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DISCOVERY OF A PORTION OF THE ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF TARIKH-I-ALFI WRITTEN FOR THE EMPEROR AKBAR

[In the collection of Mr. Ajit Ghose, Calcutta].

THE discovery of this remarkable manuscript will, I am sure, be welcomed by all students of Indian history and painting. No doubt, copies of this Tarikh are preserved in Indian and European archives but the importance of the recovery of the original manuscript can hardly be over-estimated. This also raises a hope that some day Mr. Ghose will be able to restore to us the entire manuscript.

This Tarikh was, as we learn from Badâ'ûnî, written at the instance of the Emperor Akbar.¹ According to the original plan, it should have comprehended a history of the entire Muslim world from the date of the Prophet Muhammad's death (i.e., 10 Hijra) down to the thousandth year after his death (i.e., 1010 Hijra), but the extant copies do not carry the narrative beyond the year 987 of the Rihlat Era² (i.e., 997 A.H.)

Badâ'ûnî, who is a severe critic of Akbar and is never slow in imputing base motives to him, suggests that "since, in his Majesty's opinion, it was a settled fact, that the 1,000 years since the time of the mission of the Prophet (peace be upon him!) which was to be the period of the continuance of the faith of Islâm, were now completed, no hindrance remained to the promulgation of those secret designs, which he nursed in his heart. And so,

(1) Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Bib. Indica Series), tr. by Lowe, Vol. II, p. 327: See also A'in-i-Akbari (Blochmann), 1, p. 106.

⁽²⁾ The only MS. which brings down the narrative to the year 98 of the Rihlat era is the India Office Library MS. No. 112 (Ethê, Cat. of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library, Column 39). It was transcribed on the 14th Rabi' II, 1015 A.H. (19th August, 1606). Another copy in the same Library (No. 115 of Ethê's Catalogue) brings down the narrative to 984 A.R., while the British Museum copy, Or. 465, ends with the year 974 of the Rihlat era.

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considering any further respect or regard for the shaikhs and 'ulamâ (who were unbending and uncompromising) to be unnecessary, he felt at liberty to embark fearlessly on his design of annulling the statutes and ordinances of Islâm, and of establishing his own cherished pernicious belief (in their stead).

"The first command that he issued was this: the 'Era of the Thousand' should be stamped on the coins, and that a Tarikh-i-Alfi, commencing with the Death of the Prophet, should be written."*

But, the fact that the compilation of the work was, (as we shall presently learn from Badâ'ûnî himself), actually begun about 990 A.H. (=1582 A.D.),—or some ten years before the completion of the Hijra millennium,—may very reasonably be urged as an argument against Badâ'ûnî's accusation; moreover, no historian seems to support his statement. In another place, however, he does not repeat his accusation and gives us a detailed account of the circumstances in which the history was compiled. He says (in the annals of 990, A.H.):—

- "The year 1000, of the Hijrah era, which is in general use, being now on the point of completion, the Emperor ordered a history of all the kings of Islâm to be written, which should in reality supersede all other histories, and directed that such a name should be given to the work as to denote the year of its composition. It was for this reason that the work was entitled Alfi. He further ordered the word rihlah to be substituted for hijrah in the different dates, and employed seven persons to undertake the compilation from the date of the death of the last of the Prophets (the blessing of God be upon him, and may He give him peace!) up to the present day, and to mention therein the events of the whole world."
- "He assigned the first year to Naqâîb Khân, the second to Shâh Fath-ullâh, and so on to Hakîm Humâm, Hakîm 'Alî, Hâjji Ibrâhîm Sarhindî (who had just then arrived from Gujrât) Mîrzâ Nizâm-ud-dîn Ahmad, and myself. And after that another seven years, and in this way the distribution of 35 years was provided for.....

At the recommendation of Hakîm Abû'l-Fath the compilation of the work from the thirty-sixth year was entrusted solely to Mullâ Ahmad of Tat'hah, who, however, wrote whatever coincided with his sectarian prejudices, a fact

^{*} Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, I, p. 310.

which is well known. The compilation of two volumes was finished up to the time of Changîz Khân, when Mîrzâ Fûlâd one night, pretending that the Emperor had sent for Mullâ Ahmad, summoned him from his house, and murdered him in a street of Lahore, in revenge for some injury which he had suffered at his hands, as well as because he was violently opposed to him in matters of religion. He was put to death in retaliation."

Mullâ Ahmad was, as we learn from the account of Nawâb Asaf Khân, (the continuator of the *Tarikh*), murdered on the 15th Safar, A.II. 996. The Mullâ was then engaged in writing the Annals of the year 684 of the Rihlat Era and was in the middle of an account of the early career of Ghâzân Khân, the great-grandson of Hulâgû Khân, when he was mortally wounded by the aforesaid Fûlâd Birlâs. On the death of the Mullâ, the royal command was issued to Asaf Khân to continue the narrative and to complete the *Tarikh*.² Asaf Khân entered upon his duties in earnest and brought down the narrative to the year 987 of the Rihlat Era³ (997 A.H.) The manuscript was then given to Badâ'ûnî and Asaf Khân for revision. The former tells us:—

"In the year 1001, I was ordered to proceed to Lahore to revise the composition, compare it with other histories, and arrange the dates in their proper sequence. I compared the first two volumes in one year, and entrusted the third to Asaf Khân."

In the Annals of the year 1002 A.H., Badâ'ûnî gives us a fuller account of the way in which he revised the Tarikh. He says:—

"On the day the 'Eminence of the Sun' the compiler of this compendium completed the first volume of the Tarikh-i-Alfi, which consists of three volumes, of which two are by Mullâ Ahmad of T'hat'hah, the Heretic, (be on him what may) and the third by Asaf Khân. And an order had been issued to me to revise and collate it, in conjunction with Mullâ Mustafâ Kâtib of Lâhôr, who is a worthy friend of mine, and is become one of the Ahâdîs. I presented it, and it obtained the honour of the Emperor's approval. And since the second volume contained much

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid*, pp. 327-328.

⁽²⁾ Rieu (C), Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, I, p. 119, (Or. 465).

⁽³⁾ India Office MS. No. 112 (See Ethè's Catalogue, C. 39).

⁽⁴⁾ Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, i, page 329.

bigotry, the Emperor commanded me to revise it also. In the course of one year I sufficiently collated it, but on account of my own taint of "bigotry", I did not interfere with the book, except as regards the order of the years, and did not alter the original, but laid the blame on my state of health; and may it not, God grant! be a cause of any further injury. My condition with regard to these books was like that of one who cats one date together with the stone, and another says to him, 'Why don't you throw away the stone?' and he answers, 'They have appointed me only just this amount.'"

When the *Tarikh* was completed, Abû'l Fadl wrote an introduction but, strangely enough, none of the extant manuscripts of the *Tarikh* contains the introduction, which Abû'l Fadl claims to have written.²

The original manuscript was, (as stated by Badâ'ûnî), divided into "three" volumes but the extant manuscripts are usually divided into "five" or "six" volumes. They seem to have been divided into as many parts as suited the convenience of the copyists, or the taste of the "masters" for whom they were transcribed.

Before describing the contents of the manuscript and discussing its value and importance, it is necessary, I think, to give a brief account of the persons who took part in its composition. The principal compiler, who wrote the Annals of the years 36 to 684 of the Rihlat Era was the well-known physician and scholar, Mullâ Ahmad. He was born at Tattah in Sind, where his father, Nasrullâh, held the post of a Qâdî. At the age of 22, he went to Mashhad, thence to Yazd and Shîrâz where he studied medicine. Next, he visited Qazwîn where he stayed for some time at the court of Shâh Tahmâsp. In 984 he went to Karbalâ and, after visiting Mecca and Jerusalem, returned to India. He passed a few years at the court of Qutb Shâh, in Golkunda and then came to Fathpûr Sîkrî in 989 A.H. Probably he was introduced to Akbar by Hakîm Abû'l Fath, the court physician, for whom he wrote Khulasat-ul-Hayat, or the "Essence of Life",--a history of ancient and modern philosophers.3 Possibly it was in recognition of this service that he was commissioned, at the instance of the Hakîm, to write the Tarikh.

(2) Ain-i-Akbari, i, page 106.

⁽¹⁾ Ibid, pp. 406, 407.

⁽³⁾ An incomplete copy of this book, 'containing only a portion of the first of the two Maqsads into which the book is divided', is preserved in the British Museum, (Rieu, iii, p. 1034 b.)

Bâdâ'ûnî calls him a 'bigoted Shî'a' and even declares that 'he had made himself a Hakîm by pure effrontery'.

Asaf Khân, the continuator, who wrote the Annals of 686-987 of the Rihlat Era came to India in the 22nd year of Akbar's reign and was introduced to the Emperor by Asaf Khân II, his uncle. Soon he rose to a position of trust and, on the death of the Emperor, entered the service of Jahângîr. He died in 1021 A.H. He 'is represented as a man of the greatest genius. He was an able financier, and a good accountant. A glance is said to have been sufficient for him to know the contents of a page......' He was one of the best poets of Akbar's age, an age most fruitful in great poets. His Masnawî, entitled Nurnama, ranks after Nizâmî's Shirin Khusrau.²

Mullâ 'Abdu'l-Qâdir Badâ'ûnî, the author of the celebrated Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, was another scholar who took a prominent part in the composition of the Tarikh. The Mullâ was introduced to the Emperor Akbar in 981 A.H. (=1573 A.D.). He wrote the Annals of the years 7, 14, 21, 28 and 35 of the Rihlat Era. He also revised the first two volumes between the years 1000 and 1003 A.H.³.

Mîr 'Abdu'l Latîf, who received the title of Naqîb Khân in the 26th year of Akbar's reign, was a prominent figure at the Court. He superintended the translation of the Mahabharata⁴ along with Mullâ 'Abdu'l Qâdir Badâ'ûnî and Shaikh Sultân Thânesarî. He wrote the Annals of the years 1, 3, 15, 22 and 29 of the Rihlat Era. He died in the 9th year of the reign of Jahângîr, (1032, A.H.).⁵

Shâh Fathullâh of Shîrâz, who wrote the Annals of the years 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30, 'so excelled in all branches of natural philosophy, specially mechanics', that Abû'l Fadl said of him, 'if the books of antiquity should be lost, the amîr will restore them'. He arrived at the Court of the Emperor Akbar in 990 A.H. and was appointed a Sadr;

⁽¹⁾ For further details see Ma'athir-ul-Umara, (Bib. Indica), Vol. iii, pp. 262-264: 'Ain-i-Akbari, (Blochmann), i, p. 206.

⁽²⁾ See 'Ain-i-Akbari, i, pp. 411-413: Ma'athir-ul-Umara, i, pp. 107-15: Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (Rogers and Beveridge), i, p. 222.

⁽³⁾ See 'Ain-i-Akbari, i, p. 104, n2: Elliot, The History of India Vol. 5, pp. 477-492.

^{(4) &#}x27;Ain-i-Akbari, i, p. 104.

⁽⁵⁾ See 'Ain-i-Akbari, i, pp. 447-449: Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Ranking), iii, p. 150: Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Rogers and Beveridge), i, pp. 264, 265: Ma'athir-ul-Umara, iii, pp. 812-817.

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three years later he was given the title of Amînu'l-Mulk. He died in 997 A.H.¹

Hakîm Humâm, who wrote the Annals of the years 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31 of the Rihlat Era, was a 'commander of six hundred'. "He was a personal friend of Akbar and possessed great influence at court." He died in his 40th year, on the 6th Rabî' I, 1004 A.H.²

Hâjjî Ibrâhîm Sarhindî, who wrote the Annals of the years 5, 12, 19, 26 and 33 of the Rihlat Era, was a prominent scholar at the court of Akbar. According to Abû'l Fadl, Hâjjî Ibrâhîm "translated into Persian the Atharvan which, according to the Hindus, is one of the four divine books." But Badâ'ûnî tells us that the Emperor 'ordered Shaikh Faidâî, and then Hâjjî Ibrâhîm to translate it. The latter, though willing, did not write anything'.⁴

Mîrzâ Nizâm-ud-dîn Ahmad, who wrote the Annals of the years 6, 13, 20, 27 and 34 of the Rihlat Era, was the celebrated author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*. He died on the 23rd of Safar, 1003 A.H.⁵

As regards the plan of the Tarikh it may be pointed out, that, like several other histories (both Arabic and Persian), it is written in the form of Annals; the arrangement being strictly chronological. This arrangement would have led to little difficulty had the Tarikh been confined to the Annals of a particular country or period, but as it comprehends a history of the entire Muslim world nay of the whole world, as planned originally—the reader naturally finds it extremely difficult to follow the chain of events. Thus, if one is interested in the history of Persia or Africa alone, he has nevertheless to go through the entire Tarikh in order to collect his materials which are scattered over its two thousand and odd pages. This is one of the greatest defects of the Tarikh and, probably, it is for this reason that very few scholars have made use of it in compiling their histories. A good index may, as suggested by Elliot, remove this defect.

(5) *Ibid*, ii, p. 412.

^{(1) &#}x27;Ain-i-Akbari, i, p. 33, n1 Ma'athir-ul-Umara, i, pp. 100-105; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh (Ranking), iii, p. 216

^{(2) &#}x27;Ain-i-Akbari, i, pp. 474-475 : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh (Ranking), iii, pp. 234-235 : Ma'athir-ul-Umara, i, pp. 563-565.

^{(3) &#}x27;Ain-i-Akbari, i, p. 105.

⁽⁴⁾ Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, ii, p. 216.

It must, however, be said to the credit of its compilers that they have drawn their materials from the most authoritative works on history—both Arabic and Persian. They quote their authorities extensively and, whenever they are in doubt about the truth of any incident, they usually begin it with (it is said) or add at the end (god knows the truth). And whenever they find a conflict between any two historians they exercise their judgment and select the version which appears to them to be the correct one. On such occasions they usually state the reason for accepting the one or rejecting the other, but in cases where they are unable to make up their minds they only place the two versions side by side.

It must be admitted, however, that a large portion of the *Tarikh* is of secondary importance only, as it is just a compendium of older histories. But the portion which deals with contemporary events is certainly expected to be of considerable value and importance. As Asaf Khân, the author of this portion, was a prominent figure at Akbar's court, the value of his narrative can hardly be overestimated.

It is very unfortunate indeed that no complete manuscript of the Tarikh is available in any public library in India and so I am unable to discuss the value of Asaf Khân's account or examine the charge of Shî'a proclivities levelled against Mullâ Ahmad, the compiler of the first two volumes. I have examined the Asiatic Society Manuscripts, No. 1, 125, which brings down the narrative to the year 503 of the Rihlat Era,* but there I have found little which may be said to be objectionable or incorrect. No doubt, the account of 'Alî, the fourth Caliph, covers a much larger portion of the book than that of the first three Caliphs but we can hardly blame Mullâ Ahmad for that, for he took up the narrative from the 36th year only--e.g., some six years after the death of 'Alî. Elliot has apparently done an injustice to the Mullâ by quoting, without comment, the following story from the Ma'athirul-Umara:

"He (i.e., Mullâ Ahmad) used to read out his composition to Akbar, who asked him upon one occasion why he had dwelt so long upon Khalifa 'Usmân's reign. He

^{*} Ivanow (W.), Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Curzon Collection, Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 3. (No. 4).

replied openly,....before all the Turani nobles, who were Sunnis, that that period is the Rauzatu'sh-Shuhada of the Sunnis, and to abridge it would give offence".

This story can hardly be true as the Mullâ commenced the compilation of the *Tarikh* from the year 46 A.H., while 'Usmân died 11 years earlier, in 35 A.H.

Our manuscript of the *Tarikh*, which forms the subject-matter of this paper, is undoubtedly the original manuscript which was prepared for the Emperor Akbar. It is written in good *Nasta'liq*, the style of calligraphy in which Akbar was particularly interested. The manuscript is in large folio size and contains magnificent miniatures on each leaf; but in some cases the miniatures are also found on both sides of the leaves.

We know from the 'Ain that Akbar was a great lover of painting and hundreds of artists, both Hindû and Muslim, were engaged by him in producing manuscripts of extraordinary beauty and excellence. Abû'l Fadl says:—

"Persian books, both prose and poetry, were ornamented with pictures, and a very large number of paintings was thus collected. The Story of Hamzah was represented in twelve volumes, and clever painters made the most astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand and four hundred passages of the story. The Chingiznâmah, the Zafarnâmah, this book, the Razmnâmah, the Ramâyan, the Nal Daman, the Kalîlah Damnah, the 'Ayâr Dânish, etc., were all illustrated''.2

But this does not exhaust the list of manuscripts which were illustrated for the Emperor. There are at least a dozen more manuscripts in Indian and European collections, which were also written and illustrated for the Emperor. The more important books of this class are the *Darab Nama*,³ and the *Babur Nama*⁴ in the British Museum, the *Baharistan* in the Bodleian Library;⁵ the *Khamsa* of Nizâmî in the collection of Mr. Dyson Perrins;⁶

⁽¹⁾ Elliot, History of India, Vol. V, p. 156. The story is given in the Ma'athir-ul-Umara, iii, p. 263.

^{(2) &#}x27;Ain-i-Akbari, i, p. 108. (3) Or. 4615. See Rieu, Supplement, p. 241 (No. 385).

⁽⁴⁾ Or. 3714, See Rieu, Supplement, pp. 51, 52 (No. 75).
(5) Elliot, No. 254, See Ethè's Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, C. 634, (No. 963).

⁽⁶⁾ Brown (Percy), Indian Painting under the Mughals, p. 116.

the Akbar Nama¹ and the Babur Nama² in the South Kensington Museum; the Timur Nama in the Oriental Public Library at Patna⁴ and the Diwan of Hâfiz in the

Râmpûr State Library.⁵

To the above list must be added our newly discovered manuscript of Tarikh-i-Alfi, which certainly rivals the famous Razm Nama in the Jaipur Library, and the excellent Timur Nama at Patna. We are at present unable to say whether the entire Tarikh was illustrated or whether it was left incomplete owing to its great bulk. For, to judge from the fragment at our disposal, the entire manuscript, when completed, was to have contained between 1,500 to 2,000 miniatures. Possibly this was never done.

There is reason to believe that when the manuscript left the side of the calligraphist and went to the Royal Studio, it was never sent back to him for putting down, in red ink, the headings of the different years. All such places are left blank and we even notice that in certain cases the space thus left blank has been taken over by the painter. In fact, it was due to the ignorance of the Hindû artists, who were not versed in Persian and who, as we know from the available records, outnumbered the Muhammadan artists by ten to one.

Unfortunately, the bottom margin of the manuscript, which contained the names of the artists, has been cut down by some ignorant book-binder. The Timur Nama manuscript in the Patna Library has also suffered the same fate. But it will not be difficult, I think, for an expert to identify at least some of the paintings in our copy with the works of the seventeen "forerunners on the high road of art" whose names we get in Abû'l Fadl's 'Ain (i. pp. 107, 108).

However the names of the following five artists—all Hindûs—which have escaped the ravages of the book-binder can be found on the bottom margin of the Tarikh:—

(1) Shankar of Gujarât. Paintings executed by this artist are to be found in the British Museum copies of the *Darab Nama* (Or. 4615) and the *Babur Nama* (Or.

(5) History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, (1911 Edition),

pp. 474, 475.

⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p. 117.

⁽²⁾ Ibid, p. 152.
(3) 'Abdul Muqtadir, Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Vol. VII, pp. 40-48.

⁽⁴⁾ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1918, Vol. XIV, p. cclxxvi: Professor Muhammad Shafi's article in the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, Vol. II No. 2, p. 13, 14.



A page from TARIKH-I-ALFI.



A page from TARIKH-I-ALFI.

- 3714); the South Kensington MS. of the Akbar Nama: the Patna Copy of the Timur Nama and in the India Office Library, Johnson Collection, Vol. XXIV.
- (2) Sarwan—His name appears in the aforesaid copies of the *Darab Nama*, the *Babur Nama*, (two pictures from which have been reproduced by Smith,* Figs. 247 and 248); the *Akbar Nama*, the *Timur Nama* and also in the *Razm Nama*.
- (3) Tirîyyâ—We find the name of this artist on the aforesaid copies of the Darab Nama, the Babur Nama, and the Akbar Nama. Smith has reproduced a fine picture of a banquet from the British Museum copy of the Akbar Nama. He remarks "A full-page picture of a banquet by Tirîyyâ, rightly marked by a former owner as incomparable (be-nazir), is a fine example of Indo-Timurid style, bright, but not too garish in colour, and far from the common fault of overcrowding."
- (4) Sûr Dâs—He was the son of Ishar. The B. M. Babur Nama and the S. K. Akbar Nama and the Patna Timur Nama contain paintings by this artist.
- (5) Birahspat—This artist appears to be unknown, as his name is not found in any of the aforesaid manuscripts.

This completes a brief survey of the manuscript and now it remains for the expert to attempt the identification of the unsigned pictures.

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^{*} Ibid, p. 472.