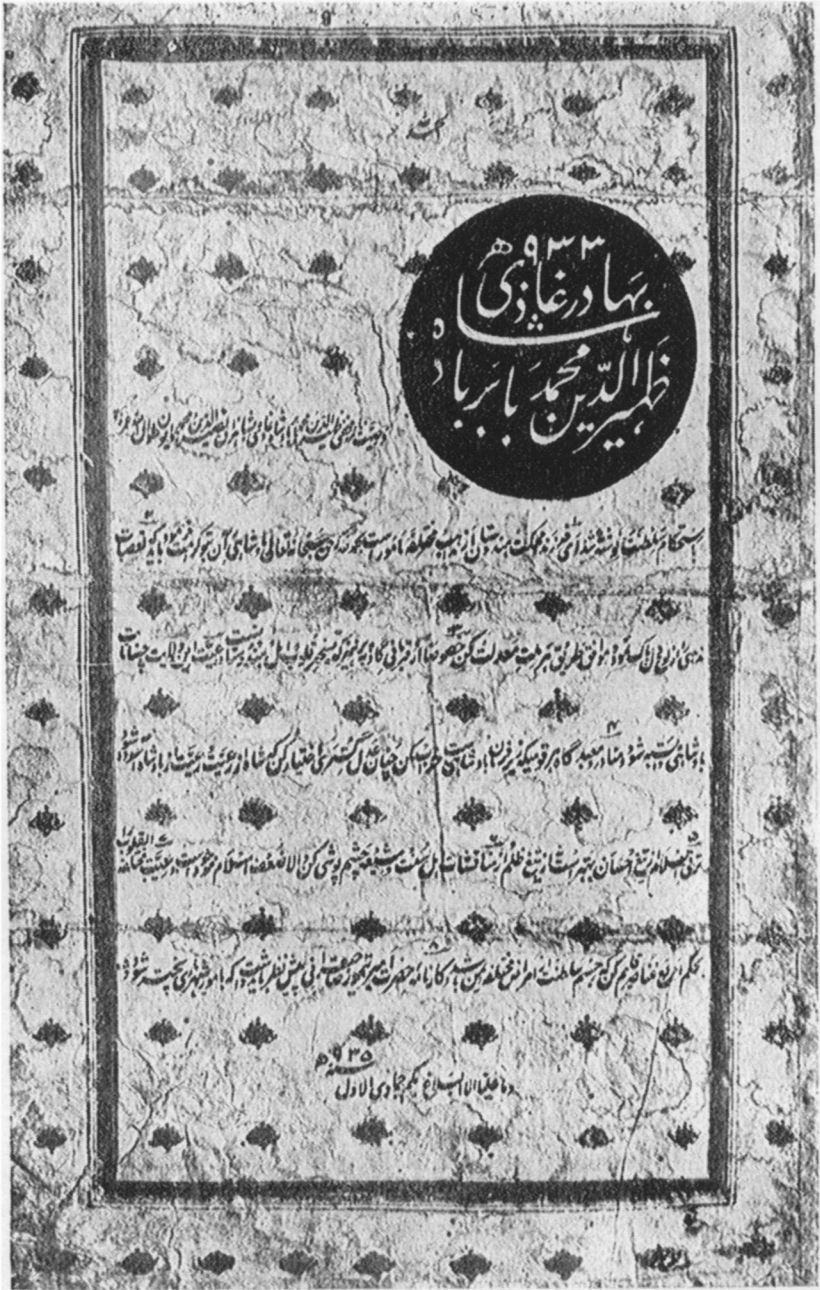
¹ Perhaps the order of the *Senkovski Bābur-nāma* varies from Kehr's ; nothing valid leads to this surmise however.

the whole of the Mullā's Humāyūn-nāma, Preface and compositions. Looking as he did towards a reading-book, his drastic procedure was justifiable but it effectively hid the *Wāqī'-nāma-i-pādshāhi*, and, over and above this, led to an over-estimate of his text by those unable to learn what his enlightening Russian Preface tells of his doubts and his doings. He did not know what book he was using in Kehr's Codex; he never saw a true text of Bābur's, never saw the Mullā's colophon. Not even in 1883-5 does he appear to have seen that useful entry of Senkovski's, since he makes no reference to it in the Proceedings of the Russian Imperial Academy (*Zap. Imp. Ak Nauk* 46) to which he frequently contributed. The Senkovski MS. was sent to him at that time and returned to Petrograd in March, 1885, but he was then occupied with the publication of another work (on Translation), and appears not to have taken up the completion he was asked by the Kazan Academy to undertake, viz. that of Senkovski's list of variants (1858) between his autograph copy of the *Wāqī'-nāma* and Ilminski's Imprint. The whole of the incident of the variants is an episode in the comedy of blameless error and mischance.

II

The Bhopal Waṣīyat-nāma-i makhfi

The document shown opposite, somewhat under its full size (5 × 8 in.), belongs to the Bhopal State Library and purports to contain secret exhortations of Bābur to Humāyūn. It was sent for the consideration of the Royal Asiatic Society by Colonel Luard, who gave the following particulars about it. When the starting of the now fine Bhopal Library was advertised, MSS. were brought in from all sides, and amongst them was this *Waṣīyat-nāma*, which was then purchased from an indigent Tonk Musalman, who stated that it had been for some time in his family and had been obtained from Dihli. As, if genuine, it would add to recognized Babur-writings, it has been examined from the Bābur-nāma view-point and also from that



The Bhopal Was'iyat-nāma-imakhfi.

[To face p. 78.]

of experts in literary technicalities, Mr. A. G. Ellis and Mr. Ghulam Yazdani taking the greater part, but also by Sir T. Arnold, Mr. L. D. Barnett, Mr. 'Abdu'l-majid Belshāh, Mr. E. Edwards, and Sir E. D. Ross. The results are embodied in this Note.

Unfortunately we have not seen the original document; hence no opinion is offered about the date of paper or the cause of defects in the rectangular enclosure of the script. The script itself suggests rather the eighteenth than the sixteenth century (Mr. E. E.); it is Indian *nasta'liq* of poor quality, seeming the work of one accustomed to write the *naskhi*; its crowding up to make *nasta'liq* is greatly exaggerated and rather unnatural (Mr. A. G. E.).

The contents of the page divide into two parts, the first formed by the invocation, seal, descriptive heading, and foot-entry; the second containing the *Waṣīyat-nāma-i makhfi* itself.

Part I. (a) The seal differs by its great size, over-clear *naskhi* script, abbreviated Hijra-sign, redundant titles, and omission of paternal descent from Bābur's authentic ones in the regal Shāh-nāma Codex owned by our Society. Its legend runs *Zahīru'd-dīn Muḥ. Bābur Bādshāh Bahādur Ghādhi* [sic] H. 933. Bābur's known seal bears *Zahīru'd-dīn Muḥ. Bābur Bahādur ibn Sl. 'Umar-shaikh Kūrkān 900 (?)*; other family seals from the same Codex bear *Humāyūn bin Muḥ. Bābur Bādshāhu'l-Ghāzi* and *Jahāngīr Shāh bin Akbar Shāh*. The "*Bahādur*" of the *Waṣīyat-nāma* is an anachronism after Bābur's assumption of the higher title Pādshāh in 913-1506.

The *naskhi* of the seal resembles the *nasta'liq* of the text; the seal and heading are linked by a common error in spelling "Ghadhi" (*zāl* for *zā'e*); the seal and foot-entry are linked by the use in both of the abbreviated "Hijra", which is in common use in the later Arabic writings (Mr. A. G. E.). The items of Part I, seal included, appears to be from one hand.

(b) The heading thus translates: (*These*) *secret exhortations of Zahīru'd-dīn Muḥ. Bābur Bādshāh Ghādhi* [sic] *were written*

for (or to) *Shāh-zāda Naṣīru'd-dīn Humāyūn*, (God grant him long life!) for the consolidation of the Sultanate. It contains two things disassociating it from Bābur's compositions:—(1) its use of titles, he using none for himself or his sons; (2) he mentions the Timūrid style as *Mīrzā* (*B.N.* in p. 344). Jahāngīr used *Shāh-zāda* in posthumous titles for his brothers.

(c) The foot-entry translates:—*And only its announcement is incumbent on us, Jan. 11th, 1529 (Jumāda I. 1, 935; Qoran, cap. xxxvi, v.16; Sir T. A.).* Does its imperfect "H. 9" indicate an underlying date of Jahāngīr's reign, i.e. 1035? It is not apparent from the Bābur-nāma record why, where, or when secret exhortations should be made to Humāyūn at all; still less why they should be announced—by and to whom?—on Jumāda I. 1, 935 A.H., when Humāyūn was operating against Samarkand and Bābur allotting sites in his Dulpur Garden. Moreover, if the *waṣīyat-nāma* were a dying charge, its date is premature, Babur not dying until 26th December, 1530.

Part II. A primary obstacle to the acceptance of the *Waṣīyat-nāma* as composed by Bābur is its Persian form; this cannot be explained as a translation from Bābur's Turki because of the non-Bābur-like character of its contents. The eight exhortations thus translate:—(1) O Son! The realm of Hindustan is peopled by various creeds. Almighty God be praised that he confers its sovereignty on thee. (2) Thou must cleanse the tablet of thy heart from sectarian bigotries and do justice according to the custom of each creed. (3) Above all, abstain from sacrificing cows; thus will the hearts of Hindustanis be won and the peasants be made loyal by the royal bounty. (4) Destroy not the temples or worshipping places of any tribe under the royal rule; thus shall the Shāh be satisfied with the peasant, the peasant with the Pādshāh (cf. *B.N. in E.*, pp. 281-2). (5) Islām is advanced better by the sword of kindness than the sword of oppression. (6) Close the eye to the disagreements of Sunni and Shi'a; otherwise the rift in Islām is made manifest. (7) Control thy

many-minded subjects by the Four Elements ; thus will the body of the Sultanate be freed from various distemper. (8) Let (him) keep before his eyes His Highness Amīr Timūr Ṣāhib-qirānī's *Kār-nāma* so that he may become expert in government affairs.

Comments on the exhortations.—Sect. 1. No sovereignty was conferred on Humāyūn before his father's death in 937–1530. 2. The “bigotries” of e.g. Akbar's day were Musalman fidelities in Bābur's. 3. This prohibition suits better the time when treaties of Pādshāh and Rāja contained agreement against the sacrifice of cows in Rajput territory. 4. In 935 A.H. was completed Bābur's Mosque built on part of the site of an ancient Adjodhya temple. 8. This section appears to have another than pacific origin ; hence perhaps its change from direct to indirect imperative (if it be not a grammatical error). It is disassociated from Bābur because he writes uniformly (*ex. excp. B.N. in E.*, p. 256) plain “Timur Beg” without posthumous title ; also because he mentions no book entitled *Kār-nāma* is this the *Zafar-nāma* ? or the *Malfūzāt* of Shāh-jahān's reign ? Whatever it be, a History of Timur's Battles is a strange text-book for pacific exhortations !

Further linguistic defects.—1. 2, *bāstihkām* for *ba istihkām*(?) ; *māmūr* for *mā'mūr* ; *ba hamdu'l-lāh*, vulgar ; Sect. 2 has its first clause verbally misarranged ; Sect. 4, *manādir* as used in Hindustani but not in Ar. or Pers. (is it for Pers. *manawar*, idol-temple, Steingass ?) ; *ma'bad-gāh* for *'ibādat-gāh* ; Sect. 8, *qirānī* for *qirān* ; foot-entry, *yakam*, rare in dates ; etc.

In conclusion, one cannot but ask where the document was when archives and memories were searched for Abu'l-fazl's help in 996–1587, and where it has been hidden so long ?

Not to appear discourteous, through omission to argue against the view of the Bhopal Librarian Mr. Ghosal—kindly communicated to me by Colonel Luard—that the Persian form of the document argues in its favour because Persian

was the language of civilization and literature and because Humāyūn kept close to Persian traditions having lived much in Persia, I mention two matters of fact negating this argument, firstly, that in Bābur's time and before and after it, Tīmūrid families attained a high degree of culture in the arts, literature included; and secondly, that Humāyūn's residence in Persia, being in 950-1544, does not affect the question of the document of 935-1529. To both Bābur and Humāyūn Persian was a second home-tongue; they had constant companionship in childhood with Persians; they read great Persian books; their proficiency argues against accepting as genuine a document so defective as the *Waṣīyat-nāma-i makhfi*. Not to accept it is a matter of regret, for who would not welcome new sayings of Bābur Pādshāh?
