

Tuzuk-e Jahngiri Edited by Henry Beveridge

Tuzuk-e Jahangiri 1 also called as Jahangirnameh was translated by Alexander Rogers from the edition of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and edited by H.Beveridge. Sir Syed published his text in 1864.

In his preface H.Beveridge says that Sir Syed's text seems to have been made from a single and defective MS. and hence often incorrect. Beveridge also says that he provided corrections with the help of the MSS. preserved in India Office and British Museum. Beveridge's assertion that the text of Sir Syed is based on a single MS. is not in consonance with the claim of Sir Syed that he made use of ten good MSS and completed the copy at the request of John Panton Gubbins (then a session judge in Delhi) Beveridge also does not ignore this claim in the same preface 2.

Jahangir himself wrote his memoirs upto the 17th year of his accession. In the 17th year Motamid Khan under his supervision continued the memoirs upto the beginning of 19th year of the accession. Muhammad Hadi brought it down to the end of the reign with an introduction. Sir Syed's edition includes both these continuations.

The present translation of Alexander Rogers edited by

Henry Beveridge does not include Mohd Hadi's continuation and introduction.

The Edition , notes and comments of Henry Beveridge have their own historical and academic value and deserve our attention but before taking up the importance of the notes and comments provided by the editor we must acknowledge and pay tribute to Sir Syed 's disinterested labor which has superseded the spurious and the garbled memoirs. Let us revert to the notes and comments. The date of the accession of Jahangir in the text of Sir Syed is Hashtum Jamad-e Sani. Beveridge is not in favor of this date. He has replaced it with 20th. The text and the notes and translation are read together.

”از عنایات یبغات الهی ساعت نجومی از روز پنجشنبه هشتم
جماد الثانی هزار و چهارده هجری گذشته در دار الخلافه آگره در سنه و
هشت سالگی بر تخت سلطنت جلوس نمودم“³

“By the boundless favor of Allah when one sidereal hour of Thursday Jumade-Sani 20th AH 1014 (October 24th 1605) had passed I ascended the royal throne in the capital of Agra in the 38th year of my age”. The reason for replacing hashtum with bistum is given in the notes. “ that is, he was 37 years 3 months by the lunar calendar ,and 36 years 1 month by solar reckoning (Padshahnama, 169) Elliot and all the MSS have 8th Jumada-S Sani as the date of the accession. Evidently the copyists have, as is often the case, misread bistum as hashtum. That Jahangir was not at this time 38 is shown by his stating at p.37 that he

celebrated his 30th birthday at Lahore after the capture of Khusrau. 4. Wheeler M. Thackston in his translation under the title "JAGANGIRNAMA" has also preferred the date 20th to 8th. of Jamad Ssani. 5 H Beveridge in his English edition at several places has not accepted the text given by Sir Syed Ahmad and has given his own version providing the reasons in the notes.

”در ایام دولت حضرت عرش آشیانی اکثر میوه های ولایت که در هند نبود بهم رسید اقسام انگور ها از صاحبی و جبشی و کشمشی در شهرهای مقرر شایع گشت“⁶

The editor though here has retained the text provided by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan but in the notes has indicated that instead of Habshi, Husaini seems to be right. "Erskines manuscript translation of the Tuzuk-e- Jahangiri B.M. Ms Add26611 and the British Museum MS. have Chini not habshi. But I.O. MS No181 and the RASMS have Husaini and this seems right."⁷

The translation of the text here though has been successfully retained but it does not communicate *شهر* and *ولایت* as intended in the text. Wheeler in his translation has replaced Habshi with Husaini without acknowledging H. Beveridge. He seems to be nearer the intention in the translation of *شهرهای مقرر* and explanation of *ولایت*. The two translations are read together "In the reign of my father (Arsh Ashyani) many fruits of other countries which till then were not to be had in India, were obtained there. Several sorts of grapes such as the Sahebi and the habshi and the Kishmishi became common in several

towns⁸ .” During the reign of His Majesty Arsh Ashyani most fruits of the Velayat that were not in India were introduced. Varieties of grape, like the sahebi, husayni and kishmishi became prevalent in the major cities”.⁹ The equivalent “major cities” for شهرهای مقرر seems to be preferable to ‘several towns” of Beveridge. Similarly Kabul for ولایت as suggested by Wheeler in the notes seems to be preferable to “other cities of” of Beveridge. Wheeler providing the note says “Vilayat means province in Persian but it is often used in the sense of homeland. The Timurids’ original homeland was Central Asia but when Babur uses the term Vilayat he seems generally to mean Kabul, the second homeland from which he came to the subcontinent. Since in Akbar’s times fruits and trees were probably not being imported from Central Asia the term here must refer to Kabul” ¹⁰

After accession Jahangir issued twelve rules of conduct (دستورالعمل) to be observed. One of them is “The bales of merchants should not be opened on the roads without informing them and obtaining their leave.”¹¹. This regulation in the Persian text of Sir Syed is part of the second regulation¹² but Beveridge separating it from second makes it the third regulation. He is of the opinion that in the text this is wrongly made the part of the regulation two¹³

In the tenth regulation according to Persian text and in the 11th regulation according to English edition a discrepancy regarding the day and date of the birth of Jahangir has been

noticed by the English Editor. Jahangir in the beginning mentions Wednesday of 17th Rabiul-Awwal 977AH as his date of birth but in the regulation records 18th

”در سنه نه صد و هفتاد و هفت روز چهار شنبه هفتم ماه ربیع الاول هفت گهري از روز مذکور گذشته به طالع بست و چهارم درجه میزان الله تعالی مرا از کم عدم بوجود آورد.“....”بسنت والد بزرگوار خود فرمودم که هر سال از هژدهم ربیع الاول که روز تولد من است....“ 14

Sir Syed does not provide any comment but Beveridge has detected the discrepancy and provides the reason in the notes “It is curious that Jahangir should give the 18th Rabiul Awwal as his birth day while the authorities give it as the 17th. Probably the mistake has arisen from Jahangir’s writing Rabiul Awwal instead of Shahriwar but it was the 17th Rabiul Awwal ...Jahangir's own statement a few lines above.. Possibly Jahangir wished to make out that he was born on the 18th Rabiul Awwal and a Thursday ,because he regards Thursday as a blessed day (Mubarak Shamba) while he regards Wednesday as peculiarly unlucky, and called it kam or gam sahamba.” 15.

The description of the birth of Parvez and SultanKhurram will remain obscure unless read with the translation and notes.

”پرویز از صبیبه صاحب جمال زینخان کوکه که در نسب همسنگ مرزا عزیز کوکه بود در سال سی و چهارم از جلوس حضرت عرش آشیانی در بلدنه کابل بعد از دو سال و دو ماه از ولایت خسرو تولد یافت و بعد از آن که بعضی فرزندان متولد شدند و رحمت ایزدی ایشانرا دریافت از کرمسی که از دودمان راتهور دختری بوجود آمد بهار بانو بیگم نام و از جگت کساین دختر

موتہ راجہ سلطان خرم در سنہ سی و شش از جلوس عمایون والد بزرگوارم
مطابق سنہ نھصد و نود و نہ ہجری در بلدنہ لاہور عالم را بوجود خود خرم
ساخت... 16

Here Beveridge's note is of great value for removing confusion " Text ,sabiya (daughter) and this led Blochman to say that if Sir Syed's text was correct Jahangir must have forgotten in the number of his wives, which of them was the mother of Parvez. As a fact Sayyid Ahmad's text is not correct though the R.A.S. Ms. agrees with it. The two excellent I.O. MSS have khwish (relative) which is here equivalent to cousin. So also has the B.M.MS. used by Erskine. According to Mohammad Hadi's preface Parviz's mother was the daughter of Khwaja Hasan , the paternal uncle of Zain Khan Koka his birth was in Muharram ,998 or 19th Aban (November,1589)... Price ,p20 has karmitty and says the daughter only lived two months. Karmasi appears twice in Akbarnama . The name may mean composed of kindness. The statement of price is wrong. Biha(Bahar) Banu was married to Tahmuras S. Prince Danyal in his 20th year. According to M.Hadi's preface , Karmasi was the daughter of Raja Kesho Das Rathore. And her daughter Bihar Banu was born on 23 Shariwar 998(September1590) Kesho Das Rathore is the Kesho Das Maru of Tuzuk..."it is extraordinary that Jahangir should have put Shahjahn's birth into AH999. The I.O. MSS support the text. But the R.A.S MS. has A.H.1000 which is without doubt right. The date is 5th January 1592. 17.

In the description of the Miran Sadr-e- Jahan the Persian text gives a misreading of Abdun Nabi as Abdul Ghani. Correction has been provided in the English edition. 18

In the description of the charity to be disposed off, the word Yatish (officers of the watch) according to the English edition is omitted in the Persian text while it occurs in the MSS. 19

In the description of Ahmad Beg Khan and Dost Mohammad Khan who had been sent off to Kabul, a curious mistake has taken place and Bakawal has been read instead of Kabul.

”چون همين روزها احمد بيگ خان و دوست محمد بيگ خان

بكاول مرخص گشته بودند...” 20

The mistake has been corrected in the English edition.

“The text has a curious mistake here instead of ba Kabul it has Bakawal. (Superintendent of the kitchen) as part of Dost Mohamad’s name. Dost was not bakawal, but held higher office and was later put in charge of the fort of Agra and given the title of Khwaja Jahan.” 21.

Under the events of Third regnal year where Jahangir records the death of his aunt. The Persian text of Sir Syed suffers a scribal error by giving the name Najibun Nisan for Bakhtun Nisan.

”در همين روزها عمه ام نجيب النساء بيگم در سن شصت و يك

سالگي به مرض سل و دق بجوار رحمت ايزدي پيوستند” 22

Henry Beveridge in his English edition has provided correct reading with the help of Gulbadan’s memoir and MSS

"Sister of Mirza Hakim also known as Fakhru-n-nisa . The MSS. Have Bakhut nisa and it would seem that the Najibu- n-nisa of the text is a wrong reading. 23.

Despite the fact that Sir Syed has preserved and given to posterity a genuine cultural and national heritage by replacing the spurious memoirs that existed under the title "Tarikhe Salim Shahi" or "Trikhe Jahangiri" translated by Major David Price but has not been careful in editing the text. This has resulted into misreading. He has also not provided notes and annotations which a mediaeval text requires to reveal its conundrum to modern readers. The English edition of H. Beveridge solves the conundrum. A few of them have been indicated above. Some more are added to explain how a medieval text is confusing without annotations.

Annotation on Sultanun --n-nisa Begum of the text. "I.O. MS. 181 and Mohammad Hadi have Sultan Nisar begam. Khafi Khan Sultan Begum. And says she was born in 994. Price's Jahangir p20 says she was born a year before Khusrau. She built a tomb for herself in the Khusrau Bagh. Allahabad. But she is not buried there. She died on 4th Shaban 1056. (5th September 1646) and was at her own request buried in her grand father's tomb at Sikandra.(Padshah Namah) 24

About Khawaja Zakariyya it is said in the notes. "Some thing seems to have fallen out of the text and MSS., for this passage is obscure and not connected with context. Evidently the

statement about Zakariyya's promotion has been omitted accidentally from the Tuzuk.(p15) He says there that it was the saint Bahau-l -haqq who appeared in a dream to Husain Jami and told him that Sultan Salim would soon be King. 25

The above indications are enough to infer that H Beveridge is amongst the pioneers who have set the methodology of modern scientific and critical edition.

A note on the translation

Translation from one language to another particularly from Indo –Persian to English is a daunting task due to cultural differences. The distinctive approach that has been adopted by Alexander Rogers & Henry Beveridge in the translation of Tuzuk-e- Jahangiri foregrounded a comfortable environment for cultural qtherness. This may be by proffering the original Indic or Indo Persian words with literary meaning in the bracket. For example Mir Akhuran has been translated as Master of the Horse, Sair Jehat has been translated as transit dues , Darogha has been translated as superintendent, with the original words in the bracket. Similarly keora , Rai bel Mulsari krtki champa etc have been retained in the text with their equivalents in English in the bracket.

The translation also takes great pains to set a system to replicate the cultural tropes and lexicons with piquancy. Thus the translation will not annoy even an uninitiated reader.

In general there is little to criticize about the epistemic

stance of the translation of Alexander Rogers edited by Henry Beveridge. It is exceptionally precise and correct but still at places one feels that the translation corrupts or subverts the text. The following translations along with the texts are being cited to buttress the argument.

”میر ضیاالدین قزوینی را که در ایام شاهزادگی از او خدمات و دولخواهی ما بوقوع آمده بود هزاری ساختم و به مشرف طویلی حکم شد که هر روز سی اسب بجهت بخشش حاضر میساخته باشد.“

”در بیست پنجم شیری از شیر خانه خاصه آوردند که به گاو جنگ اندازد. مردم بسیار بجهت تماشا ایستاده بودند. جماعه از جوگیان هم بود. شیر به یکی از جوگیان که برهنه بود بطریق بازی نه از روی غضب متوجه شد. او را بر زمین انداخت و چنانکه به ماده خود جفت میشود به همان طریق بالای جوگی بر آمده جنبیدن گرفت و روز دیگر همان طور حرکتی نمود. چند نوبت این حرکت از او بوقوع آمد. چون تاغایت چنین امری دیده نشده بود و غرابت تمام داشت نوشته شد...“²⁶

I made Mir Ziya uddin of Qazvin who had done me services in the days of my prince hood and had shown loyalty, commander of 1,000 and accountant of stables.” The translation gives the sense that both the ranks were bestowed upon Mir Ziya Uddin whereas the text means otherwise and should have been translated this way.” I gave Mir Ziya Uddin Qazwini who rendered loyal service when I was a prince. The rank of one thousand. I ordered the overseer of the stables to keep thirty horses ready every day for giving away. 27

“On the 25th they brought a tiger from my private

menagerie to fight with a bull. Many people gathered together to see the show, and a band of Jogis (religious mendicants) with them. One of the Jogis was naked, and the tiger by way of sport and not with the idea of rage turned towards him. It threw him on the ground. And began to behave to him as it would to its own female. The next day and on several occasions the same thing took place. As no such thing had ever been seen before and was exceedingly strange this has been recorded. 28

The translation here is esoteric and subverts the text. Wheeler has tried to make it nearer the fluid and colloquial style of Jahangir "On the twenty-fifth (November 13), a lion was brought from the royal lion house to be made to fight an ox. Many people gathered to watch. There was also a group of Yogis and the lion approached one of the yogis who was naked, in a playful manner not on rage and knocked him to the ground. Then just as though it were copulating with a female of its own kind, it mounted him and began to hump. It did the same thing the next day. It has acted like this several times. Since before now no such thing had ever been seen, and it is exceedingly strange it is recorded. 29

Jahangir's records of his life and reign have always attracted the attention of the western scholars. Before the full translation of Alexander Rogers and H. Beveridge extracts were translated by several westerners like James Anderson, Francis Gladwin, W.H. Lowe and first nine years by Erskine. Wheeler M. Thackston in 1999, attempted another translation under the

title Jahangirnama with annotation map and illustration. This translation also includes the Preface and continuation of Mohammad Hadi left untouched by Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge. Mr Milo Cleveland Beach justifying the new translation after ninety years is of the opinion "Professor Thackston has restored the sense of immediate contact with the Emperor's private thoughts and interests found in the original text but absent from the previous translations. As a result, Mughal India comes vividly to life in these passages" I personally do not take kindly to this opinion and treat it simply a supportive bragging. I am of the opinion that Wheeler's translation is more a paraphrasing than a translation and the translation of Alexander Rogers and Hennerly Beveridge in general is much nearer to the text of Jahangir .

The translation of Wheeler includes Mohammad Hadi's preface and continuation up to the events of the twenty –second year after the royal accession. He has also converted the units of weights and measurements used by Jahangir into their modern equivalents. He has also provided illustration to make the text attractive. These along with the chronology and glossary have an edge over the predecessor. Some important equivalent of weights and measurements are given below.

1 misqal =4.6 grams

1 tola=12.05 grams

1 seer= .9 kilogram

1maund= -37 kilograms

1 tank=21 carats
1 Surkh=0.87 carats
1finger=2.032centimeters
1 Jarib=958 square meters (-1/4acre)
1kos=4 kilometers
1 Ghari= 24minutes
1watch=3hours
1dam=1/40 rupee

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