EPIGRAPHIA INDICA
ARABIC & PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT
(In continuation of Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)
1913-20

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110011
1987
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75086 21-3-88

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Price: 120.00

Printed at S. Narayan & Sons, 7117/18, Pahari Dhiraj, Delhi- 110006
PREFACE

The task of making available to the world of scholars the benefits of study and research on Indian inscriptions would have remained incomplete without the reprinting of volumes of Epigraphia Indica (Arabic & Persian Supplement). This series, under the title Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, published from 1907 to 1940, was revived in 1949 and since 1951 in its present form. This valuable material is being published in 13 volumes. The present one is 2nd in the series and will be followed in quick succession by subsequent ones.

I wish to record my thanks to Shri N.M. Ganam, Superintending Epigraphist, for the planning of the series. Shri J.C. Gupta, Production Officer, Archaeological Survey of India, has the credit for its speedy execution and production.

K.V. RAMESH
DIRECTOR (EPIGRAPHY)

MYSORE
1-09-1987
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EDITED BY
G. YAZDANI, M.A.,
DIRECTOR OF ARCHAEOLOGY, H. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS, AND GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR MOSLEM INSCRIPTIONS.

1913-14

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IJEI

CALCUTTA
SUPERINTENDENT GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA
1917

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INSCRIPTION FOUND IN THE ADHCHINI VILLAGE, NOW PRESERVED IN THE
DEHLI MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY.

BY ZAFAR HARRAN, B.A.

The inscription was first brought to my notice in the year 1910 by Dr. Vogel, who was then officiating for the Director-General of Archaeology, and he asked me to submit a report on it. The marble slab (7' 1" by 2' 1") on which it is engraved, stood originally at the head of a grave in the centre of an enclosure, which lies in the Adhchini village between miles 9 and 10 on the Delhi Qutb road. The epigraph was in a deplorable state. The marble slab on which it had been engraved was broken into several pieces, especially at the lower end, where a small piece was missing. Moreover, the text was injured and in many places obliterated, presumably in the attempts to break the slab or deface the script. To avoid further damage, and possibly total destruction, the inscription was subsequently removed for safe custody to the Delhi Museum of Archaeology.¹

The inscription consists of twenty-eight lines written in Nastā'īq characters, in the Persian language. It is dated 1127 A.H. (1715 A.D.) and records a statement that one Muhammad Maṣūm, by whose order it was written, had procured a hand impression of the Prophet.² To prove the genuineness of the impression he quotes from early Muhammadan histories and popular traditions: some eight miracles of the Prophet, relating how stones received impressions at his tomb and spoke to him when necessity demanded it, and how the moon was rent asunder at a sign from his finger.

It is assumed that the grave which had the inscribed marble slab for its head stone is that of Muhammad Maṣūm. The enclosure in which the grave lies measures some ninety-seven feet east to west by eighty-one feet north to south, and is locally known as Baghchī (a small garden). It is surrounded by brick walls having an octagonal bastion at each of the four corners, and is entered by a gateway on the west. The chief feature of the southern side of the enclosure is a small pavilion, having three arched entrances and covered by a vaulted roof. It is not improbable that this pavilion was originally a shrine intended for the custody of the hand impression referred to in the inscription. The enclosure and the pavilion have been in occupation by the villagers, and no information is forthcoming concerning the relic or Muhammad Maṣūm.

² [The hand and foot impressions of Prophet Muhammad are not rare in India, e.g. the Qudwa Râšî at Delhi, at Gaúp, etc.; but Professor van Berchem observes that they are far more numerous in other Islamic countries, and quotes the following references: (1) Survey of Western Palestine, London, 1883, Vol. III, pp. 341-42; (2) Bulletin de l’Institut égyptien, 1908, p. 92 seq.; (3) Anthropos, Vol. V, p. 333 seq.; (4) Clermont-Ganneau’s Archäologische Reise im Euphrat-und Tigris Gebiet, p. 20 seq., Sarre’s Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst, p. 41. The superstitions regard for hand and foot prints of saints, divines and legendary personages is common in almost every religion and a great number of such impressions, according to Professor W. Deonna of Genoa, is described in Bauduin’s book on foot prints sculptured and incised on rocks.—Editor.]
TEXT.

(Plate I)

يا إلهي يا محمد

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

خاتم الرسالة عليه السلام

از ألاية كله مبارك حضرة يافطة ام شنيد بنت مظمة بر ون مشا كاهنا كي نظیر جبريل عليه السلام بر أي سك سيده مكره كا كرره بانور دير دنرو ود ردا جبلا تره كا حضرة رابته يف bại شده بريدة زاشى يلور يبست دست مطبور است ربطاف متأكد النبي كر غاري اتريلا روايش حسب احسى رن تنقح تایي أمو ماة بعه بريه وقاطر شير مرجون است ر حضرة يمجد السحيم... نما ميريند نزاق تاج غربر بقيت كي اتساف نف از تجاج كت أبريير ماهيى أمز抛 مبارك

بنك كردن أم ود اتير كري سيكى كر عرض كر دمجمة تيار كر دير دنرو كي إلابيس برد اتك ران

سكى ظاهر است لفر كتاب الأعمال بالعلم بيت أخرم إماك ميار لزهور خلامة ترجمة اذه ما بت ير مزد النبي وحنة حضرة خذابه ذر راه مصيديست بربى نام از زتاق المرنق

إلا يا...! [دراك؟]...! [بكر؟]...! برد ذر صرف ميفرخس قربش بديبرى

ستيفست كر اثار مار است لفر كتاب الأعمال الميواق لبعة اعمال نشرته كه ان اثر ازنج

يد مبارك كرنا نتى فدسي بتاريخ مكة كي جلبه كمزم زياته اتير ميكند و ميكوند الحاضر

تكيه بري السك كر ده ميتشيل بأل لنك ديناك كي بيشه حضرة برو برو برو برو برو برو نوز ميكند الإثاب كاب كاري سك همان باشي كا حضرة فرمودن برو ميديام دل مكة هره برا

ميكند ميكند ميكند برا ود جهل ابوعيس قر حضرة آدم روا رهان بوله على السالم است

ر خاص ترجمة تاريخ كنير كه تدرك حبره مكة شريفة حضرة ابواه بكساره جبارين على السالم

بنك كر ونن دوسئ وحد رفيق فيونات كر نمزة بابه كر أتير نوو كر غاري منزل الاحضرة

روز مره برون سابع برله آدم ازنجت خييم ياكير نور بس [تاندل؟] طبا ر

هجارايرد بريخي سيار ملاكه أروده جايه كعبه دايهت مهنا. أتى كعه حررم

ميكوند ما نظر شياطي بر نيفنت كاب جبارين... أز آدم...!

مأك...

دأشات اكسفست مبارك در نيرة شر هن در نيرة...

[بالص Romantic, بنص رححديه]
ADHOINI INSCRIPTION.

O God! O Muhammad!

In the name of God the Merciful (and) Compassionate, (and) the Seal of Prophecy (i.e. last of the prophets): may (Divine) blessings and peace be with him! At the place where I secured the blessed hand impression of His Holiness (the Prophet), I heard that in the honoured Mecca on the mount Hirā, which is (also) called Jabal-i-Thaur, there is an impression of the luminous body of His Holiness on a stone, whereon at the commencement of the wahās (the Divine Revelation) Gabriel, peace be upon him, cut open the enlightened bosom and filled it with (Divine) Light. And in the cave of Jabal-i-Thaur, wherein His Holiness had concealed himself at the time of the Flight (Hijrat), there is an impression of the side and the back of the holy hand. And in a cave adjoining the Mosque of the Prophet in Taif, there exist a mark of the side and the back of the sacred hand, and impressions of the feet of a doe and of her fawn as well as the marks of drops of her milk. And (once) His Holiness was going to Masjidu-l-Haram to say his prayers when some one in Zuqāqu-l-hijar said regretfully that congregational prayer was over. His Holiness reclined against a wall whereupon the blessed elbow penetrated into the stone. From the wall on the left side a stone said; “The congregation is ready, and that liar was Satan.” The mark of the tongue of the stone is visible. At the end of Kitābu-l-ilām bi a'lam i Baṣīr-i-Haram, the places of pilgrimage are

1 This happened when the Prophet was quite young and according to the practice of the Arabs lived with his wet-nurse Halla and used to go out with her sons to graze sheep.
2 Zuqāq in Arabic means a street, and hijar a stone. Zuqāq-i-hijar is the name of a street in Mecca, where there is a stone which is reputed to have once spoken. The hijar, who have visited Mecca say that a tongue-like thing is still shown there.
3 The full title of the book—كتاب عام لمما بيض الله الحرام—means “Book of information regarding the marks of the Sacred House of God.” It was published by Wüstenfeld in 1857. The passage alluded to is to be found on page 460 of that edition, and as the inscription here is incomplete I propose to quote it from Kitābu-l-ilām.

قال إعفاء الإمام ابن البيرة في الأحبار المعرب ذكر بعد الدين الإفراني في كتاب زيدة الأعمال أن إهل مكة يعثر إذا أرادوا الموالي من دار خدجية رضيا إلى مسجد يقولون إنه دكان النبي كفر الصديق كان يبيع فيه الخازنات والرقم على يده، وعثمان بن عفان وطاهر بن الزبير في الله علمن قال وف يجاذ هذا السكان أمور رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم جاه ورسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم دار أبي بكر ذات يوم ونادي يا يا بكر بكر

4 Qâfi Abul Baqâ, the son of Zuh, in his Babru-l-amâq says: Sudu-d-din Usâfiyud recorded in his book Zâd-datul-dâwil, that the people of Mecca when they want to go to the sacred places they go from the house of Khadijah, may God be pleased with her! to a mosque, of which they say that, it was the shop of Abu Bakr Siddiq who used to sell in it silk, and in this shop Ufman, the son of A'far, Talha and Zubair, may God be pleased with them! embraced Islam before him. He [Sudu-d-din] further says that in the wall of this shop there is a trace of the elbow of the Prophet, may God bless him and give him peace! and that it is related that the Prophet, may God bless him and give him peace, one day went to the house of Abu Bakr and called out “O Abu Bakr!...”
noticed, and an extract of the notice is: Between the house of the Prophet and that of Her Holiness Khadijah there is a mosque on the road, in the street named Zuqiqun-l-mirfaq. There was a shop... Bakr sold wool, and near it on the wall there is a stone containing the mark of an elbow. It is written in Bahru-l-‘umiq quoted from Zubdatu-l-‘amal that the mark is of the elbow of the blessed arm. And Taqi Qudsi in the History of Mecces says “People visit it and say that His Holiness reclined against that stone and talked with another stone which was before him to the left.” They visit it also.” Probably this stone is the same about which His Holiness said “I know a stone in Mecca which, whenever I passed by it, saluted me.” And on the mount Abū Qubais there are the tombs of Their Holinesses Adam, Eve, and Shith: may peace be upon them. An extract from the notice in the Tarikh-i-‘Adharī is that in obedience to Gabriel, His Holiness Abraham, may peace be upon both of them! laid the boundaries of the Haram1 of the blessed Mecca with mud and stone, and the boundary towards ‘Arafāt is the mount Namirā eleven kiroh3 from Mecca. At the foot of the mountain, in a cave, there is a place to which His Holiness repaired daily. In the early days the angels brought down a tent of red ruby with three chandeliers of gold and the Ḥajar-‘l-Aswad for Adam from Paradise in the light of stars and marked a site for the Ka‘ba. Their light to the boundaries of Haram ......... so that the devils should not see it.4 And Gabriel... from Adam .......... said may the end be good. ............ at a sign from the blessed finger was rent into two halves.5 Each of the two halves... it is proved from the Qurān and the Ḥadīth was raised to heaven. This was caused to be written by Muhammad Maṣḥam entitled (?) Pībbar Khān ‘Aynu-sh-Shāhī: 4th year of the August (reign) of Farrukh Siyar, the victorious king. The year 1127 (A.H.).

Note.—The Panjāb referred to in the inscription may have been stolen and destroyed by the Wahhābīs, who are bitter opponents of the practice of worshipping such relics. A little before the Mutiny of 1857, a party of Wahhābīs conspired to steal the well-known foot print of the Prophet at Delhi—Qādī Rasūl—which was brought to India by Sayyid Jalālū-d-dīn Ḥakīm ‘Alī Makhūm Jahānlīyān, during the reign of Fīroz Shāh Tughlāq (752-90 A.H.). The plot, however, was divulged and the conspirators were punished by Bahādur Shāh, the last Mughal King. Maulavi Muhammad ‘Umar Qādirī ‘Alīs Shāh Sirāju-l-Ḥaq has traced the history of this foot print in his valuable book—Al-istiṣlah wa-tawassul bi ‘Āthār-i-Salatīn wa Sayyid-i-Rasūl (1319 A.H.), Khādimu-l-Islam Press, Delhi. In this book the author has also given a critical exegesis of all the traditions in support of the miracle that the stone became soft at the touch of Muhammad.—Editor.

1 This miracle is recorded in Al-Kalāmāt-mubātis, published by the Nāmi Press, Lucknow, pp. 128-9, miracle 210. There is a difference of opinion as regards the identification of this stone. Some say that it is Ḥajar-‘l-Aswad which Muhammadans kiss at the time of pilgrimage, while others think that it is another stone in the street of Zuqiqun-l-mirfaq (Zuqaq = street, and mirfaq = elbow).
2 Haram = sanctuary.
3 Kiroh and kos are both derived from the Sanskrit word kosa which literally means ‘a shout,’ i.e. the distance of a shout. On an average a kiroh is equal to two miles.
4 The story explains how the foundation of the Ka‘ba was laid down and the boundaries of the Haram were fixed.
5 This apparently refers to the breaking of the moon (see Al-Kalāmāt-mubātis, p. 108, miracle 182). This miracle was performed before the Prophet fled from Mecca to Medina.
Plate II.
Inscription on the Khandesh Copper-plate.
A COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KHANDESH.

By Shams-ul-Ulama, Dr. Jivanji Jamsedji Modji, C.I.E., Ph.D.

About the end of November last Mr. P. B. Gothaskar, the Assistant Secretary and Librarian of the B. B. R. A. Society, sent me, for decipherment, a copper plate grant. The Persian inscription on this plate forms the subject of my paper. In his subsequent letter, dated 19th January, 1916, in reply to my inquiries about the place where the copper plate was found, I was told that it belonged to Mr. Plunket, Assistant Postal Censor, Bombay, who had the plate "from a Bhil somewhere near the border of the Nizam’s Dominions, near the Ellora caves,” and that “he secured it as of antiquarian interest.”

I beg to thank Maulawi Sayyid Amru-d-din of Naosari for helping me in deciphering some words here and there. I also beg to thank Mr. G. Yazdani for suggesting the reading of several doubtful words, and for placing at my disposal in that connection a Persian manuscript said to be compiled by Shih Nawaz Khan (1639-1757), the author of the Ma’athiru-l Umara’ (Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 189-191). This manuscript, as stated by Mr. Yazdani, is “a sort of statistical account of the political divisions of the empire at that period (early eighteenth century), written very much on the lines of the Gazetteers of modern days.”

TEXT.

(Plate II)

سنده از حضرت پیرپرلاد معی انوار صوبه خاندیس سرکار ملی پریچندت پیل او گنگه تو (۲) کنن میا اکر از حضرت مذکور پیرپرلاد سبب خشایش رامی سبب نیمی گردید پیر پرلاد پر رازمی پر پرلاد قلم مرائی(۳)

امروز ملی و هزارا ناب ماج و راه ناب بپاد از پر پرلاد اکر اکر اکر انعم داده شد وزمین زراعت کشت بیکه به چندب از جالی کالی (۱) و چند پیش خاصی که از ارایی جهت کشیده و راپوری قربان بیبند و راپور راخند که از مراتع اکر بیبند و هرگنابی چرخشی از زمین پیدا شد و رفته از حکم سرکار هشیار باشد سندر حضرت ملی، کلار راک و راکشند (۴) حاضر باش دریاب تاکریک تاکریک و دانسته بیچ نعیم ایل زریه آدين ۴ مدل حکمي نوزند سنه ۱۰۱۷ هجري بلكریخ درازتهم ۱۳ ماه شعبان

1. lit., bright with lights, luminous, brilliant, exalted.
2. Arak is a Dekhani-Hindi word meaning a ‘surname’ (Shakespeare’s Hindustani-English Dictionary, p. 94). It corresponds to Gujarati atak.
4. مدل حکمي, ‘udul-hukmi, disobedience.’
TRANSLATION.

A Grant (sanad) from the Court (or dignified presence, ḥuzūr) of Pār Paulād, the brilliant in splendor (lit. brilliant in rays) in the province (subah) of Khandesh, in the district (sarkar) of Mulher, of auspicious foundation, in the sub-district (paraganah) of . . . Kalna in the village (mausa) of Ākār. The village of Ākār has been given as a gift by the court of the above Pār Paulād for bravery and firmness in cultivating and making habitable (waste lands) to Vira Ḍhuṭ Patēl, son of Rāoji Patēl of the community of Marathi, of the tribe of Moṛi, and to Hauḷu Nāik, son of Ḍhuṭ Nāik, Rīhil of the tribe of Bajari.

Land for cultivation, 60 bighās (2) (near) the southern stream, namely, in the zone of black (soil) and also the settled Haqq (lit. privilege or right), viz. from cultivable lands seven bojā (3) or head loads of the grain produced in the land. may be given according to proportion (i.e. proportionately), and the rate for the removal (uthānī, lit. lifting up) of the grain may be given in proportion. And in carefulness for (watching) the custom-post (chauki) on the road of ingress and egress, they may remain watchful for the orders of Government. The sanad may be presented (i.e. shown) to all the people of business and royalty.

Recognizing the urgent order and injunction they should not exercise any disobedience of the order in any way or in any manner so long as (this sanad is held by) the donees. Year 1017 Hijri on the twelfth (12th) day of the month, Shābān, Thursday. (4)

1. Nāik has been wrongly written bāīk, the nukhash or dot being marked below instead of above.

2. A bighā in the Moghul times was “a quantity of land 60 ragas by 60 broad. Should there be any diminution in length or breadth or excess in either, it is brought into square measure and made to consist of 3,600 square ragas . . . . . . . 3,600 sq. raga = 2,000 sq. yards = 0.528 or somewhat more than half an acre.” (Ain-i-Akbari (Eng. Transl.), by Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 62, and s.)

3. Haqq (हाई). We learn from Capt. Graham’s article on the Bihil (Historical Sketch of the Bheel Tribes inhabiting the Province of Khandesh in Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. XXVI, New Series (1856), p. 219. Separate print, p. 11), that the word ‘Huk’ or ‘Huck’ was a technical term as used among the Bihils. The Bihil Naik had regular ‘Huka’s, i.e. rights or privileges, whereby they received every year something in kind from every village of the district. When the British Government began to use a conciliatory policy to subdue and improve these hill tribes, “the regular payment of a certain sum of money was at length satisfactorily effected in lieu of their ‘Huka’s, which had been heretofore received in kind from every village of the district.”

4. Hind. बोज = bojā, lend, weight; (in agricultural language) about five dākas of corn (John Shakespear’s English and Hindustani Dictionary).

5. From Uthān, a Hindustani word of Sanskrit origin.

6. Qareassā, conjecture, similarity, symmetry, correspondence, regularity, order.

7. Or it may mean, “the sanad may be taken as presented by all people”.

8. Rājgah = may be a mistake for rājvanī (राजवनी), a Hindi word of Sanskrit origin, meaning ‘of royal descent’. It is also the name of a Rajput tribe.

9. Ḍhuṭ, most urgent.

10. The word, as it is written, can be read otherwise, but it seems to be misspelled for ḍudān (qadān), i.e. injunction order.

11. [The latter portion of the sanad beginning from . . . . may also be translated thus:—

(The entire produce of) the sixty bighās of the cultivated land watered by the Southern stream, namely, from the place whence the black (cotton soil area begins) and also the fixed revenue on (other) cultivable lands, i.e. seven bojā or head loads, etc., of the grain produced in the land, according to approximate calculation, should be paid (by Virā Ḍhuṭ Patēl and Hauḷu Nāik to Pār Paulād’s government). The tax on the removal of the corn should also be paid in proportion to the gross quantity. They (Virā and Hauḷu) should also be mindful of the orders of Government (Pār Paulād) in exercising a careful watch on the ingress and egress (of the village). The sanad (is issued) from the presence (of Pār Paulād) to all officers and tax-collectors (? at present holding office, who should follow the injunctions and directions contained in the orders, and should not disobey them in any circumstances or in any manner so long as (the sanad is held by the donees). 1017 A.H., on the 12th Shābān, Thursday.—(Continued).
To understand properly the divisions of the country mentioned in the grant, one must understand the divisions as known in the Mughal times. The
Division of Land in Mughal times - *A’in-i-Akhbār* helps us a little in this direction. It says:
“Each *Subāh* is divided into a certain number of *sarkār* and each *sarkār* into *parganās* or *mahals* (used as equivalent expressions).”\(^1\) In Akbar’s time “His Majesty apportioned the Empire into twelve divisions, to each of which he gave the name of *Subāh* . . . . . . . . . . .
When Berār, Khāndesh and Ahmadnagar were conquered, their number was fixed at fifteen.”\(^2\)

Now let us examine the names of the places mentioned in the copper plate. The place, to which the grant belongs, is the village of Ākār in Khāndesh. There is no doubt about the reading of the name ‘Khandesh’ as given in the plate. Khāndesh formed one of the several *subāhs* in the Mughal times. It was one of the countries that was lately constituted a *subāh* by Akbar. According to the *A’in-i-Akhbār*, Khāndesh was named Dandesh by Akbar after its conquest. It says:
“Dānyāl (a son of Akbar) was appointed governor of the newly conquered territory, which was called by Akbar Dandesh (a combination of the words Dānyāl and Khāndesh).”\(^3\) Nawwāb Šāmansu-d-Daulah’s MS. says the same thing.

The village of Ākār, to which the grant of land refers, is described as belonging to the *subāh* of Khāndesh and to the *sarkār* of Mulher. Ākār is spoken of as a fort.

A *subāh* or province in Mughal times was divided, as said above, into several *sarkār* or districts. The *sarkār* of Khāndesh was named Mulher. It is variously written as Mulhir, Malhir, Mooleer, Mallir or Malir (*Elliot*, III, 256; VII, 66, 309, 311, 312, 472). Mooleer lies about half way, a little west, of a line drawn from Chāndor to Nandurbar (*Ibid.*, VII, p. 66, n. 1). Mulher and Sā silica are said to be the strongest of the forts of Baghāna (*Ibid.*, p. 66). The Hyderabad MS. also speaks of it as a *qābāh*.

The two words after the name of the *sarkār* seem to be “*Khujasta būnyād*”, i.e. “*Auspicious foundation*.” We come across some words of praise or good auspices in connection with places in other writings also. For example “*Bandar-i-mubārak-i-Surat*”, i.e. “the auspicious port of Surat.” Aunangābād is spoken of as *Khujasta būnyād* (*Elliot*, VII, 194, 256, 394).

The *sarkār*, which are sub-divisions of a *subāh*, were in Mughal times divided into *parganās* or provinces. The province of Kālna is spoken of in the State MS. as being in the possession of Nīgān-Mulk. In one place it is spoken of as *mahāl* and in another as *sarkār* (*Elliot*, VI, p. 102). It was taken by Abul Fāqir in the 46th year of Akbar’s reign. Its governors are spoken of as *qal’ādār* (*Ma’āthiru-l-Umarā* Text, Vol. III, pp. 117, 420). The word before this name may possibly be ‘*rud*’, i.e. river, because in the State MS. we read of *Āb-i-Kālna*.

The verbs *and* بَدْهَنَدَ and *ba’il/k* بَایْلُکَ in lines 11 and 12 should have been in the plural form—*bā’il/k* بَایْلُکَ and *bā’il/k* بَایْلُکَ. The dash of their seems to have been omitted through the carelessness of the engraver.

The donor, while bestowing the village on Vi-su and Haulā for their services in colonizing the waste lands, has reserved certain items of revenue for his government, namely, the entire produce of the sixty *bighās* of the black cotton soil, a fixed rate on other cultivable lands, and the *Uthrāni* tax. Further, he has bound the donors with the duty of keeping watch on the ingress and egress of the village in return for the gift made to them. Such conditions still prevail with regard to the colonization of the desolate areas technically called *zāmi/ ini* جنگل in the Deccan.—Editor.\(^4\)

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The name of the person granting the land is Pir Paulād. This word occurs thrice in the plate. The first time on the right-hand top-corner, where it is written پیر علید without the three مکثات or dots under the second پر; the second time in the first line, where it is properly written with the مکثات as پیر علید; the third time in the third line where it occurs without the مکثات as in the right-hand top-corner. The name is that of a Muhammadan. We learn from تاریخ معاصر Shala that Paulād was a Muhammadan name. We do not know who he was. We know of one Pir connected with Khandesh. He was Pir Muhammad Khan of Shirwān, referred to in the این-عکباری, No. 20 in the list of the Grandees of the Mughal Empire; “Pir Muhammad was a Mulla and attached himself to Bairam in Qandhar. Through Bairam’s influence he was raised to the dignity of Amir on Akbar’s accession . . . . . . . . Whilst in Gujarat, Pir Muhammad heard of Bairam’s disgrace, and returned at once to Akbar who made him a Khan. In 968 he was appointed with Adham Khan to conquer Malwa . . . . . . In 969 he defeated Baz Bahadur. He then made a raid into Khandesh, which was governed by Miram Muhammad Shah, and sacked the capital Burhanpur.22 He perished while crossing the Nerbuddah at night when defeated by Baz Bahadur. Possibly the Pir Paulād of our plate was a descendant of this Pir. Or perhaps this Pir Paulād may be a descendant of the Pir Roshnai of King Akbar’s time. The تبااخر-عکباری thus speaks of this Pir: “In former times, a Hindu soldier had come among the Afghans and set up a heretical sect. He induced many foolish people to become his disciples and he gave himself the title of Pir Roshnai. He was dead, but his son Jalāl, a youth of about fourteen, came in the year 989 H. to wait upon the Emperor, as he was returning from Kabul. He was kindly received; but after a few days his evil disposition induced him to take flight, and go off to the Afghans. There he raised disturbances, and gathering a good number of men around him, he shut up the roads between Hindustan and Kabul. In order to repress this base sect of Roshnais, whose baseness will be hereafter described, His Majesty placed Kunwar Man Singh in command and gave him Kabul in Jagir.” Later on, we read that “Saiyid Hamid Bukhari, formerly one of the nobles of the Sultans of Gujarat . . . . . . . . . . . . . was sent to Peshawar for the repression of the Roshnai sectaries. They had assembled about 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse to attack him. He and a few men who were with him at the time fought and perished. The Emperor sent Zain Khan Koka . . . . . . . with a large force to subdue these heretics, who occupied the Khaibar Pass, and closed the road between Kabul and Hindustan. Kunwar Man Singh marched from Kabul and attacked and defeated them in the Khaibar and put a great many of them to the sword. He then occupied Jamrud and left a detachment in the Khaibar.”23 The adjective applied to Pir Paulād, i.e. لامب اومر, brilliant in rays, suggests, that possibly he was either one of the descendants or one of the sects of Pir Roshnai, because the word ‘Roshnai’ also means ‘luminous’. That this Pir Paulād was a man of some consequence, appears from the use of the word ‘Huzur’ before his name.

In the grant, where the names of the holders of the lands are mentioned we find the terms Bhil, Mori, Nāik and Patel. We will now see what are the significations of these words. The words Patel and Nāik are referred to in Captain Graham’s Paper entitled—Historical

1 Pašā Tark Backa, Elliot, Vol. IV, pp. 68, 79.  
4 Twenty-five years before this time. Badāeri, (Bhbl. Ind.), Vol. II, p. 349.  
5 Madjab-č-Zandaja wa Ilhād, ibid., Vol. II.  
6 Ibid., p. 445.
Sketch of the Bhil Tribes inhabiting the Province of Khandesh. Patels were the heads of villages. The Nāṅkas were the chiefs of the village Bhils. Formerly "the chief Naṅk of the Purgana, on the occurrence of a vacancy, had the right of appointing the Jaglā (watchman); but from long possession the village occupation in time became hereditary, and the watchmen, as members of the community, were bound alone to obey the Patel, the head of the village."12

In the history of Khandesh we find mention of several Bhil Nāṅkas. The word Nāṅk seems to have been a titular word in the Mughal times. We read of the 'Nāṅak of Mysore' in some of the papers of the English Factories.4

The Khandesh Gazetteer says: "Khandesh Bhils may conveniently be arranged under three groups; plain Bhils, hill and forest tribes, and mixed tribes... The large class of common or plain Bhils and most of the wilder hill and forest tribes, are broken into an endless number of small clans such as Favār, Māli, Mori..."5 The last word explains the use of the word Mori in the grant.6

"Among the plain Bhils disputes are generally settled by reference to a council (panch). Each of the wilder mountain tribes has an hereditary chief, nāṅk, some of whom were formerly men of great power, and were served by the Bhils with wonderful faithfulness. Each chief has an hereditary minister, pradhān or chaudhri, also a Bhil. As is the case with Mhārs and Māga, Bhil organization is by districts, not by single villages. The district, pargana, consists of a given area or group from ten to twenty villages, and, as its headman, the Naṅk, receives through his minister all requests for arbitration committees, panchas..."7

"The Khandesh cultivators are Kumbis, Mhārs... Bhils... Bhils are found here and there tilling on their own account. Some of the younger Bhils take yearly service, sālāri with Kumbis and other cultivators, but most of them are small land-holders, or hire lands from Gujar and other capitalists on the share, gāsand, principle. The landholder gains most by the bargain. He provides the land and seed, and the Bhil, the labour, cattle and tools."8

"The condition of the Bhil cultivator in the North-West of Khandesh is special. There, the landlords are mostly Gujar capitalists, not peasant proprietors, and the Bhils were formerly contented to serve for clothes and food, liquor now and then, and a small sum of money whenever their children were married."9

Of the size of the holdings in Khandesh, the Khandesh Gazetteer says: "In dry crop land, from two to four or five hundred acres is a large, from seventy-five to one hundred and fifty a middle sized, and from ten to twenty-five a small holding. In garden lands from twenty to forty acres is a large, from ten to twenty a middle sized, and less than ten a small holding... Fifty acres of dry crop land will, unless in seasons of failure of rain, support a husbandman, his wife, two children and one field labourer, sālāri comfortably without the money-lender's help."10 Now, as the holding of the grant under consideration is for dry crop land, and as it consists of 60 bighas, i.e. about 30 acres, it can be classed as a small holding.

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2 Ibid., p. 205.
4 English Factories in India, 1651-54, by William Foster (1915), Introduction, pp. XXV, XXXIII.
5 Khandesh Gazetteer, p. 83.
6 ["Mori" is a sub-class of the Bhils, but it is also an important clan of the Mahrattas; and as the donor is called a Mahratta in the sanad, the term refers to the clan "Mori" of the Mahrattas, not to that of the Bhils.—Editor].
7 Ibid., p. 90.
8 Ibid., p. 107.
9 Ibid., p. 136.
10 Ibid., pp. 126-37.
The figures which give the date of the grant are not clear. First of all, one finds that the last figure, i.e. the last on the right-hand side, may stand for '2' or '7'. But the form of the figure '2' in the last line, in the figures for number 12, enables us to say that it is not '2' but '7'. There is no doubt about the figure next to it. It is 1. Then there is a long empty space between these two figures (17) and some other figure. From this gap one may hastily come to the conclusion that there is no other preceding figure, and that the Hijri year is simply 17. But the very fact that the plate cannot be so old as thirteen centuries before our time, leads us to lay aside that conclusion. And hence we are led to suspect that the form of some figure written with a flourish of the hand on the last letters of the word *sān* must be a numeral. It looks like one. The nukta of *sān* in *sanat* seems to have been joined to it. This would give us the year of the tablet as 117 Hijri. But that date also is not at all acceptable, because the language of the grant does not show it to be so remote from our time. We take it then that the writer has omitted some figure between 1 and 17. Which one? It would seem that if any figure has been omitted by the engraver of the plate, the chances are that he omitted a zero, because that consists of a single dot like the nukta or dots which he often omitted elsewhere. So, we take it, that the figure between 1 and 17 is zero. Thus the year may be 1017. The form of the figure over the last letters of the word *sanat* may be read as 9. In that case we must not look for any omitted figure between 9 and 17, otherwise the number would be nine thousand some unknown hundred and 17. All these considerations give us the following two dates, more or less probable:

917 Hijri.

1017 Hijri.

Which of these two is the correct date? It seems that it is 1017. The Muhammadan date of the month and the day of the week help us to the conclusion. The day of the week mentioned is *Panchaṅgā* i.e. Friday, and the date is the 12th and the month is Shābān. Now we find as a matter of fact, that in 1017 the twelfth of Shābān was Friday. This settles our doubts and fixes the date.¹

The condition of Khudesh in Hijri 1017, which seems to be the date on the copper plate, was rather unsettled. "The Mughals (in 1600) found the Bhils hardworking and loyal subjects and under the Mughals they seem to have continued quiet and orderly."

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¹ I am indebted to my friend Mr. Meherjiibboy Neserwanji Kuka for kindly calculating the corresponding dates, which he gives as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hijri</th>
<th>A.H.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Monday, 1609</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>917</td>
<td>4th November, 1511</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1017</td>
<td>11th November, 1608</td>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This settles the question that as the 12th of Shābān was on Friday in 1017, the copper plate grant is of the Hijri year 1017 = A.D. 1608, the time of King Jahangir.
INSCRIPTION ORIGINALLY ON THE KHASS MAHAL AND NOW PRESERVED IN THE DELHI MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY.

BY ZAFAR HASAN, B.A.

The inscription, which is carved on a red sand-stone slab measuring 9' 1" by 1' 6", consists of four lines of Persian poetry written in Nastaliq characters. It records the erection of a building called the Khass Mahall in the year 1052 A.H. (1642-3 A.D.) by a daughter of Zain Khan,¹ who was a foster-brother and a general of the emperor Akbar. The building stands at a distance of some two hundred yards to the west of the Purana Qil'a in Delhi. It is in an advanced stage of decay and only the gateway and a series of arched cells now remain standing. The inscribed slab was fixed originally over the western archway of this gate, but it was dislodged from there and was subsequently removed to the Delhi Museum of Archaeology.²

It is strange that the inscription has been omitted by Sayyid Ahmad Khan in his well-known work Athar-e-Sanadid, the first edition of which appeared as early as 1846 A.D., although the building on which it was carved has been described by him. The inscription was certainly in situ at that time. Mr. Beale, who wrote Miftah-i-Tawarih two years later, in 1848 A.D., copied this inscription and said that it was on the gateway of the Khass Mahall, which was in ruins.³

Sayyid Ahmad Khan's description of the building is as follows: "Near the Purana Qil'a there was a palace of the time of Shâhjahân. It was built in the year 1042 A.H., corresponding to the year 1632 A.D., by Zain Khan's daughter, who was entitled Khass Mahall. Now this palace is in ruins and only the gateway remains."⁴ Sayyid Ahmad Khan is supported in his view that Khass Mahall was the title of the lady-founder, by Mr. Irvine and other authorities; but Dr. Vogel differs from him and says that it refers solely to the building.⁵ We know that a daughter of Zain Khan was married to Jahangir when he was a prince,⁶ but there is no evidence that she was styled Khass Mahall. The inscription is ambiguous on this point: it lends itself to the adoption of either view. I am disposed to follow the opinion of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, and to think that Khass Mahall was the title of Zain Khan's daughter, after whom the building constructed by her received its name. The word Khass Mahall in the second line of the inscription signifies the name of the building, and in the last line the title of its foundress.

As the building was erected outside the newly founded city of Shâhjahanabad, and as the remains of it now consist only of a row of small and unpretentious compartments, it would appear to have been a caravanserai rather than a palace. It has been termed in the inscription a 'sarai,' which means 'a house' or 'an inn,' and it is believed that the word was used in the latter sense. Moreover, the erection of the building has been recorded as an act of generosity, but this would hardly be appropriate if it was really intended as a palace.

² Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology, 1913, p. 6, No. 19.
⁴ Athar-e-Sanadid, Cawnpore, 1904, Chapter III, p. 63.
Saiyid Ahmad Khan and Mr. Beale erroneously fix on the year 1042 A.H. as the date of the construction of the Khāʃz Māhāli. Apparently they included the letter bāe and omitted the word ‘Jawāb’ in the chronogram, and have also overlooked the figure 1052 below the same.

**TEXT.**

*(Plate III)*

1) بدر شاه [ة] جهان ماجب قران ثاني
2) بنا ناهد بهي زمانه خاص مصل
3) همیشه با[د] پیر سهیل بر تلور
4) حساب کن بسربی صعل خاص جراب
5) اکر ز سال بناش بر سرل ترا

1052

**TRANSLATION.**

(1) During the reign of Shāhjahan, the second Sāhibqirān (Lord of the happy conjunction), who is the cherisher of the universe in this world and has a heaven-like court.

(2) Know, that the daughter of Zain Khan built the Khāʃz Māhāli, the best structure of the period, on this piece of ground through her generosity.

(3) May her enlightened mind be ever inclined to virtue and rectitude under the iridescent sky.

(4) If you would know the date of its erection, then add [the numerical value of] ‘Jawāb’ (answer) to [that of] ‘Sarāī Māhāli-i-Khāʃz’ (the caravanserai of Khāʃz Māhāli). 1052.
Inscription on the Khass Mahall, Delhi.

BY G. YARDANI.

This article is a continuation of the contribution of Dr. J. Horovitz to the last number of the E. I. M., 1911-12, and deals with the epigraphs of the successors of Sultan Itutmish to the royal throne of Delhi, till the close of Ka’iqubad’s reign, with whom the dynasty practically ended. No inscription is noticed of the reigns of Ruknu-d-din Firuz and Raziiyah; but it is very possible that this lacuna in the mural records of the dynasty may be filled if a diligent search for inscriptions is conducted in the old city of Delhi, and in such places as Hansi, Samana, Amroha, Koli and Budan, particularly when we remember that in Thomas’ time only two inscriptions of Balban were known, while now we have knowledge of as many as ten epigraphs of that king. Sultan Mu’izzu-d-din’s reign is represented by an inscription from Hansi, which, though not containing the name of the king, is a fine specimen of the calligraphy of the period as found in places outside the capital but not out of touch with it.

The epigraphs relating to the reign of ‘Alà’u-d-din Mas’ud are three in number, and one of them contains his name and title in full along with those of one of his Malikis. The phraseology of the titles, in most cases, is identical with that given by Muhâjî, and it appears that the latter author was cautious enough to prefix to the names of the kings and the court dignitaries only those titles which were used for them in the imperial mandates. The titles of the various Sultanis and Malikis occurring in these inscriptions will be found to be of interest by students of history, especially in judging whether their ambition in this respect was commensurate with their political and military importance.

Sultan Nasiru-d-din Mahmud’s reign is also represented by three inscriptions, two of which—one from Malda and the other from Koli—exhibit calligraphy of an extremely elegant type. The inscription No. XX also, the date of which is unknown, may belong to the reign of Nasiru-d-din because the ‘exalted, Talju-d-din Saliari’, the commander-in-chief, and the builder of the inscription seems to be, by the kinship of his name, a relative of ‘Iszu-d-din Saliari, who was an important Malik of Sultan Nasiru-d-din’s court.

Of Balban’s reign there are eight epigraphs; while the texts and translations of two more have been added in the form of appendices from previous editions, because in the case of one from Barwala the tablet on which it was carved is missing, and the other is in Sanscrit, to the knowledge of which language the writer of this paper lays no claim. This inscription is of importance to students of Muslim epigraphy because it contains the royal titles of all the Turk Sultanis of Delhi up to Balban, several of which have not been corroborated by medallio or mural records in Arabic and Persian. The facsimile of the inscription reproduced in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIII (1874), is said to have been ‘doctored’ by the editor of the inscription, Babu.

1 Chronicles, p. 135. Blochmann’s list is also defective; he mentions only four inscriptions of this king (vide P. A. S. B., p. 104).
2 See inscriptions VIII-XV and Appendices A and B.
3 Vide Pl. VI (c).
4 Vide Pls. VIII (a) and XI (a).
5 Vide Pls. IX-XIII.
6 See Tabaght, pp. 596, 647 and 673.
8 The tablet of this inscription was taken to the Lahore Museum and preserved there; but when the exhibits were removed to the new building the tablet was lost.
9 See Chronicles, p. 135.
Rajendra Lal Mitra, and as it does not represent the actual condition of the epigraph I have also ventured to publish a facsimile of it. The text and translation of the inscription given in Appendix A have been copied from Dr. J. P. Vogel’s *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology* (pp. 18-28).

Balban’s inscriptions represent a variety of calligraphical styles, and some of them, which were probably executed by the court artists, are exquisite. Kairqubād’s reign is represented by four epigraphs, three of which are designed by expert artists, and one, of Barwala, probably by a local scribe whose style is rather clumsy. One important feature noticeable in the whole series of these inscriptions is that the Kufic script, which was in vogue for a short time only during the early period of Muslim conquest in India, has been completely discarded. This script, as a matter of fact, was never widely used here, and whenever it was adopted it was chiefly for writing Qur’ānic verses. This fact in itself shows that the calligraphists of India possessed little skill in writing the Kufic characters, because the religious texts could easily have been copied from the standard Kufic writings of the other Islamic countries. Epigraphs free from Qur’ānic verses and inscribed in pure Kufic characters are rare in India; but in the early ornamental Turk epigraphs on Qub Minār, Darqāh of Sultan Ghār, and Arshā-din-ka-Jhompā, the influence of the Kufic script is clearly in evidence, and shows that the calligraphists possessed sufficient knowledge of the script to evolve a mixed Kufic and Nashī style of writing for ornamental purposes. This little knowledge was, however, subsequently lost, and in the decorative writings illustrated in this article the script consists of either a mixture of Nashī and Tufārī, or Nashī and Nasta’līq.

Another feature of the inscriptions is their language, which shows that Arabic, though considered to be a more dignified language than Persian for mural records at this time, was never employed in a correct and elegant form, and its purity was often marred by the admixture of phrases of Persian construction. The latter language, however, was not despised, for we find some of the earliest inscriptions of the Turk kings of Delhi entirely in that language.

The inscriptions have been arranged in their chronological order, and the same system has been adopted in the arrangement of the facsimiles, except in the case of facsimile XI (a) representing the famous inscription of Sultan Nāṣiru’d-din at Aligarh, which, to facilitate comparison with the Garhumksetar inscription of Balban, has been printed along with the inscriptions of the latter Sultan.

I desire to record my appreciation of Professor van Berchem’s valuable remarks on the epigraphical script of India, as shown by these inscriptions, in comparison with the contemporary script in other Islamic countries. Professor Berchem’s remarks have been added as Appendix C to the paper for the benefit of students.

**I.—Inscription on the Jolāhūn-ki-Masjid, Hānṣī.**

This inscription is fragmentary, giving only the titles, which apparently refer to Itutmīsh, who was the first monarch to replace the word in the favourite title with which the Muslim kings exaltantly styled themselves in view of their conquest over the non-Arab nations, whom they styled. Thomas gives the inscription on the Minaret

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2. *See Pls. XIV (a) and XV.*
3. *See Bibliography.*
4. *See E. I. M., 1911-12, Pls. II-V, VI (No. 2), VII, XVI, XVII, XXIII, and XXIX.*
5. *See Pls. X (a) and XIII (b).*
7. *Ibid., pp. 8, 28 and 30; and Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, by Prof. van Berchem, Vol. XIX, pp. 606 and 719.*
of Mas'ud III at Ghazni wherein the monarch has used the titles, مالك رgayب الإسلام and مولى ملك العرب وعظم, which are afterwards so frequently repeated in the inscriptions, of the Sultans of Delhi, particularly those on the Qu'ub Minar. 1 Itutmish also in some of his inscriptions uses these two titles; 2 but it was either a hint from the Caliph with whom he established relations in the latter part of his reign, or his own cognisance of the falsehood of his assumed supremacy over the Arab kings, that caused him to change the word ترگع العرب and styled himself مولى ملك الترك وعظم, in the use of which title he might have felt himself justified in view of his authority over so many Persian and Turk Maliks who had assembled at his court. Among the hitherto known inscriptions of the successors of Itutmish to the Delhi throne this title has not been noticed, except in the Kagol (Bengal) inscription of Kaiks'as, 3 who cannot apparently be presumed to have erected a building in Hansi bearing his regal titles.

These circumstances, coupled with the facts that several inscriptions of Itutmish’s reign—one bearing his name also—exist in Hansi, 4 and that the style of writing of the inscription, being Nasikha of a very elegant and vigorous type, bears considerable affinity to that of the inscriptions of this monarch on the Qu'ub Minar, 5 prove almost conclusively that the above inscription belongs to the reign of Itutmish.

The inscription in its fragmentary condition (10½ x 13½) consists of two lines and reads thus:

**PLATE VIII (b).**

\[\text{(1)} \text{ ... ... ... ... ...}
\]
\[\text{(2)} \text{ ... ... ... ... ...}
\]

**TRANSLATION.**

... (the king) of Turk and Persian kings ... (Sultan) Abu-l-Muzaffar ...

II.—An old inscription from Hansi.

An estampage of the inscription was discovered in the bundle of rubbings secured by the late Manlawi Muhammad Shu'ab, whose untimely death has been a sad loss to the cause of Muslin Epigraphy in India, in the Hansi Tahsil. The estampage bears no particulars regarding the building on which the inscription is carved and I have had to approach Mr. J. Page, Superintendent of Muhammadan Monuments, Northern Circles, to make enquiries regarding its provenance. The investigations of Mr. Page in this respect unfortunately have proved fruitless and he thinks that the inscription was probably engraved on a loose stone, which since Manlawi Shu'ab's visit to Hansi has been used as ordinary masonry in some building there, where previously several inscription tablets were used in this manner. The inscription is in the form of an arch, and the base line measures 38½, while the height from the middle of the base to the apex of the arch is 24½. The style of writing is Nasikha of a plain bold type, quite characteristic of the calligraphy of the period. The language of the inscription is Arabic and is free from grammatical errors which are not uncommon in Indian epigraphy.

It records the death of one Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Uthman entitled Nisamu-d-din in Rajab 633 A.H. (January 1241 A.D.) during Sultan Mu'izzu-d-din Bahram's reign.

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1 See Chronicles, pp. 9 and 10, and E. J. M., 1911-12, pp. 16, 17, 23 and 29.
4 E. J. M., 1911-12, p. 23.
5 Ibid., Pls. II-VII, see also Prof. Berchem's remarks (Appendix C).
Contemporary history is silent about the identity of this man. But Hansi, being the capital of the Siwalik Province, was in this period the cynosure of piety and learning, and the Niżām-u-d-din of the inscription seems to be one of that band of saintly persons who flourished here, and whose tombs are to this day visited by the pious Muslim. The inscription reads thus:

**PLATE IV.**

رکن زنانہ العبد الضعیف المرحم محمد بن علي بن عثمان الملقب بنظام الدين في الرايع من شهر المبارك رجب عماد میامہ سلّمان رثلین رستمیہ

**TRANSLATION.**

His—the frail servant, taken into Divine mercy, Muḥammad bin ʿAlī bin ʿUḥmān entitled Niżām-u-d-din—demise occurred on the 4th of the auspicious month of Rajab—may its blessings be universal!—in the year 638 A.H. = 1241 A.D.

**III.—The Baṭī Dargāh Inscription, Bihar.**

This inscription has already been carefully edited by Blochmann in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 245 et seq., and the only reason for re-editing it is to study it from a palaeographic point of view, and to show that in Bengal there was a tendency towards ornamentation in calligraphy from the earliest time, and the most beautiful and artistic Tughra inscriptions of the independent kings of Bengal are the result of the gradual development of that tendency. In the inscription the style of writing is Nashk of a high order, and both the lines and curves have been drawn with great vigour. The inscription is carved on a large slab of basalt (4'2" x 2'2"), which was found let into brickwork on the north side of the great Dargāh to protect the doorway from rain. The left corner of the slab is broken.

The inscription commemorates the erection of the building under Tughrīl, whose full name according to Mīnḥāj was ʿĪṣu-d-dīn Tughrīl Tughān Kḥān. In 630 A.H. ʿĪṭumīsh conferred the province of Bihār on him, and in 631 A.H. on the death of Malik Yughantar he became also the feudatory of the country of Lakhnātu. In 640 A.H., which is the date of the inscription, Tughrīl took possession of Awadh as far as Kārā Manakpur where Mīnḥāj waited on him. It is interesting to note that the slaves of Delhi Sulṭāns even after assuming the regal titles and authority thought it no dishonour to use their former humble style of ʿīṣu (slave)—after their names. Tughrīl also in spite of enjoying the privilege of being the de facto ruler of territory extending from Lakhnātu to Kārā Manakpur, and Tirhut to Jañagar, and using such exalted titles—the exalted Khaqān, the glory of Truth and Faith, the succour of Islam and the Muslims, the helper of kings and monarchs, etc.—desired to retain the less dignified designation of ʿīṣu after his name.

Mubārak al-Khaṭīb, who set up the inscription, was one of the slaves of Sulṭān ʿĪṭumīsh, and served him in the dual capacity of Treasurer and Ewer-bearer. After the demise of that monarch Mubārak held the sefas of Uchchah (Sind) and Jandhar successively, and died at the latter place. Mīnḥāj does not mention Mubārak’s appointment as Treasurer in Bihār, although the author was well acquainted with him, being beholden to Mubārak for

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1 For the history of the town of Hansi see *P. A. S. B.*, 1877, pp. 127 ff.
2 See Prof. van Berchem’s remarks on this inscription (Appendix C).
An old inscription from Hansi.
acts of kindness and encouragement during the tenure of his appointment as Qazi of Gwalior.1
The full name of Mubarak with titles was مالک هندورخان مولانا مبهر مبارک آل خان السلطانی.

My reading of the inscription, given below, is identical with that of Blochmann, excepting the word خانی in the third line of his reading which is not recorded in the inscription and is superfluous.2

PLATE V.

(1) امر بنا هنیه الحصر فی ایام مملکة الجلیس العلی خان السلطانی خان
(2) عزا همین ریبان گیاث الاعظم والسلمان مفرح الملوک والسلطانیین
(3) السلطانی خدالالله مربی الاعظم مبارک آل خانیین

_HANDMADE_=

TRANSLATION.

The slave, Mubarak, the Treasurer—may God accept his prayers—ordered to erect this building during (the days of) the reign of Majlis-i-Ál (of exalted Court), the great Khan, the...

Khaqan, the glory of the Truth and the Faith, the succour of Islam and the Muslims, the helper of kings and monarchs, Abu-l-Fath, Tughril, the Royal (slave)—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—in (the) Muharram of the year 640 A.H. (July, 1242 A.D.).

IV.—Inscription over the doorway of the Mosque opposite to the tomb of Bu-Áli Qalandar's mother, Hansi.

The inscription has been edited by Dr. P. Horn (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 136 et seq.)

but his reading of it besides being incomplete is not very accurate. The most important omission is the name of the builder Sunqar-i-Safi as-Sultani which is pretty distinct in the inscription.

The epigraph which is carved on a slab of sandstone (3' 8" x 1' 1½"), is now fixed over the doorway of a mosque opposite to the tomb of Bu-Áli Qalandar's mother. Dr. Horn in the second life has wrongly read the words کبیر معارک as کبیر معارک بعد, and considered that the inscription slab was transported to Hansi from Munk. The fort of Hansi was dismantled in 1867 and the materials were sold, consequently all the sculptured fragments and inscribed slabs were dispersed.4 The purchased portions have been set up subsequently in an indiscriminate manner, and we find several inscriptions in wrong places there. The above inscription records the erection of a building, which if it had been a mosque would have been clearly stated as such in the inscription, because the pious builder would never have tolerated such phraseology as might lead to the structure being mistaken for posterity for an ordinary building and to his being deprived of the legitimate share of blessings which, as the builder of a mosque, he could expect from devout Muslims in all ages. Such a consideration leads one to the conclusion that the inscription does not belong to the mosque in which it now stands.

This is the only inscription of 'Áliu-d-din Mas'ud's reign mentioning his titles in full, (سلمان السلطان المعظم، ابی الفتح مبارک السلطانی) which tally exactly with those given in the numismatist's legends, although in the latter sometimes the title السلطان العظمى is replaced by السلطان العظمى.

Malik Sunqar whose full name with titles was خانیہ السلطان العظمی

3 This paper has been often used in the inscriptions of other Islamic countries (Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Vol. XIX, pp. 606, 627, 651, etc.)
4 List of Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Panjāb by C. J. Rodgers, p. 67.
EPIGRAPHIA INDO-MOSLEMICA.

PLATE VI (a).

(1) إمرنا هذه العمارة في عهد السلطان المظفر عله الدين الراشد
(2) مسعود شاه [بن] سلطان خلدة الله [ملكه] . . . ملك كبير معاكظ مظفر
(3) سيد الأشر المركل الشرق سرفا سلطاني إزال الله إقباله في المنتصف من
شزالة [سنة] ثلاث واربعين رستمیة.

TRANSLATION.

In the reign of the honoured Sultán 'Ala’ud-dunya waddín Abu-l-Muazaffar Mas’ud Sháh, the son of the Sultán, may God perpetuate his (kingdom), the great Malik, the victorious warrior, the triumphant crusader, Badru-d-daulah waddín, (who is considered) the chief of the Amir of the monarchs of the orient, Sunqas-i-Safi as-Sultání, may God exalt his fortune! ordered the erection of this building in the middle of Shawaál, 643 A.H. (February, 1246).

V.—Inscription on the Tomb of Shaikh Saláhu-d-din, Kaithal, Punjab.

The inscription is mentioned by Rodgers in his 'List', who has also given an incomplete reading of it. The tomb of the Shaikh, whose martyrdom the inscription commemorates, is situated outside the Siwan Gate of the town, and consists of a dome supported on eight stone pillars which once belonged to a Hindu temple. The inscription consists of two lines, and measures 6' 6" x 1'. The style of writing is Nashī of a plain but dignified type, free from all decorative flourishes.

In 643 A.H. the Mughals (who were styled by Minháj the infidels of Chán) made an inroad in the upper provinces of the Delhi empire, and Saláhu-d-din of the inscription, about whom contemporary history affords no particulars, may have died in one of the skirmishes which ensued in repelling the rebels. In the inscription Saláhu-d-din has been styled Sadr (Judge). This dignitary was next in rank to the Amir, who again was below the Malik. My reading of the inscription is as follows:

PLATE VI (b).

(1) يس الله الرحمن الرحيم هذه مقدة الصدر الشيخ الكبير صالح الدين إبر المعامد


Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1911-12, Pls. XIX-XX.

1 This is wrong, it should be إي.

2 The ملک in line 3 is not very distinct, but the reading of the word as ملک is indisputable.

3 Vide Rodgers' List, p. 61.

4 إي is wrong, it should be إي.
Inscription over the doorway of the Mosque opposite to the Tomb of Bu-Ali Qalander’s mother, Panipat.

(a) Inscription on the Tomb of Shaikh Salahuddin, Kaithal (Punjab).
In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate!

This is the tomb of the martyred Şadr (Judge), the great Shaikh, Ṣalāḥu-d-din Abu-l-Dahāmīd al-Hasan b. Muhammad al-Hasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Hasan Abu-Bakri ‘Alī az-Zakari al-Balkhi, may God be merciful to them. He lived ninety-eight years and died on Friday, the 9th of Zil‘hijja, the day of the Holy Pilgrimage, in 643 A.H. (April, 1246 A.D.).

VI.—Inscription on the back wall of a mosque at Gangarampur, Malda.

This inscription was discovered by Cunningham in his tour in Bengal and Bihar in 1879-80, and is noticed in Vol. XV of the Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India. Minhāj records the death of Qamaru-d-din Timur Khān (Governor of Lakhnauti from 5th Zī Qa‘dah, 642 A.H.) on the 29th Shawwal, 344 A.H., from which date until 18th Zī Qa‘dah, 656 A.H., when Malik Ja‘lānu-d-din Mas‘ūd Jānī’s appointment to the governorship of Bengal has been noted, there is a gap of twelve years during which, although the fact of the territory of Lakhnauti being made over to Malik ‘Īthīyārū-d-din Yuzbak Thughrī Khān is mentioned, no date has been given. This information led Thomas and Blochmann, whose valuable researches have proved so useful for the reconstruction of the history of Bengal in its proper sequence, to place ‘Īthīyārū-d-din Yuzbak Thughrī Khān between Timur Khān and Mas‘ūd Jānī in the list of Bengal Governors. In 1879-80, when Cunningham discovered this inscription, which clearly proves Mas‘ūd Jānī to be governor of Bengal in 647 A.H., instead of re-examining the problem in the light of the discovery he failed to understand the facts; sometimes he considered the date 656 A.H. of the succession of Mas‘ūd Jānī to be a mistake for 646 A.H., while at other times he was of opinion “that Minhāj’s account of Thughrī’s death in Kamrup must have been only a report, which he noted at the time, and afterwards forgot to correct. It seems probable that Ja‘lānu-d-din Mas‘ūd Jānī on hearing of Thughrī’s defeat in Kamrup must have set himself up as governor of Lakhnauti, as his inscription, which I have given in my account of Gaur, is clearly dated in A.H. 647, no less than nine years before the date on which Minhāj states that the kingdom of Lakhnauti was conferred on him. I think that this statement must refer to a re-appointment, and that between the date of the Gangarampur inscription in A.H. 647, and A.H. 656, when he was appointed governor of Lakhnauti, he must have been expelled by Thughrī.”

Minhāj was an eye-witness to the events of this period, and his intimate relations with the Imperial Court, as well as with the governors of Bengal, preclude every possibility of his committing such errors as Cunningham thinks likely in this case. Now, considering the two different dates of the governorship of Ja‘lānu-d-din Mas‘ūd in Bengal (647 A.H. and 656 A.H.), as also the report of Timur Khān’s death in Kamrup, to be correct, let us restudy

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1 He was contemporary with Da‘ūd Tāt.
3 A companion of the Prophet Muhammad; Ṣalāḥu-d-din seems to have descended from him.
4 The cognomen az-Zakari indicates that Ṣalāḥu-d-din was a disciple of Shaikh Bahā‘u-d-din Zakariyā, the famous saint of Multan, who lived about this time.
the facts available regarding the succession of the governors of Bengal and try to fix the events in proper order. At the end of Shawwal 644 A.H. Minhâj records the death of Timur Khan, governor of Lakhnauti, which date is also corroborated by the chronogram composed for this event by Shafqu-d-din al-Balkhi.1

"On Friday the end of the month entitled Shawwal,
In the year, according to the 'Arab era, kha, mth, dâl,
Was Timur Khân’s and Tughân Khân’s march from the world;
This one at the beginning of the night went, that at its close."

Again in the beginning of 647 A.H. (in Muḥarram the first month of the Arab calendar) we find, according to the inscription under notice, Malik Masʿud Jânil fully established in the governorship of Bengal. It remains to see what chances Ikhtiyâr-d-din Yuzbak had to succeed to the governorship of Bengal during the intervening years 645 and 646 A.H. Thomas and Blochmann dated the event immediately after Timur Khan,2 and they were guided to that conclusion by the absence of the information in the above inscription and also by the fact that Minhâj records the bestowal of the sief of Lakhnauti on Masʿud Jânil in 656 A.H.

At the end of the year 639 A.H. when Sultân ‘Alaʿu-d-din ascended the imperial throne of Delhi, the district of Tabarhinda was entrusted to Malik Yuzbak’s charge, and subsequently Lahore was made his sief, which must have been sometime in 640 A.H., because the enthronement of ‘Alaʿu-d-din Masʿud took place in Zi Qâdh (639 A.H.), the last month but one of the Arab calendar. As a feudatory of Lahore he ‘continued for some time’, until he rebelled against the Court, but Ulugh Khan-i-Aʿzam subsequently brought him to the presence of the Sultân, who pardoned his disobedient conduct.3 This must have taken place in the year 643 A.H., because in that year Ulugh Khan-i-Aʿzam returned from a successful campaign against the Mughals, repelling them beyond Lahore,4 and the assistance rendered by Malik Yuzbak on this occasion might have been the cause of the forgiveness of his past follies. Later on the sief of Qinnaaj was conferred on him, which he retained for ‘some time’; but he again began to show hostility towards the Imperial Court, whence Malik Qâbdu-d-din was despatched, who reduced him to duty and brought him back to the Court.5 These events would have taken two or three, or more years, and his presence at the Court for the second time cannot be placed in any case before 645 A.H. He remained at Court for ‘some time’, and afterwards Awadh was entrusted to his charge. How long he retained this sief is not known; but it must have been long after 646 A.H. that he for a third time returned to Delhi, probably once more incurring the Royal displeasure through his imperious spirit. Later on he was appointed to the governorship of Bengal, and the date 651 A.H. which Stewart, in his History of Bengal (p. 65), fixes for the event is not at all improbable, although his contention about Malik Yughantat’s death in the same year is obviously erroneous, because Minhâj records it in 631 A.H. But that is another matter.

These facts prove clearly that Malik Yuzbak did not succeed to the sief of Lakhnauti immediately after Timur Khan’s death at the end of 644 A.H. Again, if we consider Jalâlu-d-din Masʿud Jânil to be the next governor after Timur Khan, the presumption is not unreasonable, because the inscription speaks of him as governor of Bengal on the first day of the first month (Muḥarram) of 647 A.H., and as orders regarding the repairs to the building on which the inscription is carved must have been issued considerably earlier than that date, it is almost certain

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1 Tabaqāt, p. 742.
4 Ibid., p. 811.
(c) Inscription on the back wall of a Mosque at Ganganpur, Malda.

(b) Inscription on the Jolaha-ki-Masjid, Hansi.
that Mas'ud Jâni held the sef of Lakhnauti in 646 A.H. also. Further, when we consider that the question of repairs to the building would not in all likelihood have been the first thing to occupy his attention after his appointment, he can safely be presumed to have been the governor of Bengal a year or so before he issued orders in the matter, i.e. in 645 A.H., the year immediately following that of Timur Khân's death.

On the appointment (probably in 651 A.H.) of Malik Yusubak to the governorship of Bengal, it appears that Malik Mas'ud Jâni became the feudatory of Kaşa, because in the list of Malikus given by Minhâj at the end of the chapter of Sultan Ma'umud Shah's reign, Malik Mas'ud has been styled the Malik of Lakhnauti and Kaşa. In 656 A.H. the Imperial Court was seized with panic owing to the invasion of the Maghals under Halaku, and when the Sultan's troops issued forth for the purpose of repelling the infidels, Malikus and Amirs were appointed with bodies of troops to the different parts of the empire. The bestowal, for the second time, of the governorship of Lakhnauti on Malik Mas'ud Jâni at this juncture indicates that the Sultan had great confidence in him and was satisfied with his administration of the province on the previous occasion.

Raverty refrains from using the word Shah after the name of Malik Mas'ud, in spite of the fact that he is styled Shah in some of the best manuscript copies of the Tabaqat. He observes that the title 'is certainly redundant, for we nowhere meet with it except for the princes of this dynasty.' Raverty's opinion in this matter does not carry much weight, because in view of the other high titles enjoyed by Malik Mas'ud—ملك المعظم جالب العصر ر الدين ملك ملك الشرق—he simple title of Shah is not at all honorific.

The inscription slab measures 7' 7½" by 1' 2½" and is let into the back wall of a mosque on the bank of the river, half a mile to the east of Gangarampur, a small village in the Malda district. The name of Sultan Nâsimu-d-din Ma'umud, the reigning king, occurs in the inscription. The style of writing, which is Nasîh, is artistically superior to that of the Aligarh inscription of this king, which will be noticed in this paper at its proper place. Thomas in his Chronicles takes advantage of the information contained in the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi that the pious Sultan Nâsimu-d-din earned his livelihood by copying Qur'ans, and in his enthusiastic praise of the skill of penmanship exhibited in the Aligarh inscription is led to believe that the model for the inscription was designed by the king himself. Muslim kings have often practised the art of calligraphy, but whether they went so far as to prepare models for inscriptions on public buildings is a matter for reflection, considering the high sense of royal dignity and honour that prevails in the East.

The language of the inscription is Arabic, and I read it as follows:—

PLATE VIII (a).

1 Tabaqat, 673. 2 Ibid., p. 712.
3 Ibid., note 9. 4 Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, by Barani (Bibl. Ind.), p. 36.
The lofty minaret on which this inscription was carved stood in Koil (Alligarh) until 1861, when it was wantonly destroyed through the folly of the officer in charge of the district in that year. The inscription slab, however, survived the fate of the minaret and is now preserved in the Nizam Museum, Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Alligarh. It measures 4' 9" x 1' 7", and the inscription on it is carved in three lines. The letters are well preserved except in the middle of the first line and the beginning of the third where they are a little obliterated. The style of writing is Nasīḥ with a little ornamental flourish, but not Ṭaghra as stated by some scholars. The letters bear remarkable resemblance to those on the coins of the period, to wit, the words عُمُر (με) and نُور (λέοντα), are almost identical in form and style with the coin types (Nos. 117 and 137 of the Cabinet of the Indian Museum). The resemblance between the mural records and numismatical legends in the style of writing, as well as in the phraseology of the titles, clearly proves that the execution of both was in the same hands, and that the models for imperial mural records were designed by the same calligraphists who prepared the models for numismatical legends.

The text and translation of the inscription have already been edited by Thomas and, later, by Blochmann, who differs from him on some points which are, however, of minor consequence. As regards the reading of the title مدالع (μαλακτζ), it can be both Maliku-l'Alam (the Malik of the World), and Maliku-l-Ālim (the learned Malik). Thomas' suggestion that Balban could not have dared to call himself 'the Malik of the World', and Blochmann's improvement on it by reading the title, Maliku-l-Ālim (the learned Malik), are superfluous. The very title Malik as compared with Sultan shows inferiority of rank, and from the phraseology of the titles of the period it is evident that Malik meant only a 'feudatory chief'.

Raverty, relying on the point that King Nasiru-d-din according to the records in the Tabaqat never bestowed the title of Qutbī Khān which occurs in the inscription, upon Ulugh...
Khan-i-Balban, thought that it referred to some other person, probably to Nāṣiru-d-dīn’s stepfather, who is mentioned in the Tabaqat by this title, which he bore long after the date of the inscription (652 A.H.). The title was applied to more than one person during the reign of Sultan Nāṣiru-d-dīn, but in the inscription the Turki word نفخ seems to have been placed before خان as an attribute and combined is not a proper name or title here. The cognomen of Balban بالايعق and his quondam designation الشمسي are recorded in the inscription, and simply on account of the additional honorific epithet of خان, Raverty is not justified in doubting the identity of the builder of the inscription with Balban. The view of the use of نفخ as an attribute in the inscription is further strengthened by the use of the word in a similar manner in the Tabaqat where Minhaj reiterates the titles of Balban—للنفخ إعظم ‘the Great Exalted’, being only epithets of honour, and not titles used as proper names.

The inscription reads thus:

(1) هذه العبارة في عهد مملكة السلطان الإعظام ملك رتب الامم ناصر الدين ر العين
(2) في الامام فاهل الإيمان رارخ ملك سليمان ملاحي إلإغاثم في ملك العالم الام
(3) الملك العالم الكبير إعظم نفخ خان بالاعق ر الديان ملك ملك الشرق ر الشهين

PLATE XI (a).

This building [was erected] during the reign of the great Sultan, the master of the necks of nations, Nāṣiru-d-dunyā waddin, the Sultan of Sulṭān, the protector of the Faithful, the heir of the Kingdom of Solomon, the lord of the seal in the empire of the world, Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad b. as-Sulṭān (may God perpetuate his kingdom and authority!), by order of the Malik of the world (or the learned Malik), the great, exalted and blessed Khan, Bahsh‘a-I-baq waddin, the Malik of the Maliks of the East and China, Balban ash-Shamal, during the days of his government, (may his high qualities endure!), on the 10th of Rajab 652 A.H. (1254 A.D.).

TRANSLATION.

VIII.—The Barahandi Inscription of Bihar.

Blochmann has noticed the inscription in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII (p. 247); but the rubbing of it supplied to him seems to have been defective because he missed the portion of the inscription before the date and the date شهير خمس ر ستين ستمائة in line 1. A complete rubbing of the inscription has now kindly been sent to me by Dr. D. B. Spooner.

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3 Blochmann suggests the words بامر to fill up the lacuna (J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 248).
through Sir John Marshall, which enables me to fill up the lacune in Blochmann’s reading. The inscription slab was found in the yard facing the shrine of Şīh ʿAbd Allāh, Bāzīd, Mahālāb, and measures 4' 11" × 10'. The letters are damaged in several places and therefore the reading of one or two words is not certain. The style of writing is Naṣīḥ, of a good type, but on account of the letters being broken the impression in the rubbing is not very sharp; hence the calligraphic merits of the inscription cannot be fully judged from the stammpage.

The inscription mentions the name of Tatār Khān as the builder of the tomb over the remains of Sultan Şīh, for the repose of whose departed soul many tender prayers have been recorded. Contemporary history does not throw light on the identity of Sultan Şīh; but his name indicates that he was of royal birth; probably one of the illustrious band of Turk princes who, through the invasions of the Mughals in their territories, had found asylum at the Imperial court of Delhi. Tatār Khān, whose full name was Muḥammad Araslan Tatār Khān, was the son of Araslan Khān Sanjar, the Malik who attacked Lakhnauti in 657 A.H., and captured the governor, Ḥizr-ud-Din Balban, who, it is stated, was martyred. Araslan Khān seems to have remained in charge of Lakhnauti until his death—the date of which is not known. However, in 664 A.H., his son, Tatār Khān of the inscription, was governor of Lakhnauti. It was he who sent sixty-three elephants to Delhi which on the occasion of Balban’s succession to the royal throne made such stir at the capital. Tatār Khān was a most generous and benevolent prince, and his name is specially mentioned in this connection by Barani.

My reading of the inscription is as follows:

PLATE IX (a).

1 A favourite name for princes in Turkistan and neighbouring countries (Tabaqāt, pp. 105, 111, 115).
2 Yūnās-i-Yūnus Khān by Barani, p. 52.
3 Blochmann has through mistake recorded that Araslan Khān was captured and killed, hence he should not be put among the governors of Bengal. Raverty violently criticizes this statement (J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 246, and Tabaqāt, pp. 773, 771, note 9).
4 Barani, p. 53.
6 Dr. D. B. Spooner’s Mānāzī suggests that the first two words of the inscription are ʿalāʾihim, which reading is to a certain extent supported by the present indistinct condition of the letters, but first, the presence of three dots under the šāsī makes his decipherment doubtful; secondly, the grammatical construction of the sentence—the words ‘ṣāhiqum, which occurs after the name of the king with his titles—requires a verb in the beginning of the sentence equivalent in meaning to ʿamār (ordered), and not a phrase like ʿamār šāsī. The word ʿamār is doubtful on this account, as also because the attribute which follows it, and is pretty distinct in the inscription, does not suit it well—for ʿamār there should have been an attribute like ʿamār, ʿamār, ʿamār, etc.
7 Adapted from a prayer of Prophet Muḥammad.
Plate IX.

(a) The Barahdari inscription, Bihar.

(b) Inscription over the northern bay of the Jama Masjid, Julali (Allahabad).
TRANSLATION.

...of the Caliphate, the lord of justice and clemency, distinguished by the grace of the Merciful (God), Abu-l-Makarim Tatār Khān, the ... of the Prince of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his kingdom and governorship, and may He cause his buildings to remain in the towns of (different) kingdoms! ... to build the sacred tomb (during the months of the year 665 A.H.) of Sultān Shāh—O God, illumine his grave, and brighten his forehead, and make his grave a garden from the gardens of Paradise and do not make it a pit from the pits of the Fire (Hell)! (Died) on the night of Sunday, the 18th of Jumāda I, 665 A.H. (March, 1265 A.D.). And the architect is their (Tatār Khān's and Sultān Shāh's) slave, grateful for their rewards, Majd of Kabul.

IX.—The Jāmiʿ Masjid inscription of Jalālī (Aligārḥ).

Mr. E. T. Atkinson in the Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of North-Western Provinces (p. 571), mentions an inscription at Jalālī dated 665 A.H., which is probably identical with this inscription. Mr. Zafar Hasan, Assistant Archaeological Superintendent of the Delhi Province, has recently written a scholarly note on the epigraphy of Jalālī for the Annual Report, Part II, 1914-15, of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, in which this inscription has also been included. The note has been shown to me through the courtesy of the author in proof form, and my excuse for re-editing the inscription is that I desire to present it in its relation to the other records of the time, and to examine the phrasology of its text and the style of its writing.

The inscription is built over the northern bay of the Jāmiʿ Masjid, a brick and lime structure of modest dimensions, consisting of a hall (48' × 15') surmounted with three domes and flanked with two fairly high minarets. The mosque in its present condition, however, does not seem to be contemporary with the inscription, which is evidently due to the fact of the building being repaired extensively at various periods.2

The style of writing of the inscription is a curious jumble of Nāskh and Nastālīq and exhibits great contrast to the script in fashion for the Imperial epigraphs in this period. The writer was apparently not versed in writing the Nāskh characters, and although he seems to have made an attempt to write the inscription in that style he has not been successful in accomplishing his task. The first four words, however, have been written in the Nāskh characters, the execution of which probably took a good deal of the time and energy of the writer, and tried his patience. Hence he has written the rest of the inscription in the Nastālīq style; but to give his writing a touch of the Nāskh style he has written the letter—dal—throughout in the latter form.3 The lack of skill in penmanship exhibited in the inscription may be accounted for in two ways. First, that skill in writing Nāskh characters was not very common even in Balban's time, and ordinarily people found it easier to write the Nastālīq form. Secondly, that the inscription is not as old as the date mentioned therein, and was fixed to the building subsequently, when skill in using Nāskh characters had become rare. The titles of the king used in the inscription—سلطان (Sultān) and عظم غياث الدنيا (Al-Adill)—though briefly exactly with those engraved on the copper coins of the Sultān,4 and it is difficult to decide from the legend of the inscription whether it was composed in Balban's time or at a subsequent

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1 The position of the date phrase in the sentence shows that the author of the inscription was ignorant of the rules of Arabic grammar.
2 There are four other inscriptions in the building of different dates which show that the mosque was repaired at various times.
3 See Plate IX (b).
date. In these circumstances the only conclusion which may be drawn is that the inscription, if it was set up during Sulṭān Balbān's reign, was engraved at the instance, or under the superintendence, of a person who was not in touch with the Imperial court, and could not utilise the services of the calligraphists of the Capital; otherwise it must have been engraved at a later date.

The inscription slab measures 3' 1" × 9" and the epigraph is carved on it in two lines. The text is as follows:

PlATE IX (b).

1)  آمر هذى العمارة المسجد السلطان المعظم غياث الدين والدنري (1)
   خُلّد الله ملكه وسلطانه بناء خمس وستين وستماية (2)

Translation.

The founder of this building—the mosque—is the exalted Sulṭān, Ghiyāthud-dunyad waddin—may God perpetuate his kingdom and authority!—in 665 A.H. (1266-7 A.D.).

X.—Inscription on the southern wall of the Jami’ Masjid at Farrukh Nagar (Gurgaon).

The credit of the discovery of this inscription is due to Mr. R. B. Whitehead, who while visiting the mosque in May, 1914, noticed that two slabs of red sandstone inscribed with Arabic legends were let into the southern wall. On decipherment the writing proved to be an inscription of Ghiyāθud-din Balban. The inhabitants of the place informed Mr. R. B. Whitehead that the inscription slabs were brought to Farrukh Nagar from an ancient mosque in a village called Sulānāpur, about three miles away in the direction of Delhi. Mr. R. B. Whitehead has recently brought the epigraph to the notice of the Punjab Historical Society in the form of a short paper which is full of interest from both historical and epigraphical points of view.1

The two inscribed slabs are almost of a uniform size, being 1' 9½" × 1' 7½" and 1' 9¾" × 1' 9½" respectively. As it is probable that originally they were placed side by side so that the text of the inscription might be read continuously, I have adopted the same arrangement in reproducing the facsimiles.2

The style of writing is Naskh of a bold, vigorous type, and bears striking resemblance to the style of a contemporary epigraph in the mosque attached to the tomb of Imām Nāṣir, Sonepet.3 The letters are well preserved, except at the beginning of line 3, where they are obliterated, and have made the words before ابْن ملک illegible. Mr. Whitehead deciphered them as محمَد—which is a very convincing reading; but there is another word between محمد and ابن و يسيically which I am inclined to read ابن and which he has omitted. Further the readings of the words occurring between ابن and ملک in line 3 as suggested to Mr. Whithead by Maulawi Muḥammad Hamid and Sayyid Tafaqqal Hassan are both faulty, and Mr. Whitehead's note in explanation of the phrase وفي العلماء which though a little indistinct can easily be identified on the stone.4

2 See Plate X (a).
4 See Plate X (a), and J. P. H. S., Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 118-14.
INSCRIPTIONS OF TURK SULTANS OF DELHI.

Mr. R. B. Whitehead has identified the Sultans of Delhi, but he has omitted the word 'mukimi' between 'aybak' and 'aybak' in his reading of the inscription, and consequently considered the builder of the Sulthanpur mosque. I agree with Mr. Whitehead so far as the identification of 'mukimi' with 'aybak' is concerned; but on account of the presence of the word 'between' and 'and', I am inclined to think that the builder of the Sulthanpur mosque was not 'aybak' as supposed by Mr. Whitehead. My view is supported, I think, when we consider the fact that 'sultans' was already an old man in 658 A.H., being in the service of the Sultans of Delhi long before 633 A.H., and earlier still in the service of Khwajah Shamsu-d-din 'Ajami, so that in 674 A.H., the date of the inscription, the son rather than the father was likely to have been the founder of the mosque.

I read the inscription thus:

PLATE X (a).

(1) بني هذا المسجد في عهد الدؤس السلطان [العظم غياث الدين] ر. الدين

(2) بني السلطان خالد الله مالك ر سلطان[ه] العبد الضعيف الراجي

(3) بني ايبك شمسي غمسي في العاش [ر] من شهر المبارک رمضان سنة

ARBA'IN RISAYMAT

TRANSLATION.

This mosque was built in the time of the government of the exalted Sultans, Ghiyathu-d-dunya waddin, Abu-l-Muzaffar Balban, the Sultans—may God perpetuate his kingdom and authority!—by the frail slave, expectant of the Mercy of God, the High, Muhammad b. Aibek Shamsi 'Ajami, on the 10th of the holy month of Ramazan in the year 674 A.H. (27th February, 1276 A.D.).

XI.—Inscription in the mosque attached to the tomb of Imam Naiir, Sonepat (Punjab).

This inscription has already been edited twice, once by Blochmann and subsequently by Dr. Paul Horn, whose reading, though a distinct improvement on that of the former, may still be improved in one or two places. To wit, the decipherment of the name of the renewer of the mosque as 'mukimi' is not supported by the facsimile. The name appears more like

1 Malik XXII of Minhaj's list (Tabaqat, Vol. II, pp. 786-91).
2 The year in which Minhaj closes his history (Tabaqat, Vol. II, pp. 790-91).
3 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 188, and P. A. S. B., 1873, p. 94. 4 See Pl. X (d).
which is a common Turki designation. Again Blochmann, as well as Dr. Horn, has failed to notice the word above, and they have consequently read the date of the inscription as 670 A.H. instead of 676 A.H.

The inscription, as stated before, bears close resemblance to the epigraph of Farrukh Nagar in style of writing, and if it is correctly deciphered, it is not unlikely that the models for both the inscriptions might have been designed by the same calligraphist.

The inscription consists of two lines and is carved on a sandstone slab measuring 7' 6" x 1' 5". The language is Arabic throughout except the phrase—which is in Persian. The word in the title on account of its position after the preposition ought to have been in; thus this is an error which is very common in Indian Arabic inscriptions.

I read the inscription thus:—

PLATE X (b).

During the government of the great Sultan, the shadow of God in the world, Qhiyatu-d-dunya waddin, who stands by the support of the Merciful (God), Abu-l-Mugaffar Balban, the Sultan, the helper of the Prince of the Faith'ul—may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty!—the frail slave Qerabak b. Aibk, the executor of Sonopat, renewed this building—the blessed auspicious mosque—on the 12th of the blessed month of Rajab—may God increase its honour!—in the year 676 A.H. (1277 A.D.).

XII.—Inscription in the Jami' Masjid, Garh Muktesar.

This inscription has been noticed in Thomas' Chronicles, who describes it as 'the single Persian inscription of Balban hitherto discovered.' The inscription, however, is in Arabic except the Persian title s'shul, which also occurs in the Qub Minar inscription of Muhammad b. Sam. Thomas writes that the text of the inscription was copied for him by Sayyid Ahmad Khân; but besides being incomplete it is also erroneous; for instance, the verb at the beginning of the inscription which is absolutely distinct on the stone has been read as

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1 Barasti, pp. 40 and 126.
2 The Qurban of the inscription may be identified with the son of Malik Baqbaq who held this designation, or with Malik Baqbaq of Sultan Kaikobad's reign, but in that case we shall have to assume that Qurban survived Balban (op. cit.).
3 Prof. van Berchem observes that the error is common also in the Syro-Egyptian inscriptions.
4 See Chronicles, p. 136.
5 E. J. M., 1911-12, p. 27.
6 See Pl. XI (b).
(a) Ballar inscription of Farrukh Naga (Punjab).

(b) Inscription in the Mosque attached to the Tomb of Imam Nasir, Sonspat (Punjab).
Plate XI.

(1) Nasir-ud-din Mahmud inscription of Nizam Museum, Aligarh.

(2) Inscription in the Jamii Masjid, Garniuktesar (U. P.).

Scale 1/2
The style of writing is Nasık of an exceedingly fine type, bearing great resemblance to the style of the Aligarh inscription of Sulțân Nāṣiru-d-din, the artistic merits of which have been so highly praised by Thomas. The Garh Muktsar inscription is thirty years later than the Aligarh epigraph, so there is little possibility of their being designed by the same calligraphist, though it is not unlikely that the designer of the Garh Muktsar epigraph might have been a pupil of the calligraphist who prepared the model for the Aligarh inscription.

The name of the governor, بیکتسرسلطانتی, during whose administration the building was erected, is mentioned in the epigraph, although Sayyid Ahmad Khān has omitted it in his copy. The full name with titles of Bekturs was ملک احتیار الدین بیکتسرسلطانتی بارک. According to Barant, whose maternal grandfather was an aide-de-camp to Bekturs, no Malik enjoyed more than he the confidence of Sulțân Balban. He held the high office of Bارک (Lord Chamberlain or Master of Ceremonies), an office which was next in rank only to that of the Wazir, and was often reserved for the princes of the royal family. Barant mentions his name along with those of the two sons of Sulțân Balban, with whom he was deputed to drive away the Mughals from the Punjab. Later on, when Sulțân Balban led an expedition to punish the rebel Tughril to Lahore, Bekturs was entrusted with the charge of the vanguard, and it was a party from his squadron which by a gallant attack created a panic in the army of Tughril and cut off his head.

The epigraph is carved on a slab measuring 3' 10" × 1' and consists of two lines. My reading of the legend is as follows:

PLATE XI (b).

(1) این اینعمتہ میں عہد السلطنت مملکہ الامم شاهنشاه المعظم غیاث الدینا ر

الدین ایباد ملک الامم فری ایاصعید الوعد السریع بیکتسر السلطانتی املعه

(2) ناصر مریم العرما نفلد اللہ ملکہ فری ایاصعید الوعد السریع بیکتسر السلطانتی املعه

الله فی المنتصف مرنی الفیر سنة انکی رفیقی رسمتی ر ستامیتی

TRANSLATION.

The building was erected during the time of the sovereignty of the great Sulțân, the exalted emperor, Ghıyāthu-d-dunya waddin Abu-l-Muzaffar Balban, the Sulțân, the aide of the Prince of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—and during the governorship of the frail slave Bekturs as-Sultanti—may God improve him!—in the middle of 17b1, 632 A.H. (1283 A.D.).

XIII.—Inscription in the mosque attached to the Khanqah of Shâh Wilayat, Manglaur (Saharanpur).

This inscription like the Farrukh Nagar epigraph of Balban was carved on two slabs fixed side by side over the gateway of the old fort of Manglaur, on the dismantlement of which one of the slabs was lost, and the other was removed to the Khanqah of Shâh Wilayat, where

1 See Chronicle pp. 29-30.
2 See Barant, pp. 24, 41, 61 and 87.
4 Ibid., pp. 88-91.
5 ابی is again a mistake for ایوب.
it still exists. The initial portion, therefore, of each of the four lines, of which the epigraph consists, is wanting. The inscription has been noticed in P. A. S. E., 1891, pp. 24, by Mr. C. J. Lyall (now Sir Charles Lyall), and I agree with him as regards his reading of the inscription, except the designation at the end of line 3 which he considered although he was not certain of his reading, hence he wrote—"It is perhaps a mistake for , and the word is doubtful." The words are, however, fairly distinct on the stone and the only orthographical feature which misled Sir Charles was the presence of the dot of the b over the b of or which made him read the word as and the word deprived of the dot of its became therefore illegible to him. The expression is not uncommon in the epigraphs of this period, and there is no reason to doubt this reading.

The style of the handwriting of the inscription is Naskh of a somewhat rough pattern, and the inscription does not seem to have been executed by an expert calligraphist. The size of the inscription is rather small, the existing slab measures 15½” × 13”. The text is as follows:

**PLATE XII.**

1. [联合国维吾尔语版] (in the great emperor, Ghiraynu-d-dunya waddin Abu-l-Muqaffar (2) (may God perpetuate his kingdom) and his authority!—during the period of the governorship of the Malik of the East and China (3) viyas (?)—may his lofty dignity ever remain!—the Amr, the commander-in-chief—gave order for the erection of this building (4) the 10th of the silent month of God, Rajab, in the year 683 A.H. (1284 A.D.).

**TRANSLATION.**

(1) the great emperor, Ghiraynu-d-dunya waddin Abu-l-Muqaffar (2) (may God perpetuate his kingdom) and his authority!—during the period of the governorship of the Malik of the East and China (3) viyas (?)—may his lofty dignity ever remain!—the Amr, the commander-in-chief—gave order for the erection of this building (4) the 10th of the silent month of God, Rajab, in the year 683 A.H. (1284 A.D.).

XIV.—Inscription on the mosque attached to the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khandan, Budaun.

The inscription is interesting from a paleographical point of view, showing how, in this period, side by side with the bold, vigorous characters of the orthodox Naskh scribe, there existed a style which though Naskh in its element verged on the border of Tughr, and possessed the double quality of being ornamental and distinct. This inscription is not the only example of this peculiar style; we have quite a good specimen of it in the Ilutmish inscription over the doorway of the second stc-y of the Quib Minar. These two epigraphs are important to the students of Muslim Palaeography in India as indicating how the influence

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1. Pl. XII.
3. E. I. M., 1911-12, Pl. X.
(a) Inscription on the Mosque attached to the Tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khan, Budau.

(b) Inscription in a ruined Mosque, Sakit (Etah, U. P.).
of the Kufic style, which was prominent in the earliest Pathan ornamental writings, was later on discarded and its place was occupied by the Tughra, although this style was at that time in a state of infancy.

The inscription has been noticed in the Kanun-i-Terîkh of Muhammad Razîn-d-dîn (p. 63); but the author succeeded in reading only the date portion of it. The epigraph although incomplete is fairly legible and the name of the builder, ایکگین، is absolutely clear. In Balban's reign there were two Maliks of this name, امیر خان ایگیین مربی دراز مرکب جمال الدین ایگیین, and the latter may possibly be identified with the builder of the inscription because امیر خان incurred the displeasure of Balban on his defeat at Lakhmanti and was hanged in 681 A.H., two years before the date of the inscription. The language of the inscription is Persian, and its phraseology, to a certain extent, resembles that of the Qawwâtu-l-Islâm inscription of Aibek. The inscription slab measures 2' x 1'. I read the text thus:—

**PLATE XIII (a).**

ساردکنی (٤٥) بندی یگیین بانی این خیرا بدا رحمت مداد نیاید و کتی

فی الغومن رمضان سنه دست رثمانی رستمیام

**TRANSLATION.**

... help the slave Yaqtin, the founder of this charitable building with an invocation of blessing. (And) it was inscribed on the first of Ramazan 683 A.H. (1284 A.D.).

**XV.—Inscription from a mosque at Sakit (Etah, U. P.).**

Blochmann has noticed this inscription in the P. A. S. B., 1874 (pp. 102-104), and has also given a historical sketch of the old town of Sakit; but the epigraph has not been studied by him from a literary or palaeographic point of view. I therefore take this opportunity to discuss the script and contents of the inscription in that light.

The epigraph is in Arabic, but it has a strong admixture of Persian expressions and also contains such mistakes in Arabic grammar as a Persian student is apt to commit. To wit, the expressions and راستی بني بیسند عالم and خدارد عالم, at the beginning of line 1, is contrary to the rules of Arabic grammar. The script is Naskh of rather an ornamental type, which also bears a slight touch of the Nastaliq characters. The general effect of the writing is, however, not very pleasing, and the model does not seem to have been prepared by a scribe of any great artistic culture.

The use of the title فتبلغ سلطانی غیاثی and the name of the builder سلطانی یکگین is interesting, because it does not occur in contemporary history, although, like similar terms, مربی and شمسي are frequently met with in the writings of the period. The rarity of the title may be due to the fact that we possess no detailed history of the reign of Balban except the brief account by Barani, or the notice of his early career by Minhâj.
On the identification of the builder of the mosque تغلق سلطاني غياثي contemporary history does not shed much light, although the title تغلق occurs with the name علاء الدين ملک, the nephew of Balban, who in the latter period of Balban's reign held the sief of Koil from where Sakit is not far off.\(^1\)

The inscription consists of three lines and is engraved on a slab measuring 5' 5" × 1' 10". My reading of the text is as follows:

**PLATE XIII (b).**

1. هذا بناء إله قسطنطية في عهد الإمام خداوند عالم باشاه بجي آدم غياث الدين

2. رالدين إذإ المظفر باي السلطان يمين خليفة الله ناصر إمبري الروميين خدا الله ملکه [ ر ]

3. رسلطان وإلي ادها رشان في الإمر فقلا غياثي غياثي عزف الله خليفة (؟) [ ر ]

قبل الله منا السبع عشر ومثل سنة اربع تنامين رضيما

**TRANSLATION.**

This blessed mosque was built in the reign of the Imam, the lord of the world, the king of mankind, Ghiyathu-d-dunya wuddin Abu'l-Mazaffar Balban, the Sultan, the right hand of the Khalifah, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule, elevate his authority and his dignity!—(and) during the government of Qutlug Sultan Ghiyath—may God make known his dignity (?) and accept his prayer!—on the 17th of Shawwal in the year 684 A.H. (Dec., 1285 A.D.).

XVI.—Inscription on the Suddo Masjid, Amroha (U. P.).

This inscription is of very great importance to students of Muslim epigraphy both from a literary and artistic point of view. It gives all the titles borne by Sultan Kaïquhad in due order, and the style of its characters is Nasîh of an extremely refined and artistic type. Calligraphy at this time was a popular art in India, and Kaïquhad when a prince, along with literature and other arts, was trained in it also.\(^4\) The model of the inscription like those of the epigraphs of Aligarh and Garh Muktesar seems to have been prepared by the calligraphists who were employed at the Court, and were held in considerable esteem.\(^5\)

The language is Arabic, free from grammatical errors except the slight mistake of إیبر for ی, which is pardonable on account of the title occurring at a long distance from the preposition في. The name of the builder بليندر indicates that he was probably an Abyssinian slave; but as his name does not occur in contemporary history it appears that he was one of the minor officials.

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2. ایبر is a mistake for ای.
3. The reading یلق is doubtful, because the first part of the word is not like شی.
4. Barani, pp. 128 and 144.
(a) Inscription on the Saddo Masjid, Amroha (U. P.)

(b) Inscription on a ruined Mosque, Barwala (Hissar.)
The inscription consists of two lines, and the slab on which it is carved measures 3' 9" × 1'. I have read the text as follows:—

PLATE XIV (a).

(1) امر بنيا هذه العمارة إسمى المباركة في عهد دولت السلطان المعظم ظل الله في العالم مزع الدنيا والدين الخصوص بعضاً راب العالمين العامب بتالية الرحمن

(2) إبرالمظفر كيتابى السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه العيد ضعيف الراجي إلى رحمه النبي بلعنبر السلطاني في الغرض من شهراً الدابار رضان سنى ست ثمائين وستماية

TRANSLATION.

The erection of this building, the blessed mosque, was ordered, during the time of the rule of the great Sultan, the shadow of God in the world, Mu'izz-d-dunya waddin (who is) distinguished by the kindness of the Cherisher of the world, and stands by the support of the Merciful (God), Abu-l-Muzaffar Kaiqubad, the Sultan—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!—by the frail slave, expectant of the mercy of our (lit. my) Lord, Bal'ansbar as-Sulgani (the Royal slave), on the first of the blessed month of Ramašan, year 686 A.H. (1287 A.D.).

XVII.—Inscription on a ruined mosque at Barwâla, Hisar.

This inscription has been noticed in Rodgers' List (p. 70), and also in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II (p. 158); but the readings given in either of these publications are faulty in one way or other. The style of writing is Naskh of a very poor type, hence the difficulty in deciphering it. The builder of the mosque is تاج الدول راحدين مهدود; but as جلالة الدول راحدين مهدود was a very popular surname at this time, we find no less than three Malikas holding this title in the list of the court grandees of Kaiqubad. Contemporary writers do not give particulars regarding the name and parentage of these three Malikas, and therefore it is difficult to identify تاج الدول راحدين مهدود of the epigraph with any of them.

The inscription is carved in three lines and measures 2' 5" × 8". My reading of the text is as follows:—

PLATE XIV (b).

(1) امر بنيا هذه العمارة في عهد دولت السلطان المعظم مزع الدنيا والدين خلفية الله

(2) إبرالمظفر كيتابى السلطان محمد الرملة رابقار تاج الدول راحدين مهدود بين

(3) جلالة السلطاني دام اقيالاه في الغرض من ربوع الأزل سنين ثمانيين

١ The title occurs in Itutnab's inscriptions (E. I. M., 1911-12, p. 29).

٢ This title is also common and occurs, although in slightly different forms, in several early Turk epigraphs in India.

٣ Dr. Horn read the title as خلد ملكه the use of which expression before the name of the king in respect of whom it has been used is contrary to the rules of Arabic grammar.
This mosque was ordered to be built during the reign of the great Sultan, Mu’izzu-d-dunya waddin, the vicegerent of God, Abu-l-Muzaffar Kaïqûbâd, the Sultan, by the lover of saints and pious persons, Taju-d-daulah waddin Mâhûd b. Khâlîf (? Arsalân, the Royal (slave), may his prosperity ever remain! on the first of Rabi’ I, 688 A.H. (March, 1289 A.D.).

XVIII.—Inscription over the door of a shop near the southern gate of the Mosque of Bu’-Ali Bakhsh, Hansi.

The text and translation of the inscription have been edited by Dr. Horn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II (p. 432) but its facsimile has not hitherto been published. The inscription though fragmentary, its right half being missing, is interesting from a palaeographic point of view, being a fine specimen of the bold, vigorous script which had been in vogue for mural records since the earliest Muslim conquest in India.

The inscription consists of three lines and measures 1’ 4” by 1’ 2½”. The text is as follows:

PLATE XV (a).

(1) ... شهشاه ... کبیر معازالیا
(2) ... سلطان خلکه در نویبت
(3) ... بهرل (؟) این ... ایک اذیت یا ... بھیکر بند ... سبھ ... مھرم سلسلہ بم جن اسام لیا

TRANSLATION.

... the emperor of the world, Mu’izzu-d-dunya waddin ... the Sultan may God perpetuate his kingdom! and during the period (of the governorship of) ...

Bu’bul (? b. ... Aibek Alâni, ... Muḥarram, 687 A.H. (Feb., 1288 A.D.).

XIX.—Inscription in the Jolâhon-ki-Masjid, Hansi.

This inscription is also fragmentary and contains only the cognomen خرداریا راکدین, and a few enlogistic words. The style of handwriting is Nâshî, considerably resembling that of the inscription of the same king on Bu’-Ali Bakhsh’s Mosque, Hansi.

The inscription measures 1’ 10” × 1’ and reads thus:

PLATE XV (b).

[مُظَّهَر لعِلّ الاعداد] لمعز الدین راکدین کور[قباد] ...

TRANSLATION.

(Victorious) over the enemies, Mu’izzu-d-dunya waddin Kaïqûbâd ...

XX.—Inscription originally belonging to an old mosque, now used as the headstone of the grave of Shâh Ni’matullâh Shahîd, Fort, Hansi.

The inscription is fragmentary but it gives the name of the builder of the mosque in full the Amir al-Musâhir al-Islâm al-Tâl ah, Râdû al-dîn, Mu’mir al-Sâmârî. The title 1Alâtn, belonging to the well-known Iranian tribe, Alâtn. For information regarding this tribe see *Encyclopedia of Islam*, pp. 311-312. 2 The title also occurs in an inscription of Sultan Ilutmish on the Qub Minâr (E. I. M., 1911-12, p. 27, 

Carr Stephen, p. 61, and Alâtn, p. 36).
(a) Inscription over the door of a shop near the southern gate of the Mosque of Bu-Ali Bakhsh, Hansi.

Scale '25

(b) Inscription on the wall of a Chamber in the Jolahun-ki-Masjid, Hansi.

Scale '25
(a) Inscription on a red sandstone slab originally belonging to an old mosque, now used as the headstone of the grave of Shah Nematullah Shahid, Fort, Hansi.
as already remarked in preceding pages was common in this period, and the family name also occurs after the names of several high officials of the reigns of Sulṭān Nāsir-ud-dīn and his successors. Further, as the lists of dignitaries given by Minhāj and Bharat are not exhaustive, it is difficult to identify the builder of the inscription.  

The style of writing is Naṣḥ of rather a plain type, but quite elegant and perfect in its execution. The inscription seems to have been arranged in the form of a rectangle or square, of which the base line and the two defective side lines still exist, while the top line has completely disappeared. The inscription in its present mutilated condition measures 3' 9" × 1' 1". My reading of the text is as follows:—

السلطان[ن] .... الممّورين .... أمر بنا هذا المسجد (جمع اسم الأمير الاسماسارلا) 
الإبل (الكبير تاج الدولة والدين) مير میران سالاری

TRANSATION.

The Sulṭān . . . . . . . . [the Prince] of the Faithful, . . . . .
... the erection of this Jāmiʿ Masjid was ordered by the Amir, the commander-in-chief, the great, the exalted, Tāju-d-daulah waddin Mir-i-Miran Sālrī.

APPENDIX A.

Sanskrit inscription of the reign of Balban, from Pālam, dated the Vikrama year 1837 (A.D. 1290 or 1281).

(Extract from the Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology, pp. 18-28.)

The well-known Muhammadan scholar and educationalist, Sir Syed Ahmed, gave first an account of this inscription, with a transcript and Hindustāni translation, in his work on the antiquities of Delhi. He mentions that it was preserved in the village Bohar, in the Rohtak district, but originally belonged to a well at the village of Pālam, 12 miles south-west of Delhi City. Mr. Thomas also speaks of it in his history of the Pathān sulṭāns of Delhi, and criticizes Syed Ahmed's version. During the Mutiny the inscription was lost sight of. It was recovered at Bohar by Mr. J. G. Delmerick and subsequently edited with an English translation by Rajendra Lal Mitra. In January 1908 Major A. C. Barton, Deputy Commissioner, Rohtak district, presented it to the Delhi Museum of Archaeology.

The inscription is cut on a stone slab which measures 1' 9" in length and 3' 10½" in width and consists of twenty-two lines. Judging from Mitra's facsimile, it appears that the inscription has received some damage since it was published by him in 1874. But there is clear evidence that his facsimile had been “doctored” so that it is impossible to decide how far it represents the actual condition of the epigraph at that time. It is still fairly well preserved; only the upper proper right corner is broken and the first akṣara of the word svasti is lost, presumably with the sacred syllable om. In the first and last two lines several letters are indistinct. These I have enclosed between square brackets. It is almost entirely composed in Sanskrit poetry and contains thirty stanzas in a great variety of metres. The names of the metres used are the following: Dyutavālambara (verse 1), Sraddhārā (verses 2, 6 and 9), Anuṣṭubh (verses 3, 15, 20 and 26), Āryā (verses 4, 5, 17, 18, 23, 24 and 28), Śārdūlavikṛṣṭī (verses 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 27

1 Mir Miran Sālrī may be a relative of ‗Isa-ud-dīn Sālrī (see remarks on this inscription ante, p. 13).
and 29), Vasantasita (verses 13 and 16), Indrajñatrī (verses 19, 21 and 22), Bhujangaprāỵāta (verses 14 and 30) and Śānti (verse 25). Among the seven Árya stanzas Nos. 4, 5 and 24 are of the Gītī variety whereas No. 23 is a specimen of the Udāgī type. Stanza No. 18 consists of three half-verses, the second and third with a short syllable in the 6th foot.

The inscription is composed in the artificial and high-flown language peculiar to the Kavya style. The poet often chooses his words so as to obtain a repetition of words or syllables, e.g., in the two benedictory stanzas bhavatam bhavatapihare Haro (vs. 1) and taṅkaraṁ taṅkarishivam (vs. 2). Other instances are: ṇārgha bhūrēvam (lines 5-6), saptamaṇḍura-mudrita (1. 7), Śēśō pi niṇāsata (1. 8), vidrīvya niḍrīyat (1. 9), pratyakṣha-Viṣṇur-bhavaśāka-jīskṣaṁ (1. 15), and dharmmaśāla vidāla (1. 17). This tendency which we notice also in verses 10 and 14 obscures the sense of the poem, as often the adjectives are evidently chosen less for their appropriateness than for their similarity in sound to the preceding noun. In stanzas 17 and 18 we find the rhetorical figure śēśa applied, not however—it must be admitted—with great success.

For the rest, the author of the inscription was evidently a good grammarian, which, from the Indian point of view, implies that he was a good poet. We notice only a few mistakes which are probably due to negligence on the part of the engraver. Some peculiarities in the orthography may here be noticed. A consonant combined with r is doubled, e.g., Pūrjasyāḥr-bbabāva (1. 3), pṝṇaṁ (1. 4), prav̄al̄i-rvahati (1. 4), saṅcḥēryaṁāma (1. 6), Kaṅgā (1. 7), tyaktorjiv (1. 8), Gāyjaraṁ (1. 8), maṅkārjiv-vidrīvya (1. 9) and dharmmaśāla (1. 17). We find even samñār (1. 6). A final sibilant is sometimes retained, if necessary with assimilation, before an initial sibilant. Thus we find viṣhohbhītā-satrun (1. 5), niṟpatīs-samñār (1. 6), and putras-Sāḗtis (1. 16). No difference is made between ba and va. Nasals, if followed by mutes in the body of the word, are expressed by anusvāra, e.g., Saṁkēṭavā (1. 2), Gauṛā (1. 4), śīnhdvā (1. 4) and samuṣñuvābhātr (1. 6). Final va is likewise rendered by anusvāra even at the end of a half-verse. The doubling of ohha after anusvāra in saṁcohohādyamānā (1. 6) is hardly correct. A point of special interest is the occurrence of jihvāmālīya and upadhmānīya which are seldom found in Nāgari inscriptions. Jihvāmālīya we find in kehoṛ-ṛṛ duehā kavāla (1. 6), tyaktorjiv-kila (1. 8), Lājī-kirāṭa (1. 8), niśkēlayag- Kēralā (1. 7), vah-kāṛkatva (1. 18) and prakṛṣṭiṅ-kāṛtā (1. 20). Upadhmānīya is found in the following instances: Samuṣadāna-Puṛjāṅkī (1. 3) and Uttamārāja-putras (1. 16). Mitra draws attention to the use of ९ to express the hard guttural (ʼ) of Arabic in Shuṭubādīna (1. 2). It is due, as he rightly remarks, to the guttural pronunciation of the cerebral sibilant in North-West India.

The concluding portion of the inscription, namely, part of line 21 and the whole of line 22, is composed in the vernacular and written not in Nāgari but in Śāradā. This script was hitherto believed to have been exclusively used in Kaśmir and the neighbouring districts of the Panjāb Hills. But its occurrence in the Pālam inscription leaves no doubt that it was once known in the Plains also. It would seem that it was the popular script of the Panjāb, whereas the Nāgari alphabet was in use among the learned. This would explain why we find the Sanskrit portion of the Pālam inscription written in Nāgari and the vernacular passage at the end in Śāradā. Anyhow, the use of Śāradā in the Delhi District shows that the script was known over a much larger area than was hitherto supposed. It is very probable that Gurmukhi and other modern alphabets of the Panjāb are derived from the ancient Śāradā.

1 This rhetorical figure is called yamaka or aspirāṇa. In the yamaka words, in the aspirāṇa syllables, are repeated.

2 In Gurmukhi the aspirated hard guttural is denoted by the ancient sign for ša, i.e.,  XCTAssertEqual without the top stroke.
As to the language of the concluding passage, Mitra declared it to be “Rājpūtāṃ Hindi” without, however, adducing any proof for this assertion. Apparently he failed to observe that the character in which it is written is not Nāgarī. The linguistic guide of the Śāradā he took for a mark indicating a lacuna! Dr. G. Grierson has kindly favoured me with his opinion on the subject. He believes that the dialect used in the inscription is allied to the Bāgri now spoken in Hīḍār and the neighbourhood, in other words in the tract now known as Haryāna. The use of ha (=ia) is typical of this dialect. A point of interest is the occurrence of the name Dhilli (Delhi) in its vernacular form. In the Sanskrit it is called Dhilli. In the same way we find in the vernacular the personal name Udhar, for which the Sanskrit has Uddhara. It will be seen that the first half of this passage consists of two rhyming stanzas.

The Pālam inscription opens with the usual invocations (in prose) of Gopēśa and Śiva and with two benedictory stanzas in which the blessing of Śiva is implored. The next three verses give an outline of the early history of Haryāna—the country round Delhi—ruled first by the Tūnvar or Tālar Rājpūtā, then by the Chauhāṇ Rājpūtā and at the time of the inscription governed by Saka, i.e., Muhammadan princes. The poet then enumerates the eight sultans of the Slave dynasty who first ruled at Delhi after the Muslim conquest. It is curious that instead of Sultāna Rasiyā Begum we find the name Jālālādina, i.e., Jālāl-ad-dīn. The names are all given in Sanskritized form.

Verses 6-11 are devoted to a high-flown eulogy of Sultan Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Balban who ruled at the time when the inscription was engraved. The title “Hammira” is the Sanskritized form of Arabic Amīr. The poet extols the greatness of the Mīchchha king in no less flattering terms than are used in the panegyrics of the Hindi period. He mentions that, since Balban rules the world, Vīshnū has forsaken his task and has gone asleep in the Ocean. The praise bestowed on the king in the second part of verse 7 seems somewhat doubtful to modern conceptions.

After a laudatory stanza (12) in honour of the city of Dhilli (Delhi)—also known as “the Fairy town” (Yoginīpura)—it is related that in that place there lived a purapati of the name of Uddhara. What exactly is meant by purapati I do not know. Further on he is called “Thakur” (Sanskrit Thakura) which implies that he held the position of a Rājpāt landholder or that his father had held that position. The latter had settled at Delhi from Uchchāpura—the modern Uch in Bahāwalpur State—situated not far from the confluence of the Jehlum, the Bāa, the Satluj and the Chīna. From the wording of the inscription it would seem that Uchchāpura was situated on the bank of the Indus; but this is hardly correct.

In verses 17 and 18 the paternal and maternal pedigrees of Uddhara are described for respectively four and nine generations. For further particulars the reader is referred to the genealogical list (Skr. Vaiśānava) in which a full account of both pedigrees is given (v. 19). Next we learn the names of Uddhara’s three wives, seven sons and three daughters (vv. 20-24).

1 The term Šaka was originally the Indian designation of the Sve tribe called Sakoi by the Greeks. In after-times it was used to indicate any foreign invaders; in the present case the Muhammadan conquerors. In the same way the word “Yavans,” originally “ Ionian, i.e., Greek,” is now used by Paṇḍita to designate Muhammadans!
2 It is often found in Sanskrit inscriptions of the Muhammadan period. In the Bājatasrāṇāṇi it denotes in particular Maḥmūd of Ghānzi. In later times it is also used as a personal name among Hindū rulers. One of the later Kaṭāch rajas of Kaṇgrā was called Hamīr Chand. His name is preserved in that of the town Hamirpur.
3 It should, however, be remembered that, independent from Balban’s influence, this sleep of Vīshnū, the sun-god, is supposed to take place every year during the rains. The fact that the inscription was engraved in the first month of the rainy season may have suggested to the poet the idea expressed in verse 12.
It is then related how the virtuous Thākur "in order to dispel the weariness of weary wayfarers" had a well made to the east of the village of Pālam and to the west of Kusumabhāpurā (vv. 25-26). In the following two stanzas (27-28) this well is duly praised, and in verse 29 the wish is expressed that its founder with his family and friends may enjoy worldly bliss "in all conditions in which enjoyment is possible." The concluding verse contains the name of the poet of the eulogy—Togtāvara—who well deserved the title of "Pandita" affixed to his name. After this comes the date in prose, numbered 31.

The vernacular portion at the end, as far as it is intelligible, is merely a résumé of the Sanskrit eulogy. It was obviously added for the sake of those unacquainted with "the cultured language."

It is a point of considerable interest in this and the following three inscriptions, that Delhi is said to be situated in the country of Harīyāna. This name n.w.a-days denotes the country round Ḥisār. It is perhaps best known in connection with George Thomas, the Irish sailor, who ruled here as an independent chief in the second half of the 18th century. In his memoirs "Hurrianah" is said to be situated 90 miles to the north-west of Delhi. "It extends," he says, "50 coss from north to south, and the same distance from east to west. To the northward it is bounded by the possessions of Sahib Singh, Chief of Puthialah, on the north-west by the Battles, west by the dominions of Baykaneer, and south by Jypore, south-east by the pargannah of Dadāres, east by the districts adjoining to Delhi, and north-east by the cities of Rhotick and Panjinput."

It is evident from the four Sanskrit inscriptions in the Delhi Museum that in the 13th and 14th centuries of our era Harīyāna included the country round Delhi, but it does not appear how far its boundaries extended and whether it included the tract now known by that name. In any case, it is a curious instance of the shifting of a geographical appellation.

The name of the capital is called Dillī (1. 9), whereas, in the following inscriptions, it is spelled Dhillīka, which is the Sanskritized form of a vernacular "Dillī." In the bhāshā portion of the Pālam inscription (1. 22), we find "Dhili." This is the earliest mention of the place in an epigraphic document. Under Muhammada rule the name became changed into Dillī or Dihī. The former is the spelling current in Nāgari, the latter that in Persian writing. Bernier writes "Dehli" and Tavernier "Dehly." The spelling now used by Europeans is "Delhi." 2

The village of Pālam is mentioned twice in the inscription, first in its Sanskrit form Pālam (1. 17), and subsequently in the vernacular form Pālam (1. 21). It is said to be situated at a distance of 5 kos from Dhillī, not of course the modern Delhi, but Old Delhi, the City of Bāi Plhora's Fort and the Qāb. The village lies 12 miles south-west of modern Delhi (or Shāh-Jahānābād) and is the second station from Delhi on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. It is best known from the popular saying Shāh 'Alam zā Dihī tā Pālam, "Shāh 'Alam, king of the world—from Delhi to Pālam." This adage ridiculed the contrast between the high-sounding titles of the later Mughal kings of Delhi and their limited power which did not extend beyond a few miles outside their capital. I may add that the name Pālam also occurs as the appellation of a tea-growing tract in the Kānṣā district, with the chief town Pālamūr. It probably derives its name from a village Pralamba mentioned in one of the Bajūnāth eulogies

1 Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas, edited by Captain W. Franklin, Calcutta, 1803, p. 87.
2 On popular etymologies of the name Dillī see Carr Stephen, Archaeology of Delhi, p. 11. The spelling "Delhi" has been authorized by Punjab Government Notification 1942, 1st December 1874. I do not know what ground there exists for the spelling Dilli, adopted by Bühler in his Kashmir Report, J. B. H. R. A. S., Vol. XII, Extra Number, passim.
It would, therefore, seem that the two names are of a different origin, if, at least we may trust the Sanskrit forms found in the inscriptions.

I cannot identify the village of Kusumbhapanura ("Safflower-town") mentioned together with Pālam in our inscription. Evidently it was situated to the east of the latter village. Nor do I know whether the well which Thākur Uḍhār caused to be built between those two places and which is so emphatically praised by the poet, still survives.

The excessive praise bestowed on Balban in stanzas 6–12, reminds of the following anecdote related by Bernier about his Aga (patron), the learned Dānishmand Khān:—

"Un pendet Brahmen ou Docteur Gentil que j’avais fait mettre au service de mon Agah, se voulut mèler en entrant de faire son Panegyrique, & après l’avoir comparé aux plus grands Conquerans qui furent jamais, & luy avoir dit cent grossières & impertinentes flateries, concluait enfin sérieusement par celle-ci: Lors que vous mettez le pied dans l’Estrier, Seigneur, & que vous marchez a cheval avec votre Cavalerie, la Terre tremble sous vos pas, les huit Elefants qui la suportent sur leurs têtes ne souvains soutenir ce grand effort. Je ne pès me tenir de rive là dessus, & je tâchay de dire sérieusement à mon Agah qui ne pouvoit aussi s’en tenir; qu’il serait donc fort à propos qu’il ne montât à cheval que fort rarement pour empêcher les tremblemens de terre qui causent souvent de si grands malheurs. Aussi est-ce pour cela même, me répondit-il sans hésiter, que je me fais ordinairement porter en Paley." ¹²

The inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 1337, the 13th of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa. This date, according to Professor Kielhorn, ³ corresponds either to 26th June A.D. 1920 or to 13th August 1281. Both these dates fell on Wednesday, the weekday mentioned in the inscription.

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**TEXT.**

[L. 1] [ची क्ष]सित || गणपतये नमः || ची नमः शिवय ||
सुञ्जित वचनित बंधपीत यस्तरयति प्रतिवोधति प्रजा: |
स भवतां भवतापरिर चरो भवतु भावलिनितदयानः:  ¹
[सामाज्ञदायिक]वेंकित्यमरद्धर्मे वध मूर्छिः [प्रयाता
कुवेनी या] तरंगेषिरततिनिलचा:

[L. 2] महं प्रयातिः
श्रादोरिपरसुभाषितचर्चाविधियार्थमां
माननित्रभारी सस्वत: स स्वतं मंकर: मंकरिशु:  ²
कमोशी उमारेदारी वीहाणेपदानंतरं  |
परियानकभुविता शंक्रैः शासनितुः  ³
चाली साधवदेवस्तुतं: परं युग्यदीनभूपालः:  ²
[L. 3] जातीय कसुमण्डन् ×वेंजसाहित्यमुखः भूमिपति:। ॥ ८
पराघानादिनयुद्धसंगमनी सौज्यसंगमः।
चौमाण्डनाथे नसोहिती नसदीनघोषः। ॥ ९
चातुर्वाहिनायां प्रविगज्ञनेनादेतुभासमंता
दंतकं।

[L. 4] नीपुषी सकलगणप्रे णभिसाराज्जे।
व्यवायात्प्रतितिसकुटेहतना-भायाजाला-प्राप्तिकहुः।
व्यवस्थां प्रवाहसंगमं प्रतिदिनं प्राच्यां प्रतीतिप्राप्ति
व्यस्थासंगमं प्रतीतिप्राप्ति
संपादकः सिद्धसम्।

[L. 5] द्रष्टयम्बकी यथेन्माध्यायः।
चालीकर्तव्यमवात्सिकमङ्गाबन्धिताः कारागाः
व्याक्यांसि च निमंत्रा यदुदासीचिवारावः। ॥ १
यथेन्माध्यायः नुषासुस्वर यथेन्माध्यायः
संपादकः सिद्धसम्।

[L. 6] रेवा भूरेवः।
सौयं समसुस्वर्तुद्रितमहिकायायायः
सौयं समसुस्वर्तुद्रितमहिकायायायः। ॥ ११
सौयं समसुस्वर्तुद्रितमहिकायायायः।
सौयं समसुस्वर्तुद्रितमहिकायायः।

[L. 7] यथा प्रतापं शक्तर्विवर्गेऽसिद्धिम्भवामस्तं
वाति प्रायोगिकं राजमृतिश्च गणना का च राजी दिवा वा। ॥ ९
यथाशृंगं दिविजन्यप्राप्तिकरे पूर्वः निराकारा
प्रत्या रंगपरायणं भववशिष्यकृतं ×वेरता।
कवशी[टा]॥ राजन् बंदरास्त्रपरं भवति मथा

[L. 8] राजाः
समधोेः भवं गुरूनारेः समधवान् चाटा ×विराटा द्रव ॥ १०

¹ The akṣara यः is written above the line.
² Mitra reads राजकारकः
³ Perhaps we should read युमालास्त्रावभुक्ताः। Of: चालीकर्तव्यमवात्सिकमङ्गाबन्धिताः। Kathās. 21, 8, 89.
⁴ The letter यः is doubtful on the facsimile. It may as well be यः in which case the correction suggested by the
⁵ author becomes unnecessary since यः or यः means assent.—H. K. S.
⁶ I read with Mitra: राजाः। The vīrya and i stroke shown in his facsimile are not in the
⁷ original.
⁸ The akṣara यः shown in Mitra's facsimile is absent in the original.
भञ्ज्ञमु राजनि विष्णु चितिवं शेषोपि निमोपति  
भूमां च समपाश वैष्णवसंग्रहायापं संहितः।  
लक्ष्मीं वचसं लोपं विष्णुसना प्रच्छिन्न रश्चविनी  
स्वितासंहितः।  

[L. 9]  
मासदुर्धुकिलवं ध्रुव्य निधायते।  
भन्नालके महापुरीरेवत्ये राजा भनीशारणेऽ  
शिवी नाम महापुरी विजयसे भलोव विदेशिणा।  
या पुष्पिच विष्णुवर्णनिया या दीर्घिनन्दिनी।  
या पातालपुरीव देवविष्णुव भाषये।  

[L. 10]  
या मीरिनी ।  
श्रीगोपे गुप्तामति प्रभातपहाचाने शिवीपुरे पुरपमितुष्णी बमुख।  
श्रीमान्युपरामपरेवतियो धीमान्युपरापिशिका भिक्षेत:।  
पितामहपिवा भा।  

[L. 11]  
चंद्रभागविकागा।  
पुराकुरसृक्षर्वेस्त।[१०] स्खीता यत सिंहु: सुंदरस्य संहुः।  
सुपा महु सुपा सीहु सुपा दिवी सुवर्ष:।  
श्री सिंहुसुवा पीता तथ स्वाभावाग्य:।  
तत्क्षुद्विव्वस्यया परिवोत:।  

[L. 12]  
भूमिभास्यं सकक्षापाही परीते।  
द्वेशहं स्वर्वमारातिमथमयुषुपारी सुर्यहीनात्वासैत:।  
तथापां धीमान्युपरापिशिका यथोराज:।  
द्रुवखस्वामनक: विपुरस्य पितिति विप।  

[L. 13]  
द्रुवेश:।  
द्वराधाता चंद्री प्रयुप्पर विष्णुपिता चरिचन्द्र:।  
द्वालालकी जनव: सहदेवसुतस्य तोषुवत:।  
तोषुपिता वधार्शकविक्षुवो गौरपीठ चल:।  
वंशावलीन प्रतिप्रदेश वंशावली।  

[L. 14]  
यं पूर्वैभाष्यं सम्भूक।।  
प्रचारी तथ सृषुर्दे प्रमथो नामा नामां प्रतिपद्यतानि।।  

1 The akshara ग is written beneath the line.  
2 Stanza 18, as remarked above, consists of three half-verses. At the end of the second half-verse there is an  
3 Read सुब्रह्म.  

EPGRAPHIA INDO-MOSLEMICA.

[15] द्विराजनांकितविशेषसिद्धिः
राजविनाया रक्तीया जागला ज्योहरितिः

[16] पुराखलमयन्युद्धस्त
गुप्ताजूमपति भूष्य पुष्य हि तदुत्त रक्तीयाः

[17] पिनीस्किर्तिः
खानि खानि धाराशाला विशाला का कालिनाकारिः
किंतु पाप वाणनाथस्वामिः बत्रा वालिका काणकारि

[18] मोहापारिष्ठि
पिनीसंगमपोपर्यंत परिस्तुतारविवधवामसा
रुत्याभामायदनकासु[क] जनोपास्मानात्मिप्रवदा

[19] तुया
मानसापि वृहत सति सति निजप्रवासिन कलुपितस्ति चितुषा[?][#]
निजविभारतिः[चा] की विशेषाय कविः[द] भालि

[20] भक्तियोजितकुलराय संस्करण
न्दरेखवालस्वालकत्वतर्पणवेदक[निन्दाकाने]

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1 In Mitra's facsimile this word reads कुमारकेः, but this does not suit the metre. Besides, the Inscription has distinctly कुवारकेः. Perhaps we should restore it to कुवारकेः.

2 The reading of the first letter of this word is doubtful. It must be न in order to properly interpret the verse, and such a reading is not altogether unwarranted.—H. K. S.

3 [Read बस्तु वन्दे.]

4 In Mitra's facsimile a ष्ण is shown over the line; it is not to be found in the original.

5 [This letter must be ह, and the context requires it to be so. On the plate too the letter may be read as ह.—H. K. S.]

6 [Read नवामि.]

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Translation:

Omn Hail! Adoration to Gaṇapati! Oin Adoration to Śiva! May he who creases, preserves and destroys, who obscures and radiates mankind; may Hara (Śiva) who removes [the sorrows of] existence, prove the fulfiller of your thoughts and imaginings.

2. He, upon whose head the celestial river (Gaṅgā) flows, anointing him with the glory of universal sovereignty, and with its waves serves as an ever-waving chaṇḍi—whilst the circle of the moon’s rays forms a canopy like unto a radiant umbrella—may that Śaṅkara of infinite majesty confer happiness upon you.

3. This land of Hariyānaka was first ruled by the Tomaras (Tunvars), then by the Chaṇḍājas; now it is governed by Śaka (Moslim) princes.

4. In the beginning Sāhabadina (Shahabud-d-din) [became king], after him Shuṭabadina (Qutbu-d-din) the guardian of the earth, [then] was Samudadina (Shamsud-d-din) [and then] Pūrjenadhi (Firūz Shāh), the lord of the land.

5. Hereafter [came] Jalaladina (Jalalud-d-din), then was born Prince Manjadin (Munṣuzud-d-din), [then] the illustrious Alavadina (Alauud-d-din) the excellent king, [and then] Nasaradina (Nasirud-d-din), the lord of the earth.

6. He, throughout whose whole contented realm under his great and good government from Gaṇḍā (Gaurn, i.e., Bengal) to Gajjapa (Ghazni in Afghāniṣṭān), from the Dravida country and Setubandha, everywhere, the earth bears the beauty of the sylvan spring-tide through the shooting gleams of the many jewels fallen from the contact of the diadems of princes coming and going in his service,

7. He, whose army hastens for its daily bath to the confluence of the Ganges and the ocean in the east and lo! in the west to the confluence of the Indus and the sea, through whose ascendency the courtesans, glorying in their brilliant raiment, come and go without fear, their bracelets tinkling on their sportively swinging arms,

8. He, whose enemies are turned back from afar by the dust of the earth raised by the trampling of the hoofs of his swift horse galloping in front of his army, he, the central jewel in

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1 चुँ is the suffix of the ablative case. द्वितीय चुँ: “from Delhi.”
2 The river Ganges, when descending from heaven, fell first on the head of Śiva. He is also represented crowned with the crescent of the moon.
3 Setubandha (literally “Bridge-building”) is the spot where Rāma, with the aid of his monkey allies, built a bridge or dam to connect the Indian Continent and Ceylon.
4 From verse 7 the numbering of Mitra’s translation is wrong, as he has split up this verse in two verses, 7 and 8.
the necklace of the earth girdled with its seven rays, the illustrious prince Hamira-Gayāsadīn (Amūr qabīṣū-d-dīn) reigns as supreme king.

9. When the sky is veiled, while its regions are swallowed by thick clouds of dust from the earth, pounced by the hoofs of his horses sweeping the highway, during assaults the splendour of the sun with its steadily shining radiance sets. And among kings, generally, what does it matter whether it is night or day.3

10. When he sets out on the conquest of the world, the Gauḍas (Bengalis) forsake their beast, the Andhras take to their caves out of fear, the Keralas forsake their sports, the Karnātakas also take refuge in their glens, the Mahārāṣṭras (Marāṭhas) vanish, the Gūjars (Gujars) lose their strength, and the Lāṭas become like Kirāṭas.4

11. Since this king supports the world, Seha has wholly laid down the burden of the earth and betaken himself to the great bed of Vishnu (the Ocean); and Vishnu himself, clasping Lakṣmīā at his breast and dispelling all continuous thought of guarding the world, slumbers now on the oceans of milk.

12. Under this king and lord of many a hundred of great towns, prospers the heart-reviving great town of the name of Dīhlī—an arrowy path to his foes. Like the earth, she is a receptacle of sundry jewels; like heaven, full of joy; like the town of the lower world, an abode of Demons (aliās Muḥammads) and like illusion, full of fascination.

13. In the town of Dīhlī, renowned under the name of Yoginīpara (Fairy-town) there lived a righteous and wealthy citizen (?) of the name of Uddhara possessed of every virtue, devoid of vice, wise and high-minded.

14. Where the pure and plentiful Chandrabhāgā (Chināb)—[flowing] with high and unbroken waves—is joined by the Viṭāsā (Jhelam), the Vīpāsā (Bīās), and the Śatadrā (Satluj) [there] is its friend Śindhu (Indus) with its relations.

15. It is vain to speak of honey, or wine, or of juice of heavenly nectar; who has drunk the nectar of the Indus, he counts the nectar of knowledge less.

16. In the land washed by the heavenly nectar of the Indus, and on that lofty river-bank pure and pain-dispelling, there rises high [the town of] Uchchāpuri (Uch) mocking Amara-vat [the city of the gods] which lies on the shores of the celestial stream.

17. In that town lived his (Uḍḍhara's) father Haripāla; his (Haripāla's) father was Yaśorāja; Dullahara was his (Yaśorāja's) father and Kīpa was his (Dullahara's) father. Thus is (his) paternal pedigree.

18. Uḍḍhara's mother was Chāndī, Prithu's daughter; the father of Prithu was Hari-chandra. His (Hari-chandra's) father was Uṭahaṇa the son of Sahadinga, and he (Sahadinga) was the son of Tōla. The father of Tōla was Vyāgraharaṇa the son of Sinha and grandson of Gaura.

19. In the work known as “the Genealogy” (Vaṃśāvalī) both pedigrees have already been fully described; here in this Eulogy (Praṃśati) the names have only been repeated to call them to memory.

20. He had three wives who were the embodiments of the divine powers: Will, Wisdom and Action—Jājalā the eldest spouse with Rājaśā and Ratnādevī.

21. Her (Jājalā's) son was Harirāja by name, pure of body, speech and thought, famous, a receptacle of the sixty-four arts, a Vishnu manifested and sole conqueror of the world.

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1 Or “swift like the wind” if we read ściścādhyāpaka. 2 [See correction in text.—H. K. S.] 3 [The last quarter of this verse is not, in my opinion, correctly translated. It must be “with its steadily shining radiance almost sets.” Of what account are (other) kings of day or of night.” Note rājā also means moon. —H. K. S.] 4 [The word kīrāṭa means “a merchant.” The Lāṭas are generally merchants.—H. K. S.] 5 [It is better to translate “has become the great bed of Vishnu.”—H. K. S.] 6 [There are no words corresponding to these in the Sāṃskṛt text.—H. K. S.]
22. And his two younger brothers, Sthiraraja and Jaitra by name, appear together with their sister Virada. The second wife (Rajasr) had (first) an excellent daughter Dhanavati.

23. And afterwards two sons Gunaraja and Bhupati. Ratnadevi had a son Haradeva, known as Natha, and a daughter,

24. [Another] son Uttamaraja and a daughter Sadhii. Such are the root, stem, branches, fruits and flowers (?) of this wonder-tree, viz. (Udghara).

25. At different places several extensive rest-houses have been made by this maker of almshouses (sastra), and on this spot also that wise man caused a well to be made in order to dispel the weariness of weary wayfarers.¹

26. Here to the east of the village of Palamba (Palam) and to the west of Kasumbhapura that wise man made a well which removes thirst and faintness.

27. May this fine-looking well with its abundant drinking water (alas with firm and high-breasts), with the motion of its rolling waves (alas with the grace of undulating garlands), while allaying the pain of many a thirsty wanderer (?) (alas, love-sick lover), [this well] scented with the many flowers of blooming-crested trees (on its banks) (alas scented with blooming flowers on head) grant great joy to you, like a lovely lady.²

28. It (this well) mocks even the Manasa lake (alas the mind) of the wise by its own purity and reckons it dirt. It appears like the peace-procuring wisdom of the knowers of the supreme soul.

29. May the great Thakkura (Thakur), the devout and self-restrained Udghara, together with his sons, wives, friends and dependents enjoy welfare in all conditions in which enjoyment is possible within the sphere of all worldly matters—he who delights in the joy of heaven and final delivery, and has his mind fixed on the feet of the Crescent-crowned (Siva).

30. This auspicious extensive eulogy was made by Pandit Yogtavara of unsalted fame [the learned saint Akhundapakasa.—H. K. S.] on the well of Udghara, that vessel of all benedictions.

In this year of Vikramaditya, in the year 1337, the month of Sravana, the 13th day of the dark fortnight, on Wednesday. (Vernacular) In the kingdom of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din is the country of Hariyana. Five kos from Dhilli, Palam comes in the way. In the month of Jeth...

...... on Saturday .................

APPENDIX B.

Inscription of Balban at Barwala,

(Extract from Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 158.)

"A second Barwala inscription is of Balban's reign; it consists of two lines. It has also been much injured by the weather. The dimensions are 3' 3" x 11'.

[The words यह यह of the text have not been translated. यह यह would be a better reading as suggested already. The meaning would now be: "Which extensive rest-house at different places was not made by this, etc." The poet means to say that all extensive rest-houses were made by him.—H. K. S.]

² The word pisca, if applied to the well, has probably to be taken as past participle of pis, but I do not know what double meaning to assign to the word uttaga.

³ The remaining portion, which I must leave untranslated, contains the name of Thakur Udhir and is father Haripal.
TRANSLATION.

"The light (?) of Islam and the Muslims, Abu-l-Muzaffar Balban, the king, the helper of the Lord of the Muslims—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—may his prosperity be perpetual!—on the 20th of the blessed month Ramazan—may its blessings be general!—680 [2nd January, 1289]."

APPENDIX C.

(Extract from a letter from Professor van Berchem, Geneva, to the Editor, dated 27th July 1917.)

"On the whole the character for India in the 13th century is a fine Nasüh akin to that employed at the same time in Persia and Asia Minor, but not in Syria, Egypt and further Africa. In fact there are two groups of epigraphical Nasüh writing for that time (in spite of many exceptional cases), and the line of demarcation seems to run nearly along Mesopotamia. In the Eastern group the letters are in general thinner, longer and more intricate. Such a type as the Bārah-dari inscription in Bihār (683 A.H.), or the beautiful Jāmi‘ Masjid inscription at Garhmuktesar (682 A.H.); or the one in the Sadho Masjid at Amroha (686 A.H.) would be possibly found at the same time in Asia Minor; but certainly not within the Syrian, Egyptian boundaries, even not later, as the Ottomans introduced here the Eastern types, but with some alterations. And such mixtures as the Jāmi‘ Masjid inscription at Jalāl (665 A.H.), or the one in the Mosque at Badān (688 A.H.), which are likely to be found in the realm of the Seljuq dynasties about the same time, are quite unknown in the further West, up to a very late time. The most remarkable piece of work is no doubt the Bihār inscription of 640 A.H., with its beautifully stylised characters and its floral decoration, which at the first glance would seem to belong to a much later period, showing altogether remains of an older time (in decoration). This marvellous pattern seems to me to come directly from Eastern Persia.

"As for the Bānsi inscription (Pl. VIII b), your attribution to Iltutmish (on account of the Kusya Abu-l-Muzaffar and on its affinity with the Quṭb Minar inscriptions) seems to be confirmed by the peculiar shape of the kaf, with its cross drawn upper tail, which occurs as early as the 12th century (in an inscription on the well-known enamelled brass bowl of Jumsbruck, Austria, in the name of an Ortokid prince of Upper Mesopotamia).

"As for the title Malik: I quite agree with what you say about it (ante, p. 22). It does not mean 'king,' as it is used to be translated from Arabic poets and chronicles, but 'prince, feudatory,' and even, in some cases, 'high officer.' So for instance, the wazirs of the Fatimid caliphs were entitled Malik rural, and this is the reason why Saladin, who was first a wazir of the last Fatimid caliph (and after him all the Ayyubi and Mamluk sultans) bore the title of Malik.

"On p. 13, with the words 'whether their ambition in this respect was commensurate with their political and military importance,' you have touched an important and widespread question. I believe that the epigraphical titles do not agree always with the actual political state of the bearers, and that some titles express directly the wish of a higher rank, and this on account of the originally magical power of the inscriptions. This is, of course, a somewhat bold hypothesis; but it is supported by several striking observations."
INSCRIPTIONS IN GOLCONDA FORT.

BY G. YAZDANI.

The early history of the fort is enveloped in the mist of oblivion; the Mughal court chroniclers, however, state that the old name of the place was Mankul or Mankal, and an earthen fort existed here, which was built by 'the ancestors of Raja Deo Bai.' This designation has been applied by Muslim writers to the Rajas of Warangal, whose names ended in the honorific terminal Deo. In the early part of the reign of Muhammad Shāh Bahmani I (1388-1375 A.D.) the 'hill fort' of Golconda was in the possession of the Raja of Warangal, and according to the treaty concluded between these rulers the fort was ceded to the Bahmanis, and fixed as the boundary between their kingdom and the Raja's possessions. Thenceforward it remained an important outpost of the Bahmani kingdom till 1512 A.D. when Sultan Quli Qutb Shāh, the governor of the fort, declared independence and made it his capital. The new king added many buildings to consolidate the fort and named it Muḥammad Nāgar. The fort was further strengthened in the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shāh, who rebuilt it extensively with stone and mortar. In the Mughal period the fort enjoyed the reputation of being impregnable, although the troops of Prince Muhammad detected its vulnerable parts and directed the main attack to the southern ramparts opposite the confluence of the rivers Isi and Musi where now the mighty Māsā Burj stands. The fortifications of Golconda were subsequently further strengthened and so improved that during the long siege of eight months and eight days Aurangzeb, in spite of the superior number of his army and vast military resources, could not conquer the fort except by strategy.

Firuz-Shāh writes that the Qutb Shāhī kings introduced the customs of Persia at their court, and filled the offices of their government largely with persons from that country. The influence of Persian art is apparent in the relics of Qutb Shāhī kings, and the models of some of the important inscriptions in Golconda are designed by Persian calligraphists. The Taqāṣṣār writings, reproduced in Pl. XIX, are extremely fine and beautiful, and show how calligraphy was used as a fine art for decorative purposes among the Muslims.

Inscription on the Jāmi' Masjid.

This is the earliest inscription in the fort, and is fixed over the doorway of the Jāmi' Masjid which was built by Sultan Quli, the founder of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty, in 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.), when he was only a governor of the fort under the Bahmani king Mahmūd Shāh. The mosque consists of a large hall which is divided into four aisles, and has five arched openings.

1 See Ma'dūsīr-i-Ālāmgi'r (Bibl. Ind.), pp. 300-301, and Miśk-i-Lahbās (Bisāf. Ind.), Vol. I, p. 388.
4 See Ma'dīthṣīr-i-Ālāmgi'r, p. 300.
5 Vide Pls. XIX and XXII.
7 Vide Pls. XIX and XXII.
The inscription is in Arabic, and is carved on a tablet of black basalt measuring 2' 10" x 1' 3". The style of writing is Taghra of an exceedingly fine type, and the letters are well preserved. I read the text as follows:

PLATE XIX (b).

(1) بناء هذا المسجد الراجل في زمان السلطان الاعظم المزركل على الله الغني ابي

المغاري محمد شاه بن محمد شاه البهمني

(2) خالد الله ملكه وسلطانه ورانيه الميثايل إلى الله ملك الملك سلطان تلي

الغاطب بقطع الملك في سنة أربع عشر ربيع تسعماة

TRANSLATION.

This assembly mosque was built during the reign of the great king, al-Mutawakkli 'ala'l'Lahi-l-Ghar (trusting in God, the Independent) Abu-l-Maghazi Mahmud Shah b. Muhammad Shaj al-Bahmanal—may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty!—and its builder (is) the humble supplicant of God, the Lord of the Universe, Sulaj Qult, entitled Qutbu-l-Mulk. In the year 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.).

Inscription on the Makki Darwasah.

The inscription is engraved on the façade of the outer gate of the Makkt Darwasah (so called on account of its facing the city of Mecca). The Darwasah is a massive structure, and consists of two gateways and an extensive court with guard rooms between them. The gates are made of teakwood studded with iron wrought in fanciful devices, and huge sharp pointed iron knobs which were intended to prevent elephants battering them in.

The language of the inscription is Arabic containing phrases from the Qura'an and other Islamic books, a practice in which the Muslim writers indulge to give dignity to their writings. The inscription is written in beautiful Taghra style and exhibits an art in which vigour and elegance have been skilfully combined. The size of the letters is unusually large and the inscription measures 46' 2" x 1' 6". I have read the text as follows:

PLATE XIX (a).

بسم الله الذي جعل كلمة ترديد حصننا حصننا وإمابنا فتقم إبراهيم بالرحمة نحن دخله كل

آمنة وصلى على المصطفى الذي تمت به حصن البدر ر شعبان هذا هو مدينة العلم

واعظ باباً على آله الذي ارتفع بهم ورجل الراية والإمام رضي الله عنه بحري بن خالد

الصق وسلالة ر بهذى دور الله وحص السعادة قد نلي في أيام خلافة أعظم السلاطين

اكثر الأُخوان فهو إمام المدينة فتقم إبراهيم بالرحمة على العالمين رفع بلاء شريفة

1 The titles of the king given in the inscription are identical with those noticed on his coins (see H. Nelson Wright's Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. II, p. 204.

2 Qura'an, chap. III, (Al-l-'Imran).

3 A saying of Prophet Muhammad.
INSCRIPTIONS IN GOLCONDA FORT.

In the name of God, Who made the word of His Unseen an impregnable fort, the gates of which have been opened to us through (His) Mercy, and whoever entereth therein shall be safe; and blessings be upon Muṣṭafa, in whose person the forts and defences (lit., paths, defiles, etc.) of prophecy have been completed (i.e. the last and the most perfect of the prophets), and he is the town of learning and ‘All is the gate of the town; and upon his descendants through whom the towers of vicegerency (of God) and religious leadership have arisen; and upon his friends the custodians of the qualities of truth and integrity. After that, this gate of fortune, and fort of felicity was, verily, built during the days of the administration of the greatest of sovereigns, and the noblest of kings who is the refuge of water and clay (i.e. sea and land), the opener of the gates of benevolence to all creatures, the elevator of the edifice of the law prescribed by the Chief of Apostles, the builder of state and religion, the shadow of God in the world, the namesake of the Friend of God (Prophet Abraham), Huṃayūn-i-‘Aḍam Ḍāt Shāh—may the forts of his sovereignty ever remain safe from the earthquake (of misfortune) and the towers of his kingdom from the ebbts of change and alteration!—by the noble efforts of the pillar of his powerful empire, and the prop of his bright kingdom, the collector of books and the disperser of armies, whose qualities and pedigree are referred to the manifestation of wonders in mankind (‘All) known among people as ‘Kamān-d-dīn Ḥusayn and entitled Muṣṭafa Khān on account of his high rank, may God accept his efforts and mitigate his misfortunes! In the months of 967 A.H. (1559 A.D.).

Written by Muhammad of Iṣfahān.

Inscription on the Western Wall, Golconda Fort.

During the reigns of the later kings of the Ṭuḥb Shāhī dynasty the danger of the Mughal invasion was always imminent, and extensive improvements were made in the fortifications of the fort. The wall on which the inscription is fixed was renovated in the reign of Muḥammad Ṭuḥb Shāh by his son Sulṭān ‘Abdullāh Ṭuḥb Shāh.

The style of writing is Ṯaṣkh; but a part of the inscription is arranged in oval and circular Ṯaḥrā devices, which are quite pleasing. The inscription is carved on a segmental slab of

1 The title of Prophet Abraham.
2 In deciphering this inscription I was greatly helped by Maḥāfī ī Ḥamīdū-d-Dīn, Principal, Oriental College, Hyderabad, to whom I offer my cordial thanks.
grey sandstone, the chord of the segment being 5' 11". I have read the text as follows:

**PLATE XX (a).**

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لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
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**TRANSLATION.**

Unto God.

Allah, Muhammad, 'Ali.


"Invoke 'Ali the manifestation of wonders, Thou wilt find him succour in misery, All grief and sorrow will soon disappear, By thy friendship (with God), O 'Ali.""¹

The wall of the Muhammadnagar fort was repaired under the superintendence of Sultan Nawwab 'Abdullah Quibbi, Malik Yousef (and) Malik Nair Muhammad supervised the repairs during the months of the year one thousand and twenty-nine (Hijra). On the last day of Shabhan 1038 A.H. (1628 A.D.).²

¹ These verses are recited by the Shiites to get out of misery. They are often engraved on small copper plates and used as charms for children.

² The second date is probably that of the setting up of the inscription.
(a) Inscription on the western wall, Golconda Fort.

(b) Inscription on the southern wall, Nau Mahila Palace, Golconda Fort.
No soldier like ‘Ali, no sword like Zu’l faqar.\(^1\)

Unto God.

**Inscriptions on the Māsa Burj.**

The history of the erection of the bastion is recorded in inscription No. 1 given below. The bastion is semicircular in shape, and consists of three storeys, built of solid blocks of granite firmly cemented together and sometimes bound with iron clamps. Many of the blocks weigh considerably over a ton. The height of the lowest storey from the bottom of the moat is about sixty feet. On the bastion there are some old guns, one of them, the inscription of which will be noted below, is a fine specimen of medieval Mughal artillery. The construction of the gun is of the ordinary type, being made of laminated bars welded together and clamped with iron hoops. But the surface polish and the ornamentation are exquisite and cannot easily be surpassed by modern guns.

**Inscription No. 1.**

The tablet on which the inscription is engraved is now fixed on the back of the wall forming the western wing of the modern steps leading to the first storey of the bastion. It does not seem to be in its original position, and was apparently placed here when the new steps were constructed. The tablet is of a close grained greenish stone (hornblende), broken near the top. It measures 3' 9\(\frac{1}{4}\)" x 1' 4\(\frac{3}{4}\)" in its present condition. The inscription consists of twenty-one lines and is written in Naskh characters of a clear plain type. The language is Persian.

The epigraph is of considerable historical importance as giving an account from the Quṣb Shāhī point of view of the siege of Golconda by Prince Muḥammad, son of Anuradha, in 1566 A.H. (1655 A.D.), and of the peace which was subsequently concluded. Khāfir Khan relates that the Quṣb Shāhī army was reduced to great straits, and hence ‘Abdullāh Quṣb-ud-Mulk opened negotiations for peace, and promised to pay the arrears of tribute for the past years with a suitable present in cash, jewellery and elephants as the cost of the war, and gave his own daughter in marriage to the prince as a guarantee of loyalty to the Imperial Court in future.\(^2\) The inscription states that a shot from the guns of the fort hit Mir-i-Mirān whose full name was Assudullāh Khān Buļgharī, and he expired on the spot. Three days after his death peace was concluded. Khāfir Khan describes a violent fight between the Imperialists and the garrison on the death of Mir-i-Mirān,\(^3\) and it is not unlikely that the loss of this important officer, who held the rank of Bakshāh and during the attack was commanding the Mughal forces,\(^4\) might have expedited the termination of the war. The erection of a new bastion at the place where the Imperialists had concentrated their offensive, as recorded in the inscription, however, clearly indicates that they had detected the weak points of the fortifications and that, but for the breach, they would have made a breach therein.

Besides Mir-i-Mirān another historical personage mentioned in the inscription is Mūsā Khān. Khāfir Khan designates him Mūsā Khān Mabalddar (Keeper of the Palace); but in the siege he is shown to play the rôle of a general.\(^5\) The inscription designates him both a Minister and a Commander-in-Chief. In the old town of Hyderabad, along the road which goes from

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\(^1\) A saying most frequently quoted in the religious literature of the Shiites. Zu’l faqar, the name of ‘Ali’s sword.


\(^3\) Ibid, p. 747.


the Pranā Pul to Golconda, there is a most beautiful mosque (called the Tolī Masjid), which was built by Mūsā Khaṇ in 1082 A.H. (1671 A.D.).1 The mosque has two inscriptions which will be dealt with along with the inscriptions of the Hyderabad city, in a future issue of this Journal.

The inscription has also a counterpart in Telugu which Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastri has kindly deciphered and translated for me. It is engraved on a black basalt tablet which is broken in three pieces, now built in the southern wall of the bastion steps. The total length of the three pieces is 5' 7" and width 1' 5".

PLATE XVII (b).

(1) قائم كرمه سوریه و نقب را (2) نزديك اين يرزخ تا تنقند
رسانید چين درنگيا (3) دیزخرت بدو اما حکم چه ماجع عالم مطيع خصر (4) زمان
شهنشا درمان السلطان العادل علی الله (5) اوزار المتقا ودر المصير ابب الغازی سلطان عبد الله
(6) قطعیة بی.estر الزواج فی الزمان مقرب (7) أُحضرت السلطانیه معبد. الدراة الاغاثاء
(8) خالد ذي شیب سهالی مرسی خان (9) جنی شرب مدیر یافته كه خند درفیها
(10) جهان ذي شیب سهالی مرسی خان (11) عیشانش شب و رز بخشی دور
(12) غذیم در ور دیزخرت بدو اما حکم چه (13) میر میران چنین خونه
(14) هاله گشت و بعد از غربت او به رز مصالح (15) نور خذالن گاهان
(16) مشار الیه حکم علی الله كه دیزخرت بدو اما (17) یاد کردن تا
(18) جهانذاب نابذار حکم رزمانی املاء (19) باحکم
(20) انری ابب علی مرسی خان مربی
(21) بالتام رسید راسم معمار برنفسار

TRANSLATION,

(The enemy) . . . . . . . established . . . . , and carried the intrenchments and mines to the ditch (of the fort). As at this place was a small bastion an order—obeyed by the world and respected in the universe (lit. to which the universe yields obedience)—of the lord of the time, the emperor of the period, the just Sultān, the shadow of God, Abu-l-Muṣaffar Abu-l-Maṣūr Abu-l-Ghāzi Sultān ‘Abdūllāh Qūb Shāh to the Wazir of the time, the confidence of the Royal Court, the trust of the State, the Khaṇ, the exalted Commander-in-Chief, Mūsā Khaṇ, had the honour of issuing to this effect, that he himself be at the spot and occupy himself in repelling the enemy. Thereupon the exalted Khaṇ with all caution baffled the enemy day and night. And by the divine decree a gun-shot struck the body of Mīr-i-Mīrān in such a manner that he expired in that very intrenchment (whence he was bombarding the fort). Three days after his death peace was concluded. When the siege had been raised the supreme orders were issued to the above-mentioned Khaṇ (Mūsā Khaṇ) that a large bastion be built at this place, so that the enemy might not get an oppor-

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1 In the war of succession which ensued on the death of 'Abdūllāh Qūb Shāh (1083 A.H.), Mūsā Khaṇ supported the claim of Abu-l-Haasan.
(a) Inscription on the Musa Burj, Golconda Fort.

(b) Telugu version of (a).

Scale '084

Scale '159
INScriptions in golconda fort.

unity to dig intrenchments and mines (on this side). In obedience to the auspicious (and) exalted orders, through the efforts of the aforesaid Khan this large bastion (was built) within a short time, and completed in the year 1077 A.H. (1666 A.D.). And the architect's name—Dharmachār.

TELUGU TEXT.

PLATE XVII (b).

Piceo I.

1 Svasti Śri jay-āhyayā-Śālivā[ha].
2 na-Śaka-Varshaalu 1578 Manmatha-nāma-sa-
3 rīvatsara-Māgha-śu[d*]dha 7 Budhavāran nā-
4 dū Sutulaṇu Avarūngujēbu kha-
5 saru [še]hajī saṅgīnu laskaruto va-
6 chohī kilē mudārakū Mahamadā-
7 [na]gara beḍāvēśī vunḍaṁgānu vā-
8 ri pāduśāhi-vajirālō pelda Va-
9 jirudū-Miru-Mirā ani atani A-
10 varamgujēbu tōtuṇā yt durgam
11 mūḍu-dinālku puchchukonṭṭiṇān-a-
12 ni mōchā . . . rātri-pagalu chhālā mēṭu-

Piceo II.

13 kaṁ dēggir ālēdu . . . . juka-
14 jaḥamata Hajaratī Sutula-
15 nu Abdullā-Kutu-Śahgārū (I) tana[vē]-
16 gulu doḍda Vajirudū mokarrabu
17 Hajaratī Amussākhāunīgārīki
18 hukum yinchhī nīvu & buruaju-va[d*]da vun[m]-
19 di para-daḍḍu ko[t*]tu anduku chh[la]
20 jāgraṭa-kalīgī vunḍavalen-ani ʿallā-
21 gē Khānū Maśārnulahēgārū rātri-pa-
22 galu jāgraṭaṭū ganimula daphā chē-
23 sē paniō mukhyulī vunḍaṁgānu | [kho]-
24 dāraja[tto] | phiraṅgi-guṇiū Ami-
25 ru Mirā[ku] tagilīṭēṇu ā mōchā-
26 [lo]nē mayatu ayi pōyanu | a-
27 [ṭlu] [mrī]tam-āīnā mūḍu-dinālku [pa]-
28 . na āyanu mōchā . . . . . . . . . .

1 Read chāḷā as in I. 19.
2 Read āḷāṭī.
Translation.

Ll. 1-7:—Hail! on Wednesday, the 7th day of the bright half of Māgha in the (cyclic) year called Manmatha (corresponding to) the prosperous, victorious and increasing Śālīvāhana-Śaka years 1578—His Majesty the king, Sulutānu Avarāṅgūjębō (i.e. Sulījan Aurangzeb) having come with (his) stony (i.e. strong) army was laying siege to the blessed fort (Qil‘a-i-mubārak) of Mahamadāņagaru.

Ll. 7-12:—The brother of Avarāṅgūjębō (saying) that he would capture this fort in three days (ordered) the person named Mirn-Mirā, the chief minister (Wazir) among his imperial ministers ... at a battery, very ably, day and night.

Ll. 13-20:—Hajarati Sulutānu Abdullā Kutu-Śaka (i.e. Hajarat Sulījan 'Abdullā Qutb Shāh) on his side gave orders (bākum) to (his) close friend (muqarrab) and great minister Hajaratu Amusā-khāna (and told him) 'you had better remain at that bastion and strike the hostile army. For this (purpose) (you) must be much on the alert.'

Ll. 20-23:—Accordingly the above-mentioned Khānu (Khānu Mubārānīlāh) was the foremost in the work of checking (dāf) the enemies (ghanīm) carefully day and night.

Ll. 23-26:—May God's will (be done)! A cannon-shot having struck Amiru-Mirā (he) met with his death (?) (maṭa) at that very battery (marchā).

Ll. 26-33:—Three days after (his) death in this manner ... 7 By the order (bākum) of ... māpanaha and in the same manner as ordered by His Majesty*

---

1 Read ayīti.
2 Read muṣṭa‘idd as in l. 38.
3 This has been verified with the help of Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai’s Ephemeris and is found to correspond to 23rd January A.D. 1656.
4 The Qaṣṣ of Ostāṣhānund corrects khasārur into Khasārur and translates the phrase Khasārur Śahaji as “His Majesty the King.”
5 The whole of line 13 and the first word of line 14 are not intelligible. The passage is very fragmentary.
6 This translation is only provisional. Its exact sense is not clear.
7 Line 23 is very fragmentary. The translation is therefore not given.
8 Probably 'Abdullā Qutb Shāh is meant.
Plate XVIII.

(6) Inscription on the Ambark Khana, Golconda Fort.

(a) Inscription No. 3, Musa Burj, Golconda Fort.
the above-mentioned Khan got (the bastion) completely made (musta'idd) by the bricklayer Dharmacharya within a few days.

Li. 35-37.—The year (Sālu) in which Avarangbāju came (in) : su || sna settu kha ma sonu alapu (1057 A.H.).

Li. 38-41.—The complete doing (up of the bastion?) took place (in) : su || sna samānu setaiyu (sebaigu?) alapu 1078 A.H. Śālivāha[na*]-Śaka years 158[9].

Inscription No. 2.

Near the steps of the bastion, to the north of it, there is set in the open an inscribed slab of black basalt measuring 2' 8" × 2' 6". The inscription records the building of some shops, a well and a garden by Khairāt Khan, a grandee of the court of 'Abdullah Qūb Shāh. Lieut.-Colonel Haig in the first number of this Journal (1907-08) gave the text and translation of the inscription, but the facsimile was not included and is being now published for the first time. The inscription consists of five lines and is written in Nastaliq characters. The language is Persian.

PLATE XVIII (a).

(1) درزمان درلبت پادشاه ولاء حاد (2) سلطن عبد الله قطب‌شاه (3) بنده درخراش خیبران (4) بنایی این مکملها چهار آب و باغ (5) نیامده در شهر رجب سال 1000 (؟)

TRANSLATION.

During the time of the government of the exalted king, Sultan 'Abdullah Qūb Shāh, the servant, the well-wisher of the State, Khairāt Khan, built these shops, well and garden, in the month of Rajab, 1050 A.H. (November 1602 A.D.).

Inscription No. 3.

The inscription is carved on the gun of which we have spoken above (ante, p. 51). The chief interest of the inscription is the mention of the name of the gun (ازدها پیکر) which shows that it was one of the four famous guns which were levelled against the fort of Golconda by Avarangzeb during the second Mughal siege, 1687. The gun is of considerable dimensions and measures 14' 10" in length, the diameter near the bore being 2' 4", while at the end the circumference is 9'.

PLATE XXI (c).

ابو المظفر محمد صعیب الديين ارلک زيب بادار عالم گیبر پادشاه غازی
سنة 18 جلسس رلا ساله 1086 مقدسه شيیری
ترب ازدها پیکر
عمل محمد علي مرب
گلده یک مسیر پزنت شاه جهانی و بارسیت سیزدی اتار یلیم نام پار بزری باد شاه جهانی

1 Khairāt Khan was sent as an envoy to Persia by 'Abdullah Qūb Shāh (Tārikh-i-Raghibu-d-din Khān, p. 238).
2 See Ma‘āthīr-i-Ilamgiri, p. 290.
Abu-l-Muzaffar Muhammad Muḥi-ud-dīn Aurangzib Bahadur ʿĀlámir, the victorious king.

Eighteenth year of the auspicious reign (corresponding to) 1085 A.H. (1674 A.D.).

Aṣḥāba Paikar (Dragon-body) Gun.

Made by Muḥammad ʿAlī ʿArab.

Charge: one maund according to the ʿAbūjāhānī weight; gunpowder—thirteen and one-eighth seers according to the ʿAbūjāhānī weight.

Inscription on the Petīs Burj Gun.

This gun was also used during the siege of Golconda by Aurangzib and its name is included in the list given in the Maʿāthir-i-ʿĀlamgirī (p. 290). In workmanship and dimensions it is similar to its rival on the Mīsār Burj and was manufactured by the same maker, Muḥammad ʿAlī ʿArab. It is now lying on a bastion built in the western wall of the fort, and popularly styled the Petīs Burj (the Fat Belly Bastion) on account of its body protruding from the line of fortification. The gun is 16' 2" in length, the diameter near the bore is 2' 3½", while the circumference at the other end is 8' 8".

PLATE XXI (a).

Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥi-ud-dīn Aurangzib Bahadur ʿĀlamgir Bahādur, the victorious king.

In the 16th year of the auspicious reign corresponding to 1083 of the Holy Era of the Flight.

Fath Raḥbār (Guide to Victory) Gun.

Made by Muḥammad ʿAlī ʿArab.

Charge: one maund; gunpowder—thirteen seers and a quarter according to the ʿAbūjāhānī weight.

Quatrain.

"Since the (wine) flagon learnt smiling from the lips of the mistress, fire has issued forth from its mouth and encircled the assembly.

1 ʿAbūjāhānī's men weighed 55 lbs., and was defined forty seers.
Inscription on the Musa Burj Gun, Golconda Fort.

Inscription on the Pedha Burj Gun, round the bore, Golconda Fort.
Inscription on the Hira Masjid, Golconda Fort.
"The heart is eager (lit. perched) to obtain union with the mistress: but it does not know that the flame of her soul-melting beauty has burnt the rival since (she) took him in her embrace."

The verses have been engraved round the bore of the gun in a rather humorous sense, comparing the fire-ejecting propensities of it with the sparkling wit and dazzling beauty of the mistress.

Inscription on the Ambar Khānā.

Half way up in the ascent to the citadel Bārākdārt are the ruins of a hall and some chambers, called the Ambar Khānā or Store House. In front of the building a stone slab of black basalt (2' 9" x 1' 11") containing an inscription has been fixed in a slanting position, its original place apparently being over the entrance of the hall. The inscription consists of five lines and is written in Nastā‘īq characters. The language is Persian. The text and a translation of the inscription have been previously printed in this Journal (1907-08), but the facsimile is being published now for the first time.

PLATE XVIII (b).

TRANSLATION.

During the period of the administration of the king equal in rank to Jamshed, whose army is the heavenly host, Sultan ‘Abdullāh Qub Shāh, this store house was completed by the efforts of the servant of the Court, Khirāt Khān, in the honoured month of Rajab, 1052 A.H. (October 1642 A.D.).

Inscriptions in the Hira Masjid.

The mosque stands in an extensive quadrangle and is enclosed by a high wall in the thickness of which cells for the residence of travellers and students are built. In front of the mosque there is a platform with a cistern in the middle for the ablutions of the congregation. The prayer hall itself is of moderate dimensions and has three arched openings and is flanked with two beautiful minarets. The building has several inscriptions; the principal one is carved on nine wooden panels, sets of three panels being fixed below the eaves at the apex of each opening. Each of these panels measures 3' 2½" x 1' 6½". The inscription consists of four lines of Persian verse, the metre being Hasaj Musaddas Akhrab Maqāb Latif. The style of writing is Nastā‘īq and the model of the inscription was designed by a calligraphist from Shiraz, named Ismā‘īl.

PLATE XXII.
TRANSLATION.

The lord of the faith, and the support (lit. axis) of the kings, the Qibla of bounty for the expectant.

Like Khahl (Abraham), built a Ka‘ba from the decorative designs of which are the sun and the moon.

In respect of this charitable institution, liked by Sultan Husain.

The invisible speaker (thus) stated the chronogram of its erection. “May this Ka‘ba of bounty ever remain!”

1079 A.H. = 1668 A.D.

Written by Muhammad Isma’il, son of ‘Arab Shtraz.

Below the inscribed wooden panels three pairs of medallions consisting of Qur’anic verses and the names of the Prophet and his relatives written in Tughra style are carved in the spandrels of the arched openings. The religious texts engraved are as follows:—

(a) In the spandrels of the central arch.

TEXT.

عَجَّبَنَّا بِالصَّرْعَةِ قَبْلَ الْفَرْطِ
وَعَجَّبَنَّا بِالْحَرْثِ قَبْلَ الْمَوْتِ

TRANSLATION.

Hasten to say your prayers lest (lit. before) ye miss them,

And hasten to repent lest (lit. before) ye perish.

(b) In the spandrels of the right side arch.

TEXT.

الله ﷺ عَلَى قَاطِعِهِ حَسَنٌ حَسَنٌ

TRANSLATION.

Allah, Muhammad, ‘Ali, Fatiha, Hassan and Husain.

(c) In the spandrels of the left side arch.

TEXT.

اِنَّ الْمَسَاجِدِ الْلَّهُ ﷺ فَمَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ إِلَّا

TRANSLATION.

“Verily the places of worship are set apart unto God: therefore invoke not any other therein together with God.” Qur’an, Chap. LXXII, verse 18 (Sale).

In the prayer niche verse 18 from Chap. IX of the Qur’an is inscribed. The style of writing is Tughra of a very beautiful type and the name of the calligraphist, Muhammad Taqiu-d-din, is given at the end of the Qur’anic verse. The inscription is carved on a panel of black basalt measuring 15’ x 1’ 4’.”
INSCRIPTIONS IN GOLCONDA FORT.

PLATE XIX (a).

"But he only shall visit the temples of God, who believeth in God and the last day, and is constant at prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and feareth God alone. These perhaps may become of the number of those who are rightly directed." Qur'ān, Chap. IX, verse 19 (Sale). Written by the servant Taqī-d-dīn Muhammad b. Sālih al-Bahrānī. 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.).

Inscription on the southern wall of the Nau Mahla.

The inscription is carved on a slab measuring 2' 10" × 1', fixed on the outer wall of the Nau Mahla facing the shrine of Gunde Shāh Šāhib. It consists of one line only and apparently belonged to a shrine which at the erection of the Nau Mahla, during the reigns of the early rulers of the Āṣafjāḥī dynasty, was incorporated in it. The text (verse 7, Chap. XVIII of the Qur'ān) is a chronogram, the numerical value of which gives the year 1170 A.H. (1756 A.D.), the date of the death of a saint.

The style of writing is Naskh, and the text is as follows:—

PLATE XX (b).

TRANSLATION.

These are the best of creatures.2

An inhabitant of Bahrain.

The full text of the Qur'ānic verse is as follows:—

But they who believe, and do good works; these are the best of creatures."
EPIGRAPHIA INDO-MOSLEMICA

EDITED BY
G. YAZDANI, M.A.,
DIRECTOR OF ARCHAEOLOGY, H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS, AND GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR MOSELM INSCRIPTIONS.

1915-16.

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CALCUTTA
SUPERINTENDENT GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA
1919

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MAHDĪ KHWAJA.

By H. Beveridge.

In the Ṭabāqāt-i-Akbārī of Nīgānūd-dīn Ahmad (Newal Kishore lithograph, p. 198) there is an account of an intrigue to make one Mahdī Khwāja the successor to the Emperor Bābur in supersession of Humāyūn, who was the eldest son and the natural heir. Nīgānūd-dīn tells the story on the authority of his father Muḥammad Muqīm, from whom he must have heard of it long afterwards, for he was not born till after the lapse of nearly twenty years. The plot was in 937 A.H. or 1530, and it appears from Badā’ūnī (Howe’s translation, p. 411) that Nīgānūd-dīn died in 1033 A.H. (1624–25) at the age of forty-five, so he must have been born about 1548 or 1549. His statement is that Bābur’s prime minister, Muḥammad Khwāja, feared and disliked Humāyūn and had an affection for Mahdī Khwāja (they were both Khwājas) who was young and liberal-handed (jauzā’ī, sahāqū, bāṣīl), and was Bābur’s son-in-law (the Persian word is dāmād which sometimes means husband, and also brother-in-law). Other officers took part in the intrigue, and Mahdī was encouraged to assume kingly airs. The plot failed because Mahdī, who had a touched brain, was overheard to say in a soliloquy that one of his first measures would be to slay Mr Khwāja. It was Nīgānūd-dīn’s father who overheard this utterance. He was then a young man, and was either in charge of government buildings (Diwān-i-bugāt), or was an employed in the department. Muḥammad Khwāja had come to court to talk with Mahdī and so Muqīm happened to be present. Suddenly, Mr Khwāja was called away to see Bābur, who was, apparently, in his death-agony, and Mahdī, thinking himself alone, uttered his threat. But Muqīm was respectfully standing behind him, and overheard him, as Mahdī perceived when he turned round. In his anger and alarm, he seized Muqīm by the ear, called him Tajik and uttered a couplet to the effect that the red tongue was apt to ruin the green, that is the young, head. Apparently, that was a reflection on his own incautiousness, but it may also have been a warning to Muqīm to keep his mouth shut. However, Muqīm made his escape and went and told Mr Khwāja what he had overheard, and added that this was the result of passing over Humāyūn and his younger brothers for the sake of the member of a strange family. The Khwāja immediately changed his mind about Mahdī, ordered him to be confined to his house, forbade anyone to visit him, and sent off to fetch Humāyūn, who, apparently, was then at Sambhal. It is added that the luckless Mahdī was just going to have his dinner when the Khwāja’s lectors came to him, so we may presume that the soliloquy took place in the forenoon.

Nīgānūd-dīn’s story is told by Erskine in a supplement to his translation of the Memoires (p. 428) and in his History (p. 514 of Vol. I). It will also be found in Elliot’s History of India (Vol. V, p. 187), in the Akbar Nama (translation, i. 277), and in the Khwāja Tāwārīkh.

It is difficult to believe that the story is not substantially true, and it has been accepted by Abū-l-Fażl and others. The real question is: “Who was this Mahdī Khwāja?” There was a well-known Mahdī Khwāja who was Bābur’s brother-in-law, he having married Khunzāda Begam, who was Bābur’s full sister, and his senior by five years. She had been twice married before, first to the famous Shāh Bānū, who divorced her because he was afraid she was too much her brother’s ally, and then to Sayyid Huda, a member of a Khwāja family, but both these husbands were killed in one day, at the battle of Merv in 1510. We do not know when her marriage to Mahdī took place, but apparently it was not later than 923 A.H. (1517),

1 [In this case it probably means ‘brother-in-law.’—Ed.]
2 [Bugāt is an Arabic term meaning house-expenses; account of such; an office for registering the effects of deceased persons. Diwān-i-bugāt may be translated Comptroller of Household Accounts.—Ed.]
for it is referred to in the Ḥabba-s-Siyar, under that year, in the account of Muḥammad Zamān who was a grandson of Sultan Ḥusain Bāqara of Herāt. The reference is to the Bombay lithograph, Vol. II, Section 3 of the third Part, p. 372. The name of Khaṇζāda is not mentioned there, but it occurs in B. M. Add. MSS. 16,679 (p. 370). The lithograph indeed says that Mahdi had married two of Bābur's sisters. I do not know who the other sister was. She could not have been a full sister of Bābur, for he had only one full sister. In an anonymous life of Shāh Ismā'īl in the British Museum, Mahdi Khwāja is called Bābur's Divsānghēi and is said to have been sent to Bokhara with ten thousand men. This was in 917 or 918, when Bābur was trying to take advantage of Shāibāni's death and to establish himself in Central Asia. Shāh Ismā'īl sent Khaṇζāda to her brother after the battle of Merv. She joined Bābur in 1511, and probably her marriage to her brother's minister took place shortly afterwards.  

This Mahdi Khwāja was a Sayyid and a Khwāja, that is, a member of a saintly family. His father was Sayyid Mūsā, possibly the Mūsā Khwāja of Bābur's Memoirs who gave him warning of a Mughal plot in 1508 (Erskine's translation, p. 235), and his grandfather was Sayyid Murtuza. On the other side, Mahdi had royal blood, he being the grandson, or other descendant, of the Central Asian king Abdul Khāir, who was Shāibāni's grandfather. Though Mahdi seems to have been an old servant of Bābur, they were not always on friendly terms. In the Ḥabba-s-Siyar, in the account of Muḥammad Zamān, we find Mahdi visiting the young man and dissuading him from going to Kabul and waiting on Bābur. Muḥammad Zamān took this advice, but later on was compelled to attach himself to Bābur, and eventually became his son-in-law. Later on, and near the close of Bābur's life we find from the Gwāliyar Nāma that Mahdi and his nephew Rāhim Dād plotted against Bābur, and that the latter meditated putting them to death. These facts, however, do not militate against the probability that Mir Khaṭīb should select him as Bābur's successor. In the first place there is no evidence that Bābur knew of the Mir Khaṭīb's plot, and secondly, Bābur was of a singularly forgiving nature in his treatment of his kinfolk and connections. Thus he forgave Muḥammad Zamān, and Ḥaidar Mirza's father. It is true that one would have thought Muḥammad Zamān a more likely candidate for the vacant throne, but there is no evidence that he was a favorite with Mir Khaṭīb, and he was a man of an altogether contemptible character. Nor is there any variant in any of the MSS. Niẓām-u-d-din's story is always quoted as relating to Mahdi, and not to Muḥammad Zamān. A more solid objection to the Mahdi Khwāja, who was Bābur's brother-in-law, being the man whom Mir Khaṭīb wished to put forward, is that he must have been a man well up in years—Khaṇζāda was at least 33 or 34 when he married her—and so hardly likely to be called a young man (jauza).  

Another is that he is called dāmād which ordinarily means in Persian a son-in-law, and not a brother-in-law.  

On the other hand, the fact is as the MSS. go, there was only one Mahdi Khwāja who was prominent in Bābur's time, corroborates the view that the Mahdi Khwāja of Niẓām-u-d-din Ahmad's story was the Mahdi who was Bābur's brother-in-law. There is also the very significant circumstance that there was towards the end of Bābur's reign a Mahdi Khwāja who was a liberal-minded man, as evidenced  

1 See Mrs. Beveridge's translation of Gulbadan Begam's Hamayun Nama, pp. 250 and 298, and the Akbar Nama (translation), i, Appendix No. 86, p. xii.  

2 Apparently, he had a son named Jaftār Khwāja who was old enough to take his place as governor of Etwah, cf. Hale, p. 257 and 3258. However, the text is obscure, and both Erskine and P. de Courteille have taken Jaftār to be the son of Quṭb Khaṭīb. See Erskine 270, and P. de C., II. 314. Since writing this I have noticed that 'Ali Sher describes Daulat Shāh (see Persian ed., foreword, p. 4) as a jauza and that Professor Browne in his English foreword (p. 16) renders the word by "youth". And yet we know from Daulat Shāh himself that he was fifty years of age when he began to write his book. So Niẓām-u-d-din's description of Mahdi as a liberal-minded young man is not strange.  

3 [Dāmād in Persian often means 'brother-in-law.'—Ed.]
by his putting up a marble tablet in honour of the great Transoxanian poet, Amir Khusran.1 Also the Mahdi Khwaja, the brother-in-law, was, like Amir Khusran, of Turkish, or at least Uzbek, extraction, and therefore the likely person to put up such a memorial.

And this brings me to the most interesting part of the case, viz. the inscription in Amir Khusran's tomb which is preserved in two topographies of Delhi, the Sair-i-Manazil of Sangin Beg, and the Alhaur-i-Sanadid of Sayyid Ahmad Khan.2 Of the two books, Sangin Beg's is the earliest, for though both it and the Alhaur-i-Sanadid were composed at the instance of Theophilus Metcalfe, the Resident at Delhi, Sangin Beg's was composed during the first period of Metcalfe's tenure of office, and before he had succeeded to a Baronetcy.3 It must then have been composed about 1810, and is thus some thirty-seven years before the Alhaur-i-Sanadid, as this was first published in 1847. Both works give the inscription, and the second edition of the Alhaur-i-Sanadid has it in facsimile. It was written by the engrimist Ghiyas-ud-din of Herat. This Ghiyas-ud-din came to India with the historian Khwandamir in 934 A.H. (1528) and was introduced to Babur in the beginning of 935, in September 1528. He died in 942, or 1535 (Beale's Dict., 360), and so the inscription must have been written between 1528 and 1535. Probably it was written not later than 937 A.H. or 1530, for the inscription mentions that the tablet was put up in Babur's reign, and Babur died on December 26, 1530. The inscription begins with the Islamic creed "Except God there is no God, etc.," and then says that the spot has been glorified by the tablet's having been placed on it, during the reign of Babur Shakinsahari-Ghazni. This last was a title which Babur did not assume till after the battle of Kanwa, viz. 933 A.H. or 1527. Then come several couplets of a glowing eulogy on Amir Khusran. Then we have the statement that the tablet was erected by Mahdi Khwaja Sayyid, and the chronogram: Sa'i-jamal-i-Mahdi Khwaja, that is, "the beautiful effort of Mahdi Khwaja." But one cannot get out of this chronogram more than 897, that is, 1492 A.D. But such a date is impossible, for Babur was then only nine years old and had nothing to do with India till many years later. Sayyid Ahmad, at p. 58 of his edition of 1852, represents the inscription as bearing the date 997, but I cannot see how he gets the century figure 9.6 Evidently he has confused an inscription by one Tahir, son of 'Imaduddin, with Mahdi Khwaja's tablet. Naturally the venerable scholar Garciu de Tayse has followed the Alhaur-i-Sanadid in his abridged translation. He also has read the name as Mindhi Khwaja, though there is no min in the inscription in the Alhaur-i-Sanadid.6 Apparently, he did not consult the facsimile which is in an Appendix, p. 37. If we could add a min to the chronogram, say the min in gutman, we should get an addition of 40 figures and this added to 897 would give 937 or the last year of Babur's reign. A similar result could be obtained by reading Khwajaham (my

1 [The marble tablet on which Mahdi Khwaja's inscription is carved, is embraced by the sick and invalid who believe that the touch of the holy stone will bless them with strength and health. The grand-mother of the editor, during his illness in childhood, took him several times to the shrine of Khusran to embrace the sacred tablet.—Ed.] 2 It is evidently the slab referred to in Murray's Hand-book to the Bengal Presidency (by Eastwick), p. 329, ed. of 1882. 3 See Dr. Rice's Catalogue of Persian MSS. Nos. Add. 24,063, Add. 19,430 and Or. 1,762, Vol. I, p. 431. I suggest that they should be collated and a translation made. Not only is Sangin Beg earlier than Sayyid Ahmad, but he had the advantage of being accompanied by a Persian scholar and antiquarian. However, his copy of the Mahdi Khwaja inscription agrees with Sayyid Ahmad's. The page in Add. 19,430 has two numbers, 98 in Persian and 53 in English. 4 Babur's Memoires, Leyden and Erakine's translation, p. 382. 5 [997 is apparently a misprint for 897 which number is obtained from the phrase—Sa'i-jamal-i-Mahdi Khandja.—Ed.] 6 [The name Mahdi is pronounced Mahadl by common people in India. G. de Tayse was, apparently, led to adopt this spelling as he could not obtain a suitable date from the chronogram for the inscription, but the addition of the letter min would place the date (947) ten years later than the last year (937) of Babur's reign.—Ed.]
Khwaja) instead of Khwaja.1 García de Tassy's Mehndi would add 50 on account of the min, and the result would be too much, for it would make 947, which would be five years after Shihabuddin's death.

A third edition of Sayyid Ahmad's work was published by the Newal Kishore Press at Lucknow in 1895. There is much more in it than in the edition of 1852, but I do not know what authority it has. The account of Amir Khusrau's tomb and the Mahdi Khwaja's inscription are given near the beginning, pp. 40-42 in the Lucknow edition. In the edition of 1852 the account of Amir Khusrau's tomb and the incorrect date 997 (if intended for the Mahdi Khwaja inscription) appear on p. 58, but reference should be made to the facsimile in the Appendix.

There are one or two other inscriptions in the neighbourhood of Amir Khusrau's tomb which are worth considering. One curious one (Plate II), at p. 41 of the Newal Kishore ed., was written by a descendant of Farid Shakarganj. The writer, or the subject of the inscription, describes himself as bearing a good name, and as being a great Khwaja. He adds that if any one can make out his name from the letters, twice repeated, shin, qaf, lam and jim, he will call him a clever fellow.8

Another inscription gives the chronogram as Rausa and so yields 1014 (1605 A.D.). It is the inscription by Tahir M. Imamuddin-din. See Rice's Catalogue, p. 787, where MS. Add. 8,893, Article II, is described. The MS. is a facsimile of Tahir's inscription.9

Shihabuddin the Enigmatised is referred to by Badauni (Ranking's translation, pp. 440-50). He also quotes his verses on Amir Khusrau which occur in Mahdi Khwaja's tablet, and says the tablet was put up by Shihabuddin-din. Unfortunately, Badauni does not quote the lines which refer to Mahdi Khwaja. It is noteworthy that Amir Khusrau was a Sunni, and was supposed to be so strict that the body of a Shi'a who had been buried near his grave was exhumed by Akber.

1 [The chronogram is enigmatical and to obtain the exact date the phrase Sa'it-jamal-i-Mahdi Khwaja (the beautiful letter of Mahdi Khwaja) should be interpreted in a double manner. The poet knew that first the reader would add the figures given by the above phrase and when they would prove short he would look for a hint for the completion (mukaddam) of the required number. The hint is: "(the exact date may be obtained) by the help of the beautiful letter in (the name) Mahdi Khwaja—Sa'it-jamal-i-Mahdi Khwaja." Among the letters forming the name the most beautiful, according to the Islamic point of view, is the letter min, the initial of the Prophet Mahammad. The addition of forty (the numerical value of min) gives the date 937 which falls within Bulur's reign.—Ed.]

2 [The puzzle is by the poet Khusrau himself and contains his name. It has been quoted here as a specimen of Khusrau's poetry. In India, it must be remembered, the fame of the poet to a very large extent depends upon his witty sayings and puzzles.

Solution of the puzzle.

In the first line the poet says: "My name is 'good' and 'great master'; it comprises two shamas (300+300), two qaf (100+100), two lam (40+40) and two jim (3+3)." In Persian jamaak is, indeed, a 'good' name, and the word also means 'great master.' Further, according to the Abjad system, the letters \( \ddot{a} \) + \( \ddot{a} + \ddot{a} \), which constitute the poet's name, are equivalent to two shamas \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \), two lam \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \), and two jim \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) . The word \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) after \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) may appear misleading, but the rules of mural writing required that the name of the scribe should not be prominent on the inscription, and as it was once mentioned after Tahir's verses the scribe \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) \( \dddot{a} \) did not think it elegant to repeat it here. So he writes: "Scribe—the same (or above-mentioned), grandson of Shalih Farid Shakarganj."—Ed.]

3 [There are two other inscriptions by Tahir at Mandi, both of them are dated 1014 A.H. See A. S. R., P. 11, 1933-4, p. 35, J. B. E. A. S., Vol. XXI, p. 331, and E. I. M., 1909-10, pp. 19 and 23.—Ed.]
Plate 1.

(a) Inscription on a marble tablet in the gallery of Amir Khusrau’s Tomb, Delhi.

(b) Inscription on a marble tablet built in the northern wall, inside Khusrau’s Tomb, Delhi.

(c) Inscription in the Colonnade opposite Khusrau’s Tomb.

Scale 1/6

Scale 1/166
in consequence of a protest by the Shaihulu-I-Islam and others (Bada'ui, ii, Lowe's translation, p. 102, and the Darbur-i-Akbari, p. 218). That Mahdi Khwaja was allowed to put up the tablet implies that he was a Sunni, as naturally would be the case if he were an Uzbeg. There is a singular note in the Athar-i-Shahid (Nawal Kishore ed. of 1895, p. 42), which says that the body of the "generous man" lies at the feet of Amtar Khuran and it gives the chronogram of the burial of the said generous man. If this note refers to Mahdi Khwaja, and if it be written by Shihabuddin it is an interesting addition to our knowledge of Mahdi Khwaja. The note does not occur in the 1554 ed. of the Athar, but it is not Sayyid Ahmad's own, for it is found in Sangin Beg's work. The reference to the generosity of the deceased seems to make it a tribute to the Mahdi Khwaja who put up the marble tablet. The date for the death or burial is 17 Shawwal. Unfortunately, if we count all the words in the chronogram, the result is 1216 A.H., as shown in Sangin Beg's work. But if the operative effect of the chronogram lie in the words "(he) sleeps at Khurana's feet" we get 956 A.H. which is a possible date, especially if the Mahdi of the tablet be a son or grandson of the Mahdi Khwaja who was Buhur's Divanbegi.

I.—Inscription on a marble tablet in the gallery of the tomb.

PLATE I {a}.

لا ال إلا الله محمد رسول الله

Zendan Ra azebin ligh shad Seravazi
Budaray bazar shenash gaazi

Miro bosauster maksh saysi
An momuty fusl darwah iqam
Ner e daeksh traz maad mutwirin
Nem az samii traz azam iyal

Babil dastan saray bi qirin
Mafli shafqadagal bi mutal
Az bith tarih sarre yas farw
Jozan faham Seravazi yahal

Shad sedim entil yek tarif er
Doyrak shad mafli shafqadagal

Zerf rash jahalon saday amd aro smery mali
Tariqy sadayy lechyh nashn ashq yak mali

1 [The note in the Athar is as follows:—

TEXT.

Ap ne moraz bawzi k polihi maqamat kiy qabala sasr kiy baha k taksir tarnaz dyst yeh

TRANSLATION.

Towards the foot side of the hallowed sepulchre of His Holiness (Khusrau) is the grave of Mirza Ikram. The chronogram—Ikram rested at the feet of Khusrau "gives the date of interment (1228 A.H.)"

Mirza like the choddars were palace servants in the Mughal time. They still survive in Hyderabad. Mirza Ikram is evidently a different person from Mahdi Khwaja, for the inscription is too clear to be interpreted in another manner.—Ed.]

2 [The metre of this line is Mutagird.—Ed.]

3 [The metre of these lines is Ramsi.—Ed.]

4 [The metre of this line is Hasaj.—Ed.]
TRANSLATION.

Except God there is no God, and Muhammad is the apostle of God.
Earth was glorified by this tablet
In the reign of Bābur, Shāhīnshāh-i-Ghaznī.

"Mir Khusrau, the Khusrau of the kingdom of eloquence,
That ocean of excellence, and sea of perfection;
His prose is more attractive than flowing water,
His poetry purer than the most limpid streams;
A sweet-singing nightingale without a rival;
Honey-tongued parrot without an equal:
In tracing the date of the year of his death,
When I placed my head upon the knee of thought,
One phrase—'Adīma-l-Mithāl—came as the date,
Another was—Tūtī-i-Shākhkār Maqāl.'"  

The tablet of my body bears no symbol of union with the beloved one;
My simplicity is a sufficient symbol of the purity of my love.  

Mahdi Khwaja, the Sayyid exalted in dignity and majesty,
Was the founder of this building, matchless and unique.
I said, "the beautiful effort of Mahdi Khwaja"
When they enquired of me the chronogram of the building.

Written by Shihāb, the Enigmatist of Herat.

1 [The metre of these lines is a form of the Ḥacaj Āḏārāb used in Persian literature for the Rubā’ī.—Ed.]
2 The translation of these lines is by Colonel Ranking, L.M.S., see Mūsāfīhūt-Tawārikh (English translation), p. 271. ‘Adīma-l-Mīthāl means "peerless"; Tūtī-i-Shākhkār Maqāl, "Parrot of honeyed speech." Both give the date 728 A.H. (Note by Colonel Ranking).
   The poetical inscription is by Shihābād-dul, the Enigmatist. On pp. 269-71 of Colonel Ranking’s translation, there is given Badā‘ūn’s account of Amir Khusrau, and at p. 271 it is said that Shihābād-dul not only wrote the inscription but also set up the tablet. But I think it is only Badā‘ūn’s bad way of expressing himself that has led the translator to think that Badā‘ūn means that Shihāb put up the tablet. Badā‘ūn says nothing about Mahdi Khwaja, and does not give the last three lines of the inscription in which Shihāb ascribes the erection of the tablet to Mahdi Khwaja.
3 [The poet has taken an extreme view of the purity of his love and considers that it would be blotted if any sign of it appeared on his body. The couplet is a fine specimen of the figure of speech styled مراة (enamour). The translation of this line as also of the couplets that follow is by the editor.—Ed.]
II.—Inscription on the inner walls of the tomb.

PLATE II.

On the eastern wall.

لا خسر بي نظير عالم با رضا تر مرا ديايت
تمسير نسرد طاهر آنرا فيض ازلي هيهه بازست
 بتاريخ ناش عقل كفتا با رضه بگر كه جای رازست.

On the northern wall.

قاتل این کلام ر بانی این مقام طاهر سعید عمان الدین حسن ابن سلطان علي سبزواری
هجري سنة 1914 غفر الله ذنیه ر استعرفة الكاتب عبد النبي ابن ابر

On the western wall.

با شرب عاشقي اجماله روزست زمان زمان پیامت
شد سلك فرید از تر منظوم زانست كه شد لقب نظمت
جارید بقامت بانده خسرر جیره شد بیزار جان غالمت.

On the southern wall.

مرا نام نیک است ر خراجه عظیم در شین و درلام و در تامه در جیم
اگر نام یابی تو زین هرنه بدانم که هستی تو مردی فهم
کاتب مذکر بیوره شیخ نریبد شکرگذ.

TRANSLATION.

O Khusrau, matchless in the world,
I am a suppliant (or have a prayer) at thy tomb.
It (the tomb) was built by Tahir;
The Divine bounty is always in flow (lit. open).
Wisdom composed the chronogram of its erection,
Call it "With Paradise" for it is a place of mystery.4

The author of the lines and the builder of the tomb is Tahir Muhammad 'Imādu-d-dīn
Hasan, son of Sultan 'Ali, of Sabzwar. Hijra year 1014. May God pardon his sins and cover
his faults!

O thou, who hast the drink of love in thy cup,
And receivest messages from the friend, from moment to moment.

1 [The metre of these lines is Hasaj Mūsaddās Akhrāb.—Ed.]
2 [The metre of these lines is Hasaj Mūsaddās Akhrāb.—Ed.]
3 [The metre of these lines is Metagāirī.—Ed.]
4 [The poetical style of the lines is rather poor and in the chronogram itself the preposition ل has been added
simply to make up the date 1014, otherwise it has no significance there.—Ed.]
The string (of pearls) of Farīdī has been arranged by thee,
Hence thy title Nīgām—the Stringer (of pearls).
The humble servant Khusrān has attained eternity,
Since with all his heart he became thy devotee.

My name is "good" and "grand master",
(It comprises) two shīne, two lāme, two gāfs and two jīms.
If thou canst trace my name from these letters,
I'll consider thee an intelligent man.

Scribe—the same, grandson of Shaikh Farid Shakar Ganj.

III.—Inscription on a marble tablet built in the northern wall, inside the tomb.

PLATE I (b).

الله
فر الدين حمد
بدر شهنشاه عالم فنا إبر الحظفر
بادشاه عادل جهانگیر غازی
خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه وناض
علي العالمين بر ورحسانه

TRANSLATION.

God! God!

In the reign of the emperor, the refuge of the world, the just monarch, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahangīr Ghāzī, may God perpetuate his kingdom and majesty, and diffuse in the world his benevolence and bounty.²

IV.—Inscription on the walls of the outer enclosure of Khusrāw’s tomb.

PLATE III.

شه ملك سه خسر سر سر دویشان
که نامش هست بر لح جهان جوی نتش در خارا
که زایی یاد از آن صورت تغوری لح معنی را
بین آند در هری معنی را از آن دریا
شاد او ریاس دریای تفکر رز می‌کت فصل
بسام پیام پر و هفتمد از هجرت حضرت

¹ [Sāb Farīd Shakar Ganj, the spiritual preceptor of the saint Nīgām-d-dīn.—Ed.]
² [The inscription shows that Tāhīr built the tomb in Jahangīr’s reign. The Hijrā year 1014 given in inscription II is not decisive enough as to the reign of the king, because in that year Akbar died and Jahangīr succeeded him.—Ed.]
³ [The metre of these lines is Hāṣaf. The text of the inscription is not given either in the Ṭadhīr or in the Sāhīr-i-Manṣīl and it has been deciphered and translated by the editor for the first time.—Ed.]
Inscription on the walls of the inner enclosure of Khusrav's tomb, Delhi.

On the northern wall.

On the western wall.

Scale 1.
The prince of the kingdom of speech, Khusrav, the chief and leader of pious men;
His name is (impressed) on the tablet of Time as an engraving on stone.
He (lit. his intellect or mind) composed verse in such an elegant style
That, by the imagery of his mind, he gave adornment to the tablet of 'Thought.'
He dived deep in the river of 'Reflection' and through his wide (lit. circumambient) learning,
He brought out pearls of 'Truth' from that river.
In the year 725 from the flight of His Holiness (Muhammad)
He passed away from the empire of the world into Eternity.
May the end be good!
By the Divine decree the bird of his soul resorted to (the heavenly) lote-tree,
When, from the above world, the call of Irja' came;
Nine-hundred and thirty-eight years had passed from the Flight,
In the reign of the king Humayun, the victorious, the wise;
An emperor who deserves that angels be, always
Praying for his prosperity before God, the High.
Of exalted rank, the master of fortune, of pure character; in the world
None has been unique and peerless like him, nor will there be any (in future).
Oh God, as long as the world lasts may he prosper and may
The Lord of the world be his helper, supporter, and aider against the enemies!

V.—Inscription in the colonnade opposite Khusrav's tomb.

TRANSLATION.

Ikrām sparkled from the light of the king's grace,
As the particle (of dust) glitters in the sun's rays.
He rested at the feet of Khusrav and Sayyid said;
"Ikrām found rest at the feet of Khusrav."

1216 A.H. (1801 A.D.) corresponding to 44th year of Shāh 'Alām II's reign.

1 [The full text of the Qur'ānic verse is—Irjī ilā rabbikā ṭāfir yā fā'īlār marziyyā—meaning "Return unto thy Lord, well pleased and well pleasing." Ch. LXXXIX, verse 28.—Ed.]

2 [The metre of these lines is a form of the Hašaj Akhrav, used in Persian literature for the Rubā'ī.—Ed.]
TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF KING HUSAIN SHAH OF BENGAL FROM TRIBENI.

By G. Yazdani.

In my studies of the inscriptions of the early Sultans of Delhi and their contemporaries, I marked the records indicated above as belonging to the reigns of Kaikhusrau Shah (691-702 A.H.) and Firoz Shah (702-18 A.H.) of Bengal, because Blochmann had considered one of them to be contemporary with (or even earlier than) the Zafar Khan’s Mosque inscription dated 698 A.H., and in the case of the other he read the date 713 A.H. at the end of it. To verify the readings of Blochmann, I asked Dr. D. B. Spouner a few months ago to send me the estampages of the inscriptions, and he has been kind enough to forward to me recently a couple of very distinct and neatly prepared inked rubbings of each of the two records. A careful study of the texts of the inscriptions from the estampages (Pl. IV) has fortunately enabled me to fill in to a certain extent the large lacunae in the readings of Blochmann and also to fix with precision the date of each record.

The inscriptions are carved on two arch-shaped tablets of black basalt, built into the west wall—one at each side of the northern niche—of Zafar Khan’s Mosque at Tribeni. The tablets vary in size, the one bearing inscription I (Pl. IVa and inscription No. I of Blochmann’s paper on the Hugli inscriptions) measures 4 ft. 9 1/2 in. from apex to base and is 2 ft. in width. The tablet of inscription II (Pl. IVb and Nos. IV and VI of Blochmann’s essay) is 3 ft. in length and 1 ft. 7 1/2 in. in breadth. The style of writing of record I is Naqsh with an ornamental flourish which, though not very artistic, is not ‘awkward’. The style of inscription II is a fair specimen of the decorative Tughra writing of Bengal and will be studied here at some length. The inscription is by an artist who was familiar with the styles of the Yasauf Shah record of Pandua, 882 A.H., and of the Muazzafar Shah inscription of the same place dated 898 A.H., for the words مسجد and بلغر in lines 1, 3 and 4 respectively of the Yasauf Shah inscription are identical in form with the same words occurring in lines 1, 2 and 7 of our record, particularly the word بلغر, in which the identity is absolute to the minutest flourish. The similarity to the Muazzafar Shah inscription is unmistakable also in the artistic arrangement of the record and in the form of some words: to wit, the decorative style of arranging the curved letters across the arrow-headed ones—the motif being bow and arrow—so beautifully executed in the Muazzafar Shah record, may be traced in lines 6 and 7 of our inscription in the position of , while the form of in the word ورنا in the last line is uniform in every respect with the same word occurring in line 2 of the Muazzafar Shah inscription. The latter record unquestionably represents the high water mark of Bengal mural calligraphy, and our inscription, though not coming up to the same level, in view of the close uniformity of style, may be of interest for the comparative study of Bengal palaeography. The only crudity in our inscription is that the first three Qur’anic verses incorporated in the text have not been selected with due regard to the space which was to be allotted to them in the inscription, with the result that the first three lines are a little bold and also poor in arrangement in comparison with the rest of the inscription.

The language of inscription I is Arabic and Persian mixed, and the text has several mistakes in grammar and spelling. In line 6 آذر is written for هو, in line 7 پنوس for

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2 For a description of the building see ibid., p. 283.
3 Ibid., pp. 283-84.
5 Muazzafar Shah inscription is dated 898 A.H. and our record 912 A.H.
6 Cf. Pl. IVb.
TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF KING HUSAIN SHAH FROM TRIBENT.

In inscription II the first six lines are in Arabic and the seventh and the last lines in Persian. In the last line the calligraphist, to economise space, has used rather curious combinations in spelling, which are pointed out in my reading of the text given at the end of this paper.

Blochmann has left large blanks in his reading of inscription II; but the curious thing is that he has split it up into three separate records and assigned different dates to each of them. This anomaly is probably due either to the intricate arrangement of the inscription, or to his preparing the squeezes in parts, which afterwards getting mixed, confused him as to the contents of the inscription and led him to suppose that there were three separate records. Lines 2-5 and the last portion of line 7 form inscription IV of Blochmann’s; line 1 and portions of lines 5 and 6 constitute his inscription VI, and a portion of line 6 is the record without number referred to in his paper after inscription I.1 Apparently, it was due to this unfavourable circumstance that Blochmann, on the wrong analogy of the Firoz Shah inscription in Zafar Khan’s tomb, read the date of our inscription as 713 A.H. The first two words of the date phrase are absolutely clear in the inscription and the last word is more like سلطان سراج than سلطان سراج, because there are two dots over the first letter of the word which is apparently ت and not س. This reading of the date, 912 A.H., is supported by the name of the king, حسن شاه, given in line 6, who ruled from 899-925 A.H.

The date of this inscription once settled, there is little difficulty in determining the age of inscription I, because the text of the latter, though not containing the name of the ruling king, is very similar to that of inscription II. The name of the governor mentioned in inscription I is not the same as in the other, but their titles and the provinces of their jurisdiction are identical and it is not unreasonable to suppose that one held the office shortly after the other.

Titles, etc.

بعلوي العصر المختلفة اللغ مجلس المجلس سر شاه زرئير شهر شهير حسینیا در
وصة سراج مکه کان و سر شاه زرئیر شهر هایدگر

I agree with Blochmann that the inscriptions originally existed in other mosques in the vicinity of Tribent and that on the buildings falling into ruin they were removed as curiosities to Zafar Khan’s Masjid, which, on account of its religious importance, was considered a safer place for their custody.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscriptions are not new to the student; but the sites of several of them have not been identified with any precision as yet. The name Ḥusainabad, occurring for the first time in the epigraphs of Sultan Ḥusain Shah, confirms the view held by numismatists that it was bestowed by the king on a suburb of Gaur.2 Inscription I has the word buzzurg, ‘the Great’, after Ḥusainabad’, which shows that there were two towns of this name at the time, the principal one, which was probably the metropolis during Ḥusain Shah’s reign, was styled Ḥusainabad the Great. The other Ḥusainabad is probably the one in the Murshidabad district, to which Blochmann has referred in his paper.3 Sajlamankhād, Lābala and Hādīgarh seem to have been the names of important stations in the south-western part of the dominions of the Bengal kings in the 15th century, as they appear on several inscriptions of that period.4 Blochmann has identified Lābala with Laopalla, 10 miles east of

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4 Ibid., pp. 284, 290 and 294.
TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF KING HUSAIN SHÂH OF BENGAL FROM TRIBENI.

BY G. YARDANI.

In my studies of the inscriptions of the early Sulţans of Delhi and their contemporaries, I marked the records indicated above as belonging to the reigns of Kalkâ's Shâh (691-702 A.H.) and Firoz Shâh (702-18 A.H.) of Bengal, because Blochmann had considered one of them to be contemporary with (or even earlier than) the Zafar Khân's Mosque inscription dated 698 A.H., and in the case of the other he read the date 713 A.H. at the end of it. To verify the readings of Blochmann, I asked Dr. D. B. Spouer a few months ago to send me the estampages of the inscriptions, and he has been kind enough to forward to me recently a couple of very distinct and neatly prepared inked rubbings of each of the two records. A careful study of the texts of the inscriptions from the estampages (Pl. IV) has fortunately enabled me to fill to a certain extent the large lacune in the readings of Blochmann and also to fix with precision the date of each record.

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TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF KING Husain Shah FROM TRIBENT.

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The date of this inscription once settled, there is little difficulty in determining the age of inscription I, because the text of the latter, though not containing the name of the ruling king, is very similar to that of inscription II. The name of the governor mentioned in inscription I is not the same as in the other, but their titles and the provinces of their jurisdiction are identical and it is not unreasonable to suppose that one held the office shortly after the other.

Titles, etc.

بهلولی العصر السماح، جلیس المعاس، سرلشکر رزیر شهر مشهور حسینی‌آباد و
 عمره سیملا گیانده میر سرلشکری‌نامه ایرلی شهر هادی‌گر.

I agree with Blochmann that the inscriptions originally existed in other mosques in the vicinity of Tribent and that on the buildings falling into ruin they were removed as curiosities to Zafar Khan's Masjid, which, on account of its religious importance, was considered a safer place for their custody.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscriptions are not new to the student; but the sites of several of them have not been identified with any precision as yet. The name Husainabad, occurring for the first time in the epigraphs of Sultan Husain Shah, confirms the view held by numismatists that it was bestowed by the king on a suburb of Gaur. Inscription I has the word buzurg, 'the Great', after 'Husainabad', which shows that there were two towns of this name at the time, the principal one, which was probably the metropolis during Husain Shah's reign, was styled Husainabad the Great. The other Husainabad is probably the one in the Murshidabad district, to which Blochmann has referred in his paper. Sajlamankhbad, Loblala and Hadigarch seem to have been the names of important stations in the south-western part of the dominions of the Bengal kings in the 15th century, as they appear on several inscriptions of that period. Blochmann has identified Loblala with Upalla, 10 miles east of

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4 Ibid., pp. 284, 290 and 294.
Tribent, which is not improbable. The terms عرس and نهله are very likely military terms the former referring to a tract of country newly subdued and not brought under settled government, and the latter to a 'standing camp' or to an 'outpost' in the unsettled country, or on the border land, where the danger of the enemy is always imminent.

My reading of the text of inscription I is as follows:

**PLATE IV (a).**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(1) رَفْنَا أَنَا فِي الْدُنْيَا (2) هُنَاَكَ وَفِي الْآخِرَةِ هُنَاَكَ (3) نَصْرُ اللَّهِ وَقَوْمُهُ وَقَوْمُهُ وَقَوْمُهُ (4) قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَيْ إِنَّهُ يَعْمَرُ مساجدِ اللَّهِ مَنْ أَصَبَّ بِهِ الَّذِي (5) أَخْرَجَ وَإِنَّهُ أنَّهُ الذَّكَرَ ذَامِ ۖ وَلَمْ يَعْشَ ۖ (6) أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ أَلَّا يَعْمَرُ نَسَبُهُ A

**TRANSLATION.**

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

O Lord grant us good in this world, and also good in the next world.³ Succour from God and a speedy victory and bear thou joyful tidings to the believers.⁴ God, be He exalted, has said: "But he only shall visit the mosques of God who believeth in God and the last day, and saith the prayers and payeth the legal alms, and fureth no one except God. Such perhaps may be of those who are rightly directed."⁵ That is, whosoever buildeth mosques for

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³ Blochmann's reading contains verse 18, Ch. LXXII of the Qur'ān after this phrase, although the verse cannot be traced in the inscription. J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXIX, p. 283.

⁴ Blochmann reads كرمان, but his reading is not supported by the inscription.

⁵ Qur'ān, II, 197.


⁷ The words occur in the Qur'ān to deter idolators from entering the mosques, and the word الزور means 'shall visit', and does not mean 'will build', in which sense it has perhaps been interpreted by those who have used the verse as an inscription in mosques.

⁸ Qur'ān, IX, 18.
(b) Inscription on the wall to the left of the southern Mihrab, Zafar Khan's Mosque, Tribeni.

(c) Inscription on the west wall to the right of the central Mihrab, Zafar Khan's Mosque, Tribeni.
God shall without doubt and question be a believer in God and be rightly directed by Him. And he, upon whom be peace, has said: "To try is mine (i.e. my duty), but to succeed (that) rests with God, be He exalted." This assembly mosque was built by the Lord of the sword and the pen, the hero of the age and the time, Ulugh Majlis-l-Majalis, Majlis Ikh byćar, the Commander-in-chief and Wāṣir of the noted city of Husainabad the Great, and of the territory of Sājlamankhāb, and the Commander of the outpost of Lūbala and the town of Hādīghāb, who is known as Rukn-ul-dīn Rukn Khān, son of 'Abd-ul-dīn of Sirhat, may God prolong his life to eternity, and lengthen his government over mankind, and may God perpetuate his gifts to Muslims, and grant him victory over the infidels to proclaim the true faith. Amen. O Lord of the universe! Whoever repairs this mosque may the Most High God bless him! And should any one, may God defend us from them (the wicked), profane the mosque, may God disgrace him!

I read the text of inscription II as follows:—

PLATE IV (b).


1 This interpretation of the verse, in which the word "buldeth" has been taken to mean 'buildeth', is in Persian.
2 A saying of the Prophet Muhammad.
3 Ulugh, 'the Great'; Majlis-l-Majalis, 'the Lord of the lords of assemblies'. The titles Majlis, Masnad, Sadr, etc., all mean Sahibī majlis, Sahibī masnad, etc., i.e. 'Lord of the assembly', 'Lord of the throne', 'Lord of the seat of honour', etc.
4 Majlis Ikh бытьar, 'the chosen person of the assembly', or 'the Lord (lit. controller) of the assembly'.
5 Qur'an, Chs. XXIII, 14, and XIII, 13.
6 Ibid., LXVII, 1-2.
7 Idem, XXV, 1 and 11.
8 The peculiar spellings of these two words are, apparently, due to lack of space. The words, however, are similarly spelt in the Husain Shah Inscription of Sirhat dated 911 A.H., which is only one year earlier than our inscription and, perhaps, was designed by the same artist.
9 The dominions of the Bengal kings at this time were divided into two large provinces (Iqlim); the capital of the western Iqlim being Husainabad, and the jurisdiction extending to Dinajpur in the north, the districts of Monghyr and Behar in the west and portion of Orissa (Jajugar) in the south. The capital of the other Iqlim was Mymensingh, and its jurisdiction extended from Kaurup in the north to Chittagong in the south. The dividing line between the two provinces was the river Brahmaputra. The viceroy of each Iqlim held the double title of Wāṣir and Sār-i-Łakhir; in view of the twofold rôle of a minister and a general he had to play according to peace and war in the territory under him. J. A. S. E., Vol. XLII, pp. 285, 296 and 298; and Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum, Vol. II, pp. 172-76.
TRANSLATION.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. End it well! Blessed be He, the most excellent Creator, the Maker of clouds, the sender of rains. Blessed be He in whose hand is the kingdom; and whose power extendeth over all things! Who hath created death and life that He might judge which of you is most righteous in his actions. Blessed be He who hath sent down the Qurān unto His servant (Muḥammad), that he may be a warner unto all creatures. Blessed be He, who, if He pleaseth, will make for thee a better (provision) than this (which they speak of), (namely), gardens through which streams flow, and He will build for thee palaces. Blessed be He, the most excellent Creator. O my Lord, and the Lord of heavens and of the signs (of the Zodiac) therein, and the Lord of land and sea and of all that is (hidden) in them, bless the Prophet Muḥammad and his descendants in heaven king the benevolent the munificent and just Suljān, Abu-l-Mu'āżawah Abūl-Muṣaffār waddīn ʿUṣayn ʿAbād, may God perpetuate his kingdom and authority! Built by the great Khān, the exalted Khāqān, the hero of the age and the time, Ulugh Khān, Masnad (premier), Wazir and Commander-in-chief of the noted city of Husainabād and of the territory of Sāʿlīnānkhbād, and Commander of the outpost of Lāsūbala and of the town of . . . . . . dated 912 A.H. (1506 A.D.).

1 The titles of the king given here are identical with those found on his coins. See Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum, Vols. II, pp. 172-76.
INSCRIPTIONS IN THE TOMB OF BĀBĀ ARJUN SHĀH, PETLĀD (BARODA STATE).

By G. YARDANI.

Petlād (22° 29' N. and 72° 50' E.) is the headquarters of a taluq of the same name in the Baroda district of H. H. the Gaikwād's Territory. The modern name Petlād is an abbreviated form of the original name Peṭilāpādra, which occurs in the Sanskrit text of the bilingual inscription given below.

Bābā Arjun Shāh is reputed to have been of Rajput origin; but if the reading of the titles دَمْوَرِيَّ (Dumārī) (the capital of Farḍhmā in the 10th century),¹ and on arrival in India settled in Damoh (modern Damoh, between 23° 10' and 24° 26' N. and 79° 3' and 79° 57' E.). Arjun Shāh died in 633 A.D., and was therefore a contemporary of Iltāmshāh who then reigned at Delhi. Damoh did not become part of the Delhi kingdom until 1333 A.D.; but Muslim influence had begun to permeate India much earlier than that and Arjun Shāh (or his ancestor) may have come in the wake of an early Muslim conqueror from the North-West and later on settled at Damoh.

The name Arjun is decidedly of Indian origin and may have been given to the saint by his Indian disciples for his Arjun-like strength and valour; or, the mother of the saint may have been of Hindu origin—hence a Hindu name for the son. The latter theory is the more plausible, but in that case we shall have to assume that an ancestor of Arjun, and not he himself, came from اَلْخَسَمِي.²

Mr. Rakhal Das Bannerji has been kind enough to send me the following note on the tomb of Arjun Shāh:

"The tomb of Bābā Arjun Shāh is a square structure crowned by a single dome. It is somewhat squat and heavy in proportions and resembles the tomb of Ghāyāthu-d-din Tughlaq at Delhi. The interior of the tomb measures 23' 8" x 23' 10'!"

There are three inscriptions in the tomb, one of which, recording the erection of a masjid dated 713 A.H., will be published in the next number of this Journal and the other two are described below.

INSCRIPTION No. 1.

This is the earliest Muslim inscription in the Gujarat province, being dated 633 A.H. (1236 A.D.). The style of writing is Mīshk of a beautiful type and not different from the style of contemporary records at Delhi, Hānsi, Budāon, etc. The name of the scribe given at the end of the record is اُبُرُوكَر، which, although an Arabic name, was common at the time in Persia and the countries adjoining it. The verses from the Qur'ān (Ch. III, verses 16-17), carved in the top, right and left margins of the inscriptive tablet, are most freely found in later Muslim epitaphs in the Deccan, particularly in those composed by Persian or Arab writers.

¹ For a full description of Aḥkāl see Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. 1, p. 254.
² In the bilingual inscription the saint has been called "Arjuna Ghuri", i.e. Arjun of Ghur, which contradicts the style—Arjun Aḥkāl, used in inscription 1.
The inscription is carved on a small marble tablet fixed at the head of the grave. The written portion measures 2' 1" x 1' 1¼". The language is Arabic and I have read the inscription as follows:

PLATE XIV (a).

لا إله إلا الله • محمد رسول الله

(1) داؤد سورة ٥٠:٤٣ (2) ميمون إلا الله تعالىaghfisg (3) إحسان
(4) داؤد سورة ٥٠:٤٣ (5) تزنيب يسر الله الرحمن الممتنع من
(6) إله الأمم يهدي نبأ رضي الله عنه (7) إله الإيمان

In top, right and left margins: Qur'an, Chap. III, verses 16-17.

TRANSLATION.

There is no god but God, Muhammad is the apostle of God.

This is the grave of the humble slave, who is expectant of the mercy of God, be He exalted, the great Ṣalāḥ Arjun of Damo and ʿĀkhi (7), may God illumine his grave through the plenitude of His Mercy! He died on Monday in the middle of the silent month of God (Rajab), in the year 633 A.H. (March, 1236 A.D.).

The writer—Abu Bakr Mahmud, son of "Abdul-Ḥaqq (7)...

INSCRIPTION No. 2.

This is a bilingual record in Persian and Sanskrit (Nagart characters) dated Sarvat 1380, during the reign of Ghiyāthu-d-din Tughlaq, whose titles and name are given in both the Persian and Sanskrit versions of the record. Mahmūd conquered Nahrwala and Somnath in 1025-26 A.D. and Quṭbu-d-din Aibak, as a deputy of Muʿizzu-d-din, wrested Nahrwala once more from the Hindu ruler Bhīmdeo in 1193 A.D. But these conquests did not establish Muslim rule in Gujarāt until ʿAllu-d-din Khālījī succeeded to the throne of Delhi and sent an army under the command of Ulugh Khān to Gujarāt. Raja Karan, the last of the Baghelā dynasty, gave battle to him, but being worsted fled to Deogarh. After the expulsion of the Raja, Ulugh Khān carried on the government and thenceforward maxims were regularly appointed to the province by the Sultanā of Delhi. Ghiyāthu-d-din Tughlaq, who ascended the throne of Delhi in 720 A.H., towards the close of his reign made an expedition against Gujarāt and appointed Tājurudd-din Jāfār to be the Nazim of the province. The inscription is dated 723 A.H. and it is not unlikely that the well referred to in the record was completed during the visit of Ghiyāthu-d-din to the Gujarāt province.

The Persian as well as the Sanskrit version of the inscription is incomplete and it is only with the help of both the versions that the name of the king and its date can be determined. Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Officiating Archaeological Superintendent, Eastern Circle, was kind enough to furnish me with an authoritative reading and translation of the Sanskrit portion and I take this opportunity to thank him most warmly for his assistance in the matter.

The saint Arjun, who is called "Arjun Damot al-Ākhi", i.e. Arjun of Damo and ʿĀkhi in inscription I, is styled "Arjun Ghori", i.e. Arjun of Ghori, here. This title confirms the view of the foreign origin of the saint.

1 Early History of Gujarāt by Daylī, p. 37.
2 Ibid. p. 42.
(a) Inscription on a marble tablet in the tomb of Arjun Shah, Pethad (Baroda State).

(b) Inscription on a loose slab lying in the tomb of Arjun Shah, Pethad (Baroda State).

Plate XIV.
The inscription is a sort of gift deed recording the dedication of a well and the grant of 20 kubhas of land for its maintenance.

The script of the Persian portion is Nasq of an elegant type and the letters which are not damaged are quite distinct.

The inscribed portion of the slab, including both Persian and Sanskrit versions, measures 2' 10" x 1' 2½". My reading of the Persian writing is as follows:

**PLATE XIV (b).**

باسم الله الرحمن الرحمن

(1) ... تاروخ مه مبارک ذي الحجج صلاته (2) بدام رضي عمارت حال از

(3) السلاطين خدایگان عالم باشاده ....... (4) ر اعلام غیاث الدنيا

(5) کیف التقلین ظل الله فی اغفارہ یاب ابر المرعی

(6) مد لله عمر رخلد دلته در تصدی پیتالدور جواب رضی شیخ المشایخ .... (7) نبیر الله قهر

صلعب عمارت امیع عباد الله حاجی اسمیعل حضری فی عمارت رفیق .... (8) کر

لوجه الله تعالی ر بیست کیه زمین اسجدت چاه از مقطع تصدی پیتالدور سید النور بدر والدین

(9) ابیر ابن امیر کو ... دارد مسلم است تا غزیب و شهربو ازین رضی رحمت رضا روی

(10) امراع میکت وحاکمان که بعد ازین آمده این خجر تلیم دارند رهیم

(11) افروشی .... (12) ر بیست کیه زمین که ذکر نفت مسلم داند تا ثواب زیر جهایی

حامل کرده باشد ر ... [شا]محمد (13) محمد علیه السلام ... کرده بال nhi ر آل اجتمای

**TRANSLATION.**

On the . . . . . . (20th) of the auspicious month of Zul Hijja (723 A.H.) the construction of the well was completed. [It is one] of the charitable institutions (raised) by the Caliph . . . . . . of kings, the lord of the world, the monarch . . . . . . and Hātim, Ghīyāthu-d-dunya waddtn, the defender of al-Islām . . . . . . the refuge of men and demons, the shadow of God in the East and West, Abu-l-Mugaffar . . . . . . may God prolong his life and perpetuate his glory — in the vicinity of the tomb of Shaikhul Maghālīch (Arjun Shāh), may God illumine his grave. The builder, the most humble servant of God, Hājī Ismā'īl 'Uthmān of Shiraz, dedicated this building to the cause of God, be He exalted.

And twenty kubhas of land in the town of Petlawd, the site of Sayyīd-i-Umar Badr-ad-dīn Abu Bakr, the chief of the mountain . . . . . are granted for the maintenance of the well: so that the stranger and the people of the town get comfort from this charitable institution. It is incumbent upon chiefs, kings and governors, who may succeed in future, that they should protect the gift and should not stumble . . . . . and should (also) preserve the grant of 20 kubhas of land mentioned above: so that they may secure reward of both the worlds and . . . . . interpolation of Muhammad, may peace be upon him ! . . . . . through the Prophet and all his descendants.

1 The Sanskrit version gives the date Saka 1250 Panja as di 7, corresponding to Zul-hijja 20, 723 A.H. (December, 20 (Tuesday), 1323 A.D.).
Sanskrit Text.
1 Om Saṃvat 1380 varṣe Paṇsha vādi 7 Dulibeja chañ 20
2 [Bh]qmāv-adya-ēa Yogyinipur-ādhishtita-Mahāraj-ādhirāja-
3 śrīmat-Suratrāna-śrī-Gayāsādina-vījī(ja)ya-vājī tān-niyukt
4 uṇahillapattaun-śrī-dīvan-adēsena Petilāpadra-maṇḍala-karaṇi
5 śrī-Badara-dīna. Avubaka Ahamad-amira-kōha-pratipattau Petila
6 * sha-śrī-A(rjuna) Ghori sannidhau Skambha-tirtha-vāstavyen-[e]
7 . [i]la-ūshamāna-strājena jūṛu-ōddhāra-kūpa vahā(*)
8 . k(e)na-āghāṭa kahēpita bhāmī kubha 20 virṇ[śati ka]
9 . sthale śrī-thakkuras[i] paṇḍityāni
Pāṇini Līkhitam

Translation.
Oh! In the year 1380 (Vikrama) Saṃvat, on the 7th day of the dark (fortnight) of Paṇsha, on the 20th (day) of the lunar month of Dulibeja (Zu'l Hijja), on Tuesday,—on this day in the victorious reign of the glorious Sultan, the illustrious Gayāsadina (Ghiyāthu-d-dīn), the paramount king of great kings, by the order of the Diwan at Anahilapatana appointed by him (i.e. the Sultan), under the dispensation of the glorious Badaradina Avubaka Ahamada Amira-kōha (Badru-d-dīn Abū Bākra Ahmad Amir-i Kōb), agent in the circle of Petilāpadra, in the proximity of the revered Arjuna-ghori (Arjun Ghori), (at) Petila by (Ismāil?) Ushmana Strāj (Ismā'il Uthmān Shirāzi), an inhabitant of Skambhatirtha (Kambleyat) were given 20 kubhas of land marked off with boundary, repaired well. The illustrious Thakkuras (Thākuras) should protect (these gifts). Written (also) in Persian.
The epigraphs dealt with in this article, apart from their literary and artistic merits, are of supreme importance in the chronology of the Qutb Shahi dynasty (1512-1687 A.D.). A table based on the epigraphs in collation with contemporary writings is, therefore, given below for the convenience of scholars. Further, in order to acquaint the reader with the principal political events of the reigns of these kings, a short historical account of the dynasty is included in the paper.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sultan Quli Qutb Shah.</td>
<td>849 A.H. (?)&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Sunday, 2nd Jumada II, 950 A.H. (2nd September, 1543 A.D.).&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>224 A.H. (1618 A.D.).&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> Tārīkh-i-Qutb Shahi (Hyderabad Library MS. No. 401, p. 107) records that the age of Sultan Quli at his death was ninety-nine years. If this statement be taken as correct the king’s birth should have occurred in the year 849 A.H., but the exact year of the birth is neither given in the inscription nor by any historian.

<sup>2</sup> Firuz Shah gives 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.) as the date of Sultan Quli’s declaring his independence and assuming the title of Shah, which is apparently wrong, because in 924 A.H. Sultan Quli built the Jama Masjid at Golconda and in an inscription carved in the mosque he mentions the name of Mahmud Shah Bahmanli as the reigning monarch, and styles himself “Sultan Quli Qutb-i-Mulk” without the title of Shah. The Qutb Shahi historian confirms the information contained in the epigraph, for he observes—“Sultan Quli Qutb-i-Mulk, who continued his allegiance to the shadow of royalty which remained, retained possession of the province of Telangana, making Golconda his seat of Government.” And again—“Although invited by Qisam Barid and Fathulla ‘Imad-ul-Mulk to seize by violence the Bahmani districts in the vicinity of his government, he always refused to do so, contenting himself with the estates conferred on him.” These facts show that Sultan Quli, in spite of the imprudence of his old master—Mahmud Shah—did not assume the regal title as long as he lived. This subject has been fully discussed in a paper entitled—the Date of Sultan Quli’s assuming the title of Shah, published in the Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, 1915, pp. 89-94.

<sup>3</sup> The Qutb Shahi historian states that Subhan Quli was only seven years old when the nobility placed him on the throne. The date of his accession—957 A.H.—being undisputed, his birth should have occurred in 950 A.H.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. L. D. Swaminathan, who has rendered me most valuable assistance in finding out English equivalents of the Hijri dates, observes that under no system could the 12th Rajab, 957 A.H., have been a Monday. According to the system recommended in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the day would be Sunday.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Birth</th>
<th>Death</th>
<th>Accession to the throne</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Abul Hasan Qutb Shâh, son-in-law of (6)</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>1088 A.H. (1672 A.D.)</td>
<td>Deposed 1087 A.D.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sultân Quli, the founder of the Qutb Shâhî dynasty, was lineally descended from the ruling family of Qara Qwînîn Turks and was born at Sa’îdshâh near Hasmadān. Some time before his birth, his own tribe had been subjugated by the rival tribe Aq Qwînîn (White Ham horde), and Sultân Quli, to save his life, had to leave his motherland for India. He returned to Persia some time afterwards, but his life was still in jeopardy there, while the prospects which the Deccan at this time offered to a stout, free heart were sufficiently inducement to make him visit India a second time. Sultân Quli, on his arrival in the Deccan, was graciously received at the court of Sultan Mahmud Shâh Bahman, and was enlisted in the Royal body-guard. He soon made his mark by his courage and devotion to the king and was honoured with the title of Qutbul-Mulk and the governorship of Telengana.

1 The 21st Rabi’ II 988 A.H. (25th year of 33rd cycle) was a Sunday.
2 Wednesday was either 19th Rajab or 26th Rajab. The 23rd Rajab, 1001 A.H. (11th year of 34th cycle) was a Sunday.
3 ‘Abdallâh Qutb Shâh’s enthronement took place on the day on which his father died, i.e., Wednesday, 13th Jumada I, 1095 A.H. The epitaph on ‘Abdallâh’s tomb (Pl. XIIIa) gives the same week-day—Wednesday—but the Hijri date given in the epitaph is 14th Jumada I, 1055 A.H., instead of 48th Jumada I, 1095 A.H. The Muhammadan day begins like the Jewish day at sunset so that two dates can fall on the same day—one lasting up to sunset and the other beginning from sunset.
4 The Qara Qwînîn were so called owing to their having a black ram on their standard. For their history refer to H. H. Hartelot, Bis. Ori., Arz, As-coins and Qara-coins.
Sultān Quli was a fine soldier and a judicious general, and therefore greatly distinguished himself in his wars with the neighbouring Hindu Rajas. He extended the limits of his territory to the bank of the Godavari on the north, to the borders of Orissa and the sea coast on the east, and to the Krishna river on the south. In fighting, his favourite tactics were to feign a retreat and lie in ambush, thus taking the enemy by surprise when they came in pursuit. Another manœuvre which he invariably observed was to keep the best portion of his army in reserve and to make a sudden flank attack when the enemy had begun to pierce his ranks.

The Bahmani kingdom was crumbling during the time of Sultān Quli, but he always refrained from aggrandising his own power by the reduction of the authority of his royal master—Mahmūd Shāh—and did not declare his independence till the king's death in 924 A.H. Sultān Quli was a staunch Shīa and made vigorous attempts to propagate the tenets of that sect into the Deccan. He may be considered to have been a little bigoted in his wars with the Vijayanagar king and the Telingana Rajas, but before forming such an opinion, the fact may be borne in mind that he had but newly come from Persia and could hardly conceive a policy which long residence in India and the friendly relations of the rival races—Hindu and Muslim—demanded; nor did the ungenerous attitude of the Hindu Rajas during his short rule in India help him to evolve such a policy.

Sultān Quli was fond of architecture and a great patron of the fine arts. He built a city at Golconda which contained many beautiful and grand edifices. His buildings mark the evolution of a new style in Indian architecture, called the Qub Shāhi style, after the name of the dynasty. It is a mixture of the Persian, Hindu and Pathan styles; but, having been evolved on eclectic principles, it lacks the artistic effect of a homogeneous development.

The end of Sultān Quli was very unfortunate. His third son Yār Quli Jamshid, being of an ambitious nature, tired of the long reign of his father and planned his death. On Sunday, the 2nd Jamādā II, 950 A.H. (2nd September, 1543 A.D.), when Sultān Quli was in the act of kneeling in prayer at the Jami' Masjid at Golconda, Mr Muḥammad Hamdānī, the Commandant of the Fort, struck off his head with a stroke of his saber. The body was buried in a dome which he had himself built for the purpose.

The inscriptions carved on the grave of Sultān Quli are in the Nāṣqā characters and represent calligraphy of no mean order. The Qub Shāhi princes seem to have been particularly fond of this art, for their buildings are profusely adorned with calligraphical devices of great artistic merit. The Golconda epigraphs preserve the names of three artists of this period, two of whom were Persians and the third came from Bahrain. The style of writing in the majority of inscriptions is either Nāṣqā or Tughrā, but there are some examples of the Nasta'ålīq script also, and in one case the Kūfī style has been noticed.

Jamshid Quli, the second king of the dynasty, despite his faults, had inherited the military prowess of his father and was also an accomplished diplomat. In his wars with 'All Barid

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1 The names of the Persian artists are—(1) Muḥammad (of Isfahān) and (2) Ismā'īl b. 'Arab (of Shīrāz). The name of the Bahrain calligrapher is Taqī-d-dīn Muḥammad b. Sālih. The British Museum Library possesses a history of the Deccan in the handwriting of one Ismā'īl b. 'Arab who is apparently calligrapher No. 2 of the Golconda inscriptions. E. I. M., 1913-14, Pls. XIX and XXII, and British Museum Catalogue, Vol. I, p. 32.

2 See Pl. VII.

3 Briggs, in his translation of the Qub Shāhi history, calls this king 'Kasim Bārid', although the first Bārid king of this name died long before Jamshid's accession and the second did not succeed to the throne till 1556 A.D. The original Persian text mentions this king by the name of Bārid Shāh or Bārid Mamālīk, both of which were titles of Bārid kings and applicable to each of them. Briggs' mistake in this case is unaccountable. Briggs, iii, pp. 379-388, and Hyderabad MS., pp. 108-128.

Briggs, iii, 83; and Hyderabad MS., pp. 112-113.
and Ibrahim 'Ādil Shāh, he distinguished himself greatly, and when Barhān Nizām Shāh, the king of Ahmadnagar, desired to crown him in due form, he declined the ceremony by saying that he could not maintain his right to the crown in the field he was unworthy of wearing it.

Jamshid Quli fully realised the danger which threatened his kingdom from the Bidar government and, to reduce it altogether, he made overtures to Ibrahim 'Ādil Shāh and Barhān Nizām Shāh, who heartily entered into the scheme. Barhān Nizām Shāh attacked and carried by storm the fort of Qandhar, which was an important stronghold of the Barid Shāhī kingdom. 'Alī Barid, unaware of the secret treaty which had been formed, went for help to his old ally Ibrahim 'Ādil Shāh, to whom he was seized and confined. Subsequently, Ibrahim 'Ādil Shāh annexed a large principality in the south to his kingdom and Barhān Nizām Shāh, apprehending that this acquisition would upset the balance of power, attacked Sholapur, which had long been a bone of contention between the Bijapur and the Ahmadnagar kingdoms. The military strength of both monarchies being nearly equal, each of them sent ambassadors to Jamshid Quli to court his alliance. The latter knew that the defeat of either of these kings would make the other too powerful and might lead to his own reduction subsequently. He, therefore, with a clever stroke of policy, wrote to 'Ādil Shāh that he could hold no communication with him if he did not release Barid Shāh immediately. Ibrahim 'Ādil Shāh complied with the condition; but Jamshid, instead of joining the cause of the former, marched towards Bidar and replaced 'Alī Barid on the throne. The Bidar king, who had almost despaired of recovering his kingdom, deeply appreciated the help of Jamshid and, on his reinstatement, beside expressing contrition for his past conduct, offered large presents in jewels and cash to his rescuer.

Jamshid reigned seven years and died of cancer in 987 A.H. (1550 A.D.). He was buried near the tomb of his father and a two-story building is pointed out now as his tomb. There are two graves in this building, but none of them has any inscription. Jamshid was fond of poetry and occasionally composed verse, some specimens of which are preserved in the Qub Shāhī history. At the death of Jamshid Quli the nobles of the court placed his son Subhān Quli, a child seven years of age, on the throne, and appointed Saif Khān 'Ainul-Mulk regent of the young king. Saif Khān soon assumed haughty airs and gave offence to most of the officers who, driven to desperation, wrote to Prince Ibrahim, the sixth son of Sultan Quli, for help. This prince, at the accession of Jamshid, had fled to Vijayanagar and joined the service of Ramaṇ. On receipt of the letters, Ibrahim Quli marched to Golconda and, with the help of the Na'īgwāris, succeeded in establishing himself on the throne.

After his accession, Ibrahim Quli elevated Jagdeo Rāo, the chief of the Na'īgwāris, to high office and subsequently appointed him his prime-minister. Jagdeo Rāo, though extremely brave, was also equally ambitious and intriguing, and not being satisfied with this elevation, he secretly projected to dethrone Ibrahim and to place his brother Prince Daulat Khān, who was

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1 There is a difference of opinion as regards the identity of Jamshid's tomb, because some authorities, on account of the external form of the supposed tomb, consider it different in style to the other Qub Shāhī tombs. As a matter of fact, there is not much difference between this structure and other Qub Shāhī tombs; the only features which have misled people are—(1) that the internal octagonal base of the tomb on which the dome rests, instead of being merged in the thickness of the walls and turned into a square externally (as has been done in the other tombs), is kept octagonal externally also, and (2) that the balcony, which, in other domes, is built along the walls of the base in the interior, is built in this case on the exterior of the tomb.

2 The date of Subhān Quli's death is not recorded in any history of the period, nor is it known where he was buried. A small dome built between the tombs of Sultan Quli and Jamshid Quli, due west of the former, is called the Chhota Malik va gamberd, 'the Tomb of the minor Malik'. It may be the tomb of Subhān Quli, but there is no inscription or any other evidence to support the surmise.
an idiot, on the throne. The ungrateful conduct of Jagdeo Rāo gave offence to the king, but before he could punish him the rebel fled to Berar. There, Burhān Imād Shāh at first received him graciously, but later on, when he began to set at defiance the power of the Berar king, the latter commanded him to quit his territory. Jagdeo Rāo returned to the Qub Shāh dominions with the intention of proceeding to Vijayanagar, and laid waste all the villages in his route. Ibrahim Qulī, hearing of his approach, deputed Mustafā Khan, his prime-minister and Commander-in-Chief, to punish the rebel. A severe action ensued near Khammamet,¹ in which Jagdeo Rāo was completely defeated, and fled to Vijayanagar.

The relations of the Vijayanagar and the Qub Shāhī kingdoms remained friendly in the early part of Ibrahim Qulī's reign,² and although at times they had to espouse the cause of hostile powers, yet owing to their friendship and mutual regard, they refrained from fighting against each other and effected a reconciliation between the powers whom they joined.³ But after Jagdeo Rāo's departure to the Vijayanagar court, this attitude was changed and Ramraj was the first to give offence to Ibrahim Qulī, by deputing his brother Venkatreddi, accompanied by Jagdeo Rāo, to invade the southern districts of the Qub Shāhī kingdom.⁴ The situation at this time was grave for Ibrahim Qulī, because the garrisons of all the forts in the kingdom were composed of Nā'īgwaṛīs, and when their chief Jagdeo Rāo received the countenance of the Vijayanagar king in his rebellion against Ibrahim Qulī, they all became disloyal. A plot was conceived by Surya Rāo, the commander of the Nā'īgwaṛīs in the Golconda fort, according to which on a concerted signal when the king went out to hunt in the country the Nā'īgwaṛīs were to secure all the forts and Surya Rāo was to seize the treasury at the capital and put all the Muslims to the sword. This plot was communicated to Ramraj who undertook to send a force to aid the project.⁵ The plot was partly carried out, but Ibrahim Qulī proved equal to the occasion and severely punished the rebels.

Ibrahim Qulī, taking into consideration the danger which threatened his kingdom from the Hindus, found that safety lay only in the reduction of Ramraj's power. He, therefore, deputed his minister, Mustafā Khan, to Bijapur and Ahmadnagar to persuade the monarchs of these two kingdoms to enter into a league against Ramraj. The mission of Mustafā Khan proved eminently successful and the result was the battle of Talikot, in which the united forces of Golconda, Bijapur, and Ahmadnagar defeated the Vijayanagar troops whose king was 'killed in action.'⁶

The two great generals of Ibrahim Qulī, who helped him to consolidate and extend his empire, were Muṣṭafā Khan, whose name has already been mentioned, and Rifāt Khan Lārī. The former distinguished himself chiefly in negotiating alliances favourable to his masters with neighbouring kingdoms. Muṣṭafā Khān's name and the titles bestowed on him by the king are preserved in the very beautiful Tughrā inscription over the Makkī gate at Golconda. This epigraph shows that the real name of the general was Kamālu-d-dīn Husain and Muṣṭafā

¹ The modern name of the place is Khamman (Warangal District).
² When Tīrāraj and Govindraj, brothers of Ramraj, rebelled against him, Ibrahim Qub Shāh despatched Qabāl Khān to help Ramraj. Briggs, iii, 386; and Hyderabad MS., pp. 144-147.
³ In the wars of Bijapur with Ahmadnagar, Ibrahim Qulī, in consultation with Ramraj, on several occasions meditated between the two monarchies. Cf. Briggs, iii, 397; and Hyderabad MS., pp. 141-142.
⁴ Briggs, iii, pp. 407-8; and Hyderabad MS., pp. 163-64.
⁵ Briggs, iii, 410; and Hyderabad MS., pp. 167-69.
⁶ Some authorities, owing to their warm sympathy with the Vijayanagar king, have failed to notice the various aspects of the problem and have accused Ibrahim Qulī of ungratefulness to Ramraj for planning the curtailment of the latter's power.
Khān was his title. To Rif’uṭ Khān is due the credit of the conquest of Rajamandri, Cossimcot, and a large number of forts on the eastern side of Telangana and the borders of Orissa.

Ibrahim Quli was a just prince; he kept a vigilant watch over the affairs of his kingdom and enacted salutary laws for the establishment of public safety. During his reign a number of mosques, alms-houses, hospitals and tanks were built, the remains of some of which may be seen in Hyderabad to this day. He also strengthened the fortifications of Golconda and built several palaces and laid out gardens. His own tomb at Golconda, besides being larger in dimensions than those of the previous monarchs, is beautifully decorated with enamelled tiles of various hues. The three calligraphists who have been alluded to above were employed at the court of this monarch. The Qutb Shāhī historian, speaking of the prosperity of the country and the hospitality of the king, observes:

"During the just reign of Ibrahim Kootb Shah, Telangana, like Egypt, became the mart of the whole world. Merchants from Turkistan, Arabia and Persia resorted to it and they met with such encouragement that they found in it inducements to return frequently. The greatest luxuries from foreign parts daily abounded at this king’s hospitable board, and praise be to God that the virtuous habits of this illustrious house still increase!"

Ibrahim Qutb Shah died in 988 A.H. (1580 A.D.) and was succeeded by his third son Muḥammad Quli. Qutb Shāh. He proved to be a just and capable monarch, like his father, and in his reign the prosperity of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty reached its zenith. The towns of Karaul, Nandial and Cuddapa were conquered in the south, and measures were adopted to place the eastern part of the empire (Telangana), which extended up to the sea-coast, under better control. Muḥammad Qullī’s claim to remembrance lies in the fact that he built the city of Hyderabad and adorned it with a number of magnificent edifices—the Chār Minar, the Chār Kamān, the Jāmi’ Masjid, the Dārū-sh-Shifā (public hospital), the Dād Maḥall (Palace or Hall of Justice) and several Royal palaces. Muḥammad Qullī’s tomb which, according to time-honoured custom, was built by the king himself, is distinguished for its grandeur and beauty.

The inscriptions of the reign of this king are extant in considerable numbers and will be published with critical notes in a subsequent issue of this Journal. The styles of writing, as exhibited by these epigraphs, whether Ṭūghrā or Naḵš, or Naṣṭā’līq, are extremely fine and some of them, as a matter of fact, served as models for the inscriptions of the later kings of the dynasty.

During the reign of Muḥammad Qullī, an embassy from the Persian king, Shāh ʿAbbās, headed by one of his nobles, waited on the Golconda king. Muḥammad Qullī was an extremely generous prince and to ameliorate the condition of the poor he reduced several of the taxes which had been in force from the time of the Bahmanīs. The Qutb Shāhī historian writes that a sum of sixty thousand ḥumns (£24,000) was distributed annually to the poor, of which twelve thousand ḥumns (£4,800) were given in charity during the month of Muḥarram alone.

Muḥammad Qullī indulged in poetry and a few of his ḡhazals are preserved in the Qutb Shāhī history. His poetic title was Qutb Shāh. He died in 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.).

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1 N. I. M., 1913-14, pp. 48-9 and Pl. XIXa.
2 The tank known as the Husain Sagar was built by Ibrahim Qullī. Briggs, iii, 445 and Hyderabad MS., p. 231.
3 Briggs, iii, 445; and Hyderabad MS., p. 231.
4 The styles of writing of the Shī‘ī Kalīma and Qur’ānic verses carved on the graves of Muḥammad Qutb Shāh, Ḥayāt Bakhšī Begam, ’Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, etc., are mere copies of the styles of religious texts engraved in Muḥammad Qutb Shāh’s tomb.
5 Briggs, iii, 454; and Hyderabad MS., p. 305.
The next monarch of the dynasty was Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, nephew and son-in-law of the last king. He was a cultured prince and passed his time generally in the company of philosophers and learned men, who assembled at his court from Persia and other Islamic countries. He was specially fond of the study of history and the Quṭb Shāhī chronicles, so often quoted in this paper, were compiled during his reign. He was also a poet and a few specimens of his verses are given by the Golconda historian at the end of his book.¹

Like his father, Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh also was a great builder, and constructed a number of palaces and gardens in Hyderabad. His own tomb and that of his wife, which are identical in structure, are conspicuous for their strength and grandeur. He died in 1035 A.H. (1626 A.D.) after a reign of fifteen years, and his son ‘Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh succeeded him.

During the reign of this prince the Quṭb Shāhī dominions were further extended in the south and, through the conquering genius of the celebrated Mir Jumlā, a very large part of the Carnatic province was annexed to the kingdom. Mir Jumlā was a man of infinite capacity, but his ostentation and arrogance gave offence to the king. Hearing of his displeasure, Mir Jumlā negotiated with Aurangzeb who, as Viceroy of the Deccan, was devising the overthrow of the kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur. He welcomed the proposal of Mir Jumlā and recommended him to his father, the emperor Shah Jahan, who conferred the rank of Commander of five thousand on Mir Jumlā and issued a firman to ‘Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh that he should not interfere with Mir Jumlā. The court envoys offered by the Mughal emperor to Mir Jumlā further incensed the king against him and he imprisoned his son Muḥammad Amin and confiscated all his property. Aurangzeb wrote several letters to ‘Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh for the release of Muḥammad Amin and subsequently deputed his son Sulṭān Muḥammad to invade his territory. A very faithful, though short, account of the siege of Golconda by Prince Muḥammad and of the peace which was subsequently concluded, is given in an inscription engraved on a bastion of the Fort (Golconda).² ‘Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh, besides paying a heavy indemnity covering more than the cost of the expedition, gave his daughter in marriage to Aurangzeb’s son, and designated his newly made son-in-law heir-apparent to the throne of Golconda because he himself had no male issue. The legend—

خطم بالخير والسعادة

“Ended with peace and felicity”

On the coins of ‘Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh was apparently introduced after this treaty and referred to the extinction of the dynasty by the passing of the kingdom to a foreign line. But the Mughal prince nominated to the Golconda throne predeceased ‘Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh and the Mughals did not become masters of the kingdom until thirty years had elapsed.

‘Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh was a just and liberal prince, but a trifle weak in his judgment and not sufficiently shrewd to successfully encounter the political troubles which confronted him. He was, on the other hand, an enthusiastic patron of learning and architecture and founded many schools and colleges for the education of his subjects.³ He also made large additions in the defences of the Golconda Fort and the portion called the Nayā Qil‘ā was annexed to the Fort by him. In the city of Hyderabad he laid out gardens and erected a number of mosques, baths and palaces, several of which bear his inscriptions to this day.

‘Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh died in 1033 A.H. (1672 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son-in-law Abu-Ḥasan, nick-named Tānā Shāh (the Fastidious Prince). He is reported to have

¹ Hyderabad MS., pp. 237-37.
² E. I. M., 1913-14, pp. 51-5.
³ The celebrated Persian lexicon—Burhān-i-Qul‘—was compiled during his reign and dedicated to him.
been indolent in his habits and to have left the control of state affairs to his two Hindu ministers Akanna and Madanna. This circumstance, coupled with the encouragement given by him to SivaJI after his flight from Agra (1666) and the withholding of the tribute due to the Mughal court for several years, afforded a plausible excuse to Aurangzeb to invade the Qutb Sháhí kingdom. The siege of Golconda is well known in history through the facile pen of the great satirist Ni'mat Khán 'Alí; but it is a great pity that this writer, owing to his religious partiality to Abú Hasan, has throughout tried to belie the efforts made by Aurangzeb to conquer the Fort and has often given a distorted version of facts. The fort fell in 1687 and Abú Hasan was sent to Danlatabad as a state prisoner. He received a respectable allowance during his lifetime and was always treated with consideration. He died in 1699 and was buried in the tomb of his spiritual guide Sháh Rájá Qattal, the father of the Gulbargah saint, Sayyid Muhammad Gesú Darāz.

I.—Inscriptions in the tomb of Sultán Quli Qutb Sháh.

The sepulchre of Sultán Quli is, in contrast to the magnificent vaults of his successors, a simple structure. It is built on a square terrace (100 ft. each way), and consists of an octagonal hall crowned by a circular dome, the interior of which is divided into eight panels to match the octagonal plan of the hall. The plan of the tomb, externally, is square, and the walls of the basement story are 20 ft. high, while the dome rises another 20 ft. from the top of the walls. The inner dimensions of the hall are 30’ 10” each way.

The inscriptions are engraved in three bands along the sides of the grave which is built of highly polished black basalt in the form of a casket with four exquisitely carved feet and a convex top. The style of writing is Naṣkh of a very high order and the language is Arabic. The first two bands contain the Throne Verse and the following four verses from the Qur’án (Chap. II, verses 256-59), at the end of which the following phrases have been added:

صدق الله العظيم مصدق رسله النبي الكريم رفق علی الدّاخلي من الشهدان

الحمد لله رب العالمين

“True is God, the high, the great; true is His apostle, the benevolent prophet, and we bear witness to that: praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures.”

The third band contains the Shi'ite Darōd1 which, with the Throne Verse, is repeated on all the Qutb Sháhí graves to invoke blessing on the soul of the deceased. The text of the Darōd is as follows:

اللهم صل على المصطفى محمد و المرتضى علي و البطل فاطمة رضي الله عنها و

الضيقات علي زين الفانين علي و الباتر محمد و الصادق جعفر الزبير مرسي و رضا علي

و النبی محمد و النبي علي و الراقي العسکري الحسن و صل على الجمعة الشافع الفلاح الصالح

العلم الهمان المنظور محمد المهذب صاحب الزمان و خليفة الیوم و مجبور

اللهم رضي الله علیه و جماع مليک الله و علیه السلام و علیه من اعجوب في سنة 950

“O God, bless the Chosen Muhammad, the Agreeable 'Alí, the Chaste Fátima, the two offsprings (viz. of 'Alí), Hasan and Husain; and bless the Ornament of holy persons, 'Alí, the

1 Formulas of blessing the Prophet and his descendants.
PLATE V (a).

(1) انتقل صاحب هذة الرضى رحمة الملك المغفور (2) السعيد الشهيد الغزاعي لوجه الله المجاهد في سبيل الله الملك سلطان ثاني (3) الخاطب بقطع الملك المشهور به بیر ملك ائذ الله برغبان إلى جوار رحمة الله في يوم الاثنين الثاني شهر جمادي الثاني في سنة 960.

TRANSLATION.

The occupant of this chosen shrine, and he is the blessed monarch, the felicitous (lord): the martyr, the warrior for God's sake, the striver in God's path, the king Sultan Quilt, entitled Quṣba-i-Mulk, known as Baṣr Malik (the Great Prince)—may God illumine his argument! moved to the neighbourhood of God's mercy on Monday, the 2nd of Jumada II, 950 A.H. (September 2, 1543 A.D.).

The titles of the king as given in the epitaph—المجاهد في سبيل الله الغزاعي لوجه الله—verify the statement made in contemporary histories regarding his zeal in his warfare with the infidels. The title—الشهيد—shows that he died as a martyr, which is a most happy end for a Muslim. The inscription also gives a pet name of the king, Baṣr Malik (the Great Prince), which is not to be found in any contemporaneous writing.

Lient.-Colonel Haig, who has given the readings and translations of almost all the inscriptions in the Golconda tombs (E. I. M., 1907-8, pp. 23-27), has omitted a few words in deciphering the text of this epitaph, and in the translation he has failed to note the connection of the phrase انتقل إلى جوار رحمة الله with the verb انتقل (meaning "moved to the neighbourhood of God's mercy "), and wrongly attached it to the preceding phrase—إذ الله برغبان—thus translating both the phrases "may God enlighten his testimony even to the neighbourhood of his mercy," which is not correct.

II.—Inscriptions in the tomb of Ibrahim Quṣb Shāh.

The tomb of this king, besides being larger in dimensions than that of his father, was once beautifully decorated with encaustic tiles of various hues, a few pieces of which are still to be seen on the southern wall. The tomb stands on a square terrace (117 ft. each way), on which also the tombs of Neknām Khān, a general in the service of ‘Abdullāh Quṣb Shāh,
and Prince Muhammad Amin, the sixth son of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, are situated. The basement story of Ibrahim’s tomb is rather high (30 ft.), and its façade is adorned with false arches, each side containing two rows of five arches, one row placed above the other. The internal plan of the tomb is square (30’ 7” each way) at the base, but by placing four arches at the corners it has been turned into an octagon, and a little higher it becomes sixteen-sided by means of overlapping arches.

The sarcophagus, which is of polished black basalt, measures 9’ 4’’ x 6’ 2’’ at the base, and rises to a height of 3 ft. in tiers of receding surfaces. The inscriptions are carved on the sarcophagus itself—the top slab contains the Shiite creed, and verse 16, Chap. III from the Qur’an:

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله علي صلى الله علي وسلم أبا لله حقاً في سنة 988

“There is no god but God, Muhammad is the apostle of God and ‘Ali the friend of God, veritably, veritably! God hath borne witness that there is no God but He; and the angels and those who are endowed with wisdom profess the same; who executeth righteousness; there is no God but He; the mighty, the wise.” (Salle).

The first band of writing carved on the sides of the grave contains verses from the Qur’an (Chap. II, verses 256-59), as in the epitaph of Sultan Quli Qutb Shah (ante, p. 26). The second band contains the Nādi ‘Ali and the following Hadith:

قال محمد نبي إبراهيم العرش حي في الدارين
الموملون لا يمرمون بل ينتقلون من دار إلى دار

“Muhammad the prophet of both the worlds has said: The true believer is alive in both the worlds. Believers do not die, but through thee move from one abode to another.”

The inscription, which records the name of the deceased king and the year of his death, is carved in six lines, three lines occurring at the head and three at the foot of the sarcophagus. I read it as follows:

**PLATE VI (a).**

1. (1) قد نقل ساكن هذه الحضرة العلية العليا وهو السلطان (2) المغفور له أعزائ
2. المعمر المبكر المكر (3) بصل رضوان الملك آل السلطان إبراهيم قطب شا (4) انَّ الله برعنه
3. رضفته مع إياله جانته الى جواهر (5) رحمه الله، يهم الخمس الحادي ر العشرين (6) من
4. شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ثمانين وثمانين رقعة ماه ما النبوة

**TRANSLATION.**

The occupant of this high and grand tomb—and he is the Sultan whose sins have been forgiven, and the king whom God has taken into His mercy, the pious defunct, who is clad with the garment of Divine (lit. divine and the Lord’s) acceptance, the Sultan Ibrahim Qutb Shah, may God illumine his argument and cause him to dwell with his friends in His
Inscription on the grave of Sultan Quli Qutbshah, Golconda.

Plate V.

Inscription on the grave of Muhammad Quli Qutbshah, Golconda.
(a) Inscription on the grave of Ibrahim Quṭbshah, Golconda.

(b) Inscription on the grave of Mirza Muhammad Amīn, sixth son of Ibrahim Quṭbshah, Golconda.
Paradise!—marched to the neighbourhood of divine mercy on Thursday, the 21st of Rabî‘ II, 988 years after the flight of the Prophet (corresponding to June 5, 1580).

The style of writing of the inscription on the top slab is Tughrā and the arrangement adopted here is copied on the graves of all subsequent kings (Pl. VIII). The other inscriptions in this tomb are in the Nasḵ characters of a very pleasing style.

III.—Inscriptions in the tomb of Mirza Muhammad Amin.

The tomb of this prince, who was the sixth son of Ibrahim Qutb Shâh, is a small dome on a square base, built on the same terrace on which the tomb of his father stands. Muhammad Amin was a highly educated and cultured prince and devoted his time largely to literary pursuits. The inscriptions carved on his grave represent calligraphy of great artistic merit (Pls. VI–VIII) and one of them, which is in Arabic verse (Pl. VII), is of no mean order from a literary point of view also. The writing on the top slab consists of quotations from the Qur’ān, the Sârah Ikhlās and verse 16 from Chap. III (Pl. VIIIa). The Surah Ikhlas is written in the Kufic style and is the only example of that script at Golconda. The other Qur’ānic verses inscribed on the top slab are in the Tughrā style.

The first band of writing along the sides of the grave contains the Throne Verse (Chap. II, verse 256), and the second band the Nâdî ‘Abî. The third band contains the Arabic poem referred to above and the fourth band the Shi‘ite creed, as carved on the grave of Sultân Qutb (ante, p. 28). The inscription, which records the name of the prince and the date of his demise, is carved at the head and the foot of the sarcophagus, three lines occurring on each side.

The style of the inscriptions carved along the sides of the grave is Nasḵ and the language is Arabic.

My reading of the inscription giving the name of the prince is as follows:

PLATE VI (b).

(1) قد انطفأ الرضوان المؤذي (2) الغفران العليل (3) مرحلا محمد إبن السلطان إبراهيم قطباشة (4) إسامة الله جلال الغفران (5) يم المحمد الخامس ر العرشين (6) من شهر رمضان المعمد سنه 1000

TRANSLATION.

The death of the prince, taken into the mercy of God, the purified, the possessor of high virtues and royal glories, Mirza Muhammad Amin, son of the Sultân Ibrahim Qutb Shâh—may God clothe him with the garments of pardon and acceptance!—occurred on Sunday, the 25th of the month of Shâh-ban, 1004 A.H. (April 14, 1596 A.D.).

See above (p. 20, note 1).

Lieut.-Colonel Haig does not seem to have understood fully the grammatical construction of the epitaph and this is the reason why he divides the phrase وضياء الله جلال الرضوان والنكّة اللالة into two separate parts, and regards the words as ‘an unusual expression’. Further, he has failed to notice the connection of the words مع إبادة جلالة with the benedictory phrase. Colonel Haig has also omitted ورث في-growingly connected the former with the benedictory phrase, and added the word جلالة in line 5.

Haig has read this word مارنة.

Haig’s decipherment is إسامة.

Haig’s reading is إسامة.

The 25th Shâb-ban, 1004 A.H., was a Wednesday. The day given in the inscription is apparently wrong.
I have deciphered the Arabic poem as follows:

PLATE VII.

(1) يا قاهر بالنفاجا كل جبار
(2) الفلك اسلامي من كان يعضدني
(3) في ثمر مظلمة بالفطر مرحمة
(4) إمساك قبلك يا كذا الجند مرتينا
(5) فاعمل ترقي بفضل منك مغفرة
(6) إن الملك إذا شبت عبيدهم
(7) في زوام عتقوم عند ابرار
(8) وانت يا سيدنا أولئكم كروا

TRANSLATION.

(1) O Controller of (lit. powerful over) the deaths of all the haughty (monarchs), through the light of Thy countenance save me from the Fire.

(2) To Thee he has entrusted me, he who helped me: whether he was from my friends, companions or supporters.

(3) (Entrusted to Thee) in a dark pit, desolate (and) dreadful, (and left me) under the stones alone, a stranger and solitary.

(4) O Benevolent Lord, being entrusted (lit. mortgaged) to Thee, I am Thy guest, and Thou, O Entertainer, art the most hospitable host.

(5) So through Thy grace entertain me with forgiveness by which I may obtain refuge near (lit. towards) Thee, O most Merciful.

(6) Verily the kings when their slaves get old in their service, free them with the liberty of noblemen.

(7) And Thou, my Lord, art the best of them in (point of) generosity: I have grown old in Thy service, therefore save me from the Fire.

IV.—Epitaph of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah.

The tomb of this king is a magnificent structure built on a double terrace and adorned with minarets and a majestic dome. The height of the first terrace is 13' 6"; it is square in plan and measures 200' each way. The second terrace is also square (126' 3" each way) and rises 3' 4" above the first terrace. The tomb itself measures 71' 3" each way externally. The special features of the building are the colonnades built along the sides of the tomb with openings in the pillar-and-lintel style. The stone pillars of these openings are rather slender and not in keeping with the other parts of the building which are very massive. Two doors, facing east and south, give access to the interior of the tomb, which is a perfect square measuring 23' 3" each way. Along the walls of the tomb there are three projecting galleries arranged one above the other. The first is octagonal in plan, the second sixteen-sided and the third circular, to fit the base of the dome.

1 The metre of these lines is Boast.
Inscription on the sides of Mirza Muhammad Amin's grave, Golconda.
Inscription on the top slab of Mirza Muhammad Amin's grave, Golconda.

Inscription on the top slab of Muhammad Qutbshah's grave, Golconda.
Inscriptions in the Golconda Tombs.

The sarcophagus is built of highly polished black stone and is adorned with epigraphical devices consisting of benedictory verses and the epitaph. The top slab, like that of the other Qutb Shahi graves, contains the Shiite creed and verse 16, Chap. III from the Qur'an written in the Tashkī style. The first three bands of writing along the sides comprise extracts from the Qur'an; the first containing the Throne Verse (verse 256, Chap. II), the second, verses 255-256, Chap. II, and the third, Chaps. XCVII, CIX and CXII-CXIV. The fourth band comprises the Shiite Durūd in the same form as inscribed on the grave of Sultan Qutb (ante, p. 26) excepting the words occurring between خلافة الرحمن المنتظر in line 4 which in this inscription are:

المنتهي في الرحمن المنتظر محمد بن الحسن صاحب الزمان رقاطل البران الغ

The inscription giving the name of the king is carved between bands I and II at the foot. The style of writing is Nashā and the language is Persian.\(^1\) I read it as follows:——

**PLATE V (b).**

1. إعلان حضرت جنت مکانی عرش آشیانه ۳ محمد قلی قطبیه مرادی ای برابه نیتی ۲
2. انترالله برانیا (2) پتاریخ رز شده هدیه می‌آی آقیعیر العرس شه ۱۰۲۰ عضوی رف هفتیر ورود از راه رضی (3) سی شیره شه شیائ ون سال سلطنتش سی ر
3. یک سال رضی الیه تعالی رحمه کامله

**Translation.**

His Exalted Majesty, whose abode is Paradise and whose resting-place is Heaven, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, son of Ibrahim Qutb Shah—may God illumine the argument of both!—was joined to God’s mercy on Saturday, the 17th of the sacred month of Zu’l Qa’dah, 1020 A.H. (January 11, 1612 A.D.). His age was forty-nine years and the length of his government thirty-one years: may God, be He exalted, have perfect mercy on him!

**V.—Inscriptions in the tomb of Muhammad Qutb Shah.**

Muhammad Qutb Shah’s tomb ranks next in splendour and grandeur to the tomb of Muhammad Quli; but its architectural plan and detail were so popular at the time, that it became the model for the later tombs of the dynasty. The building stands at the centre of an extensive terrace (176' 6" square) approached by a flight of steps and adorned with flower beds and water channels. The tomb itself comprises a square hall (63' 4" each way) and a spacious colonnade (19' 3" wide) running round the exterior of the building in the form of a gallery. The colonnade has seven arched openings on each side, and is supported on very massive pillars of solid masonry. The shape of the dome is three-fourths of a sphere and its elongated neck and somewhat narrow base show distinct Persian influence. The exterior of the tomb was once adorned with glazed tiles, pieces of which still exist on the walls.

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\(^1\) The style of writing of the benedictory verses also is Nashā.

\(^2\) It is interesting to note that these titles were adopted for Humayun and Akbar after their death. Humayun died in 1566 and Akbar in 1605. This inscription is dated 1612 and shows the ambition of the Qutb Shahi princes to use the same titles for their deceased ancestors as were used by contemporary Mughal emperors.
Besides the grave of Muhammad Ḥujj Shāh, which is built in the middle of the hall, there are several other graves inside the tomb; but only two of them bear epitaphs. The inscriptions on the grave of Muhammad Ḥujj Shāh are carved in this order:—

Top slab—Shīite creed and Qur'ān (Ch. III, verse 16). Date 1035 A.H. Pl. VIIIa.
Along the sides—Band I, Throne verse (Ch. II, verse 256 of the Qur'ān).
Band II, Qur'ān (Ch. II, verses 285-86).
Band III, Qur'ān (Chaps. XCVII, CIX and CXII-CXIV).
Band IV, Shīite Durūd (ante, p. 26).

The epitaph is carved in three lines at the foot of the grave and I read it as follows:—

PLATE IX (b).

(1) زنات عالیعمرت چندر مکانی سلطان محمد تقی‌باف بن میرزا حسن امین بن ابراهیم قطنی‌نی (2) نازیمیت این ال‌زادا سیدهم ماه جمادی ال‌الزمان ساله سد پیمان دل ۱۰۳۴ سال و عصر هفتمه ماه ذی‌القدر ساله سد ۱۰۵۰ مدت سلطنتش چهارم سال رستم ماه عصر عزیزی سه رجب سال دو ساله

TRANSLATION.

The death of His Exalted Majesty, whose abode is Paradise, Suftān Muhammad Ḥujj Shāh, son of Mīrzā Muhammad Amin, son of Ibrahim Ḥujj Shāh, occurred on Wednesday, the 18th of Jumada I, 1035 A.H. (Feb. 1, 1626 A.D.). His felicitous birth (took place) in the month of Rajab 1031 A.H. (April, 1528 A.D.) and his auspicious accession on the 17th of Zil-Qa’adah, 1020 A.H. (Jan. 11, 1612 A.D.). The length of his reign was fourteen years and six months and the period of his honored life thirty-four years and ten months.

The style of writing of the epitaph is Nūshī; but the space being limited, the letters are interwoven. The language is Persian. The script of the beneficent verses also is Nūshī, except that of the verses carved on the top slab of the grave, which is Taghra.

Of the two other graves in the tomb of Muhammad Ḥujj Shāh which bear inscriptions, one is of Sā'mīnā Khānām, probably a princess of the family. The sarcophagus of this grave is of polished black stone and is built in the style of other sarcophagi of the Ḥujj Shāh tombs. The inscriptions carved on the grave occur in this order:—

Top slab—Shīite creed and Qur'ān (Ch. III, verse 16). Date 1031 A.H.
Along the sides—Band I, Throne verse (Qur'ān, Ch. II, verse 256).
Band II, Qur'ān (Ch. II, verses 285-86).
Band III, Nādi ‘Allī.
Band IV, Qur'ān (Chaps. XCVII, CIX and CXII-CXIV).
Band V, Shīite Durūd (ante, p. 26).

The epitaph is carved in band IV after Chap. CXII of the Qur'ān. I have deciphered it as follows:—

PLATE IX (a).

عليا محضا خداوند حضرت خداوند حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت حضرت ححضر....

1 Haig has read this word as اکل. E. I. M., 1907-8, p. 26.
2 Haig's rendering is رحمه.
(a) Inscription on the grave of Zuhra Bi, Golconda.

(b) Inscription on the grave of Kulthum's infant son, Golconda.

(c) Inscription on a grave in the tomb of Muhammad Qutbshah, Golconda.

(d) Inscription on the grave of Hayat Bakhsh Begam, Golconda.
TRANSLATION.

Her Exalted Highness, in rank like Khadijā,1 in position like Mary, the Bilqiṣ2 of the age, the chaste and pious (lady), the humble and devout Rabī’a, Ṣa’īma Khānām.

The style of writing of this inscription is Nashā of quite a pleasing type.

The benedictory verses on the other grave are carved in this order: —
Top slab—Shiite creed and Qur’ān (Ch. III, verse 16). Date 1045 A.H.
Along the sides—Bands I-II, Throne verse.
  Bands III-IV, Qur’ān (Ch. II, verses 285-86).
  Band V, Nādi ‘Alī.
  Band VI, Qur’ān (Chaps. XCVII, CIX and CXII-CXIV).
  Band VII, Shi’ite Durūd.

The inscription giving the name of the deceased occurs in band VI. The name, Shāh Khundkār, suggests that he was a religious man and since his last remains are interred in the same tomb with a king, it is not unlikely that he was the spiritual guide of the royal family.

The styles of writing of the various inscriptions carved on this grave are similar to those of the other two graves, the styles of which have been discussed above.

My reading of the epitaph is as follows:—

PLATE X (c).

عافلةعصرت سياست رفعت شاه بورخاب دستگاه دانگخوار ابن سیادات
پناب شاه سید محمد لیسنی ۰

TRANSLATION.

His Exalted Holiness, the refuge of the Sayyids and persons of noble birth, enjoying Divine forgiveness and mercy, Shāh Khundkār, son of the refuge of the Sayyids, Shāh Muḥammad al-Huṣainī.3

VI.—Inscriptions in the tomb of Zuhrā Bi.

The mausoleum of this lady is situated near the entrance to the Golconda Tombs, to the left of the main road. It contains several graves, two of which are inscribed—one of Zuhrā Bi and the other bearing no name.

The architecture of the tomb is not very symmetrical, the building consisting of a small hall surmounted by a disproportionately large dome.

The inscriptions on the grave of Zuhrā Bi occur in this order:—
Top slab—Shiite creed and the date 1035 A.H.
Along the sides—Band I, Throne verse.
  Band II, Qur’ān (Ch. II, verses 285-86).
  Band III, Nādi ‘Alī and the inscription recording the names of the deceased lady and the builder of the tomb.
  Band IV, Qur’ān (Chaps. XCVII, CIX and CXII-CXIV).
  Band V, Shi’ite Durūd.

1 Muḥammad’s first wife.
2 Name of the Queen of Sheba.
3 The famous saint of Gullurg, popularly known as Banda Nawāz Gōd Darēs, also bore this name, but he died in 825 A.H.
My reading of the inscription recording the name, etc., of the lady is as follows:

PLATE X (a).

(1) علیا حضرت مریم مکانی خدایه مرتضی زهرام بی
(2) بانی ناطقه سلطان بن سلطان محمد امین

TRANSLATION.

Her Exalted Highness, of Mary’s position and Khadija’s rank, Zahra Bt. The builder: Fajima Sultan, daughter of Sultan Muhammad Amin.

The benedictory verses on the anonymous grave are carved in this order:

The tablet fixed at the head of the grave—Nadi ‘Ali and the Shi’ite creed.

Along the sides—Bands I-II, Throne verse.

Band III, Qur’an (Chaps. I and CXII-CXIV).

VII.—Inscriptions on the grave of Princess Kalsam’s infant son, Golconda.

In the row of monuments in the extreme west of the Golconda Tombs Gardens there stands a small pavilion with openings on all the four sides, containing a miniature grave. Here lies buried an infant grandson of Muhammad Quib Shiah by his daughter Kalsam. The sarcophagus, though small, is beautifully carved and decorated with inscriptions. The benedictory verses occur in this order:

Top slab—Qur’an (Ch. III, verse 16) and the date 1037 A.H.

Along the sides—Band I, Shi’ite creed.

Band II, Throne verse.

Band III, Shi’ite Durud.

The inscription containing the name, etc., occurs at the foot of the grave. The style of writing is Naskha and I have deciphered the inscription as follows:

PLATE X (b).

(1) مغفرت پناه ابی کلسوم ۳ بنت (2) مرجوعاً نور الله سلطان محمد قطبشاه

Khaldallah تعلیم

TRANSLATION.

The child, whose sins have been forgiven, son of Kalsam, daughter of Marja min Narailah (expectant of the Light of God), Sultan Muhammad Quib Shiah, may God keep him for ever!

The inscription is interesting as it gives the title—Marja min Narailah—of Sultan Muhammad Quib Shiah, which is not to be found in any history.

1 Haig describes line 1 as inscribed “on a tomb in the Garden”, and line 2 as written “on another tomb”. Both the lines are inscribed on the same grave and constitute one inscription. E. I. M., 1907-8, p. 27.

2 The lady may be the mother of Fatima Sultan and wife of Mirza Muhammad Amin. Contemporary history, however, throws no light on this point.

3 The spelling of the name Kalsam (کلسوم) with dia instead of dha is unusual.

4 Haig’s reading of this inscription, besides being incomplete, is faulty. He reads thus—

مغفرت پناه پرل بلاک کلسوم. E. I. M., 1907-8, p. 27.
VIII.—Inscriptions in the tomb of Ḥayat Bakhsh Begam.

This lady took a prominent share in the administration of the country during the reigns of three Qutb Shāh kings: (1) Muḥammad Qutb, (2) Muḥammad Qutb Shāh and (3) ʿAbdullāh Qutb Shāh. She was the daughter of the first monarch, the wife of the second and the mother of the third. FIRUSĀT referring to her marriage writes thus:—

"In the year 1016, the Prince Scołtan Mahomed, son of the late Prince Mahomed Ameen, was honoured with the hand of the King's beautiful daughter, his own first cousin."!

The tomb of the lady is a replica of the tomb of her husband, Muḥammad Qutb Shāh, in architectural composition as well as in size and decoration.

The inscriptions are carved in this order:—

Top slab—Shīite creed and Qur'ān (Ch. III, verse 16). Date 1077 A.H.

Along the sides—Band I, Throne verse.

Band II, Qur'ān (Ch. II, verses 255-86).

Band III, Qur'ān (Chaps. XCVII, CX and CXII-CXIV).

Band IV, Nādī 'Alī and Shīite Durud.

The inscription containing the name of the deceased lady occurs between bands II and III at the foot of the grave. The style of writing is Naṣīḥ. I have read the inscription as follows:—

![Plate X (d).](image)

TRANSLATION.

The death of the lady, whose abode is Paradise, Ḥayat Bakhsh Begam, occurred on the night of Tuesday, the 28th of Shābān, 1077 A.H. (12th February, 1667 A.D.).

IX.—Inscription in the Great Mosque at Golconda.

It was the custom among the Qutb Shāh kings to erect a mosque with every tomb, the object apparently being to secure an abode for the deceased in Paradise according to the noted Ḥadīth:—

من بني مسجداً نعم بني إله له بيتاً في الجنة

"Whoever buildeth a mosque for the sake of God, verily God buildeth a house for him in Paradise."

The mosque bears the date 1077 A.H., the year of Ḥayat Bakhsh Begam's death, and as it is situated close to her tomb, the mosque was evidently built as an adjunct to the tomb. The architectural style of the building is very pleasing and it is also the largest mosque at Golconda.

The prayer hall is divided into three aisles, and has five large arched openings on the eastern side. It measures 76' x 50' 8''. The roof is vaulted, consisting of fifteen domes, the orbs of which are lost in the thickness of the roof. The hall is flanked at each end with a lofty minaret, crowned with a pot of the Hindu pattern, resting on lotus leaves and adorned

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with two projecting balconies of the Persian style. The façade of the mosque is decorated with medallions bearing the following Qur'ānic texts in the Taqīrā style of writing:

Qur'ān (Ch. LXI, verse 13).

Qur'ān (Ch. LXXII, verse 18).

A masterpiece of calligraphic art is the extract from the Qur'ān (Chap. II, verses 137-38) carved over the prayer-niche. It is by Taqī-d-dīn, the artist of Bahrain, whose writing was reproduced also in the last number of this Journal (Plate XIX). The inscription exhibits much beauty and elegance in its execution and represents an art which may stand comparison with that of any other country.

The name of the artist and the date of the erection of the building occur at the end of the Qur'ānic text. I have deciphered them as follows:

PLATE XI.

كتبه تقى الدين محمد بن شيخ صالح البahrainي 1077 هـ

TRANSLATION.

Written by Taqī-d-dīn Muhammad, son of Shaikh Sālih of Bahrain. 1077 A.H. (1667 A.D.).

X.—Inscriptions in the tomb of Pem Matī.

Behind the dry details of ordinary events, the chronicles of the Qūb Shāhī dynasty have a halo of romance, and the names of the beautiful Bhag Matti, Pem Matī and Tārā Matī, aided by local traditions and monuments, conjure up many a stirring scene in the imaginative mind. Pem Matī is reported to have been a concubine of 'Abdullāh Qūb Shāh (1626-72 A.D.), which does not appear to be unlikely, because she expired in 1073 A.H. (1662 A.D.) and her tomb was built during the reign of that king. It is a small building, consisting of a square hall crowned with a shapely dome. The most interesting feature of the tomb is the epitaph, which is carved on the lintels of the eastern and southern doors and also on the sarcophagus in band IV of the benedictory verses. It is full of poetic feeling and echoes a transcendental philosophy:

PLATE XII (a).

برد از ازل کل جتنى بيم متي

سله 1077

TRANSLATION.

From all eternity Pem Matī was a flower of Paradise. 1073 A.H. (1662 A.D.).

The style of writing is Nasta'īq, which was adopted probably to distinguish the inscription from the epitaphs of royal ladies. The only other inscription in the Nasta'īq characters at Golconda is on the grave of Neknām Khān, who also did not belong to the royal family.

The benedictory verses on Pem Matī's grave are carved in this order:

Top slab—Qur'ān (Ch. III, verse 16).

Along the sides—Bands I-III, Qur'ān (Ch. II, verse 256, and Ch. CXII).

Band IV, Shīite Durrād in a brief form.
Inscription on the Mihrab of the Great Mosque at Golconda.
XI.—Inscriptions in the tomb of Neknâm Khân.

Mr. Talboy Wheeler on p. 18 of his book—Madras in the Olden Times—speaks of a Neknâm Khân in connection with the administration of Sir Edward Winter (1661-1668). He writes:

"On his first arrival at Fort St. George he (Sir Edward) found that the country trade was still much depressed by the constant wars in the Carnatic. On one occasion the Fort itself seems to have been besieged, though unsuccessfully, by Neknâm Khan, nabob of Golconda, or rather Commander-in-Chief of the army of Abou Hassan, king of Golconda or Hyderabad."

He farther records:

"For more than a century and a half, Golconda had been ruled by a dynasty of Mussulman kings, known as the Kuttub Shahs; but the Commander-in-Chief in the Carnatic appears to have been a man bearing the title of Neknâm Khan. To this Commander-in-Chief, the Presidency at Fort St. George gave the title of Nabob; and it was from him that they obtained the cowle for the district of Madraspatam after the flight of the Raja of Chandragiri."

The information given at the end of the last extract brings the name of Neknâm Khân prominently before the student of the history of British administration in India. The year of his demise given by Mr. Wheeler is 1673 A.D., which differs by one year from the date written on Neknâm Khân’s tomb at Golconda—Zul Hijja 1053 A.H. (March 1673 A.D.). The difference is trifling and as there is no certainty as to the accuracy of Mr. Wheeler’s date, it is almost certain that the General buried at Golconda and the Neknâm Khân referred to in Mr. Wheeler’s work are one and the same person.

Mr. Wheeler could not find a reference to the Commander in any contemporary history, consequently he remarks:

"No traces of this Neknâm Khan can be discovered in the history of Golconda; and indeed the name is an ordinary title, and another Neknâm Khan is mentioned by Bernier as an Omrah residing in the Court of Shah Jehan."

As a matter of fact no detailed account of the Qutb Shahi dynasty subsequent to the reign of Sulân Muhammad Qutb Shâh is available, and the Mughal chroniclers make only casual references to the history of the Deccan, so the absence of Neknâm Khân’s name in the principal Persian works is not a strange circumstance. The name of the General, however, occurs in the historical work Baṣāriḥu’s-Sâlaṭa by Mirzâ Ibrahim Zubairi. In this history he is described as the most accomplished General in the service of ‘Abdullâh Qutb Shâh, who once deputed him to help the Bijâpûr army in defending their country against the Mughal attack under Raja Jâi Singh Kâchhwâhâ, alias Mirzâ Râja, in 1665 A.D.

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1 Abu-l-Hasan did not succeed to the seat of government till 1053 A.H. (1672 A.D.). Mr. Wheeler has confused ‘Abdullâh Qutb Shâh (1626-72 A.D.) with Abul-Qasim Qutb Shâh in this case.

2 Madras in the Olden Times, p. 33.

3 Iadem, p. 44.


5 The reference occurs on p. 418 of the Hyderabad lithograph and begins thus:"
The tomb of Neknâm Khân is situated on the same terrace on which the tomb of Ibrahim Qajb Shâh stands. It is an open enclosure, square in plan and measuring 26' 4' each way. The sarcophagus of the grave is inscribed with benedictory verses, which are arranged thus:—

Top slab and Band I along the sides. Throne verse.
Bands II-III. Qur'ân (Ch. XCVII) and Shiite Durât.

The principal inscription, which is a sort of land grant, is carved on an arch-shaped tablet (3' 8" x 2' 1") fixed at the head of the grave. The style of writing is Nasta'îq and the language Persian. I have deciphered it as follows:—

PLATE XII (b).

He is Eternal.

The mandate obeyed by the world, commencing in munificence, and the order issuing like the rays of the sun, originating in mercy, had the honour of promulgation from the august court.

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1 The construction of the phrase is grammatically incorrect.
2 Haig has read this word as ثو.دخت.
3 This phrase was not deciphered by Haig. It is a quotation from the Qur'ân (Ch. II, verse 177).
(a) Inscription in the tomb of Pema Mati, Plate XII. Golconda.

Scale *25

(b) Inscription in the tomb of Neknam Khan, Golconda.

Scale *142
INSCRIPTIONS IN THE GOLCONDA TOMBS.

filled with imperial dignity, to this effect that the Muqaddams (headmen), Kulkarnis (accountants) and the people of the village of Mangalwaram in the division of Janwal, popularly known as Hasanabad, being expectant of the royal favours, should know that we, of our royal generosity, which provides for the condition of all our devoted subjects, have, from the beginning of the year 1074 A.H., set apart the revenues of the said village as an endowment for the alms-house, the lights, the reciters of the Qur'an and the servants of the tomb of Naksam Khan, whose sins are forgiven and whose abode is in Paradise, in order that the revenues be devoted to and spent on these objects until the time of the appearance of His Holiness the Lord of the Age (the Mahdi)—may the blessings of God be upon him (from the Bounteous King)! It is necessary, therefore, that officers, agents, Despandans (accountants of the parganas), Thalkarnis (accountants of the division), Muqaddams (headmen) and Kulkarnis (accountants of the village) of the above-mentioned division should regard the said village as assigned and apportioned for the expenses of the alms-house, the lights, the servants and the reciters of the Qur'an attached to the tomb of the aforesaid person, whose sins are forgiven, and should not raise any objection to the continuance (of the endowment for the purpose). And in this matter they should observe great care and strict (lit. unquestionable) diligence. And if anybody disobeys the contents of the Farmān, irresistible as fate, he shall be overtaken by the curse of God and the imprecation of the prophet of God. But he who shall change it, after he hath heard it, surely the sin thereof shall be on those who change it, for God is he who heareth and knoweth. Written on the 12th of Jamada II, 1084 A.H. (Sunday, 14th September, 1673 A.D.). Thb death of Naksam Khan, whose sins are forgiven (occurred) on the 10th of Zu'l Hijja 1083 A.H. (Wednesday, 19th March, 1673 A.D.). Written by Muhammad Sadīq, son of 'Ali, the calligrapher: may God pardon his sins!

XII.—Inscriptions in the tomb of 'Abdullah Qub Shāh.

The mausoleum of the king is a replica of the tombs of his parents, Sultan Muhammad Qub Shāh and Hayat Baksh Begam, which have been already described (ante, pp. 32-35). The sarcophagus is decorated with calligraphic devices of exquisite style comprising religious texts and Qur'ānic verses. They are arranged in this order:—

Top slab—Qur'an (Ch. III, verse 16); Shi'i creed and the date 1083 A.H.

Along the sides—Band I, Throne verse.

Bands II-III, Qur'an (Ch. II, verses 285-86).

Band IV, Qur'an (Chaps. XCVII, CIX and CXII-CXIV).

Band V, Shi'i Durād and Nādi 'Alt.

The inscription giving the date of 'Abdullah Qub Shāh's death occurs on the southern and the western sides of the tomb, and it is quite legible being written in the Naskh characters. The date, as given in the epitaph, was once the subject of much controversy; but since it has

1 Naksam Khan died in 1083 A.H., so that the grant of the revenues from 1074 A.H., nine years before his death, is somewhat unusual. There are several mistakes in the inscription and it is not unlikely that 1074 is also a mistake for 1094. This view gains support from the date of the promulgation of the order, recorded at the end of the inscription, which is 1084 A.H.

2 A collection of miniatures and calligraphic specimens, preserved at the British Museum (Add. 21,154), contains a writing bearing the signature of one Muhammad Sadīq and the date 1108 A.H. The writer of the inscription may be identified with this calligrapher, for there is a difference of only eighteen years between the dates given in the inscription and the writing preserved in the British Museum. This surmise gains support by the fact that the work of another Deccan artist (portrait of the grandson of Abul Hasan Tani Shāh) is included in the above collection.
been corroborated by contemporary. English Factory records preserved in the India Office, the question is finally settled.\(^1\) I have read the inscription as follows:—

**PLATE XIII (a).**

---

(1) تاریخ رنی بادشاہ جنت بارگاہ سلطان علی بابا نسب شاه بن سلطان محمد

(2) قطب‌شیا یوم الحید سیم ماه خمسه ساله ساله ساله ساله ساله ساله

(3) جلسے سنگیاہا یوم الربعہ جہنارہم ماعم جامدی اولی سالہ سالہ سالہ

---

**TRANSLATION.**

The date of the demise of the king of heavenly court, Sultan 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh, son of Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, is Sunday, the 3rd of Muharram, 1083 A.H. (April 21, 1672 A.D.), and the date of his felicitous birth 28th Shawwal, 1023 A.H. (November 21, 1614 A.D.). His auspicious accession (took place) on Wednesday, the fourteenth of Jumada I, 1035 A.H. (1st February, 1626 A.D.). The length of his reign was forty-eight years and the period of his noble life sixty years.

**XIII.—Inscriptions on the tomb of Fatimah Khānām, daughter of 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh.**

Near the unfinished tomb of Abūl Ḥasan and to the south-west of 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh's mausoleum stands the sepulchre of his daughter Fatimah Khānām. This building is also incomplete and probably could not be finished owing to the unsettled condition of affairs at the capital through the constant menace of the Mughal invasion. On the sarcophagus the benedictory verses are carved in this order:—

Tep. slab—Names of Allah, Muḥammad and 'Ali, Qur'ān (Ch. III, verse 16) and the date 1087 A.H.

Along the sides—Band I, the throne verse.

Band II, Qur'ān (Ch. II, verses 285-86).

Band III, Qur'ān (Chaps. XCII, CVII, CIX and CXII-CXIV)

Band IV, Shi'ite Durrūd.

The inscription containing the name of the lady occurs between bands III and IV and I have deciphered it as follows:—

**PLATE XIII (b).**

---

(1) رنی جنگ مکتی خانم بنت سلطان علی بابا قطب‌شیا بیستم ساله شوال

---

**TRANSLATION.**

The death of (the lady) whose abode is Paradise, Fatimah Khānām, daughter of 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh, occurred on the 20th of Shawwal, 1087 A.H. (Saturday, 16th December, 1676 A.D.).

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\(^1\) *Journal of the Hyderabad Archæological Society*, 1917, pp. 89-82, and 1918, pp. 95-96

\(^2\) Haig reads پیامدق مکتی

\(^3\) Haig's reading is مکتی
Inscription on the grave of `Abdullah Qubshah, Golconda.

Inscription on the grave of Fatima Khanam, Golconda.
REMARKS ON THE DATE OF A COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KHANDESH.

By G. Yazdani.

In the last number of this Journal (1913-14, pp. 5-12) Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi published an article on a copper plate grant which was found in the Aurangabad district. The figures indicating the Hijra year of the grant are somewhat indistinct in the inscription and, to decipher them correctly, Dr. Modi has made use of the Muslim date of the month and the day of the week, which are fortunately clear in the record. He argues—"All these considerations give us the following two dates, more or less probable:—

917 Hijra.
1017 Hijra.

Which of these two is the correct date? It seems that it is 1017. The Muhammadan date of the month and the day of the week help us to the conclusion. The day of the week is Panjehabanah, i.e. Friday, and the date is the 12th and the month is Shabban. Now we find, as a matter of fact, that in 1017 the 12th of Shabban was a Friday. This settles our doubts and fixes the date."

Dr. Modi has committed a mistake in regarding Friday as the corresponding English week-day to Panjehabanah, which really corresponds to Thursday. The difference of a day, however, does not affect the determination of the figures of the year, which remain 1017 as in the previous case, because, according to a system of reckoning, to which my attention has been kindly drawn by L. D. Swami Kanna, Esq., Collector of Nellore, the 12th of Shabban, 1017, falls on Thursday also. Mr. Swami Kanna has discussed this point fully and I give below his letter on the subject.

"You ask that I should calculate the week-day and English equivalent of 12th Shabban, 1017 A.H. You say that Thursday is quoted in the inscription, whereas, according to my Ephemeris, giving Hindu and Muhammadan equivalents for every day in the year from A.D. 700 to A.D. 1799, of which work the Government of Madras have just ordered the publication, the week day is Friday and the English date, 11th November, A.D. 1688."

"However, the difference of one day in week-day citations is not unusual in Muhammadan dates and the fact has been noticed in Cunningham's Indian Eras and other works of the same kind. As noticed at page 197 in the explanation to Table XV of my Indian Chronology, the 7th, 18th and 26th years of every cycle of 30 Hijra years are, by some authorities, reckoned as leap years containing 355 days instead of 354. Let us call these authorities A. By other authorities, which we might call B, the 8th, 19th and 27th years of each cycle are reckoned as leap years and in this system of course the 7th, 18th and 26th years would be ordinary years. In system A, week-days in the 8th, 19th and 27th years would be one day later than in system B, because, in system A, the 9th, 19th and 27th years would begin one week-day later than in system B.

"Now the 34th cycle of Hijra years began with Hijra 991 (A.D. 1583). Consequently, Hijra 1017 was the 27th year of the cycle which, in system B, would be a leap year, and in system A would be a year following a leap year. My Ephemeris, following the Encyclopedia Britannica, Art. Calendar, Vol. IV, p. 1001, 2nd ed. (11th edition), reckons the calendar according to the A system. On this system Hijra 1016 commencing in April 1607 and, being the 26th year of the cycle, would have been a leap year, and 12th Shabban of the following year, A.H. 1017, would have been Friday, 11th November, A.D. 1608. It is so shown in my Ephemeris and would be the same according to the Encyclopedia Britannica."
"Your inscription apparently follows system B in reckoning A.H. 1016, the 26th year of the 34th cycle, as an ordinary year, and A.H. 1017, the 27th year, as a leap year. According to this reckoning, the 12th Shab-e-pour would have been 10th November, A.D. 1603, and a Thursday.

Another interpretation is possible. A large number of Muhammadans reckon the days of the Lunar month according to the Jewish system, that is, they do not regard a month as having begun until they actually see, or have evidence of some one who has seen, what is called the 1st phasis, or 1st appearance, of the crescent. According to astronomical calculation, the 1st crescent of the month in question would have been visible on Sunday, 30th October 1603, and, in this case, Thursday evening, 10th November 1603, would have been the beginning of 12th Shab-e-pour.

Connected with this present investigation is a point upon which I should like some light to be thrown by competent Muhammadan authorities. The point is this. In sections 123 to 125 of Indian Chronology I have shown that the Muhammadan Calendar reckons 29 days and 12 hrs. to an ordinary month and removes the difference of 44 minutes by inserting a leap year occasionally. Those who observe the 8th, 19th and 27th years of every cycle as leap years insert a day whenever the error is likely to accumulate to more than 1 day at the end of the following year; whereas those who observe the 7th, 18th and 26th years as leap years insert a day to avoid an error amounting to more than half a day at the end of the following year. Now the synodic month, or proper interval between New Moon and New Moon, is 29 days 12 hrs. 44 minutes and 3 seconds. The 3 seconds are not reckoned in the Muhammadan Calendar, probably because it will take more than a thousand years for this error to amount to even half a day. But in 1200 lunar years of 12 months each, or 40 cycles of 30 years each, the error amounts to just half a day and 1/4 hrs. more. According to the theory of the Muhammadan Calendar in the system which I have called A, and which is the prevailing system according to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, a special leap year would be necessary now to compensate for this error, amounting, as it does, to over half a day. I wonder if this point has attracted the notice of Muhammadan astronomers."

The last paragraph of Mr. Swamikannu's letter is of special interest to students of Muslim chronology.
PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

EPIGRAPHIA INDO-MOSLEMICA

EDITED BY

G. YAZDANI, M.A.,
DIRECTOR OF ARCHAEOLOGY, H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS, AND GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHER FOR MOSLEM INSCRIPTIONS.

1917-18

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CALCUTTA
SUPERINTENDENT GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA
1921

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INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BĪJAPŪR KINGS.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BĪJAPŪR KINGS, 'ALĪ 'ĀDIL SHĀH I AND IBRĀHĪM 'ĀDIL SHĀH II, FROM NALDRUG, NIZĀM’S DOMINIONS.

By G. YAZDANI.

Naldrûg (17° 49' N. and 76° 29' E.) is a small town in the Osmānābād district of the Nizām’s Dominions. The tradition, ascribing the foundation of the town to Raja Nala, goes back to the time of Firīshṭa who, while describing the warfare between ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh of Bijapur and Ḥusain Nizām Shāh of Ahmad Nagar in the year 966 A.H. (1559 A.D.), mentions Naldrûg as “the place where Raja Nula had formerly erected a strong fortress.” After the advent of the Muslims in the Deccan the Fort seems to have been included in the kingdom of the Bahmani-dynasty, for in the reign of ‘Aḥān-u-d-Dīn Bahmani II (1435-58), we find Naldrûg one of the six forts of the kingdom seized by his brother Muḥammad Khān by the aid of the Vijayanagar king. Later, in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmani III (1463-82), when the empire was divided into eight provinces by the talented minister, Maḥmūd Gāwān, Naldrûg, with Sholapur, Sagur and Gulbarga, was entrusted to the Abyssinian eunuch Dastūr Dīnār. On the extinction of the Bahmani dynasty the Fort fell to the ‘Ādil Shāhīs and in 966-68 A.H. (1558-60 A.D.) ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh made extensive additions in the fortifications of the Fort, for its position on the border between his kingdom and that of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar had made it a bone of contention between them.

‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh also changed the name of Naldrûg into Shāhīdrug, which appears to have never become popular; but in Firīshṭa’s history this name frequently occurs in the account of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II (1560-1628).

During the reign of the latter monarch, the Fort of Naldrûg was the base of his operations against the Qub Shāhs and Ahmad Shāh kings and it is often referred to in this connection in

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2. Ibid., pp. 421-23.
3. Ibid., pp. 502-03.
4. Ibid., p. 122, and Basāltinw-Salāfīn, p. 88.
5. This fact is mentioned in a MS. in my Office Library described further in this Journal (infra, p. 4). The MS. contains the following account of Naldrûg Fort:

6

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contemporary writings. In 995 A.H. (1587 A.D.) Naldrug was the scene of a magnificent ceremony, the marriage of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh to Princess Malika Jahān, the beautiful sister of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh, which was arranged to maintain peace between the rival dynasties of Bijapur and Golconda.

In 1686 Aurangzeb conquered Bijapur, and Naldrug, with other towns of the Ādil Shāh territory, was annexed to the Mughal kingdom. After the establishment of the Āṣif Jahī dynasty in the Deccan, the town seems to have come into their possession, and it was one of the districts surrendered by the Nizam’s Government to the Government of India under the treaty of 1853. Naldrug was, however, restored in 1860 together with the Raichur Doab.

Of the inscriptions, which are two in number, one (Pl. I b) records the building of a mosque and a Fort by Khwāja Ni‘matulla in 968 A.D., in the reign of Ālit Ādil Shāh. The mosque alluded to in the inscription is undoubtedly the building on which the inscription is carved and the Fort is the Naldrug Fortressthe reconstruction of which, under the superintendence of Ni‘matulla in the reign of Ālit Ādil Shāh, is mentioned by Firuz Shāh and also recorded in the Basatin-e-Salān. The late Colonel Meadows Taylor, who visited the Fort in 1883, has given a very accurate description of it in his autobiography—The Story of my Life (pp. 286-87). He writes:

"The Fort of Naldrug was one of the most interesting places I had ever seen. It enclosed the surface of a knoll or plateau of basalt rock which jutted out into the valley or ravine of the small river Bori from the main plateau of the country, and was almost level. The sides of this knoll were sheer precipices of basalt, here and there showing distinct columnar and prismatic formation, and varying from 50 to 200 feet in height, the edge of the plateau being 200 feet, more or less, above the river, which flowed at the base of the precipice on two sides of the fort. Along the crest of the cliff on three sides ran the fortifications—bastions and curtains alternately, some of the former being very firmly built of cut and dressed basalt, and large enough to carry heavy guns; and the parapets of the machicolated curtains were everywhere loopholed for musketry. On the west side the promontory joined the main plateau by a somewhat contracted neck, also strongly fortified by a high rampart, with very roomy and massive bastions; below it a fausse-braie, with the same; then a broad, deep, dry ditch, cut for the most part out of the basalt itself; a counterscarp, about 20 or 25 feet high, with a covered way; and beyond it a glacis and esplanade, up to the limits of the town.

"The entire circumference of the enceinte might have been about a mile and a half, and the garrison, in former times, must have been very large, for nearly the whole of the interior was covered by ruined walls, and had been laid out as a town with a wide street running up the centre. All the walls and bastions were in perfect repair, and the effect of the fort outside was not only grim and massive, but essentially picturesque."

The mosque is a small structure consisting of a hall (42' 6" x 30") and a courtyard (42' 6" x 13' 6"). By the insertion of masonry pillars the hall has been divided into two aisles, each of which has three arched openings towards the east. The inscriptive tablet is fixed on the northern door of the mosque, which is rather low and built in the pillar-and-lintel style. The tablet is of polished black basalt and measures 4' 6" x 1' 2".

The language of the inscription is Arabic and the style of writing is Taghra of a very picturesque kind. The scribe was probably a Persian artist. I have read the inscription as follows:

PLATE I (b).

في عهد السلطان البرو المظفر علي عادلشاه خلاب الله ملكه قد بدأ (sic) هذا المسجد ر
الحمار في زمان راحة الله بن خراجه اسماعيل كرد خراجي نهاري 948 سنة 968.
PLATE I. (a) Inscription in the Pani Mahall, Naldurg Fort.

(b) Inscription over the doorway of a mosque at Naldurg.

Scale 1\textsuperscript{1}66

(c) Inscription carved on the wall of a well at Narsapur (Hyderabad State).

Scale 1

Scale 1\textsuperscript{1}
TRANSLATION.

During the reign of the Sultan, Abu-l-Muzaffar ‘Ali ‘Adil Shāh—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—this mosque and the Fort were built simultaneously by Ni’matullā, son of Khwāja Ismā’īl Kūrdu Khirbāji of Nihawand, in 968 A.H. (1560 A.D.).

The other inscription is carved on a marble tablet (1’ 9” x 1’ 4½”) fixed in the Pānt Māhal (Water Pavilion), which is a set of rooms built in the thickness of a stone dam erected across the river Bort. The dam is a fine example of old engineering and extends to a length of 572 feet, while the width differs, at various points, from 8 to 47 feet. The height from the river bed is 63 feet. The entire construction of the band is extremely massive and ingenious. It has three sluices at different heights and also arrangements on the top for overflow in time of flood. The dam, by retaining water, afforded an unlimited supply to the garrison, which was no small advantage in a long siege.

The Māhal (Pavilion) built in the thickness of the band comprises the hall (23’ x 20’ 10”), a balcony (26’ 3” x 3’ 6”) overlooking the river and two small side rooms. In the rainy season the balcony affords a glorious sight of the river; the flooding waters of which fall from the top of the building forming a huge spray. Besides these rooms the architect designed an apartment in the band for a mill, which was worked by the water of the river.

My office MS. (infra, p. 4) records that the band was constructed by ‘Ali ‘Adil Shāh I; but according to the date contained in the inscription it was built in the year 1022 A.H. (1613 A.D.), during the reign of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shāh II. The architect’s name, which is given in the inscription, is Mr Muhammad ‘Imādin (‘Imād-i-dīn).

The inscription consists of four lines of Persian verse which are written in very distinct and elegant Nas̄kh characters. I have read the lines as follows:—

\[
\text{PLATE I (a).}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(1) & \text{ از حضرت شاه دین بناء منصر} \\
(2) & \text{ در بستان این سد ربتوندی آله} \\
(3) & \text{ از دیوان این چشم مکان رشان} \\
(4) & \text{ از دل کرم سرال تاریخ شکفت} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{1523}
\]

TRANSLATION.

(1) From the court of the king, the refuge of the faith, the victorious, Mr Muhammad ‘Imādin (‘Imād-i-dīn, or ‘Imādun-dīn) was appointed.

(2) To build this band which, by the grace of God, has attained fame like Alexander’s ramparts.

(3) By looking at it (the band) the eyes of friends brighten and the eyes of enemies are blinded.

(4) I inquired of my intellect about the date of the building. The intellect said: “May this dam by the grace of the king remain intact.” 1022 A.H. (1613 A.D.).
INSCRIPTION OF KHAFI KHAN FROM NARSAPUR (HYDERABAD STATE).

BY G. YAZDANI.

Narsapur is now the head-quarters of a Taluqa in the late Nawab Khurshid Jâb’s Paigah in H. E. H. the Nizam’s Dominions, and it is situated 32 miles north of Hyderabad. A manuscript in my office library (No. 482a), containing a statistical account of the Deccan in the early part of the 18th century, describes Narsapur as a Pargana in the Medak Sarkar yielding a revenue of Rs. 79,178.1

The inscription was brought to my notice in 1915 by W. A. Gayer, Esq., Deputy Director-General of Police, Hyderabad, who had come to know of it through his assistant, Mr. Muhammad Yunus. I visited Narsapur in the cold weather of 1917 and found the inscription tablet in situ fixed into the wall of a large well, the construction of which is commemorated by the inscription.

The most important feature of the record is the mention of the title Khâfî Khân, about the exact significance of which there has been a difference of opinion among scholars. Morley (Catalogue, p. 100) led by popular belief, which still exists, considered that Khâfî was from Khâfi, to conceal,2 and that the title had an allusion to the fact that the author’s great work, written in spite of Aurangzeb’s well-known prohibition, was a concealed account of the monarch’s reign. Rieu observes that the author did not enter upon the composition of the work until after Aurangzeb’s death, so there were no apparent reasons for him to conceal the work. According to Rieu the title is taken from the author’s nisbah Khwâfî from Khwâfî, a district in Khurasan near Naishapur.3

Elliot also arrived at the same conclusion and remarked:—“What is confirmatory of this opinion is that not only does Ghulam ‘Ali Shâh style our author Muhammad Hashim, the son of Khwaja Mir Khwâfî, but he himself gives his father’s name as Mir Khwâfî.”4 It is not known in what work of the author Elliot saw his father’s name. The text of the Muntakhab-ul-hab (Bibl. Ind.) contains the name of one Khwaja Kalan Khwâfî, who was the maternal uncle (Khalîl) of the author.5 Professor ‘Abdu-l-Muqtadir of Patna College and Hafiz Nazir Ahmad of the Asiatic Society of Bengal have kindly drawn my attention to the heading of a chapter on Farsâkh Siyar in an anonymous historical MS., preserved in the Library at Bankipore (No. 590), which deals with the administration of the successors of Aurangzeb up to the thirtieth year of Shâh ‘Alam II’s reign (1789 A.D.). The heading runs thus:—

صرت عبارت محمد هاشم بن خواجه میر مقر تاریخ که خرافي الفضل من زمرين نمک پرورین
صاحبقلی کانی شاه جهان باشاد میر در رضی سلطان مراد بخش پردیس رازی کی
که متضمن احوال اکثر سلطانین هند ر خصوصا باشادشاهان تیموریه ناگاهتی تا ایتادی عهد محمد شاه
بن جهان شاه بن بادر شاه لجیسه نژادر مر آرده

Elliot seems to have noticed this heading, for the information contained therein is incorporated in his book. But it is the author of the anonymous work that mentions Khwaja Mir as the

1 This MS. mentions Sulbânpur as another name of Narsapur.
4 Muntakhab-ul-hab (Pt. II, p. 542) contains the name of one Shaikh Mir Khwâfî, but from the context it cannot be inferred that he was the father of the author.
name of Khāfī Khan's father and not Khāfī Khan himself, as stated by Elliot. The author of the anonymous work lived about half a century later than Khāfī Khan and it is not impossible that he may have confused the latter's father with his maternal uncle whose name, as I have stated above, was Khwāja Kālān and whose nisbah was Khwāfī.

There is, however, no doubt that Khāfī Khan's nisbah was Khwāfī and this style is not new to the students of Indian history; but the point is that in no case has it been abbreviated into Khāfī, the form in which it occurs in the Muntakhābu-l-lubāb, as also in the inscription. In the printed text of the Ma'āthīrul-UMāra (Bibl. Ind.) the spelling of the name is not uniform—in some places it has been spelt Khwāfī Khān, while at others it has been written Khāfī Khān without the 'fā'. It is, therefore, not certain in what manner Shāhnawāz Khān, the author of the Ma'āthīrul-UMāra, spelt the name in the original manuscript. The spelling, Khāfī Khan, adopted in the inscription and used also in the author's history, induces one to agree with Morley that during Aurangzeb's reign, in spite of his prohibition, there was a historian in 'concealment,' who was carefully noticing the events of his reign and who, after the monarch's demise, compiled a history of the period. This view gains support from the author's own statement. He writes:

And whatsoever, after arriving at years of discretion, I had for thirty or forty years seen with my own eyes and laid up in the box of my memory, that I have written.

Tradition ascribes the giving of the title to Muhammād Shāh, whose court was full of jesters, and it is not curious that the king should have ennobled the author with this funny title, based partly on his nisbah and partly on the circumstances in which his great work was compiled.

Khāfī Khan's life has not been noticed in any contemporary work and the particulars given by Elliot are derived from various references occurring incidentally in the Muntakhābu-l-lubāb. The exact year of Khāfī Khan's birth is not mentioned in his work; but it may be determined, with a possible difference of two or three years, from the following passage:

1 In the Muntakhābu-l-lubāb, Vol. III (Apāsya Library MSS. Nos. 216 and 403), the author writes:


3 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 228.

4 Elliot writes:—"It is not impossible that Muhammād Shāh may have indulged in a joke upon the author's original name, and may have expressed himself in some such phrase to the effect that the author was now really Khwāfī." History of India, Vol. VII, p. 299.

Sa’dulla Khān died in 1066 A.H., so that if we add seventy-four years to it we get the date 1140 A.H. At this time a period of 52 years had elapsed since Khāfi Khān attained to the age of discretion, which may be fixed at sixteen to eighteen years. The birth of the author, therefore, must have taken place between the years 1070-72 A.H. (1659-61 A.D.).

His father was a devoted servant of Prince Murād Bakhtar, whom he accompanied even in the days of the Prince's misfortune and was not tempted to join Aurangzeb's service. When Murād Bakhtar was imprisoned in the Fort at Gwalior, he stayed outside the Fort and planned to rescue the Prince by escalading the walls in the night. The plan, however, failed through the folly of Murād Bakhtar's concubine, Sarsun Bāi, whose cries roused the guards. Khāfi Khān's maternal uncle, Khwaja Kalān, held the office of Diwan of Ujjain and his cousin Muḥammad Murād Khān was a trusted servant of Aurangzeb and was employed in different capacities. Before the conquest of Golconda he was the Royal Ambassador at the court of Abu-l-Hasan. Khāfi Khān himself seems to have been employed in both military and political situations under Aurangzeb. In 1093 A.H. (1682 A.D.) he was with the Imperial army which was sent to besiege the Fort of Ramnag in the Deccan. Later on he was with the staff of ‘Abdu-r-Razzaq, Faujdar of Rātheri (Western India), and in that capacity visiting the English Factors at Surat in connection with the plundering of the Mughal boats. In 1119 A.H. (1707-08 A.D.) he was present in the battle which was fought between Shāh ‘Alam I and Kam Bakhtar; but he does not write in what capacity he witnessed the scene.

Afterwards he was employed as Diwan and Officer-in-charge of the entertainment of the Persian prince, Mirza Muḥammad Hāqim, a maternal grandson, in third descent, of Shāh ‘Abbās of Persia, who came out to India when Shāh ‘Alam I occupied the throne of Delhi. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar, Nizām-i-Mulk, the first Nizām of Hyderabad, appointed Khāfi Khān a Diwan in his service. This office he seems to have retained for a considerable time, and in 1140 A.H., the date of the inscription, he probably occupied the same office.

Khāfi Khān travelled much in India and his history of the later period of Aurangzeb's rule and of the reigns of his successors is particularly valuable, for he writes as an eye-witness to many an event.

Khāfi Khān was an honest and just man and rather liberal in his religious views. He, however, despised idolatry, and while speaking of the wooden images of Christ and the Virgin Mary at Hughli he observes that in English churches the representations are not in the form of idols. He writes that he often lived in company with the Christian divines and discussed religious questions with them. Khāfi Khān was a Sunni, but he was deeply interested in doctrines wherein the opinions of the various Islamic schools of theology differed. He had great faith in Sufi Faqirs and he was probably a disciple of Mīr Naṣīr-al-dīn of Herat. He died in 1144 A.H. (1731-32 A.D.).

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2 Khāfi Khān also mentions a maternal uncle of his father, Zainul-Abidin Khān, whom he styles the founder of Anrangabad (Pt. II, p. 555). Zainul-Abidin Khān was the Diwan of Burhānpūr in 1076 A.H. (1665 A.D.), and in 1077 A.H. (1666 A.D.) was appointed Officer-in-charge of the affairs of the Port of Surat (Ibid., pp. 299-300).
3 Idem, p. 290.
4 Probably meaning the Protestant churches.
The inscription is carved in three lines on a tablet of pinkish sandstone measuring 4’ 6” x 1’ 6”. The language is Persian and the style of writing is Nastaliq. The inscription is in verse and I have deciphered it as follows:

PLATE I (c).

چشمه شیرین درین قصبه نبود کر زالش تشهنه را لب چر برد
سالخی خاندان چنین چه اه لطیف موج آبین جسم را جوهر برد
هانفی گفت از بین تاریخ سال چشمه پاییزه از کوترا برد 1

سنه 1140

TRANSLATION.

This town had no sweet spring;
The limpid waters of which could moisten the lips of the thirsty.

Khāfī Khān constructed this fine well,
The waves of the waters of which are life to the (human) body.
Hātif composed the chronogram thus:

"It is a spring purer than the Kauṭhar."²


¹ The metre of these lines is Ṭamal.
² According to another reading the verse may be translated thus:

An unknown inspirer suggested the following chronogram, "This is a pure spring, flowing out of Kauṭhar."
INSRIPTIONS OF THE KHALJI SULTANS OF DELHI AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES IN BENGAL.

By G. Yazdani.

Of the thirty-seven inscriptions dealt with in this article, thirty-one belong to the reigns of the Khalji Sultans,3 'Ala‘u-d-Din and Mubarak Shâh, and six to their contemporary kings in Bengal, Kaikâ'us and Firoz Shâh. The earliest and the latest epigraphs of 'Ala‘u-d-Din, which are dated 698 and 715 A.H., respectively, come by a coincidence from Hânsi, which was an important military centre during the time of the early Musulman rulers of India, being situated on the route which passed from Bhatinda to Delhi and was often followed by the raiders from the North-West. Hânsi possesses four more inscriptions of 'Ala‘u-d-Din, proving again the importance of the town at the time. The other epigraphs of 'Ala‘u-d-Din come from Fatehpur Sikri, Budaun, Bângarman (Uana District), and Râpri (Mainpuri District) in the United Provinces; Rohtak in the Panjab; Delhi, the capital; Bayânâ in Rajputana; and Petlâd in the Baroda State. These places fairly represent the stretch of the country which in a settled condition was under the sway of 'Ala‘u-d-Din, although his conquests touched the furthestmost corners of the Indian peninsula.

Mubarak Shâh's reign is represented by five epigraphs, three of which are from Bayânâ, one from the Mirzâpur District, another from Cambay and another from the Aurangabad District in the Nizam's Dominions, indicating precisely the limits of his kingdom.

Of the inscriptions of Bengal kings, three belong to Kaikâ'us, having been found at Lakhisarai (Monghyr District), Tribeni (Hooghly District) and Devtkot (Dinajpur District). The reign of Firoz Shâh also claims three epigraphs, two coming from Bihar and one from Tribeni. The existence of all the early Muslim inscriptions of Bengal in Bihar and the country bordering it in the north and north-east shows that the Muslim Art had not penetrated into the interior of the Province during the first century of the Musulman rule.

Apart from these geographical details, the inscriptions furnish interesting data regarding the chronology and political events of the period. To wit, Kaikâ'us, son of Nasiru-d-Din Bughra Khan, whose name was altogether omitted by the court chroniclers of Delhi from the list of the rulers of Bengal, is affirmed by no less than three inscriptions to have been a king about the years 697-98 A.H.2 Again, Governor Zafar Khan, whose origin and life the local tradition had treated as a myth, is proved to have been a historical personage by three epigraphs and his name, race and the province under his government are described.3 Another inscription, from Petlâd (Baroda State), clears the confusion caused by 'Alt Muhammad Khan (author of the Mir’at-i-Ahmâdit) and Firshâta regarding the Governor of Gujarat who in 715 A.H. was, at the instance of Malik Kâfûr, called to the capital and slain there. The inscription

1 Cunningham had seen another Khalji inscription belonging to the reign of 'Ala‘u-d-Din, at Bayânâ, the tablet of which is not to be found now, although a careful search for it has been made. Cunningham describes the tablet as standing outside the Nohâra Masjid (Ukha Mosque). The removal of the tablet in view of the elaborate character of its writing is not a strange circumstance. A facsimile of the inscription is however preserved in A. S. R., Vol. XX, Pt. 14, and, with a view to compare it with other contemporary inscriptions, I have reproduced it in Plate XXIV attached to this essay. The inscription is fragmentary and contains only the name and a few of the titles of 'Ala‘u-d-Din.

2 See Inscriptions I-III. To Thomas belongs the credit of arranging the genealogy of the descendants of Bughra Khan from information given by the acute African traveller, Ibari-Bâtûta, in collation with the data furnished by inscriptions and coins.

3 See inscriptions II, III and XXVIII, pp. 11-15 and 33. Also compare Mr. D. Money's article, Temples of Tricesi, J. A. S. B., Vol. XVI, pp. 395-96.
The inscriptions studied in this essay may also prove useful to the students of Indian architecture as fixing the date of several important structures, namely, the ‘Ala’i Darwaza at Delhi, the Jhalar Bâoli and Ukha Masjid at Bayânâ, the ‘Idgah at Râpri, the Zafar Khân’s tomb at Trâbent, etc. The greatest interest of the epigraphs, however, lies in their literary and calligraphic features. For example, inscription III on Zafar Khân’s Mosque at Trâbent is the earliest Indian epigraph in Arabic verse, and all the more interesting because of its containing a chronogram at its end, which is the oldest example of its kind in Muslim epigraphy. Inscription VIII, on the Barst Gate of Hânsi, on the other hand represents the earliest Muslim epigraph in Persian verse. Inscription XXX again from Hânsi, like the well-known chronogram of Babur’s birth, Shâh Muharram, indicates the week-day and the date of the month in respect of the completion of a building by the phrase, “Dawum mâthi Muharramo roz Jim’u,” while the year according to the Abjad system is obtainable from the numerical value of the letters constituting the phrase.

Of the total thirty-seven inscriptions, fifteen are in Arabic, one of which, as already stated, is in verse. The remaining twenty-two inscriptions are in Persian, seven of them being in verse and the rest in prose. The language of the Persian prose inscriptions has a strong admixture of Arabic words and phrases, so much so that some of the inscriptions with the exclusion of one or two words can be rendered into Arabic. The inscriptions in Persian verse cannot be classed as brilliant compositions and they seem to have been the work of ordinary poets.

The styles of writing represented by these inscriptions range themselves under two main classes; the bold, vigorous script of Delhi and the highly stylish ornamental characters of Bengal. The artistic genius of Delhi at this time was characterized by a lofty idealism, combined with a scrupulous sense of the perfection of the minutest detail and Ferguson’s remark on the architecture of the period—“They built like Titans and finished like jewellers”—may appropriately be applied to the calligraphic productions of the age. The giant size of the ‘Ala’i Darwaza inscriptions with the beauty of the characters and the elegance of their arrangement, indeed, marks the culminating point of the Delhi calligraphic style of the early period (Plates VII-IX). The artistic merits of the style in places away from the capital diminish in proportion to their distance. The script, being fairly good at Hânsi, becomes somewhat rugged at Bayânâ and altogether clumsy at Peltâd and Khuldubâd.

The script of Bengal on the other hand has been characterized from the beginning by delicacy of form and subtlety of arrangement. These features may be noticed in the earliest Muslim epigraph there, the Bâri Dargâh inscription at Bihar dated 649 A.H. The intricate designs of the two Firoz Shâh inscriptions, published in this essay (Plates VI b and XII), indicate the early forms of the fine Tughâra writing of Bengal, which reached its climax a century and a half later during the reigns of the Hâbshi kings and the house of Husein Shâh.

In collecting the material for this essay, I am greatly indebted to the Superintendents of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern, Northern and Western Circles, who were kind enough to furnish me with inked rubbings of the inscriptions in their respective circles.

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1 See inscription XXVII, also Bayley’s History of Gujarat, p. 99.
2 See Pls. IV, XI, XIII and XXIII.
3 E.I.M., 1912-14, Pl. V.
I.—Inscription of King Kaikā's of Bengal, found at Lakhisarai (Monghyr).

Blochmann, in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII (1873), has noticed an inscription of Kaikā's from Khagol (Khagaul, Dinapur Subdivision, Patna District), which is identical with our inscription in its wording as well as style of writing and, further, as the mark of the stone being broken occurs in both the records, at the same place, there remains no doubt that they are one and the same inscription. Now, the rubbing of the inscription on which Blochmann's reading is based was sent to him by Cunningham who had either found the inscription at Khagol or was camping there at the time he forwarded the rubbing, which led Blochmann to believe that the inscription belonged to that place.

In the cold season of 1917 Maulawi Jamālu-d-dīn, Assistant to the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, sent me rubbings of some inscriptions of Bengal, in which this inscription was also included, and it was marked by him as having been found in an anonymous tomb at Lakhisarai in the Monghyr District. To make certain of the provenance of the epigraph I requested the Archaeological Superintendent, Eastern Circle, to enquire into the matter through the Collector of Monghyr, who was kind enough to subsequently report that the inscription stone had been lying near an anonymous tomb at Lakhisarai for a very long time and the custodian of the local Dargah, as well as the old residents of the place, state that they have always seen it there. As the inscription does not belong to the tomb where it is lying, and the local people are not interested in it, I would suggest that Government should arrange to have it removed to the Museum at Bankapore, because the inscription is important from a historic point of view, being one of the three inscriptions of Kaikā's whose name is omitted from the list of the rulers of Bengal, as given by Persian historians, and whose period of reign has been determined only by epigraphic and numismatic evidence.

The fact that Kaikā's was a son of Nasiru-d-dīn Mahammad (Bughra Khan) is recorded by Amr Khurasani in his well-known poem—Qirāna-s-Sa'dain; but the annals of Bengal of this period were apparently disregarded by the Delhi historians and the genealogy of the descendants of Bughra Khan (1282-91 A.D.) up to the accession of Ghiathu-d-dīn Bahadur (1319-30 A.D.) was constructed for the first time by Thomas from information contributed by Ibn-i-Baqi' and in collaboration with that supplied by coins and inscriptions. The numismatic evidence places the reign of Kaikā's between 691-702 A.H., while the inscriptions confirm him as the ruler of Bengal in 697 and 698 A.H.

Besides the name of Kaikā's the inscription contains the name of Firoz Aitigî and Ulugh Khan, who were governor and deputy-governor, respectively, of the extreme western districts of the kingdom of Bengal, as then constituted. Among the titles used with the names of Kaikā's—

مختصر مرتضى ملک العرب و المرحوم صلی الله عليه و آله وسلم

frequently appear on the inscriptions of the early Turk Sultanats of Delhi, and the title

سندر عالم

was used by Balban, the grandfather of Kaikā's. The title

ad-dīn Khâlîjî, and its assumption by a governor of Bengal seems to indicate that, at the time, the relations between the Delhi Court and the kings of Bengal were strained.

9770-1, dated 21st September, 1918, from Rai Bahadur G. C. Banerji, Officer-in-Charge, Monghyr, to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle.

2 Chronicles of the Pathan Kings, pp. 146-48, and Ibn-i-Batuta, p. 128 (English translation).

3 Aitigî, full-moon.

4 Chronicles, pp. 9-10, and E. J. M., 1911-12, pp. 16, 17, 22 and 23.

The inscription is written in fine Naṣḵā characters and the language is Arabic. The slab on which the inscription is carved is broken in two parts near the middle, both the parts together measuring 6' 3" x 9". My reading of the inscription is as follows:

PLATE XV (a).
(1) رَنْقٍ، لِبَنَةٍ هَذِهِ المَسْجِدِ اجْتَمَعَ فِي عَهدِ الدُّرَّالِ السُّلَّتَانِ العَظِيمٍ مَالِكُ رَقَابِ الْإمْامِ مُلُوكِ الْفَزْرِ وَالْعَزْمِ صَلَاحُ النَّسَمَ وَالْخَاتِمُ رَكِيْنُ الدُّنْيَا[Diyār] شَاهِ السُّلَّتَانِ بِنِ سُلَّتَانِ بِنِ سُلَّتَانِ نَهْجِ عَلِيمِ خَليْفَةِ اللهِ نَاصرِ إِمْرَاءِ الْمُلُوكِ (2) فِي نُورِ الْأَخْنَى العَظِيمِ خَالِقِ العَظِيمِ إِخْتِيَارُ الأَحْقَاقِ رَبِّ الْأَلْبَابِ خَلَى السَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ 3 سُكْنَافُ الثَّانِي نِيرُزُ إِيَّاذِنِ السُّلَّتَانِ خَلَى الْعَظِيمِ 3 مَظْفَرُ المَنْصِرُ العَظِيمُ فِيَ الدُّنْيَا وَالْغَلَابِيْنِ 3 خَلَى إِدَامِ اللَّهِ دُرَّةُ رَابِّهِ 3 رُزَازُ خَلَى فِي اِبْنِ الْأَصْحَابِ 3 سَيْرُونَ 3 صَدَبِ 3 سَيْتِبِّهِ 3

TRANSLATION.
In the reign of the great Sultan, the master of the necks of nations, the king of the kings of Turks and Persians, the lord of the crown and the seal, Raknu-ud-dunya waddin Kaikā'as Shāh, the Sultan son of a Sultan (who was the) son of a Sultan, the right arm of the vicegerent of God, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful; and during the administration of the great Khan the exalted Khaqān, Ightiyārū-I-lāqū waddin, the Khan of the Khāns of the East and of China, the second Alexander, Firoz Aitigīn as-Sultānī (the Royal slave), may God perpetuate his government and may God preserve the victorious, the triumphant, the conqueror (especially combating infidels), Zīn-u-d-daula waddin Ulugh Khān, may God keep for ever his administration and increase his benevolence, (he, i.e. Ulugh Khān), was directed by God to build this assembly-mosque. On the first of Muharram 697 A.H. (Saturday, 19th October, 1297 A.D.).

II.—Inscription of King Kaikā'as of Bengal from Dinajpur District.

This inscription was first noticed by Buchanan in his Historical Description of Dinajpur (p. 51) and later by Thomas in the Chronicles of the Pathan Kings (p. 149), but to Blochmann belongs the credit of publishing the text of the inscription for the first time.1 The inscriptive slab is fixed into the wall of Mulla Aṭā’s tomb at Devikot (25° 11' N. and 89° E.), in the Dinajpur District. Blochmann has confused Devikot with Gangārūmpur, a place three miles south of it, and this is why Cunningham rather charily remarks:—”The tomb of Aṭā, and consequently all the inscriptions, are at Devikot, or Damdama, and not at Gangārūmpur, as Blochmann was led to believe. Gangārūmpur is 3 mils distant to the south and was formerly the Police station of the district, by which the civil officers are in the inconvenient habit of describing all places no matter how far distant.”2 Devikot according to legend was the citadel of Rannagar, and Cunningham found brick walls and fragments of moulded bricks together with six stone pillars of Hindu workmanship there. In the times of the early Muslim rulers of Bengal, Devikot was an important outpost on the northern frontier of their kingdom and it was here that Baḳhtiyār Khaljī died after his unsuccessful expedition into Tibet.3

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1 Blochmann could not decipher this word. J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 247.
2 A title often used by governors at this time. E. I. M., 1913-14, pp. 15, 23 and 30.
4 Reports by Cunningham, Vol. XV, p. 97.
The inscription records the erection of a mosque during the reign of Kaikā'as and the governorship of Zafar Khan Bahāram Aitigān, under the superintendence of Salah Jiwand of Multan in 697 A.H. (1297 A.D.). Cunningham has observed that no trace of this building exists now. The tomb of 'Aja and its adjuncts, referred to in three other inscriptions of the reigns of Sikandar Shāh (1358-89), Muẓaffar Shāh (1490-93) and Ḥusain Shāh (1493-1518), respectively (fixed into the wall of the tomb), are evidently posterior in date to the mosque described in our inscription, which does not mention the name of 'Aja. The titles of Kaikā’as in the inscription are somewhat brief; but it contains the name of his father Mahmūd (Nāṣiru-d-dīn), instead of styling him Sultan ibn-i-Sultan ibn-i-Sultan, as in the Lakhisarai inscription. The mention of the real name, Zafar Khan, is interesting, as Mr. D. Money, in an article styled 'The Temples of Triveni near Hugli, has narrated some curious legends about his origin and the events of his life. The similarity of the name, to that of the contemporary governor of the western frontier of the kingdom of Bengal—may lead to the conclusion that they were brothers and governed the western half of the kingdom, Firoz Aitigān ruling the westernmost districts, Monghyr, etc., and Bahāram the territory on the east of them, Dinajpur, Tribeni, etc. This inscription and the two epigraphs at Tribeni, which are noticed in this paper elsewhere (pp. 13 and 33), prove him to have been the governor of these districts from 697 to 713 A.H., and from the texts of these records he seems to have been fond of architecture, was a patron of learning, liberal, brave and a zealous Muslim. He was a Turc, a fact apparent from his name Aitigān, a Turki word meaning 'beautiful moon.' The title—Sikandar Thānī—used for Firoz Aitigān in the Lakhisarai inscription, has been used here for Bahāram Aitigān, which supports the surmise noted above (p. 10) that at this time the attitude of the kings of Bengal towards the Sulţāns of Delhi was one of rivalry and independence.

The name of the supervisor, Salah Jiwand, as observed by Blochmann, is somewhat unusual. 'Jiwand' without the final dal is common; but the letter is quite distinct in the inscription. 'Jiwand' seems to be a corruption of 'Jiwān' in this case.

The inscription is in the Arabic language and written in Naskh characters. It comprises three lines and is cut on a tablet measuring 3' 5" x 1' 1". I read it as follows:

PLATE XV (b).

3 'This is grammatically incorrect. It should have been ھیں .
4 Alif and lâm before Sultan are grammatically incorrect.
5 The word has been used in an identical sense in an inscription on the Arhāl din ka Jhonpra at Ajmer.
6 E. I. M., 1911-12, p. 15, and J. A. S. B. for 1848.
TRANSLATION.

The building of this mosque was constructed during the reign of the king of kings, Ruknu-d-dunya waddin, the shadow of God on all lands, Kaikā'īs Shāh, son of Mahmūd, son of the Sulṭān, the right arm of the viceroy of God, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!—by the order of the lord of his times Shihābu-l-ḥaq waddin, the second Alexander, the great, exalted, auspicious, Zafar Khān Bahram Aitīgīn as-Sulṭānī—may God perpetuate his government and authority—and may God prolong his life!—under the supervision of Salāḥ Jiwand of Multan. On the first of Muḥarram among the months of the year 697 A.H. (Saturday, 19th October, 1297 A.D.).

III.—Arabic inscription of King Kaikā'īs in Zafar Khān’s mosque at Tribeni (Hooghly District).

Tribeni (22° 59' N. and 88° 26' E.), which has now dwindled down into a village, was in ancient times an important town and a centre of Hindu learning. It derives its name from its situation at the junction of three streams, the Ganges, the Saraswatt and the Jamuna. After the advent of the Musalmāns in Bengal it assumed the name of Firozabad, which is still known among the Muslim population of the place. The people refer the last name to Sulṭān Firoz Shāh of Delhi; but Blochmann was right in connecting it with Firoz Shāh of Bengal, whose name is commemorated in an inscription in Zafar Khān’s tomb at Tribeni.¹

Zafar Khān’s mosque, on which the present Arabic inscription is carved, is built out of the materials of old Hindu temples and about its architecture Blochmann remarks:—“The low basalt pillars supporting the arches are unusually thick, and the domes, as in the Pandua mosque, are built of bricks, of successive rings of stones, the diameter of each layer being somewhat less than that of the layer below, the whole being capped by a circular stone, covering the small remaining aperture.”²

The two historical names mentioned in the inscription are those of Zafar Khān and Kaikā'īs to whom a reference has already been made in this paper (pp. 10-12). The inscription commemorates the establishment of a school which apparently formed the nucleus of the institution founded by Zafar Khān at Tribeni in 713 A.H.

The inscription is in Arabic verse and it is the oldest record of its kind in India. It consists of sixteen lines, of which Blochmann was able to decipher only two fully. It is, however, written in fine Naskh style and, excepting the portions where the stone has decayed, the writing is quite legible. The literary style of the inscription is somewhat heavy, but still there are no grammatical mistakes, and the chronogram at the end is important, being the earliest example in the Muslim epigraphy of India.³

The mosque contains several inscriptions and our epigraph is cut in raised letters around the principal niche (Miḥrāb) which is built in the pillar-and-lintel style. The inscription is divided into four parts—the religious text, with which it begins, is carved on a small tablet (13½" × 7½") fixed above the lintel of the niche; the first twelve verses are on the lintel (the written surface measuring 6' 8" × 13"), verses 13-14 on the right post (inscribed surface measuring 5' 5½" × 5½") and the last two verses, viz. 15-16, on the left post (the written surface measuring 5' 5½" × 5½").

² Ibid., p. 283.
³ Another chronogram, composed in a similar style, is given in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri (Bibli. Ind.), p. 246.

This chronogram, however, was not composed for an inscription.
I read the inscription as given below:

PLATE II.

قال عليه السلام تعالوا العلم فان تعليمه للطاعة رئأ عادة

ر و مذكارة تصبح

(1) لنص درس و إتاحة مدارس
(2) سهل القضاء النصير محمد
(3) وقد انفق الإموال في الدرس حسبه
(4) فوريق اهل الفضل من عرض ماله
(5) لإظهار دين الله بين الغطرس
(6) به الشر ما لا يتقى بالدار (؟)
(7) تمس من الدرس يتقوى
(8) فرقة سلطان السلاطين عهد
(9) ها الا يكلد ادريس فين
(10) يدر له الدنيا درام البراجيس
(11) تبني ظهر خان هربر العنايب
(12) ر شيد بناء الدائم بعد الدرس
(13) رذل كفر الموال في كل بائس
(14) يقال عرار الكفر بالبيه والقنا
(15) ع주의 بقاع الشرع من بعد مبتله
(16) فرخور من الفقهاء بإنيه دوحة
(17) ر بر انسان لاهل القرنان
(18) لاعلان كرام العلماء العمالس
(19) ر خذ حروف الوفق حسبان قاله

TRANSLATION.

He (Prophet Muḥammad), may peace be upon him, has said:—

You should acquire knowledge, for its acquisition is certi fall submission, its search is devotion...

(1) to institute lectures and to establish schools.

(2) The offspring of Qāzīs, an-Nāsir Muḥammad, who for (the strength of) his argument is styled Qāzī, the tiger.

(3) He has spent large sums of money on education for the sake of God; so that the Merciful One may be pleased through his (Qāzī's) munificence with every student.

¹ The metre of these lines is Tawīl.
(a) Inscription in Zafar Khan’s Mosque, Tribeni.
Over the lintel of the southern niche.

(b) On the lintel of the southern niche, below (a).

(c) On the right post of the niche.

(d) On the left post of the niche.
(4) From his private money he grants subsistence to men of learning, besides providing them with carpets, (and these facilities are) for the inculcation of the Muslim law.

(5) . . . . . . . to manifest the Divine faith among the haughty.

(6) Through education . . . . . a shield that can avert such evils as cannot be avoided with the help of a shield-bearer.

(7) In the reign of the Sultān of Sultāns, whose government has revived the memory of all the assemblies of Jamshed's time.

(8) The refuge of mankind, the prop of the world, Kaikā'ūs, may the world last for him as long as ideas occur in the mind!

(9) . . . . . . . . . . . Qāfar Khan, the lion of lions, has appeared.

(10) By conquering the towns of India in every expedition, and by restoring the decayed charitable institutions.

(11) And he has destroyed the obdurate among infidels with his sword and spear, and lavished the treasures of his wealth in (helping) the miserable.

(12) And he has revived the institutions of the faith, after its destruction, by selecting arguments based on intuitive knowledge.

(13) The builder expects blessing from such as are learned in the law for the protection of his faith at the time of intense darkness (the darkness or the grave of death).

(14) May God reward him (the builder), for he is all mercy, and benevolence and bounty to the wearers of qalansān (pious persons).

(15) And (he has the utmost) respect for all the learned in the faith, in order to elevate the standards of scholars and the virtuous.

(16) (The school was built) in the year obtainable from the letters of the chronologist. 1298 A.D.

IV-V.—Inscriptions on the Hammālūn ki Masjid at Hansi (Hissar District).

These inscriptions, which are two in number, have not been published before and their rubbings were found in the posthumous papers of the late Maulawi Muḥammad Shu'aib. They are cut on two red sandstone slabs which are fixed into the spandrels of the central miḥrab of Hammālūn ki Masjid at Hansi. This mosque is a small, modern structure and has no pretension to any architectural merit. It comprises a courtyard and a prayer-hall—the latter has three arched openings and measures 30' 5" × 9' 6". The inscriptions, like several others of Hansi, are not in their original position, the reason of this disorder, as already pointed out by me in a previous issue of this Journal, being that the Fort of Hansi was dismantled in 1857 and the materials were sold. The purchasers subsequently set up the sculptured fragments and inscribed tablets in an indiscriminate manner according to their fancy.

Both the records are fragmentary, but the titles of the Sultān (ʿAlā'u-d-dīn), the date and a portion of the genealogy of the builder are preserved. The language is Arabic and the style of writing is a plain Nashāh, the letters being quite legible where the stone is not broken. The

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1 Cf. Qur'ān, Chap. XXV, verse 49.
2 Qalansān, a close fitting cap used by the companions of the Prophet.
3 Amālus, the name of a pious and kind-hearted person who carried his mother on his back for the pilgrimage.
4 E. I. M., 1913-14, p. 17.
inscriptional tablets in their present condition are of a uniform size and each of them measures 20" x 14". I read the texts thus:—

PLATE III (a).

(1) طال السلاطين في العالم
(2) ملک سلیمان سندیکن ثانی
(3) وسلطان فی الاردی
(4) ہرمن سندیکن وسلطان رستمانه

TRANSLATION.

the Sultān of the Sultāns of the world,
and his sovereignty! On the Muharram 698 A.H. (October, 1298 A.D.).

PLATE III (b).

(1) الکرم الرحمه قال
(2) سفاح قدة بنی الله له پریتا
(3) نا علي بن محمد بن بن محمد بن عبد
(4) بن فضل بن رضی رحمه الله عليهم

TRANSLATION.

most Merciful and Compassionate. Said, as the nest of a sand-grouse, God buildeth a house for him. ‘Ali son of Muhammad son of Muhammad son of ‘Abd son of Fazl, son of Rabi’, may the mercy of God be upon them!

VI.—Inscription of ‘Alā’-u-d-dīn Khalji from Sahiswān (Budaun).

The earliest mention of Sahiswān occurs in the Ain-i-Akbarī, but its close proximity to Budaun (18 miles west) does not preclude the possibility of its fort, which legend attributes to a Hindu raja, being an important stronghold during the rule of the early Sultāns of Delhi. ‘Alā’-u-d-dīn, as a prince, was governor of Budaun, and when, after his uncle Jalālu-d-dīn’s murder, he marched from Kānpur, he passed through Budaun, where his force was largely increased, amounting to fifty-six thousand horse and sixty thousand foot.¹ In the early part of his reign the siege of Budaun was conferred on ‘Umar Khān, who subsequently, taking advantage of the Sultān’s absence from the capital during the siege of Rantambhor, broke out in revolt. The Sultān sent some officers to quench the rebellion and before ‘Umar Khān could effect anything he was taken prisoner and punished.

The inscription is dated 700 A.H. (1300 A.D.), about the time that ‘Umar Khān’s revolt subsided, and records the building of a strong fort by the order of ‘Alā’-u-d-dīn. The inscriptive tablet is now in the Jāmi’ Masjid at Sahiswān (Qāzi Muhalla),² with which it apparently

¹ The correct spelling of the word is ‘Alā’.
² Elliot, Vol. III, p. 158.
³ Kaṣru-t-tarīkh by Razīn-d-dīn, pp. 95-6 (Nizami Press, Budaun, 1907).
(a) Inscription on the left side of the central Mihrab, Hammalon-ki-Masjid, Hansi.

(b) Inscription on the right side of the central Mihrab, Hammalon-ki-Masjid, Hansi.

(c) Inscription in Ikhtiyaru-d-Daulah's tomb, Cambay.
(a) Inscription in the old Jami, Masjid, Sahiwan (Budaun).

(b) Inscription in Sayyid's Dargah, Bangarmau (Unao, U. P.).

(c) Inscription on the Barsi Gate, Hansi.
has no connection, and seems to have been brought from the local fort after it had fallen into ruins.

The style of writing is interesting from a palaeographic point of view, showing a tendency of arranging the Naskh characters in such a manner as to produce a decorative effect—the beginning of the Tugra style. Here the artist has made all such letters as have a vertical stroke at their beginnings or at their ends prominent by arranging them in a series of lines like a row of arrows. A most beautiful example of this device is the Naṣiri-dīn Mahmūd Shāh inscription of Gaur, dated 863 A.H.¹

The language of the inscription is Persian and it consists of one line only. The inscribed portion of the tablet measures 5′ 9″ x 11″. I read the text thus:

**PLATE IV (a).**

بنا این حضور زریع ارکان . . . . مامان اهل اسلام. پفرامی . جامع لائی خداً
سلاتین جون ای پرسته هدایت بیان عادلیان و العیانیان و اعراف الله خداوند. ای سبیل الله
ابو المختار محمد شاه السلطان ناصر امیر المومنین خلیفہ مالکة. بیان رز رز جمعه غز ماء
جمامی الون . . . سالم هفتم از هجرت دعی علیه السلام و الرحمه.

**TRANSLATION.**

This fort with lofty pillars . . . . , the refuge of the Faithful, was built by the order of His exalted Majesty (lit., presence) the lord of the Sulṭāns of the world, the shadow of Divine mercy, ‘Alī’s-dūn NYaddin, the king trusting in Divine help, the warrior for God’s sake, Abu-l-Mu’azzafar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sulṭān, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom! On Friday the 1st of Jumada I, 700 years after the ‘migration’ of the Prophet, may peace and blessings be upon him! (13th January, 1301 A.D.)

**VII.—Inscription in Jalālu-d-dīn ‘Ali’s tomb at Bangarman (Unaot District).**

Bangarman has been identified by Cunningham and some other writers with Na-po-ti-poku-lo of Huen Tsiang, on account of its having in its neighbourhood a number of ancient mounds called Nawal.² In the history of the Islamic period we find no reference to it till the reign of İbrāhīm Lodī, when certain nobles from the Imperial Court, while proceeding to Lucknow, were ambuscaded and defeated near Bangarman by the troops of Prince Āzam Humāyūn, who was then in prison in Agra.³

The inscription is referred to by Cunningham, who has given only the date of it, and the text and a translation of it are being published for the first time. A new fact discovered by the decipherment of the inscription is that it gives the name of the saint, whose death it records, as Jalālu-d-dīn ‘Ali b. ‘Āyam, while Cunningham calls him ‘Alī’s-d-dīn bin Ghanam, which is supported by local tradition. It appears that in the beginning some one deciphered the name of the saint wrongly and the mistake committed by him was not rectified afterwards.

The tomb of the saint is a small structure of the early Pathan style comprising a square chamber (16′ 3″ each way) surmounted by a dome, and a double hall in front of it. The inscription is carved over the entrance door of the tomb and measures 3′ 7½″ x 6″.

¹ J. A. S. B. for 1873, Pl. V.
The style of writing is Naskh with a distinct tendency towards Tughra, and the language is Arabic. I read the inscription thus:

PLATE IV (b).

The world, the warrior, great and exalted, the savant accomplished, profound and awe-inspiring, Jalâlu-l-haqq waddin 'Alâ' bin 'Ayam of Sumaissâ, may his grave be hallowed and may his soul be taken into the neighbourhood of Divine mercy! On the 12th of Rabî' I in the year 702 A.H. (Sunday, 4th November, 1302 A.D.).

VIII.-Inscription on the Barsî Gate, Hansi.

This inscription has been noticed in the P. A. S. B., 1877 (p. 122), but the facsimile is now being published for the first time. It is carved on the Barsî Gate of Hansi and records the building of a lofty gate by 'Alâ'ü-d-din in 703 A.H. (1303 A.D.). The script is a vigorous Naskh peculiar to the period of the early Sultans of Delhi. The inscription is interesting from a literary point of view, being the oldest epigraph in Persian verse in India. It consists of six verses which are carved in three lines on the stone.

The inscriptions tablet measures 9' x 1' 7". My reading is given below:

PLATE IV (c).

(1) بعهد مملکت پادشاه روز زمین می خدایگان ستایش علی دینا ر دین
(2) اب رضوان شاہ جهان محمد شاہ کی پاد مملکت شریف و بی ر زمین
(3) پرستش گیلان سخندار ثانی رسیدہ سیت ممالیک سا بط اعلی
(4) بناء نهایہ دن این بی نظر دلارا ر کر اتفاق بیرون همی کند تکمی
(5) مینز حضرت دلیلی کی حسی دارالملك
(6) بیبی شاهد ر روز دم رعیت آخر بسال هفیدہ رس امید عمارت این

TRANSLATION.

(1) In the reign of the king of the universe (lit., face of the earth), the lord of rulers, Alâ'ü-d-dunya waddin.

1 Sumaissâ, a town on the bank of the Euphrates.
2 Nişâmu-d-din writes (Takqâq, ed. Lucknow, p. 29) that Malik Taqû-d-din Rûghâ composed a Rubâï on the conquest of the Fort of Gwallor (583 A.H.) which was carved there. A search has been made for the inscription, but no trace of it is to be found.
3 The stone is broken here.
4 The metre of these lines is Hâzaj.
(2) Abu-l-Muṣṭafār, the king of the world Muḥammad Shāh, may his kingdom last for ever on the face of the earth!

(3) The unrivalled monarch of the world, the second Alexander, the fame of whose noble deeds has reached the highest heaven.

(4) (He) built this matchless gate which, in loftiness, surpasses Saturn (the keeper of the seventh heaven).

(5) Facing the exalted city of Delhi, which is the seat of the kingdom . . . . . . in the strong fort.

(6) It was Thursday, the 2nd of Rabi‘ II, 703 A.H. (14th November, 1303 A.D.), when this building was completed.

IX.—Inscription of ‘Alā‘u-d-din found outside the old Hisari Gate of Hansi.

The inscriptional tablet is not in situ, but it is now fixed to the ground near the grave of Shāh Iḥṣāḥammad-1-Haqq, outside the old Hisari Gate of Hansi. The epigraph is fragmentary, as the tablet seems to have broken some time ago in several pieces, only two of which exist at present; these have been joined and fixed to the ground. The broken pieces jointly measure 4° 6′ × 1° 7′.

The inscription records the erection of a strong fort and gateway by ‘Alā‘u-d-dīn at Hansi. This record is probably of the same period as the Barš Gate inscription of Hansi, 703 A.H. (ante, p. 18), which also mentions the fact that the fortifications of Hansi were rebuilt by ‘Alā‘u-d-dīn.¹

The style of writing is a bold Naṣḵ and the language is Persian. My reading of the text is as follows:

PLATE V (e).

(1) بناء عمارت این حصن حصین و دربارا ملکی در عهد

(2) جم نشان و سالمان تمکین سکنان المانی ابر المظفر شاه السلطان

TRANSLATION.

This strong fort and massive gateway were built in the reign . . . . . . with Jamshīd’s dignity and Solomon’s glory, the second Alexander, Abu-l-Muṣṭafār Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān . . . . . .

X.—Inscription on the Qāsī’s Mosque at Bayana.

Cunningham has given the text and a translation of the inscription, which are defective in some respects owing to his unfamiliarity with Arabic, the language in which the inscription is composed.² It is carved on a stone tablet (1° 9½′ × 1° 6½′) fixed over the entrance door of the Qāsī’s Mosque at Bayana.³ The mosque is a small structure comprising a hall supported on six pillars, a small court and an entrance door.

The style of writing is Naṣḵ, the letters being bold, but somewhat rough in finish. The inscription records the reconstruction of a mosque and a well in the reign of ‘Alā‘u-d-dīn by

¹ No doubt, ‘Alā‘u-d-dīn fortified Hansi as an outpost against the Mughals between 702-3 A.H. See P. A. S. B. for 1877, p. 121, Inscription VI.
² The text and a translation of the inscription were published in E. J., Vol. II (p. 434), by Dr. P. Horn.
³ Reports, Vol. XX, p. 75.
⁴ For the history of Bayana see Cunningham’s Reports, Vol. XX, pp. 60-59.
PLATE V (a).

1. I read the inscription as given below:

I read the inscription as given below:

(Translation)

The Prophet—may peace be upon him!—has said: Whoever buildeth a mosque for God even if it is (as small) as the nest of a sand-grouse, God buildeth a House for him in Paradise.

According to this saying of the Prophet, the buildings of this mosque and this well were constructed and repaired after they had decayed, and were renewed after they had fallen into ruins, in the reign of the most exalted among the Sultâns of Arabia and non-Arab countries, the lord of the crown and the seal, the shadow of God in the world, 'Alâ‘u-d-dunyâ waddîn, the defence of Islâm and the Muslims, ... towards God, the second Alexander ... of the Faithful, Abu-l-Mu‘âzîfâr Muhammad Shâh, the Sultan—may the banners of his kingdom ever remain triumphant and unfurled!—by the humblest servant of God, the Creator, ‘Abdu-l-Mâlik bin Abû Bakr al-Bukhârî, entitled Mughîthu-d-Dîn ... may God accept his prayer! On the first of Muharram 705 A.H. (Saturday, 24th July, 1305 A.D.).
(b) Inscription in the Qazi’s Mosque, Bayana.

(c) Inscription on a slab fixed to the ground near the grave of Shah Iltusham-ul-Haq, outside the old Hisari Gate, Hansi.
(a) Inscription in the Dini Masjid, Rohtak.

(b) Firoz Shah Inscription of Bihar dated 709 A.H.
XI.—Inscription in the Jāmiʿ Masjid at Alāpur (Budaun).

Alāpur (27° 55' N., 79° 15' E.) is a small town in the Dātāganj Tahsil of the Budaun district. According to a legend, it was founded by 'Ala’u-d-dīn Ālam Šshk (1445-1451 A.D.) of the Lodi dynasty, who, after his abdication of the throne of Delhi, stayed at Budaun for the rest of his life (d. 1478 A.D.). But the presence of this inscription, dated 707 A.H. (1307 A.D.), coupled with the fact that 'Ala’u-d-dīn Khālṣj was governor of Budaun before his accession to the throne, may induce one to surmise that Alāpur was named after that Sultaṃ.

The inscription is fragmentary and it has been noticed in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLI, p. 112. The inscriptive tablet in its present condition measures 2' 3½" × 9". The name of the builder unfortunately occurs just where the stone is broken and therefore cannot be deciphered; but his official designation—Dād Bek (Master of Justice)—is preserved. The style of writing is *Naskh* with an attempt at ornamentation.

I read the inscription as follows:

**PLATE V (b).**

... داد بک بخطه بدارن فی المثنف من ربيع الول سده سبع ر

**TRANSLATION.**

... son of ... Dād Bek (Master of Justice) in the province of Budaun. In the middle of Rabīʿ I, 707 A.H. (September, 1307 A.D.).

XII.—Inscription on the Dīnī Masjid at Rohtak.

Mr. Zafar Hasan, Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle, has been kind enough to furnish me with the following note on the Dīnī Masjid1:

"The mosque is of early Pathan style and comprises a hall measuring 66' × 22' 3" internally, and a courtyard 55' × 45' 3". The hall is divided into three apartments and has a flat roof, which is supported on pillars of grey sandstone. The carvings on the pillars show Hindu workmanship and they may have originally belonged to an old temple. The inscription is engraved in two lines, on a grey stone slab (4' 6" × 1' 2") fixed over the central Mihrab of the mosque."

The inscriptive tablet is much worn out and some words are absolutely illegible; fortunately, however, the name of the king and the date are fairly distinct. Dr. P. Horn has published the text and a translation of the inscription; but they are defective in more than one place.2

The style of writing is *Naskh* and the language is Persian. I have deciphered the text as follows:

**PLATE VI (a).**

(1) بخویق حضرت پرست ... جامی ملت حججی عشر الادیا والدین ... سلطانین ... (2) ... ابر الظفر محمد شاه السلطان خلت لله ملکه این معبد مردمان رنگتی کان ... ایل ایمان عمارت جامی بنخگذلی بر فرمان ملک، بالغ رضوان سال هفدهم و رضیت ... از جبری بود

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1 The name *Dīnī* is somewhat unusual as all mosques are for religious worship. *Dīnī* may be a corruption of *Adīna*.

TRANSLATION.

By the grace of Almighty God, . . . . . . . the defender of the faith of Hījāz, 'Alā‘u-d-dunya waddin . . . . . . kings . . . . Abu-l-Muzaffar Muhammad Shāh, the Sulṭān—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—this place of worship of the Faithful and the recreation place of the true believers was built. On the 1st of Ramadān 708 A.H. (Wednesday, 12th February, 1309 A.D.).

XIII.—Inscription of Firoz Shāh of Bengal, dated 709 A.H., from Bihar.

This inscription was in situ in the time of Blochmann, who noticed it on a lofty gateway which, together with an arched hall and a roofless mosque, formed the remains of what tradition called Ḥātim Khān’s palace.1 Blochmann found the gateway in a dilapidated state and it apparently fell down shortly afterwards, but the inscriptive slab is still at Bihar, and through the kindness of the Superintendent, Archeological Survey, Eastern Circle, I was furnished with a couple of very distinct rubbings of the inscription.

The epigraph is of importance from more points of view than one. To the students of history it may appeal as giving the information that King Firoz Shāh of Bengal, besides the four sons mentioned by Thomas (Chronicles, p. 148), had another son, Ḥātim Khān, and that his kingdom included Bihar, which facts are not given in contemporary Persian histories. To the archaeologist it may be of interest as keeping the permanent record of a building, which has been obliterated by the destroying hand of Time; but it is of the greatest importance to the epigraphist for its exquisite style of writing. The script is a combination of the Naṣīḥ and Tuğrā styles, and the artist has shown great command in the drawing of vertical lines and curves which, although very precise and crisp, are free from conventional restrictions. This writing, when compared with the contemporary writings on the ‘Alā‘i Darwazāh at Delhi, discloses the fact that the keynote of Bengal style from the beginning was delicacy and refinement, while the aim of the Delhi art under the early Sulṭāns was strength and grandeur.

The tablet on which the inscription is carved measures 5’ x 1’ 8”. My reading of the text is given below:

PLATE VI (b).

(1) بني هذه الممارسة الرمزية في عهد السلطان الأعظم شمس الدين ابن الامام
(2) ر فروي إبادة الأخلاص العادل الباني
(3) ف ri غي كان ابن السلطان خادم ملكه العبد الزيزع
(4) محمد حسن بيكتاري
في شهر سبتمبر سنة

TRANSLATION.

This additional building was constructed during the reign of the great Sulṭān, Shamsu-d-dunya waddin Abu-l-Muzaffar Firoz Shāh, the Sulṭān—may God perpetuate his kingdom and authority!—and during the governorship of the just and benevolent Khān, the warrior (for the sake of God), Ta‘ju-l-Ḥaq2 waddin Ḥātim Khān, son of the Sulṭān (Firoz Shāh)—may God ever keep his kingdom!—by the frail servant Muhammad Hasan Bektruri3 in the months of the year 709 A.H. (1309 A.D.).

2 Blochmann could not read this title.
3 Blochmann read which is not convincing.
XIV-XXIII.—Inscriptions on the 'Ali'i Darwazâh at Mairauli (Quôb), Delhi.

These inscriptions were edited for the first time by the late Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan in his well-known work, Athârû-s-Samâlîs, and subsequently their English translations were published in the Archæology of Delhi by Mr. Carr Stephen. Sir Sayed’s readings, as usual, are accurate in the main and the slight mistakes, which have occurred, are probably due to the disadvantage which he had of deciphering them either from the stone direct, on which the letters being carved in relief are not easily legible, or from the tracings, which unfortunately were not prepared according to the scientific methods which have been introduced since his time.

The superb gateway, on which the inscriptions are carved, was built by ‘Ali’u-d-din Khalji in 710 A.H. It is a fine specimen of Pathan architecture and, in the words of Fergusson, "displays the Pathan style at its period of greatest perfection." The gateway is in the south cloister of ‘Ali’u-d-din’s extension to the Mosque at Quôb (Quwwatu-l-Islâm) and was probably the city entrance of this religious edifice. Mr. Carr Stephen has given a detailed description of the gateway, which I give below:

"The building is a square 34½ feet inside and 56½ feet outside, the walls being 11 feet thick; from the inner floor to the dome ceiling it is about 47 feet high. The mode in which the square plan of the building is changed into an octagon which supports the dome 'is more simply elegant and appropriate,' says Fergusson, 'than any other example I am acquainted with in India,' the corners are ornamented with a series of arched niches which cut off the angles of the square. On each side of the gateway there is a lofty door; but the doors in the eastern and western sides of the building are lower than those in its northern and southern sides. On the southern side the building has a plinth very nearly 10 feet high, with seven steps in the centre leading to it. The doorways are most elaborately ornamented; each door is formed by a pointed horse-shoe arch, of which the outer end is panelled; the inner edge, which goes a few inches deeper into the arch, is decorated with stone spear-heads; the arch springs from slender ornamented pillars with plain imposts. The outer face of the arch, as well as the inner arch, which is formed after a recess of four inches, and the rectangular bands which enclose the arched doorways bear inscriptions which in some places have been injured by time. The whole face of the building is elaborately ornamented with delicate chiselling, of which not the least attractive features are the bands of inscriptions. On each side of the doorway there are two windows about a third of its size, but of the same shape and style; these windows are covered with marble screens of lattice work; the off windows are a little smaller than the near ones and their lattice work is closer and finer. Above these windows, the wall is decorated with small ornamental false arches in panels which, from a distance, have the appearance of small windows in groups of fours, the two vertical of each group being enclosed in oblong marble bands. The rectangular bands of red sandstone and marble which enclose the arches of the windows and the small false arches above them, are covered with verses from the Qurán and the Hadîs of Muhammad artistically engraved. The spandrel, as usual, is a mass of fret work, wreaths and ornamental bosses in red sandstone. The upper portion of the southern face of the gateway was repaired by Major Smith, but no attempt was made to restore the stone ornaments. The interior walls of the gateway are profusely decorated with the most perfect specimens of elaborate carvings; the chequered pattern is simply elegant, or, as Fergusson calls it, 'of unrivalled excellence.' The large dome is remarkably plain, Fergusson considers it 'by no means worthy of the substructure'; but its interior view is by no means disagreeable, its plainness notwithstanding; from outside, the dome looks rather low. The outer walls of the gateway were crowned with a battlemented parapet; that on the southern wall was removed during Major Smith's time."

2 Archæology of Delhi, pp. 84-87.
The style of writing of the inscriptions is in perfect harmony with the general style of the building, bold and vigorous in conception and most elegant in execution. The beautiful form of the letters, their large size (1' 6" in height) and fine arrangement, about which the poet Khushnau most appropriately remarked—‘and upon the surface of the stones he engraved the verses of the Kurân in such a manner as could not be done on wood; ascending so high that you would think the Kurân was going up to heaven, and again descending, in another line, so low that you would think it was coming down from heaven’—all bear testimony to the fact that Pathan artistic genius at this period was at its zenith. The script is a Naskâ, showing a tendency towards ornamentation which subsequently developed into the delicate and subtle Tughrâ characters.

The language is Persian; but it has a large admixture of Arabic phrases, so much so that in some sentences if a few words be eliminated, the language will become Arabic. In a previous article on the inscriptions of the early Sultâns of Delhi I have remarked that, during their reign, Arabic was considered to be a more dignified language for mural writings than Persian, and, when the latter language was used, it was largely embellished with phrases of Arabic construction.

As regards the titles of ‘Alâ’u-d-dîn, whose name is commemorated in these inscriptions, Thomas has observed, “There are some incidents in ‘Alâ’u-d-dîn’s story which more nearly concern these numismatic chronicles, such as his assumption of the title of the second Alexander, and a notion entertained of a new religion, of which he was to be the oracle, both of which items are testified to by the coins.” ‘Alâ’u-d-dîn’s instinctive desire for conquest may have led him to adopt the title of the second Alexander; but we find no indication of his ambition to found a new religion by the legends on his coins. The fact of his having such aspirations has, of course, been recorded by Barani; but how Thomas could find it authenticated by his coins is a mystery.

The titles given in the inscriptions prove to the contrary the fact that he was a staunch Musalman, following the faith of Abu Hanifa.

I read the inscriptions on the eastern doorway thus:

PLATE VII.

On the right pier.

On the left pier.

1 History of India by H. Elliot, Vol. III, p. 69.
4 Sayed Ahuud has left out this word. Alâ’dîr (Cawnport ed.), Appendix, p. 55.
5 This word also has been omitted by Sayed Ahuud. Idem, p. 56.
6 Sayed Ahuud read this word as حافظ.
Inscriptions on the Eastern door of the 'Ala'i Darwaza, Delhi.

On the right pier.

On the left pier.

On the outer arch.

On the inner arch.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KHALJĪ SULTĀNS OF DELHI.

On the outer arch.

Baqr-an-Burjzde Hawaiian Shammār-Samān nushala al-adnaya r al-dīn

On the inner arch.

a'īn 'ṣājiya gājuš shāmār ārkan... 

TRANSLATIONS.

Inscription on the right pier.

The building of this noble edifice and the foundation of this lofty structure were in the reign and during the kingship of the Lord of the kings of the world, the monarch with Darius's insignia, the Sultān administering perfect justice and abounding in benevolence, the emperor blessed with Divine grace (lit., blessed with comprehensive grace) and full authority, the elevator of the pulpit of Islam, the reviver of the forgotten commandments (of God), the founder of pulpits in places of worship, the builder (lit., elevator) of the foundation of houses of adoration, the populator of the cities of righteousness, the destroyer of the towns of error, exulting in his aggrandizement and at the imperial crown, ingeniuous in the palace of glory and on the throne of the kingdom, expounder of the laws of the Holy War, the elucidator of the arguments of religious exposition, the governor of the countries of the world...

Inscription on the left pier.

kings, the elevator of the foundations of the prayer niche and pulpits of Islam, the demolisher of the bases of idol-temples, the establisher of the rules of charity, the destroyer of wine taverns (lit., intoxicant-houses), the world-conquering monarch, the shadow of Divine

1 The date has been left out by Sayed Ahmad.
2 See Qur'ān, Chap. XI, verse 34.
3 Sayed Ahmad has read these words as جد حمل "ساع"ه.
4 This refers to 'Alā‘ul-dīn's ordinance against the use of wine and intoxicating drugs. History of India by H. Elliot, Vol. III, p. 190.
mercy, blessed (lit., helped) by the Divine assistance, Abu-l-Muzaffar Muhammad Shah, the Sultan, the right arm of Khilafat (divine vicegerency), the ally (lit., helper) of the Prince of the Faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom (so that he may continue) to build mosques, and preserve till eternity his sovereignty (so as to protect) the lustre of places of worship, and (may God) keep him in sovereignty and Khilafat to the end of the world, as long as this verse is read: “Praise be unto him, who transported his servant by night from the Masjidul-Harâm (Sacred House at Mecca) to the Masjidul-Aqsa (the temple of Jerusalem)!”

On the 15th of Shawwal 710 A.H. (Sunday, 7th March, 1310 A.D.).

Inscription on the outer arch.

By the order of the elect of the Lord Merciful, the governor of the empires of the world, the Sultan with Solomon’s insignia, ‘Alâ’u-d-dunya waddin, the defence of Islam and the Muslims, the bestower of honour on kings and rulers, the destroyer of the infidels, the elevator of the bases of the prayer-niche and the pulpit, Abu-l-Muzaffar Muhammad Shah, the Sultan, the right arm of Khilafat, the ally (helper) of the Prince of the Faithful (may God preserve his kingdom till the Day of Judgment!) this mosque with lofty pillars and strong foundation was built.

Inscription on the inner arch.

... this assembly mosque (Jami’ Masjid) with lofty pillars ... by the order of the elect of the Lord Merciful, the Alexander of his time and period, ‘Alâ’u-d-dunya waddin ...

... confident in (the help) of the Benevolent Lord, Abu-l-Muzaffar (Muhammad Shah, the Sultan, the right arm of Khilafat), the manifest of justice and mercy, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, ...

I read the inscriptions on the southern door as given below:—

PLATE VIII.

On the right pier.

yatniq Aizd bi Huma bi Muawid bi alal Masjiz 2 al-masjid es-sal al-taqla, tamal bi Muawid bi alal Masjiz 3 2

1 Qur’ân, Chap. XVII, verse 1.
2 Sayed Ahmad read these words as معاوید منشی نما مثال.
3 The reading of مها منشی is clear in the inscription, but Sayed Ahmad has read the word as معاوید.
Inscriptions on the Southern Door of the 'Ain-i Darwaza, Delhi.

On the right pier.

On the left pier.

On the outer arch.

On the inner arch.

Scale 1:50
On the left pier.

قفره شرق رصين 1 تلمع فجره رفي زمین ذائع قاع شامخ ارکان 2 مثبت بقاع راشم
بلهان المعصم 3 . . . . الله المذن ابن الحذير المظفر 4حمد شاه السلطان يمين الخالدة معين
فابن الله ناصر إمر المومنين 5مد الله ظلال جلاله على روس العالمين إلى يوم الدين 6بنا فرمرد
ابن مسجد 7کی مسجد حیاء زمرد آریا رمنم شفاء طایفه آنتیا مجمع ملک
آرام ر حضرت ازوان انبیا عظوم است بنازخار فی اخامع عشرم من شوال سنہ عشر رسبعاته 8

On the outer arch.

ابن مسجد کی در فسکت رنگت چرن بیت المقدس مشیر بناه ثانی بسوی المعمار
است حضرت علی خداگیلان فضل مشتر شامل احسان الموید بتالیه المک بالک المذن عال الدنیا
و الدین الاظفر ابن الحذیر المظفر 4حمد شاه السلطان يمين الخالدة ناصر امر المومنین 5مد الله ظلال
عظمته الى يوم الدين بسق بیت ر خلوص عقیدت بنا فرمرد 8

On the inner arch.

فرعید همایون حضرت عليا خداگیلان 6 (علاء) الدنیا و الدین الغالب 7
بالیزند الاظفر ابن الحذیر المظفر 4حمد شاه السلطان يمين الخالدة ناصر امر المومنین 5مد الله ظلال
خلفته على روس العالمین الى يوم الدين ابن مسجد کی برصف مر من دخله کان امنا
مرنون است 8

Translations.

Inscription on the right pier.

By the grace of the peerless God and the matchless Deity, the Writer (of the words), "There is a mosque founded on piety," 5 Whose authority and power is supreme, and Whose justice and bounty is continuous, and according to the enactment of the one who was the best person to receive the command, "Turn thy face to the Masjīd-u-Harām (Ka‘ba)," 6 Muhammad, the apostle of God, may peace be upon him, 1 who has said, "Whoever buildeth a mosque for God, God buildeth a house for him in Paradise," (he of) the exalted presence, the lord of the kings of his time, the emperor, majestic as Moses and powerful as Solomon, the projector of the rulings of Muhammadan law, the upholder of the ceremonies of Ahmad’s 7 faith, the strengthener of the pulpits of religious institutions and mosques, the confirmer of the rules of colleges and places of worship, the extender of the foundation of Islamic customs, the strengthener of the base of Nu‘mān’s (Abū Hanīfa) faith, the destroyer of the existence (lit., roots) of insolent sinners, the pruner of the branches of the leaders of infidels, the demolisher of the foundations of idol-temples, the builder (lit., elevator) of the bases of Islamic institutions, the manifestation of (Qur’ānic) verses.

1 Sayed Ahmad has read زلف مَمَّس .
2 Atghār contains the reading سلام امکان و .
3 As has been spelt کی in the Qutb Minar inscriptions as well. E. T. M., 1911-13, p. 13.
5 Sayed Ahmad’s reading is الإلّهی.
6 Idem, Chap. II, verse 152.
7 A name of the Prophet Muhammad.
Inscription on the left pier.

the subjugator of the infidels of the East and China, the subduer of evil-doers on the face of the earth, the conqueror of forts with lofty columns, the governor of places with strong defences (lit., foundations), relying on . . . . of the benevolent God, Abu-l-Mu'azzam Mu'azzam Shâh, the Sultan, the right arm of Khilafat, the expounder of the Divine faith, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God increase the shade of his majesty over the head of all creation till the Day of Judgment; (he) built this mosque, which is the shrine blessed by the group of saints, the kissing place (place of worship) sanctified by men of piety, the meeting place of the great angels, and the assembly room for the souls of the chief prophets. On the 15th Shawwal 710 A.H. (Sunday, 7th March, 1310 A.D.).

Inscription on the outer arch.

This mosque, which in spaciousness and height is as well known as the Baitu-l-Muqadas (Holy temple at Jerusalem), or rather it is a second Baitu-l-Ma'mur,1 was built with a pure motive and in sincere faith by His Exalted Majesty, the lord with diffusing grace and comprehensive bounty, blessed by the help of the Bountiful Lord, 'Ali'u-d-dunya waddini-z-zafr, Abu-l-Mu'azzam Mu'azzam Shâh, the Sultan, the right arm of Khilafat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God prolong the shade of his majesty to the Day of Judgment.

Inscription on the inner arch.

In the auspicious reign of His Exalted Majesty, the lord . . . . . . . 'Ali'u-d-dunya waddin, the conqueror through his victorious army, Abu-l-Mu'azzam Mu'azzam Shâh, the Sultan, the right arm of Khilafat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God spread the shade of his sovereignty over the head of all creation till the Day of Judgment, this mosque, which has the quality (referred to in the verse) "Whoever entereth it is blessed with safety"2 (was built).

I read the inscriptions on the western door as given below:—

PLATE IX.

Inscription on the right pier.

Inscription on the left pier.

1 The heavenly prototype of Ka'ba.
2 This word has been left out in Sayed Ahmad's reading.
3 The stone is broken here.
4 Qur'an, Chap. III, verse 91.
5 The stone is broken after these words.
6 Sayed Ahmad read this word as 'aslah.
Inscriptions on the Western door of the Alai Darwaza, Delhi.

On the left pier.

On the right pier.

On the outer arch.

On the inner arch.
Inscriptions of the Khalji Sultans of Delhi.

Inscription on the outer arch.

حضرت خديجة بنت خويلد سلطان مصطفى جاهزة لامر الله الحكيم بعذاره الإكرم
الإكرمين علی الدين رذل شام الامام محمد بن الإمام المغيرة بن الشافعي
السلطان السكنتر الثاني في غزوة ناصر امير المؤمنين
خلد الله سلطان بناء اعيان خيارات سنواجت جامعت اسم حمدت فرد فرورد

Inscription on the inner arch.

إبن قي الثاني بن تاية المحمرر و بدر إفراز جهان جذور انصاصر
عسيرت و صفاء طريقت مجاز اعلى خديجة سلطان زمان علی الدين رذل
السلطان السكنتر الثاني الرحعل ابريل المظفر محمد سلطان
بر الوحدان المورد بتاليد الرحمان ابريل المظفر محمد سلطان
جاير المؤمنين عظيمة الى ذرم الدين

TRANSLATIONS.

Inscription on the right pier.

When God Almighty, whose greatness is sublime and whose names are exalted, to revive
the ceremonies of the (Islamic) faith and to raise the banners of the (Muhammadan) law,
selected the lord of the caliphs of the world, so that the foundation of Muhammadan religion
might get strength every moment, and the base of the law of Ahmad might be consolidated
every minute (lit., in the twinkling of an eye), he (the elect of God), to perpetuate his kingdom
and to regulate his government, erected mosques for worship in accordance with the command
of Him beside whom there is no God: But he only shall visit the mosques who believes in God.1

Inscription on the left pier.

.......

Abu-l-Muzaffar Muhammad Shâh, the Suljân, the
right arm of Khilâfat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God preserve his kingdom
till the day of Resurrection to elevate the institutions of Islam, and keep him till the end of
the world to spread benevolence! On the 15th Shawwal 710 A.H. (Sunday, 7th March, 1310
A.D.).

Inscription on the outer arch.

His exalted majesty, the lord of kings, glorious like Muighafa (Muhammad), submissive to
the command of God, distinguished by the grace of the Most Bountiful Lord, ‘Alâ’u-d-dunya
waddin, the defence of al-Islam and the Muslims, the redresser of kings and rulers, confirmed
by the help of the Merciful, Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Shâh, the Suljân, the second
Alexander, the right arm of Khilâfat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God per-
petuate his kingdom!, built this auspicious (house, which is the place of worship) of Sunnat
u Jamâ’at.5

1 Sayed Ahmad’s reading is 
2 Sayed Ahmad read this word as 
3 Qur’ân, Chap. IX, verse 18.
4 Sunnat u Jamâ’at, adherents of the first four Caliphs, in opposition to Shi’as, the followers of ‘Ali.
5
Inscription on the inner arch.

This (building), which is a second Bait-i-Ma'mūr, and reported to be like paradise, (was built) with sincere faith and pure motive by His Exalted Presence, the lord of the kings of his time, 'Ala' u-d-dunya waddin, the benevolent and generous Sultān, blessed by the help of the Merciful, Abu-l-Mu'azzafar Muḥammad Şāh, the Sultan, the right arm of Ḳhilafat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . his glory till the Day of Judgment!

XXIV.—Inscription of 'Ala' u-d-din Khalji in the ‘Īḍāgh at Rāpri (Mainpuri District).

Rāpri (26° 58' N. and 78° 36' E.) is a village in the Ţīkhohab Tahsil of the Mainpuri District. It was a prosperous town under the Muṣalman rulers and is often referred to in contemporary history. The present inscription is the earliest Muslim record at the place, but Rāpri seems to have come under the rule of the Sulṭān of Delhi a century earlier, for Šīḥab-u-d-din’s army defeated Jai Chand at Chandwar, a little to the north of Rāpri, in 1194.

The inscriptive tablet (5' x 2') is set over the central Miḥrab of an old ʿĪḍāgh,1 the architecture of which has been fully discussed by Cunningham in A. S. R. (Vol. IV, pp. 217-21). The style of writing is typical of the script of the period, a bold, vigorous hand, in this case without any ornamental flourish. The inscription is written in four lines in the Persian language.

The chief features of the record are the names of 'Ala' u-d-din and of his illustrious General, Malik Kāfrār, who in the year (711 A.H.), referred to in the inscription, returned to Delhi after his conquest of Southern India.2 As Rāpri at this time formed the fief of Malik Kāfrār,3 so the ʿĪḍāgh on which the inscription is carved may have been erected to commemorate the triumphant return of the General.

I read the inscription as follows:4—

PLATE X (a).

(1) بناء این بقعه شرف بترفیق بہادری بنا، تا لاحق بیے میر شاه
ستغرد اللہ اولیاء (۲) علی الدین ا.public بعنیت ۲ہالک میر شاه ۴ملک سلطان
السلطان (۳) ناصر امرالملوکین اورت اکائی بڑے کہ کل ۵ملک سلطانی تغلب الله
موجود (۴) راحم الله جزائیم فی المنتصف ممن شهر المبارک رمضان آئن الله حرمہ سلن ۶عشر سبعمائیه

TRANSLATION.

By the grace of God, the assistance of the Almighty and the bounty of the Lord, this sacred house was built in the reign of the second Alexander, 'Ala' u-d-dunya waddin, who is distinguished by the favour of the Lord of the worlds, Abu-l-Mu'azzafar Muḥammad Şāh, the Sultan, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, and during the administration of the humble servant of his Majesty, Kāfrār, the Royal slave: may God accept their (Muḥammad Şāh's and Kāfrār's) prayers, and may God grant them a handsome reward! In the middle of the auspicious month of Ramazān—may God increase its honour!—in the year 711 A.H. (January, 1312 A.D.).

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1 It is situated at a distance of a mile and a half north-east of Rāpri.
3 Barani (Bibli. Ind.), p. 328.
(a) Inscription in the ‘Idgah at Rapri (Mainpuri, U.P.). Plate X.

(b) Inscription in Shah Wilayat’s tomb, Hansi.

Inscription in a tomb, west of Shah Jalalu-l-Haq’s shrine, Pirzadon-ka-Muhalla, Panipat.
XXV.—Inscription on Shāh Wilāyat’s Tomb at Hansi, dated 713 A.H.

The tomb of Shāh Wilāyat is situated about a quarter of a mile north of the Fort of Hansi. It consists only of a small platform measuring 8’ in length and 6’ in breadth, and rising to a height of 4’ above ground. The inscriptive tablet is fixed to the north side of the platform and measures 2’ 2” x 1’ 2”.

The inscription, although it is referred to in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II (p. 432), and Rodgers’ List (p. 69), is being published now, for the first time. It is a fragmentary record, only the right half of it being preserved. The left half has been destroyed on account of the breaking of the inscriptive tablet. The letters of the preserved portion are distinct and written in Nashi style. The language of the inscription is Persian and it is composed in verse, the metre being Hazaj. I have deciphered the inscription as follows:—

PLATE X (b).

.................
1. بسال همد رسد رده برآمد جریان تمام پنده
2. مبارک باد از فراغت چهره نیز میمون هم
3. بقای حضرت سلطان همی خواهیم از دیدان

TRANSLATION.

1. In the year 713 (A.H.), when the whole of it was built
2. May it be happy and felicitous, and also lucky and auspicious.
3. I pray to Almighty God for the long life of the Sultan.

XXVI.—Inscription in the Ambiya Wali Mosque, Fatehpūr Sikri.

The old town of Sikri is mentioned by Muslim writers for the first time in connection with the conquest of India by Bābur, who, in the vicinity of the town, defeated the Rajput confederacy in 1527. But it must have come under Muslim influence several centuries earlier than that, for the style of the ruins at the place, the presence of two inscriptions of ‘Aib’ān-ud-dīn Khaljī, and the close proximity of the town to Bayana, which was a Musalman fortress from the earliest time of their conquest of India, all lead to such a conclusion.

The building on which the inscription is set is called the Ambiya Wall Mosque (Prophets’ Mosque) and is situated at Nagar, a suburb of Fatehpūr. It is a small structure of red sandstone, built in the Pathan style, and consists of a hall measuring 35’ x 17’ and a courtyard 33’ x 14’. The hall, by insertion of pillars, some of which are carved and the others plain, is divided into two aisles and has five openings towards the east. The inscription is carved on three pieces of grey sandstone, which are fixed into the east wall of the courtyard of the mosque. The size of the three pieces together is 7’ 10” x 1’. The style of writing is bold and vigorous, typical of the script in vogue for inscriptions at Delhi and other important towns at the time. The letters have been abraded by the effects of the weather in some places; but I have been able to decipher it almost completely. The language is Persian.

1 The metre of these lines is Hazaj.
2 The inscription, as its contents show, has no connection with the grave of Shāh Wilāyat. It belonged to some other building, at the demolition of which people seem to have removed the inscription here—the shrine of a saint being considered a safe place for such stones.
3 One of these two inscriptions is the present epigraph. Of the other inscription I have not been able to obtain a facsimile, but the reading of a portion of it is given in the Aḥār-i-Akbārī, p. 190 (ed. Agra, 1334 H.).
PLATE XI (a).

(1) 
(1) تام ش ی این عماد مسلم د رل اکل شتی با یوش عیلي خسرو زمان ناصر
زمره مظالم منصف . . رعور علید خاتمی رالدین مفسر الإسلام و المسلمین (2) القالم
بعیده اللہ الداعی إلى ۳۰۰۰۰ ۱۰۰۰۰ بعید اللہ الداعی بعیده اللہ الداعی
خلدته خلدتہ بات فتیۃ رزہ جزاردیہ فیتراهم ماہ شوال ساله نسلت عشره سیعمتا ۰

TRANSLATION.

The building of this mosque was completed during the reign of the king of the world, the lord of the age, the protector of the oppressed, the administrator of justice . . . .

(in favour of) common people, 'Alla’u-d-dunya waddin, the redresser of Islam and the Muslims, who is abiding by the Divine argument, calling (people) to the path of God, distinguished by the grace of the Merciful, Abū-l-Muẓaffar Muhammad Shāh, the Sultan, may his kingship be preserved till eternity!—on Wednesday, the 12th of Shawwal 713 A.H. (30th January, 1314 A.D.).

XXVII.—Arabic inscription in the Sarine of Arjun Shāh at Petlad (Baroda State).

Two inscriptions of this shrine were published by me in the last number of this Journal (1915-16, pp. 15-18) and the present epigraph is the third and last of the set there. This record is interesting from a historical point of view, as it clears up the confusion caused by some Persian historians ('Ali Muḥammad Khān, author of the Miżīr-i-Āmmādi, and Fīrūṣta) regarding the exact name of the governor, who administered the province of Gujarat, after its conquest by Ulugh Khān in the reign of 'Alla’u-d-dīn.1 Among the four chief nobles of the court of the latter king one was Ulugh Khān, the brother of the Sultan, and another his wife’s brother, Malik Sanjar, to whom the king had given the title of Alp Khān. Historians are unanimous that, shortly after 'Alla’u-d-dīn’s accession to the throne, Ulugh Khān was deputed to march against Gujarat, which he conquered completely. Afterwards he returned to Delhi and received the fief of Bayana, which he held till he was ordered by the king to the Fort of Ranthambor. Ulugh Khān was put in charge of the Fort and all its territories and appurtenances after its conquest in 700 A.H. He fell sick there within six months and died on his way to Delhi, whether his body was conveyed for burial.2

Alp Khān, the king’s brother-in-law, seems to have gone to Gujarat as Governor shortly after the conquest of the province. He administered Gujarat on behalf of 'Alla’u-d-dīn for nearly twenty years, till 715 A.H., when he was recalled to the capital and, owing to an accusation arising out of the enmity of Malik Kābir, who was then the Wali, he was put to death without any just cause.3 Fīrūṣta and 'Ali Muḥammad Khān confuse Alp Khān with Ulugh Khān and write that the latter carried on the government of Gujarat for twenty years after its conquest in 697 A.H.,4 which is impossible in view of the fact that Ulugh Khān, as noticed above, died in 701 A.H. Žia Barani distinguishes between Ulugh Khān and Alp Khān and, according

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1 Amir Khurram places this event in 696 A.H. and 'Alla Muḥammad Khān in 695, but Fīrūṣta and Žia Barani describe the conquest in 697 A.H. which is pretty certainly the correct date. Elliot, Vol. III, p. 74, Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 287-29, and Bayley, pp. 27-38 n.
(a) Inscription in the Anbiya Wali Mosque, Fatehpur, Sikri.

(b) Inscription in Arjun Shah's shrine, Petlad (Baroda State).

Scale 1:9

Scale 1:11
to him, it was the latter who, in 715 A.H., was called from Gujarat and slain at the instance of Malik Kafur. The present inscription, which is dated 713 A.H., supports the statement of Barani and shows that Alp Khan and not Ulugh Khan was the Governor of Gujarat.

The inscription, besides the name of Alp Khan, mentions the names of two other nobles of ‘Ala’u-d-din’s time—Ikhtiyaru-d-din and Badru-d-din Dinar. Ikhtiyaru-d-din may be identified with the officer bearing this title in the Cambay inscription (infra, p. 38). He held the office of the Commander of the Sea and died in 1316 A.D. Badru-d-din Dinar is probably the Malik Dinár referred to in the Mir’at-i-Ahmad as father of ‘Ala’u-d-din’s wife, who was honoured with the title of Zafar Khan and was sent as Naqsha to Gujarat. He was later recalled by the king and put to death without sufficient cause.

The inscription, which records the erection of a masjid, is incised on a slab of sandstone (6’ × 1’) placed on the floor along the west wall of Arjun Shah’s shrine. The style of writing is Nashe, but the letters are rather crude in execution. The language is Arabic and my reading of the text is given below:

PLATE XI (b).

(1) تمت عمارة هذا المسجد في عهد (سلطان) الأعظم علاء الدين رئيسي dz
(2) الأزمان الأجمار رابالت سيدالمر اقيام الدين معنى الجليل عبد بدرا الدین
(3) دیار
(3) . . . من شهر المبارك رمضان سنة ثلاث عشر سنة سبعمائه ۰

TRANSLATION.

The building of this mosque was completed during the reign of the great Sultan, ‘Ala’u-d-din Wadhin and the administration of the most benevolent Khan, Alp Khan, and the governorship of the chief of the nobles Ikhtiyaru-d-din . . . , through the commendable efforts of his (? ) servant, Badru-d-din Dinar . . . auspicious month of Ramazan 713 A.H. (December, 1318 A.D.).

XXVIII.—Inscription of Firoz Shah of Bengal in Zafar Khan’s tomb at Tribeni, dated 713 A.H.

This inscription marks a further step towards the development of the Tughra style of Bengal, which is characterized by intricacy of design and elegance of execution. The shape of the letters in the present case has not been much changed for the sake of ornamentation, and is extremely neat and crisp. The inscription is carved on two long basalt tablets (each measuring 6’ 3” × 10”) imbedded in the northern side of Zafar Khan’s tomb.

Apart from its fine style of writing the epigraph is interesting, as it mentions the names of the king, Firoz Shah of Bengal (1302-15) and of his deputy Zafar Khan with their full titles, which are not to be found on coins, or in contemporary history. The inscription also records the erection of a school; but, as a building of this nature was already in existence, founded in

2 Bayley, p. 40.
3 During the rebellion of Akst Khan, Malik Dinar showed great courage in guarding the Royal harem Elliot, Vol. III, p. 173.
4 For a description of the shrine see E. I. M., 1915-16, p. 15.
697 A.H., during the reign of Kaikāf's (ante, p. 13), it appears that the old school building, was only rebuilt or extended in Firoz Shāh's time.

The inscription was published by Blochmann in J. A. S. B. (Vol. XXXIX (1873), pp. 287-88) and I differ from him only on minor points regarding the decipherment of the text. I have read the inscription as follows:

PLATE XII (a).

I, Ahmad al-`āmil al-Mu`izz, built this school (masjīda) in the time of the Caliph in the year 697 A.H.,

TRANSLATION.

Praise be to Him to whom praise is due! This school, which is called Dāru-l-Khayrāt (House of Benevolence), was built during the reign of the lord of beneficence, the master of the crown and the seal, the shadow of God in the world, the benevolent, the generous, the great, the lord of the necks of nations, Shamsu-d-dunya waddin, who is distinguished by the grace of the Lord of the universe, the heir of the kingdom of Sulaimān (Solomon), Abu-l-Mu`affar Firoz Shāh, the Sultan—may God perpetuate his authority!—by the order of the great Kān, the liberal, the exalted, who is generous in gifts and worthy of (lit., beautiful in) praise, the supporter of Islam and the helper of mankind, Shihābu-l-Haqq waddin, the aider of kings and monarchs, the patron of believers, Kān-i-Jahān (Kān of the world), Zafar Kān, may God make him victorious over his enemies and make him kind to his friends! On the 1st of Muharram, 713 A.H. (Saturday, 28th April, 1313).

XXIX.—Inscription of Shamsu-d-din Firoz Shāh of Bengal, dated 715 A.H., preserved at the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Blochmann found the basalt tablet (3' 6" x 1') bearing this inscription, leaning against the wall of the Chhota Dargah in Bihar. It has since been removed from there and is now preserved at the Indian Museum, Calcutta. This is the latest inscription of Shamsu-d-din Firoz Shāh, dated 715 A.H. (1315 A.D.), and, besides his name, contains the name of his son

1 Text of the inscription is also reproduced in J. R. A. S. (Vol. VI, N. S., p. 378).
2 J. A. S. B. (XXXIX, p. 287) contains the reading كَرْمًا which is incorrect.
3 يُ رَ كَم أ يُ رَ كَم is clear in the inscription, which is grammatically correct. I do not understand how Blochmann read it and then pointed out that the word was grammatically incorrect.
4 Blochmann's reading is سامان. 
5 The reading نما is not supported by the facsimile.
6 This phrase has not been correctly deciphered by Blochmann.
Hātim Khān, who is mentioned as the Governor of the place (Bihar). The style of writing is similar to that of the other inscription of Fīroz Shāh from Bihar (ante, p. 22), and, although the latter epigraph is six years earlier than the present inscription, both of them seem to have been designed by the same artist. (Pls. VI b and XII b.)

The inscription records the erection of a mosque by one Bahram b. Hājt. The language is Arabic.

I have read the inscription as follows:—

PLATE XII (b).

(1) بنى هذه المسجد في نزلة السلطان الأعظم شمس الدين ابي المظفر فیریز شاه السلطان ر ایام إمارة خاقان الزمان ۳ إخاطب جناح باطن (2) إمواد الله ظلالهما العبد الراقت بحاله ر لكوهه الراجی احقر الخلقی ببرام این حاجی ناب الله عليه و غفر لرلادیه في الغرب من رجب سناة خمس و عشرة و سبعمته

TRANSLATION.

This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sulṭān, Shamsu-d-dunya waddin Abu-l-Muṣafar Fīroz Shāh, the Sulṭān, and during the administration of the king (Khāqān) of the world, known as Hātim Khān—may God cause their shadows to last!—by the slave who is confident in God and soliciting His mercy, the lowliest of mankind, Bahram, son of Hājt, may God forgive him and may He pardon his parents! On the first of Rajab, 715 A.H. (1st October, 1315).

XXX.—Inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh from Hansi, dated 815 A.H.

In the town of Hansi, adjoining the shrine of Shaikh Jalālu-l-Ḥaqiq, there is a building in the lower part of which the present inscription is engraved on a tablet measuring 2' 9" x 1' 4". It is a Persian record, composed in verse and consisting of three lines. The metre is Muṣūrī.

The style of writing is plain Naṣḵ and where the stone has not decayed the letters are quite distinct.

The inscription records the building of an enclosure by one Malik Ishaq in 815 A.H., who seems to have been an unimportant person, because his name does not occur in contemporary history. The other name mentioned in the inscription is that of Maḥmūd Shāh (1392-1412 A.D.), who has been praised for his benevolence and justice.

1 For information regarding this prince see ante, p. 22.
3 This title shows that Hātim Khān at the time of the inscription seems to have acquired great authority.
4 In the other inscription (ante, p. 22) he is styled only "the just and liberal Khān." In the introduction (p. 9) I have stated, as previous scholars had written, that the phrase—Dawūm shāhī Muharram ros Jumā'—like the well-known chronogram of Bahur's birth, gives the Hijra year. But on a closer examination of the inscription I have found that the word—ros—the numerical value of which has been included in calculating the date, does not exist on the stone. Further, the date given in hemistich 1 of line 3 is 815, and not 715, as deciphered by previous scholars. The inscription belongs to the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh II (1392-1412 A.D.), and it has no connection with the epigraphs of Khalji Sulṭāns.
I have read the inscription as follows 1:

**PLATE X (c).**

(1) باني این حظیرہ بتریکی کردار مہر معظم آن مملک اسماان لشکری

(2) در عهد شاہ باذل مصورشہ کا ار ممتاز جہانگیر دکر مئل کتربی

(3) تاریخ در پنچینی و فردوس(؟) از دیم مچیم و جمعه جو بغلبری

**TRANSLATION.**

(1) By the grace of God, the builder of this enclosure is the exalted Mlr, Malik Ishāq Lahkert.  

(2) In the reign of the benevolent king, Mahmūd Shāh, who is distinguished for generosity and justice.  

(3) The date, if thou wouldst calculate, was 815 A.H., the 2nd of Muharram, Friday (15th April, 1412 A.D.).

**XXXI.—Inscription of ‘Alā’u-d-din Khalji from Rāpri (Mainpuri District).**

An estampage of this inscription was found in the collection of rubbings in the Office of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, and, on my making inquiries about the provenance of the epigraph, Mr. Zafar Hasan, Assistant Superintendent of Archaeology, Delhi, has been kind enough to furnishe me with the information that the inscriptive tablet is now placed in a small modern mosque at Rāpri, near the house of Saim Khān Nambardār of the village; but it originally belonged to the Jāmi‘ Masjid of Rāpri, which is now in complete ruins.  

The inscription, which is fragmentary, mentions the name of ‘Alā’u-d-din and refers to the religious wars, which he waged against the infidels. It is in Persian verse, being arranged in four lines on a stone tablet, only the middle portion of which now survives, the right and left portions having broken away. The incomplete verses, which remain, are not continuous and unfortunately the date portion is missing.

The style of writing is Naskh. I have deciphered the text as follows: —

**PLATE XIV (a).**

* * * * *

کش شاد شہد ز غزاءش رجی بیغامیر
علاه دینا رحیم

* * * * *

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1 The text of the inscription is published in Rodgers' List, p. 80.
2 The remains of the central dome and two arches still exist. The prayer hall measures 52° 6' x 15' 9' and the courtyard 59° 6' x 29'. The ruins of the mosque are at a short distance from Rāpri to the west of the village.
3 There is another inscription of ‘Alā’u-d-din at Rāpri (ante, p. 30).
(a) Inscription originally in the Jami' Masjid at Rapri (Mainpuri, U. P.).

(b) Inscription in a mosque in Dakhni Tola, Bhuili (Mirzapur).
By whose religious wars the soul of the Prophet has been pleased.

‘Alā’u-d-dunya waddin

Over whose head the Royal canopy is the umbrella of Divine protection,
The year from the saeigration of the Prophet

by the grace of God may he rule till eternity,
By the efforts of the elect of God may the spear

whoever may look at this elegant writing.
For his minister, the privy councilor

XXXII.—Inscription on Ikhtyārū-d-Daulah’s tomb, Cambay.

Cambay (Kambāyat, 22° 18’ N. and 72° 40’ E.) is mentioned by Mas‘udī (915), and later by Marco Polo and his countryman and contemporary Marino Sanudo, as one of the most flourishing ports of India. In 1298 ‘Alā’u-d-din’s army under Naṣrat Khān and Ulugh Khān conquered Gujarat, and, when they proceeded to Kambāya or Khambāih (Cambay), they levied large quantities of jewels and precious articles from the merchants of that place, who were very rich. Later Alp Khān, brother-in-law of the Sultan, was appointed Naṣīm of Gujarat, who governed the province most successfully, and, when he was recalled and killed by the king, great disorders arose in that country. In 716 A.H. Qutbū-d-din, having succeeded his father on the throne of Delhi, sent Malik Kamālu-d-din to restore order; but ‘he obtained the honour of martyrdom and the disturbances became greater than ever.” Our inscription is dated 716 A.H.

1 Travels of Marco Polo (edited by H. Yule), Vol. II, p. 398, Note 1. Ibn Batūtā wrote that the greater part of its inhabitants were foreign merchants. Travels (English translation), pp. 146 and 164.
2 Elliot, Vol. III, pp. 74 and 163.
3 History of Gujarat by E. Bayley, p. 49.
and as it commemorates the martyrdom of Ikhtiyārād-daulah, the Baḥr-Bek (Commander of the Sea), it confirms the rebellious condition of the country at that period.

The inscription is noticed in the Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency (p. 319), but the scholar who deciphered the text has committed a mistake in reading the official designation of Ikhtiyārād-daulah as مالك معمورة كھندپاہ (Treasurer of the City of Cambay), instead of بehr أقمر معمور کھندپاہ (Commander of the Sea in the City of Cambay). In the list of Malik's 'Allād-dīn's reign, given by Barant (Persian text, pp. 240-41), we find a Malik Ikhtiyārā-d-dīn Taqīn, who may be identical with the Ikhtiyārā-d-dīn of the inscription, because Gujarat was an important province of the empire and a Malik might have been posted to the responsible office of Commander of the Sea.

Mr. Rakhal Das Bannerji, who has been kind enough to send me an inked rubbing of the inscription, writes that the inscription is cut on an arch-shaped marble tablet (4' 3" x 1' 7") fixed at the head of a plain masonry sarcophagus, in the veranda of a modern building called Madho Rāo’s house, which is used as a sort of guest-house by the Cambay State at present.

The style of writing is Naskh and the language Arabic. I decipher the inscription as follows:—

PLATE III (o).

Top (arch): Qur'ān (chap. LIX, verse 22).
Inner bands: Do. (chap. III, verses 16-17).
Central portion (oblong parallelogram): Islamic creed, the Bismillah, Qur'ān (chap. IX, verse 21, and chap. XXIII, verse 30) and the following epitaph:—

َهذَا الْقَبْرِ لِلامِرُ الْكَبِيرُ المِنْبَرِ السَّيِّد
الشَهِيدُ اخْتِيَارُ الدِّرَالْدّ رَبِّ الْكَبْرِ بُحْرُ بِكْ مِمَّمُورُ كْهِنْدِيِّبَتَ
بِرَّ دَمْحَةٍ شَمْهٍ رَأْسٍ ... رَحَشَهُهُ نَعْلُ الْيَلِدَة
الثَّلَاثَةَ سَبِيعَ مَنْ شَهْرِ جَمِيْدِيِّ الْآخِرِ سَنَّةِ سَادِسُ
عَشْرُ سَبَعُ مَنْهُ مَلِيْكُ اللَّهِ عَلَى خِيْرٍ خِلَافَهُ عِمْدٌ رَآئِلٌ

TRANSLATION.

This is the grave of the great Amir, whom God has taken into His mercy and whose sins have been pardoned, the Sayyid, the martyr, Ikhtiyārād-daulah waddin, Baḥr Bek in the city of Kambhāyat ... may God cool his resting-place and alleviate his solitude! He died in the night on Tuesday, the 17th of Jumada II, 716 A.H. (5th September, 1316 A.D.). O God, bless the best of the creation, Muhammad and his descendants!

XXXIII-XXXIV.—Two inscriptions of Mubarak Shah Khalji, dated 718 A.H., on the Jhālār Bāoli at Bayānā.

The Jhālār Bāoli is situated about two miles north of Bayānā and derives its name from the pillared cloisters which surround it like a fringe (jhālār). It is a fine monument, built entirely of red sandstone, and still in a good state of preservation in spite of its great age. The

1 For a full description of the monument see A. S. X., Vol. XX, pp. 69-70.
(a) Inscription on the north-east doorway of the Jhalar Baoli, Bayana.

(b) Inscription on the south-east doorway of the Jhalar Baoli, Bayana.

(c) Inscription in the Ukha Masjid, Bayana.
Bâolâ (reservoir of water) itself is 70' square, while the whole building measures 127' 6'
each way, externally, and has a domed entrance at each of the four corners, placed diagonally.

Over the N.-E. and S.-E. doorways of the Bâolâ there are two inscriptions, in Arabic and
Persian respectively, both dated in A.H. 718 (1318 A.D.), during the reign of Mubârak Shâh
Khalji, and mentioning the name of Malik Kâfûr as the builder of the Bâolâ. There is a third
inscription in Sânskrit, inscribed on one of the jambs of the N.-E. doorway, which mentions
the name of one Râipat and the date—"Tuesday of the bright fortnight of Vaioûkhâ, Sâh. 1325
(A.D. 1268)."1 This epigraph is unfortunately very short; it, however, shows that some
portion of the masonry of the door on which the inscription is carved originally belonged to
an old Hindu temple.

Malik Kâfûr survived Sultân 'Alû'û-d-dîn only thirty-five days, and as the latter, according
to Baranâ, expired in the first week of Shawwal 716 A.H., Malik Kâfûr must have died in
Zâl Qâ'ûd of the same year.2 The interesting point in the inscriptions is that both of them are
dated 718 A.H., and, as stated above, they mention the name of Kâfûr as the builder of the
Bâolâ. This apparently contradictory information may be reconciled if we suppose that Kâfûr
began the construction of the Bâolâ during his lifetime, but that it was completed two years
after his demise when the inscriptions were set up.

The script of both the inscriptions is Naâkh, bold and rigid, typical of the inclinations of the
rulers of that time. By the effects of weather the letters have been much abraded and, in the
case of the Arabic inscription, the first line has entirely crumbled away. Both the inscriptions
originally consisted of three lines. The written portion of the Arabic record, in its present
condition, measures 4' x 8', while the Persian inscription is 3' 6' long and a foot broad.

The texts and translations of the inscriptions are given below.

Over the North-east Doorway.

PLATE XIII (a).

(1) غوث الإسلام و المسلمین راوت خلافة دارود سلیمان ابن المظفر خلفیة الله مبارکشاه
سلطنان بن سلطان (2) خلد الله خلافة عبد الرؤف البزرگی رحمه لله الرباني کاظمر السلطنتان
تقبل الله منه نی سنی ثمانی عشر سبعاتاته

TRANSLATION.

The defence of Islam and the Muslims, heir of the kingdom of David and Solomon, Abu-l-
Mugaffar Khalîfatu'lllah (Viceroy of God) Mubârak Shâh, the Sultân, son of a Sultân—may
God perpetuate his kingdom!—by the servant who is expectant of Divine mercy, Kâfûr, the
Royal slave,—may God accept his prayer!—in the year 718 A.H. (1318 A.D.).

Over the South-east Doorway.

PLATE XIII (b).

(1) دژ زمان مکک (2) سلطان الزمانة قطب دین
تا هد ابن مکک بن بازین لطافت فرکند
سال رمان از سلطان هفت هفده روزه شمر

1 Conservation Note on Baghâna, by Sir John Marshall, dated 20th September, 1907.
3 The metre of these lines is Ramal.
TRANSLATION.

During the time of the king, the Sultān of the age, the axis (basis) of religion,
The Lord of the capital, the monarch of sea and land,
The servant of his court, Kāfūr, the Royal slave, ordered,
Hence this reservoir (lit., water-building) with water so pure in such a muddy (environ).
Behold the four doors with four domes, and the date,
Calculate it 718, in the Hijra era. 1318 A.D.

XXXV.—Inscription of Mubārak Shāh Khalji in the Poet Mir Ḥasan’s Tomb at Khuldābād, Aurangabād District.

Khuldābād, better known by its original name, Raunā (the Garden), is situated nine miles north of the Daulatabād Railway Station and seven miles off the Daulatabād Fort. It is a picturesque little town abounding in the tombs of saints who came out to the Deccan as missionaries in the wake of the early Muslim conquerors.¹ In 1707, Aurangzeb solicitously selected Raunā as his last resting place and this choice gave the town the modern name of Khuldābād after the title of the emperor, Khuld Makānt (of Heavenly abode).

The tomb of the Poet Mir Ḥasan² is situated about 3 furlongs to the south-west of Khuldābād and comprises a small mosque and an open court enclosed by a wall. To the west of the poet’s tomb, but in the same enclosure, is the grave of Malik Chhabjū, the nephew of Balban.³ Near the latter grave the tablet of the present inscription is lying. The tablet has no connection with Malik Chhabjū’s tomb and originally belonged either to the mosque within the enclosure or to some other building in the vicinity of which no trace exists now. The tablet is of a pinkish sandstone and measures 3’ 10’ x 1’.

The inscription commemorates the erection of a building in 719 A.H. (1319 A.D.), during the reign of Mubārak Shāh Khaljī, by one ‘A’mbar, grand-usher to Khusraw Khān.⁴ According to Barani, Mubārak Khaljī set out to punish Harpāl Deo and Rāmdeo, who had taken possession of Deogir, in 718 A.H., and, according to the same author, it was after the capture of the Fort that he granted a canopy to Khusraw Khān and deputed him with a large army for the conquest of Mā’bar.⁵ The date, 719 A.H., given in the inscription, is therefore in agreement with the above events.

The inscription is in Persian verse and consists of four lines. The metre is Nasakh, of rather a crude character and poorer in effect than the contemporary script of Delhi. This may be accounted for by the assumption that the king came out to Deogir to punish the Hindu Rajas, and might not have brought any calligrapher in his retinue.

¹ Lt.-Col. T. W. Haig in his interesting book, Historic Landmarks of the Deccan (Pioneer Press), has given a short but incisive account of the tombs at Raunā.
² He was one of the Court-poets of Sultan ‘Ala’un-d-Dīn Khaljī to whom most of his lamentary poems are addressed. When Muhammad Bin Tughlaq in 727 A.H. forcibly removed the inhabitants of Delhi to his new capital, Deogir, Mir Ḥasan went with them and died there in the same year. See Bāḍūnī, Vol. I, p. 226, Barani, pp. 67, 869, and Rīmū (Catalogue), Vol. I, p. 618.
(a) Inscription of 'Ala' ud-Din Khajji (copied from Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. XX.)

(b) Inscription of Mubarak Shah Khajji from Khulubad (Aurangabad).
I have deciphered the text as follows:

PLATE XXIV (b).

(1) بعهد دیرفس سلطان عالم كوك عدال سلطان خور شمس تابي
(2) شه كيتي تقب ديني رفليا مبارك كسلطان ابن سلطان
(3) بيانا كر كيب غمارت بنهذ خدي (؟) بن حجاب أعظم خسر خال
(4) خردم منه بره از عشر اول راز تاريخ همفند نوزده دان

TRANSLATION.

(1) In the reign of the king of the universe, whose justice is shining in the world like the Sun;

(2) The lord of the universe, the axis of the faith and the world, Mubarak Shah, the Sultan, son of a Sultan;

(3) The slave 'Ambar, (who is) one of the chief-ushers of Khosrau Khan, built this mosque.

(4) It was the first decade of the month of Muharram, and you should know the year as 719 A.H. (1319 A.D.).


The Ukha Masjid is one of the largest buildings in Bayana, and occupies a space of 124' in length from east to west by 74' from north to south. The plan of the building comprises a prayer-hall, which is four aisles deep, a courtyard with cloisters on the north and south sides (those on the south being a single aisle, while those on the north form a double aisle), and a gateway. The mosque was originally a Hindu temple, in which considerable additions and alterations have been made by the Muslims, although the inner side of the entrance retains its old Hindu arrangement. About the façade of the gateway Sir John Marshall, who inspected the monument in 1905, remarks—"The chief beauty of the structure lies in its entrance, the details of which call vividly to mind much of the ornamentation in the Qujb buildings."

The inscription, which is set over the archway of the entrance gate, records the erection of a mosque by Kafar Sultan, in the reign of Quṭbu-d-din Mubarak Shah, whose titles are given in full. The date written at the end of the inscription is 720 A.H. and it appears that this building also, like the Jhalar Bost, was completed after Kafar's death (ante, p. 39).

The style of writing is Nasīḥ of an elegant type; but the letters have been much injured by the effects of weather. The language is Arabic. The inscriptive tablet measures 5' 6" x 1' 3".

1 The metre of these lines is Hasaj.
2 For a full description of the building see A. S. R., Vol. XX., p. 71. The name Ukha (Usa) Masjid was framed by Cunningham, who selected the title for the sake of distinguishing the building from the adjoining temple, which is called Ukha Mandir.
I have deciphered the text as follows:—

PLATE XIII (c).

(1) امری دنیا هی نی روایت مبارکه شریفه اللمعین فی عهد السلطان العالم العادل المعظم مولی ملک الشرق العرب ولعبم مشهود قرعاء الحسین... (2) اجراء والمرازیم ظل الله في التزیین قبب الدنيا زالیین غوث الإسلام والمسلمین میغیت الملکه ولسلطیین وارث خلافة داره سلیمان را منظور خلیفه الله مبارکه (3) السلطان ابن السلطان خلیفه الله سلطانه وابد خلافته العبد الراجی الى عفر انگفار کارر السلطانی... في سنة عشرین و... 

سبعاته

TRANSLATION.

The slave, soliciting the pardon of the Merciful (God), Kāfūr Sultānī, ordered the construction of this auspicious, noble and fine building, in the reign of the king of the world, the just, the most exalted, the king of the kings of the East—of Arabia and non-Arab countries—the confirmer of principles of benevolence... of generosity and munificence, the shadow of God in the universe, Quṭbu-d-dunya waddin, the defence of Islām and the Muslims, the helper of kings and monarchs, the successor to the kingdom of David and Solomon, Abu-l-Muzaffar Khālidfatu'lllah Mubārak Shāh, the Sultan, son of a Sultan—may God perpetuate his kingdom!... in the year 720 A.H. (1320 A.D.).

XXXVII.—Inscription of Mubārak Shāh from Bhuilī (Mirzāpūr).

The inscription is engraved on a red sandstone tablet (2' × 1' 6") fixed in the lower wall of a mosque in Dakhāt Tola at Bhuilī in the Mirzāpūr District. The original building of the mosque seems to have decayed altogether, for the present structure is quite modern and has a tiled roof. The prayer-hall has three arched openings and measures 32' 7" × 9' 10".

Cunningham has referred to the inscription in A. S. R., Vol. XXI, p. 130; but, as the letters are much worn out, he could read only the name of the king. The inscription consists of five lines of Persian verse and is written in the Nasḵī characters. The metre is Muṣārī'.

I make out the epigraph as follows:—

PLATE XIV (b).

(1) خضعل خداونی بهین کرز اسلام تازه شد... یا... عهد مملکت شهریار... 
(2) سلطان ابن سلطان شاه مبارک آئنه فقیهی اسطیم کر خلیفه عالم... شد... (3-5)

TRANSLATION.

(1) See the grace of God that through him (the king) Islām has been revived... of age, the lord of the kingdom...
(2) The Sultān, son of a Sultan, Shāh Mubārak, who is a Quṭb (Chief) who has become he lord of the upper world. (3-5)

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1 In the inscription the name of Kāfūr occurs after the name of the king.
2 Bhuilī is mentioned in the Ṭawāqut (English translation, p. 550) as a pargana included in the sif of Muḥammad Bakhtiyār.
INSPECTIONS OF THE QUTB SHĀHĪ KINGS IN HYDERABAD CITY AND SUBURBS.

By G. Yazdani.

This essay is the third instalment of my contributions to this Journal on the inscriptions of the Qutb Shahi kings of Golconda and deals with thirteen epigraphs, beginning with the reign of Muḥammad Quli Qutb Shah, the builder of the city of Hyderabad and coming down to the reign of Abul Hasan, after whom the dynasty became extinct. The inscriptions are of considerable importance to the antiquary, as fixing with precision the dates of several monuments of the Qutb Shahi dynasty; but their chief interest however lies in the variety and elegance of their scripts.

The inscription over the door of the Jami' Masjid, written by Bābā Khān, represents perhaps the finest example of the Nastālīq script in the Deccan (Pl. XVII a). Another inscription from this building (Pl. XVI) and the Nādi 'Ali on the grave of Kusūjī in the Ḥer Ka Dā'ira (Pl. XVIII a) are good specimens of the ornamental Nashā which, in a simple form, assumed the name of Ta'ltīh; but, when becoming intricate and pictorial, was styled Tughra. The bold sweeping curves and fine, crisp vertical and horizontal strokes of these inscriptions exhibit art of a high order and they may compare favourably with the best calligraphic specimens of other countries.

Another inscription of this set, which is fixed over the eastern doorway of Miyān Mishk's Tomb, is interesting, as showing the style of writing called Shikasta, which had its origin from Nastālīq, but, through the vagaries of the calligraphist's fancy, assumed most subtle forms, and in some cases became absolutely illegible. This style, however, on account of its freedom from the conventional rules, has been the popular script of India from the sixteenth century onwards; and, although now its use, owing to difficulty in reading it, has been given up, yet old men adhere to this script in private life.

This essay brings to a close the survey of the inscriptions of the Qutb Shahi kings in the City of Hyderabad and Suburbs, including the Golconda Fort and Tombs; but, as the territory under the sway of these kings included the larger part of the country now under His Exalted Highness the Nizam, as well as several districts south of the Krishna, at present forming part of the Madras Presidency, I am collecting material for another essay, in which I shall deal with those inscriptions, which were set up in the various towns of the Qutb Shahi kingdom, outside the capital. I need hardly say that I shall deeply appreciate any help which Government officials or private gentlemen may kindly give me, by reporting to me the localities of the inscriptions of the dynasty within their knowledge.

I-II.—Inscriptions in the Jami' Masjid, Hyderabad City.

The mosque is one of the earliest buildings erected by Muḥammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1612) to adorn his newly founded capital, Hyderabad, or Bhāγnagar, as it was originally styled. Fīrūża mentions it along with the Chār Minār and writes—"Māhomed Koolly Kootb Shah built an elegant masjid in the middle of the city."1

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1 I have not included in this paper the two short inscriptions in the Bādshāh 'Ashār Khāns giving the names of Muḥammad Quli Qutb Shah and 'Abdullah Qutb Shah. For a description of this building see Annual Report Archaeological Department, His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1914-15, p. 3.

2 Brīggs, III, 462.
The city of Hyderabad has expanded in an irregular manner since Muḥammad Qult Quṭb Shāh’s time, and a dense growth of houses and shops envelops the exterior of the Jāmī’ Masjid, entirely spoiling the beauty of its original surroundings—the Chār Minār square, the Chār Kamān piazza and the Royal palaces.  

Entering through a door built in the pillar-and-lintel style, the visitor passes through a narrow lane, at the end of which he gets a side view of the mosque. The interior is still imposing and the spacious hall, the massive row of pillars, and the beautiful arches and minarets give an idea of the breadth of vision and lofty idealism of the builder.

The plan of the building consists of a double hall (72’ 6” × 32’ 6”), with seven arched openings, a paved courtyard (74’ × 70’) and a cistern at the north-eastern end of the courtyard. Two lofty minarets stand at the N.-E. and S.-E. corners of the hall and a narrow colonnade with nine openings in the pillar-and-lintel style, runs along the northern side of the courtyard.

The building has two inscriptions, one carved in three lines on a slab of black basalt (7’ × 2’) fixed over the entrance door of the mosque and another engraved along the sides (each 13’ × 1’ 5”) and top (8’ 7” × 1’ 5”) of the prayer niche. The former is in Persian verse and written in very beautiful Ta’liq characters. The name of the king is omitted in the inscription, but the name of his minister, Aḥmu l-Mulk, under whose superintendence the mosque was built, is mentioned. Aḥmu l-Mulk held the distinguished office of Mir Jumla immediately before the famous Sayyid Muḥammad Amin of Astrābād, who is better known in history by his official designation than by his real name. Aḥmu l-Mulk was an accomplished general and he distinguished himself in quelling the rebellions of petty Hindu Rajas which took place in the middle of Muḥammad Qult Quṭb Shāh’s reign.

The name of the calligrapher is Bābā Khān, who seems to have been a Persian artist. I have read the inscription as follows:—

PICTURE XVII (a).


del Asāsī  (* 1)  جهانداری بشهان شیر پاری
Zalulas  (* 2)  دل آساسی کند چن تازه گردید
Golsanistan  (* 3)  زمین رو روش جنگ کرد خلقی
Arz  (* 4)  بام علی خرد مسجدی ساخت
Koh Dar  (* 5)  کند هر لحظه جنگ زندگی
Qasāqāí  (* 6)  مکر در دویش سخت از ناپد
Maslamani  (* 7)  نظیر خرس در آنها می نماید
Ustā  (* 8)  کسی پرست اکثر تازه ار را

تمام گشت بسیار ملک امهالالک
حریه پابابخشی
(a) Inscription over the doorway of the Jamī Masjid, Hyderabad City.

(b) Inscription on the grave of Khadija Bi in Mir-ka-Daira, Hyderabad City.

Scale 1:1
Inscription in the prayer-niche of the Jami' Masjid, Hyderabad City.

Plate XVI.

Scale: 0.33
TRANSLATION.

(1) The lord of the world, the king of kings; in whose reign the virtuous received generous treatment.

(2) The heart is consoled, the soul is refreshed when his ruby (lips) make a speech.

(3) His courteous manners have made this earth the envy of Paradise, and his (beautiful) face shows the rose garden of Iram.¹

(4) By his own exalted order he built a mosque, below the roof of which heaven revolves like a ball.

(5) (Paradise in the hope that) perchance it may be seen in the courtyard of the mosque, flits in and out continuously.²

(6) I am proud of this that there the pre-eminence of Islam (over other religions) is well proved.

(7) Should any one ask the date of its erection say, "How excellent is this lofty and beneficent building."

Completed by the efforts of Malik Aminu-l-Mulk.
Written by Babā Kān.

The inscription in the prayer-niche consists of an extract from the Qur'ān (Chap. II, verses 137-38), the name of the calligrapher, Jalālū-d-dīn Muḥammad, son of Jamālū-d-dīn Ḥussain, of Shiraz and the date 1006 A.H. (1597 A.D.). The interesting point about this inscription is that the characters and the style of writing are absolutely identical with those of the inscription carved in the prayer-niche of the Great Mosque in the Golconda Tombs and published in the last number of this Journal (pp. 35-6, Pt. XI). As the present epigraph is dated 1006 A.H. it is seventy-one years earlier than its rival in the mosque of the Golconda Tombs, which is dated 1077 A.H. and is evidently a copy of the former inscription. In India calligraphers have never refrained from copying the writing of earlier master-artists and in some cases they have copied their names as well to pass off the work of their masters as their own.

The name of the artist in this inscription is recorded thus:—

PLATE XVI.

كتبة عبد العزيز حمو، جمال الدين جلال الدين معمر اللؤلؤ، في ١٠٠٦

TRANSLATION.

Written by the servant, Jalālū-d-dīn Muḥammad Al-Fakhrkāh, son of Jamālū-d-dīn Ḥussain, of Shiraz, in the year 1006 A.H. (1597 A.D.).

III.—Inscriptions on the tomb of Bibi Khadija in Mir Ka Dā'ira, Hyderabad.

Mir Ka Dā'ira is a large necropolis in the city of Hyderabad, containing hundreds of dressed stone graves.³ The principal tomb there, on account of which the necropolis seems to have been established, is the shrine of Mir Momin cf Astrabad. He was a minister (Wakīlu-s-Saltānāt) to Muḥammad Qult Quṣb Shāh, and his memory is held sacred to this day among the Shiites on account of his piety, learning and intuitive knowledge.⁴

¹ The garden said to have been laid out by Shaddād in emulation of the gardens of Paradise.
² The poet wants to say that Paradise is anxious to have itself associated or identified with the courtyard of the mosque on account of its extreme beauty, so Paradise is moving about in the courtyard. The line may also be translated thus—

"If Paradise happen to appear before the courtyard of the mosque, it would (gladly) sweep the courtyard every moment."
³ The great artist and historian of Aurangzeb's reign, Ni'mat Kān 'All, is buried here,
⁴ For Mir Momin see Hadīgatu-l-'Alām (Hyderabad lithograph), pp. 235-39.
The tomb of Bibi Khadija is a small structure consisting of a square hall (22' 8" each way) crowned with a heavy dome. The grave is built at the centre of the hall and is profusely decorated with religious texts. The styles of writing exhibited on the grave are highly artistic and a specimen of them is reproduced in this essay as Pl. XVIII a.

The religious texts are carved in this order:—

**Head tablet** . . . . The Shiite Durud.

**Top slab of the sarcophagus** . The Shiite creed, Qur'an (Ch. II, verse 256, and Ch. III, verse 16) and the date 1032 A.H.

**Side slabs of the sarcophagus** . Band I, Nadi 'Ali, Qur'an (Ch. XXXIII, verse 56).

Band II, Qur'an (Chaps. XCVII, CIX and CXII-XIV).

Band III, Qur'an (Ch. II, verses 285-86).

The epitaph is carved in Band I and I have deciphered it as follows:—

**PLATE XVII (b).**

فرت مفیفة صالحة ساپاءة ساجد، بیتنی خدامب بنت سید میر علي استر آبادی شیخ اردل

بکاریخت عادی جعفری الزل سال 1032 H

**TRANSLATION.**

The death of the chaste, pious, austere (lit., continually fasting) and devout (lit., continually prostrate in adoration) lady, Khadija, daughter of Sayyid Mir 'Ali of Astarahd,1 the Shaikh of Awand,2 occurred on the 10th of Jumada I, 1031 A.H. (Wednesday, 13th March 1622 A.D.).

**IV.—Inscriptions in the Pavilions of Mā'ī Sāhibā's Tank, Hyderabad.**

On the road which runs from Khairatabad to Golconda, about half a mile from the former place, is situated the tank of Mā'ī Sāhibā. It is about a mile and three quarters in circumference and, although the larger part of it is silted up now, it would originally have been a picturesque sight, being surrounded on three sides with ranges of granite rocks, and on the fourth side being bounded with a massive band about three furlongs in length. At either end of the band stands a large tower rectangular in plan and built of solid masonry.

The tower at the south-east end of the band comprises two storeys; in the lower storey a sluice gate has been built for the exit of surplus water, while the upper consists of a hall (22' × 11' 6") with three arched openings and a terrace (28' × 7') facing the waters of the tank. The hall was apparently resorted to as a pleasure pavilion in the rainy season, when the wavelets of the tank together with the surrounding rocky hills must have offered a picturesque sight.

The tower at the south-west end of the band comprises three storeys; the lowest containing the sluice gate, the middle a terrace (27' × 7') and a hall (22' × 11' 6") and the top a hall only.

1 38° 40' N. Lat. and 54° 2' E. Long., town near the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea.
2 Anand, furniture particularly belonging to the kitchen, as pots, pans or other vessels. The title Shaikh Awand, 'master of the pot,' or 'master of the drinking-vessel,' seems to have been given to this gentleman in a spiritual sense for his leadership in religious matters.
(a) Inscription on Khadija Bi’s Tomb, Mir-ka-Daira, Hyderabad.

(b) Inscription in S.-W. Pavilion of Mai Sahiba’s Tank, Hyderabad.

(c) Inscription on the inner side of the eastern doorway of Mian Mishk’s Tomb, Hyderabad.
In the top storeys of both the towers, there are inscriptions carved on tablets of polished black stone. The texts of these epigraphs are almost identical, the difference being that the inscription in the tower at the south-west end of the band does not contain lines 8 and 9 of the inscription in the other tower.

The style of writing is Naqshi of a very fine type and the language is Persian. The calligrapher in arranging the lines on the tablet has, in more than one place, split the words, contrary to the rules of Persian orthography. In my reading of the text, given below, these irregularities have been pointed out.

The inscriptions commemorate the building of a tank by Khānām Āghā, daughter of Mir Maqṣūd ‘Alī Tabātābā, and subsequently the gift of the same tank by that lady to Shāh Khundkār. Khānām Āghā was the wife of Prince Mirzā Muḥammad Amin, the youngest son of Ḥabīb-qāb Shāh (1550-80 A.D.) and mother of Muḥammad Qāb Shāh, the sixth king of the dynasty (1612-26 A.D.). The mention of the name of Khanām Āghā’s father in the inscription incidentally throws light on the influence of the Tabātābā Sayyids, during the reign of Ḥabīb-qāb Shāh and the rules of his son and grandson, Muḥammad Qāb and Muḥammad Qāb Shāh, a fact also recorded by Firūdha who writes:

"Ibrāhīm Koolly Kooth Shāh left three sons, the eldest of whom, Mahomed Koolly, succeeded to the throne at the age of twelve. He immediately married the daughter of Shah Nizam Isfahany, a syud of the Tabatibba tribe who had long held the office of Ameer Joomla under the late king. At the Syud’s instigation the King marched to co-operate with Syud Moortzana Subzawry, the general of Ahmudnuggur."²

Shāh Khundkār, to whom the tank was awarded, is the same person whose epitaph we have noticed in the last number of this Journal (1915-16, p. 33). He died in 1045 A.H. (1635-36 A.D.).

My reading of the text is given below:

**PLATE XVII (b).**

(1) همراه هست یال نمی‌نم می‌ده ستادان انجامی سبز کشیده یمن رخا می‌کند (2) خانم ایها بنت میر محمد علی طلبی با به‌ترافع ازک (3) اینام راهمت حمیرت آنام از طبقه خاص را طایفه میر میرمیر که مصوری‌نام یک بار نظر ایک بار از خوانم آمیز را می‌گویم (4) کامشا حوضی در سواره پنهق خر اید (5) عموم کرد خرفس (5) ست یک انفاض ذی حیات ایشی ایانکری رثا حژرقری آن تا (6) ذیبیقیم کبای بروزی‌نام بانوی سعیا عادی (7) راجع باشند نیروی (7) لکه کسر مکاتIVA بانعم سیادت رثا رثا ننکشان شاه خرفس‌نام‌ب (8) سیادت رمعالیسم دستوگاه شاه محمد السهیلی مقرر فرموده ایم فی عیم ۱۰۰ (9) فرض تشیست کرد ما باز ماند گو هستی‌نا نمی‌کنی هیقبی‌ابی‌کم

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1 The tablet in the S.-E. tower measures 2' 7" × 1' 6", while that in the S.-W. tower is 3' × 2'.
2 Šabānatal, the surname of the great-great-grandson of ‘Ali, Ismā‘il b. Ibrāhīm, on account of his pronouncing the letter ' like b. Descendants of Šabānal are called Šabānalī.
4 Lieut.-Col. Haig who has published the text and a translation of the inscription in E. I. M., 1907-8, read this word as میروز instead of نمی‌نم.
5 The calligrapher has written the čed of میروز in line 3 while the first four letters of the word میروز are written in line 2. This splitting of the word is contrary to the rules of Persian grammar.
6 Haig could not make out the word نمی‌نم properly, which is a Persian term meaning 'market.' He has joined it with the following word and read the two words together as نمی‌نم، خرفس نمی‌نم، instead of نمی‌نم، خرفس نمی‌نم.
7 Haig's reading is خرسک داشت.
8 Haig read this word as خرسک.
9 The calligrapher has committed a mistake of Persian orthography here also by writing the čed of میروز in line 6 and čed in line 7.
10 The metre of this line is Husayj.
TRANSLATION.

The mind, (filled) with high aspirations, of His Highness, the source of felicity (lit., who increases the felicity) to the family (noted for its) fidelity and chastity, Khanum Agha, daughter of Mr Maqsood 'Ali Tabiatabi, is always disposed to meet the requirements of the public (lit., to raising the pillars of utility of various kinds for all people, high or low): accordingly, having taken in view the end of (worldly) affairs and consequences of (earthly) pursuits, the tank which is situated in the vicinity of the market of Khairabad has been built by her, in order that living beings of various classes may be conveinced thereby and that a continual blessing (of this charitable work) may rest till the resurrection upon the founder as well as on those who have assisted (in the building of the tank). Now, in 1034 A.H. the above tank has been awarded by us (King Muhammad Qutb Shah—1020-35 A.H.) to the refuge of Sayyids and persons of noble birth, Shah Khundkar, son of the noble and exalted Shah Muhammad al-Husaini.

VERSE.

The object is that an (indelible) impression from us may remain (on the tablet of Time); Otherwise in the (earthly) existence we see no permanence.

V.—Inscriptions in Rahim Khan's Mosque, Hyderabad.

In the old city of Hyderabad, along the road which runs from the Purana Pul to Golconda some of the most beautiful monuments of the Qutb Shahi period may be seen. They comprise shrines, mosques, baths, sarais and dwelling houses, and, as some of them have inscriptions, they will be noticed in this paper.

Rahim Khan's mosque belongs to the above group of monuments and is situated at a short distance from the Purana Pul. It is a small structure, comprising a prayer-hall (27' x 18') flanked with two minarets and a small paved courtyard. In front of the courtyard there are a well, and a terrace with nine graves on it.

At the western end of the prayer-hall there is a semi-decagonal niche, which is decorated with inscribed panels, containing the Throne Verse. The style of writing is Tughra of an extremely fine type. The name of the calligrapher, which occurs at the end of the inscription, is Mir 'Ali.

The façade of the prayer-hall is also adorned with a row of inscribed panels, which comprise the Shi'ite Durud, the Qur'anic phrase —

\[ نصر الله و فتح قريب ربي المولى \]

and three Persian verses, containing the name of the builder of the mosque and a chronogram regarding the date of its construction. The style of writing of this inscription is Naskh of an ornamental type.

The panels containing the Persian verses measure jointly 7' 6" x 9'. I have deciphered the verses as follows:—

PLATE XIX (b).

السّاعات نشُل رحمٍ خان ۰ که از بندگان قطِب‌شَه‌هَت
میناء مسجد جانفلی ای ۰ جو تمام شد جو صحبست
جمال هزار و پانچاه رس سه‌ورکفت ۰ دل ای سیده که مهر و منبت
(a) Inscription on two loose slabs lying in the Toli Masjid, Hyderabad.

(b) Inscription on the façade of Rahim Khan's Masjid, Hyderabad.
TRANSLATION.

The august (personage), Rahim Khan,
Who is a servant of Quṭb Shāh.
The serenity of his soul-inspiring mosque
When completed, is like the morning time.
In the year 1053 A.H. (1643-44 A.D.) the sky announced;
Verily it is the place of adoration of the sun and the moon.

VI-VII.—Inscriptions in the Tolī Masjīd, Hyderabad.

This mosque also belongs to the group of monuments situated on the Golconda road and it was built by Mūsā Khān, a dignitary of the court of ‘Abdullāh Qūṭb Shāh.1 The architecture of the building is discussed in some detail in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam’s Dominions for 1916-17, pp. 3-5, and I give below an extract from it:—

"The mosque is situated within an extensive enclosure which originally had a large garden, but no vestige of it remains now. Flights of steps on three sides—east, north and south—lead the visitor to an elevated terrace (6 ft. high) forming the courtyard of the mosque. The prayer-hall is four feet higher and consists of a double hall, the outer apartment having five arched openings and the inner only three, the place of the extreme openings towards north and south being occupied by two niches built in the pillar-and-lintel style. In the inner hall at the western end there is a prayer-niche in the form of a semi-decagon. Two lofty minarets (60 ft. high approximately) flank the building at each side (north and south) and a number of smaller cupolas adorn the roof. The lower part of the mosque up to the roof is built of ashlar masonry, while the upper part is constructed of brick and lime, probably to carry cut-plaster decorations.

"The chief features of the building are its decorations which show a strong Hindu influence. To wit, the circular earthen pot (kuśa) which is so common a motif in Hindu architectural ornamentation is largely adopted here—(1) the shafts of the minarets rise from pot-shaped bases; (2) the façade is adorned with rows of black basalt pots cut in relief. Again, elephant-tusk brackets which are absolutely Hindu in origin, have been used profusely in the mosque. Further, there are niches in the pillar-and-lintel style identical in form with niches in temples for the accommodation of images. Another Hindu feature, which may escape the notice of a casual visitor, is that just as the Hindu adorns the exterior surface of the temple with miniature sikhara and other architectural detail, in this mosque also the tops of niches are adorned with miniature mosques and minarets."

The minor architectural forms and decorative motifs described, in the last paragraph, are of course Hindu; but they have been blended in the general style of the monument with consummate skill and the result shows a picturesqueness of detail, combined with soundness of structural elements.

The mosque has two inscriptions. One of them is carved on two tablets of black basalt, each measuring 3'2'×1'3". The tablets are lying loose in the courtyard of the mosque near a grave with which they apparently have no connection, for the inscription carved on the tablets records the erection of a mosque in 1043 A.H. during the reign of ‘Abdullāh Qūṭb Shāh. This mosque is different from the Tolī Masjīd, which, according to the inscription set up in its prayer-niche, was built by Mūsā Khān in 1082 A.H.

1 Mūsā Khān held the office of Mahālār (Lord Chamberlain); but in time of war he played also the rôle of a general. For the particulars of his life see E. J. M., 1913-14, pp. 51-3, and Muntakhabat-i-lubāb (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. II, p. 311.

2 This report contains also two photographs and a plan of the building (Plates II-III).
The inscription on the two basalt tablets is in Persian verse, the metre being Ramač. The style of writing is Naš†īt. I have deciphered the epigraph as follows:—

**PLATE XIX (a).**

در زمان شاه خیر انديش کورشم بارگذارت *
پایتخت اتمام این بنای از اعیان شیخ پیشا
خواستم چون سال تاریخش زیاد‌گذی کرده *
شده‌ام شاه عبدالله این مسجد بنا

سنین۱۰۳۶ + کتبه لطف الله هامسدنی التربیتی

**TRANSLATION.**

In the reign of the well-wishing king of heavenly court,

This building was completed through the efforts of the Shāh, the leader.

When I asked the Invisible Inspire for a chronogram of the building; he said,

"This mosque was built by the order of King Abdullah."


The other inscription in the Tolt Masjid is also in Persian verse, and consists of two lines. The style of writing is Našš. I have deciphered it as follows:—

**PLATE XX (a).**

لمع الملك الابن لله الواحد القهار

موجود خان بناء کرد این مسجد *
که شد مستعد در وقا الله شاه *
بتاریخ مسجد تینی شد ندا *
بنا کرد مسجد بنام خدا

سنین۱۰۸۲

**TRANSLATION.**

For whom is the Kingdom today? For God, the One, the All-powerful.

Mūsā Khān built this mosque of his

Which was completed in the reign of Shāh Abdullah.

As a chronogram of the mosque this was heard (from the Invisible Speaker):

"Built the mosque in the name of God." 1082 A.H. = 1671 A.D.

**VIII-XIII.—Inscriptions in the Tomb of Miyan Mišk, Hyderabad.**

Miyan Mišk's name does not occur in contemporary history, the reason being that no detailed account of the reign of Abul Ḥasan is preserved, only casual references occurring in Mughal chronicles and English, French and other foreign records. The inscriptions on his tomb, however, disclose him to be a secretary of the king, holding the charge of the Royal key, and also the high office of the Commander of the Carnatic troops. The name Mišk shows him to be of African origin, the people of which stock have played no insignificant part in the history of

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1 In calculating the numerical value of letters for the chronogram the lām of 'Abdullah which is double ( bullpen ) will be counted twice.
2 For the sake of rhyme Shāh should be read without as here.
3 The metre of these lines is Mutagārib.
(a) Inscription in the prayer-niche of the Toli Masjid, Hyderabad.

(b) Inscription over the western doorway of Mian Misirk's Tomb, Hyderabad.
the Deccan. The tomb of Miyan Mishk is situated near the eastern end of the Purâna Pul and consists of a spacious quadrangle (145' x 116'), which is enclosed by a high wall and entered by two low gateways facing the East and West. On the façades of each of these gateways inscriptive tablets are fixed which bear the farman of king Abul Hasan, describing in detail the revenues set apart for the maintenance of the tomb (Pls. XXXb-XXI). On the inner face of the enclosure wall, near the eastern gateway, there is another inscription, which records the erection of a building in 1035 A.H. (1625 A.D.), during the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shâh (Pl. XVIII c). This epigraph apparently has no connection with the tomb of Miyan Mishk and seems to have been brought to its present place, at the demolition of the building on which it was originally set up.

The tomb itself stands on a platform 5 ft. high and measuring 39 ft. on each side. The grave chamber is entered by three doorways—on the East, West and South—and the interior measures 16' 6" each way. A polished black stone tablet, which bears the epitaph, is set up at the North end of the grave (Pl. XXIII b). Another inscriptive tablet is fixed over the southern doorway of the sepulchre (Pl. XXII). It bears a farman of king Abul Hasan, which is similar as regards its contents to the two farmans, carved over the eastern and western gateways of the tomb (Pls. XXb-XXI).

The chief interest of these inscriptions lies in the variety and picturesqueness of their scripts. To wit, the inscription over the eastern gateway is a fine example of the Shikasta script (Pl. XXI), while the other epigraphs represent a style which is a combination of Thulth and Tughrâ (Pls. XX b, XXII and XXIII b).

The texts of the inscriptions as deciphered by me are given below in chronological order.

(1) Inscription over the Western Gateway.

PLATE XX (b).

نقل نزمان سلطان ابراهيم قطب شاه
(1) نزمان جهان مطاعم رأسان ارتفاع از دروی هما میان ضعویت مشهور جهان زینت
صدر يانست که عامل (2) متعددان ر کارگنار حال و استقبال کتیبویان و تبیان مقاماتیان (3)
مستعهد پر بعثیان شاهان مستظهر بود بدانند که مقرب احترم اخلاقی ملك مشک
سر لشکر (3) کزاتلک بعذر من میقیان حضر لامع القرو رسانید که حاضر بازار تعلق
مسجد مهار ایلا خارج سالیانه ..... بیلگ هشتاد هر (4) که تفصیل
آن در نزمان ..... ملكه مکرم بنر (4) و دوکانها (5) بازار در طرنه
مسجد ..... اخراجات لنکر عاشیر ر ایران ر ایوان خانه
وقیش و رشتناقی مکرم بنر و اخراجات نکر عاشیر ر مرخصت شود ..... 
لذا انتظام سرکی ایله (5) برجه بنا رسته و هشتاد هر مسموت فرق ناامن از معموره بازار
مذکر بهم رسد جهت اخراجات لنکر عاشیر ر و اخراجات مکرم بنر مرخصت شود (6) جاری داشت از تغير و تبید ..... پاشند
This decree, obeyed by the world and as exalted as heaven, has received the honour of issuing from the auspicious court, filled with imperial dignity, to this effect that the present and future revenue officers, accountants and subordinate establishment of the Kutwal Khāna and Thāna of Musta‘iddpūr, having been protected by Royal grace, should know that the trusted servant of the Imperial court, Malik Miḥk, the Commander of the Carnatic Troops, has been granted the honour of laying this request before those standing in the resplendent court that the income of the bazaar attached to the mosque of the above-mentioned (Malik Miḥk), besides the annual grant of 80 huns as detailed in the formān . . . . . . . . shops and stalls on both sides of the bazaar of the Masjid . . . be graciously awarded and endowed for the expenses to be incurred in connection with the feeding of the poor, the religious ceremonies of the first ten days of Muharram, and the maintenance of the Alāwī and Abdār Khāna and the lights and carpets of the above mosque, as also for (similar) other expenses. Accordingly, the request of the aforesaid (Miyan Miḥk) having been granted, we have awarded and endowed the eighty huns referred to above, in addition to that which may be collected from the rents of the bazaar, for the expenses to be incurred in feeding the poor, the religious ceremonies of the first ten days of Muharram and the maintenance of the Alāwī and the mosque. The august command is being issued that the endowment should be continued without any deviation from year to year . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Whoever disobeys our high order or appropriates the endowment for such purposes as are not indicated above, shall be overtaken by the anger of God and the imprecation of the Prophet of God and the Imāms of (the path of) righteousness. Written in the month of Muharram 1085 A.H. (April, 1674). Written by Husain b. Taqi.

Arranged in a circle: the names of the twelve Imāms and the following verse—

PLATE XXIII (a).
مردمی که بنالنگ... حقی دکان است 
* محب قطب بعلی ابراهیمی است

TRANSLATION.
The Deccan is by Divine grace the abode of love;
By ‘Ali’s life! Abul Hasan is the loving chief.
Below this inscription another is carved which reads as follows:—

PLATE XXI.
(1) نقیل فرمیان سلطان ابراهیم قطبی، عاملی کتربالاگانه ر نیز هم مستعد بیر رضی
عطابر جواهی دلی دبیر مبارک مجنون بی جوی هم مسلم که معتقد از اکل رضی

1 This inscription is carved on an arch-shaped black stone tablet which is 3' 2" high and 7' 9" wide.
2 Kutwal Khāna and Thāna may not be understood here as city district and town police stations; but rather as the present-day offices of the Collector and Magistrate, and the Joint Magistrate’s, who regulate the collection of the revenue as also maintain order and discipline in the country under their jurisdiction.
3 Huns, gold coin of the Deccan about 53 grains in weight, often called pagoda.
4 Alāwī, place where incense is burnt and rites are performed to commemorate the death of Husain, grandson of the Prophet Muhammad. Abdār Khāna, lit. ‘water-closet’; but here it means the house where cold drinks are distributed to the thirsty to bless the soul of Husain from whose camp the troops of Yazid had cut off the supply of water before his murder.
Inscription over the eastern doorway of Mian Misrik's Tomb, Hyderabad.
INSCRIPTIONS OF QUTB SHAHI KINGS IN HYDERABAD CITY.

(2) كليد عامر بشعر مقيم عن حضرموت لامع النور رسانيد كه حامل بازار مسجد خود و نبت و باشته و رسته مزيده انعم خير و رضى مسجد و غلاة زمین انعم میر ملاک خرید مسجد و قریشی و بعضی از مکارم و افراز و ریشههه، جلت لک. زمین سالیمهان جهت لگن مسجد و رشنایی ربعی که در هر مزرعه مهربانی مسجد و غلامه و زمینی نه نه و نه نه نه نه نه نه

(5) دیوتی (۵) ههت ایم فری دادن دروژه هر در منذر ده هر فراش شه هر تیل قراغ شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه شه Sh
Majesty) that (1) the income of the bazaar—attached to his mosque, the market, the garden, and the three pieces of cultivated land, awarded as Inām to him (Miyān Mīshk), (2) the grant relating to the mosque and (3) the produce of the land situated in the above village (Ātāpār), originally in possession of Mir Malik as Royal award, and afterwards purchased by him (Miyān Mīshk), after the deduction of the necessary expenditure (to be incurred in connection with the realisation of the above revenue) amounting to three hundred and twenty hunas should be apportioned for (the following purposes)—(i) for the charities of the ‘Āghār and the maintenance of the Alāmā and the Abdār Khāna: forty hunas per annum; (ii) for the alms-house of the mosque, the lights and other expenses: eighty hunas per annum (in cash) and the produce of the land (originally) the ‘Inām of Mir Malik; (iii) for the establishment of the alms-house of the mosque and for cognate purposes: one hundred and two hunas as detailed here—the Superintendent of the mosque, twenty hunas; the Muʾaggīn, two hunas; the Farrash, six hunas; oil and lamps, six hunas; carpets for the mosque, two and a quarter hunas; kitchen, six hunas; the water-carrier, six hunas; repairs of the mosque and cognate expenses, twelve hunas; the Doorī, seven and a half hunas; the porter, twelve hunas; the two sweepers, six hunas; the clerk, eight and a quarter hunas (total = 102 hunas); (iv) for the establishment of the bath and other expenditure relating to it: ninety-eight hunas per annum as detailed here—wood, forty hunas per annum; fodder for oxen and ropes and buckets, sixteen and a quarter hunas; the Pallah Kār (8), six hunas; two shampoers, sixteen hunas; the Farrash, six hunas; lamps and oil, one and a half hunas; matting, bathing-cloth, etc., and a quarter hunas; the Mali or drawer of water, twelve hunas. The endowment, detailed above, having been made in strict accordance with the Muhammadan law, (the revenues apportioned) should be spent on charities in memory (or to bless the souls) of the twelve Imāms—may peace be upon them!—near the mosque of the aforesaid Miyān Mīshk and not the smallest deviation (from the above endowment) should be made. Food should be prepared and given to the poor and the deserving, and the expenses of the ‘Āghār and the Bath and the salary of the establishment, be (regularly) paid. Accordingly, the request of the aforesaid (Miyān Mīshk) having been accepted, this exalted order has been issued that the endowment made by the above Malik (Mīshk) should be continued without fail from year to year and any alteration or change (therein) avoided. And whatsoever be collected from the rents of the bazaar, the market, the garden and the cultivated land irrigated by the well, should be utilized to meet the expenditure (detailed above). Whoever will disobey this order or encourage deviation therefrom (lit., will show temptation)—whether he be Hindu or Musalmān—shall be over-taken by divine wrath and displeasure, and, being deprived of the intercession of the Intercessor of the Day of Judgment, Muḥammad, the chosen—may God bless and assoil him and his descendants!—he shall be stricken with misfortune and shall be crest-fallen (lit., have a dark face). In the year 1089 A.H. (1677 A.D.).

(4) Inscription on the inner side of the enclosure wall near the Eastern Gateway.

PLATE XVIII (c).

The numerals in Arabic and Roman figures showing the different items of income and expenditure are not in the original and have been added by me to make the meaning of the sentence clear.

1 Muʿaggīn, the public crier, who assembles the people to prayers by proclamation from a high place.
2 Farrash, one who spreads the carpets or cushions.
3 Doorī, probably means the ‘door-keeper.’
Plate XXII.

Inscription over the doorway of Mian Mishk's Tomb, Hyderabad.
INSCRIPTIONS OF QUTB SHĀHĪ KINGS IN HYDERABAD CITY.

TRANSLATION.

All praise and thanks are due to God that this luminous building, styled the Magic House of His Illustrious Majesty, was completed by order of the great sovereign and mighty emperor (Khān), Abū-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Qutb Shāḥ—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—(at a cost of) fourteen hundred huns, the coin current at the capital, Sultānagar (Sultān-nagar ?)—may God, the Most High, preserve it from every evil and danger!—in the month of Muharram, 1035 A.H. (October, 1625 A.D.).

(5) Inscription over the doorway of the grave-chamber.

PLATE XXII.

نقل فرمین سلطان ابوعلی حسن تطبیق.

(1) بجایب عاملا حال و استقبال مرز محضر هوالی قلعة جمیر نگر شرف صدر.
(2) یائست که ملک مشک التمام به پایه سیر است. از ایستگاه که خود (؟) مکمل زمین انعام.
(3) میر ملک در مرز محضر مزکر بسیار قبلا شریعی (8) زکریا میر مزکر بر روی خاص ر اشجار.
(4) در زمین مرز محضر آن رفته شریعی نموده که هر ظاهر خالص بعد از هزات دیگر چه انجام.
(5) سماح به دنا درازاده امام علی مسلم مسلم ندیده.
(6) است طعام به دست به دریاچان ر مستقیمن خرخرنده ی بانده جه سجده (5) (؟) پنام عاملا مزکر محضر فرمین صادر شود.
(7) لهذا از راه مراهم شاهانه امرالله شد که عاملا حالت و استقبال مرز محضر (6) بر روی رفته.
(8) نمود ملک مشکر ایه جاری دارند. و اگر احذی تغلب . . . خلاف.
(9) و زند بلمه خدا ر نفرین رسول گرتنار شرید ر سیاه ر باشد.

TRANSLATION.

Copy of the farnān of Sultān Abūl Hasan Qutb Shāh.

(This order) has gained the distinction of issuing to the present and future Revenue officers of Mauzā' (village) 'Atāpār, in the vicinity of Muḥammadnagar Fort, that Malik Mishk has laid this request at the feet of the high throne, that he has endowed, in accordance with the Muhammadan law, all the lands in the above village ('Atāpār) originally in possession of Mr Malik as Royal award, but subsequently, according to a deed of sale executed under the Muhammadan law, purchased from him (on condition of transfer of rights in respect of revenue) from special sources as also from trees in the cultivated and other land. Whatso-

1 The tablet bearing this inscription measures 6' 3½ x 1' 4½.
2 The correct spelling of this word is خرخرنده.
3 The inscription is carved on an arch-shaped black stone tablet measuring 2' 4½ in height and 4' 4½ in width.
ever should be collected (from the above land) after the deduction of the necessary expenditure (regarding the collection) should be spent on charities in memory of the twelve Imāms near the mosque—food should be cooked and distributed to the poor and deserving. With the view that this endowment be observed, a Royal mandate should be issued to the revenue officers of the above village. Accordingly, through Royal bounty, this exalted order has been issued, that the present and future revenue officers of the above village should continue to observe the endowment as made by the aforesaid Malik (Miyān Mīghk), and those who disregard or act contrary to it . . . shall be overtaken by the curse of God and the imprecation of the Prophet and (on the Day of Judgment) shall be crest-fallen (lit., have a dark face).

(6) Inscription on the headstone of Miyān Mīghk's grave.

**PLATE XXIII (B).**

العَمَّ لله

بتاريخ بيسة نهم ربيعار (2) ل 1 يرم الاحد جنتي ميان (3) مشك برمشت

حق بيرست

سنة 1092

**TRANSLATION.**

All authority is for God!

On the 29th of Rabī' I, Sunday, the blessed (lit., resting in Paradise) Miyān Mīghk was taken into Divine mercy. 1091 A.H. (18th April, 1680 A.D.).

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1 According to the rules of Persian grammar the lām of al-aʿswal should have been written in line 1 after the letters ائ.

2 In the inscription the figures 1092, giving the year, occur at the end and not after the name of the month. Further, the 29th of Rabī' I, 1092, was a Thursday, so it is apparent that Miyān Mīghk did not die in that year. The 29th of Rabī' I, 1091 H., was a Sunday, so it is very probable that Miyān Mīghk died in 1091 H., and the inscriptive tablet was set up in 1092 H.
(c) Inscription over the eastern doorway of Mian Mishk's Tomb, Hyderabad.

(d) Inscription on the tomb of Mian Mishk, Hyderabad.
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INSCRIPTIONS OF SIKANDAR SHAH LODI IN DEHLI.

BY ZAFAR HASAN, B.A.

Some time ago the Hon'ble Mr. H. Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., discovered an inscription of Sikandar Shah Lodi in a ruined well near Hauz Khāṣ at Dehli (No. IX), which he brought to the notice of the Director-General of Archaeology. The latter officer kindly supplied me with a photograph of the epigraph, suggesting that I should publish it in the Epigraphia Indica-Modemica. But as several other inscriptions of this emperor are to be found in Dehli, the Government Epigraphist for Muslim Inscriptions, who was also consulted in the matter, observed that, if all the inscriptions of Sikandar Shah were published together, the students would be able to study them in correct historical sequence.

There are twelve inscriptions which have been noticed in this article, some of them being quite new (Nos. III, V, IX, X, XI and XII). They have been arranged chronologically and range from 900 to 287 A.H. (1494-1511 A.D.). The language of the inscriptions is Persian of rather an inelegant type, which is generally the case with Paṭhan records. The script is Nastākā.

Sikandar Shah Lodi, whose real name was Niḍām Khān, was the son of Baholol Shah, the founder of the Lodī dynasty. A very interesting story is related about his accession to the throne. The mother of Sikandar Shah, named Zihan, was the daughter of a goldsmith, but she was the most favourite queen of Baholol Shah, and had been in his company when he died near Sakht in the year 894 A.H. (1489 A.D.). Immediately after the death of Baholol, the nobles met together to consult as to whom they should place on the throne. Some were in favour of Ázam Humāyūn, the grandson, and others of Bāzbak Shah, the eldest surviving son of the Sultan. While they were debating, the mother of Sikandar Shah addressed them from behind the curtain on behalf of her son. ʿIsā Khān, a cousin of Baholol Shah, who gave preference to Bāzbak Shah on account of the greater purity of his blood, abused her and said: “The son of the daughter of a goldsmith is never entitled to sovereignty, as it is proverbial that monkeys make but bad carpenters.” This improper behaviour of Ḫān towards a queen of the late Sultan, who had just departed, caused annoyance to Khāni Khānān Farmallī, and an altercation between these two nobles ended in Khuni Khānān’s becoming a warm partisan of Sikandar Shah. The Khāni Khānān and the nobles of his party carried the corpse of Baholol Shah to Jalālīt, and having called Sikandar Shah from Dehli raised him to the throne on Friday, the 17th of Shaʿbān of the year 894 A.H. (16th July 1489 A.D.).

Sikandar Shah was the most illustrious ruler of his dynasty. He reigned successfully for about 29 years (894-923 A.H. = 1489-1517 A.D.), and has been much eulogized by historians.

1 [The Hon'ble Mr. H. Sharp has been kind enough to furnish me with a note, which is given below, stating the circumstances in which the inscription was discovered by him:—“Towards the end of March 1918 the Hon'ble Mr. C. H. Kesteven, the Hon'ble Sir John Donald and myself went out one afternoon to inspect some of the buildings which lie between Safdarjung's Tomb and the Qutb Minar. Among other buildings we visited Hauz Khāṣ. We returned to the road rather to the north of the path which has been made with a view to striking the road at a particular point, as we desired to see some other buildings on the other side. We came across a half-ruined bābāt of the circular kind in a small field with mounds and ruins about it. On the western side of the wall, a few feet from the top, we saw the tablet with the inscription. As the whole wall was rapidly subsiding and only the upper part of the stonework remained partially intact, I thought it well to make a photograph of the inscription, which I managed to do from the east side of the wall. I sent the photograph on to Sir John Marshall."—Editor.]

2 Sakht is a small town in the district of Etah.

3 Jalālīt is a small town in the district of Aligarh.

4 Tūrīkhā Firehī, Part I, p. 179; Ḥulqūt-i Tacārīkā, p. 273; Tabādāt Abbarī, p. 159.
for his liberality, benevolence, justice and courage, and also for his patronage of learning and science. He was a devout and enthusiastic Musalman, said to have founded mosques throughout his kingdom and appointed a preacher, a reader and a sweeper to each. He waged wars against the Hindë Rájas of Dholpur, Gwalior and Narwar, and, to provide facilities in subduing them, transferred his capital from Srí to Agra.

Sikandar Sháh was fond of architecture, and during his reign many new buildings were erected. He also, in pursuance of the policy of the emperor Firoz Sháh, repaired a large number of old structures of the former kings (vide inscriptions I, IV and VIII). The chief feature of the buildings of his period is their incised plaster ornamentation, which in some cases is very elaborate. Some of the inscriptions (Nos. I, III, VII, X and XI) discussed in this paper are also incised in plaster, and having been exposed to wear and tear of time they are partially damaged.

I.—Inscription over the southern Mihráb of a mosque at Khairpúr.

This inscription has already been noticed by Major Cunningham (A. S. R., Vol. XX, p. 158), who has also published a facsimile of it. It consists of nine lines incised in plaster and measures 2' 8" by 1' 10". The last line is partly obliterated, but it is readable. There are, however, a few other words, of which the reading is not certain, and I have marked them with a query.

The mosque bearing the inscription is profusely ornamented with conventional foliage and verses from the Qur'án incised in plaster. It consists of five compartments, of which the three central ones are crowned with domes, and the two end compartments are roofed with low flat vaults. The inscription only refers to an addition made to the mosque, and therefore its main building must antedate the reign of Sikandar Sháh. It is difficult to identify the addition now; but probably the original mosque contained only the three domed compartments, while the side ones, of which that on the south bears the inscription, were added during the time of Sikandar Sháh. It is not improbable that the mosque was also then renovated, as the incised plaster ornamentation of the mosque is evidently of Sikandar Sháh's time.

The inscription runs as follows:

PLATE I (a).

(1)  بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (2)  قالت الله تبارك ر تعلى ران المساجد لله فلا (3) تدعو

مع الله إحدا عمارت ابن بقع شريف در (4)  يعد سلطان السلطانين بابها دعج مسكن (5)  بزماد حضرت كن فيكون الوئاق بالاثيد (6)  الرحمي البارمائي [قفر]  سكندر شاه این بیلول شاه

(7) سلطان كاهن (7) خلدالله ملكه و سلطانه و على امره (8) رضاه در عمارت مسجد جامع نور

بنکرده مسفر مرحم (9)  . . . . . . ابر امجد و دیر جهان (10) بقارغ غرو ما [10] دید اول

سلح تسم مالة (11)

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1 Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 446.
2 Srí was founded by 'Alïā-d Din Khalji in the year 1308 A.D. some 7 miles to the south of Şahjahnâbad, the present city of Dehli. It has fallen into ruins and dwindled to a village, now called Shahpur Jat.
4 This word seems to be ، نو ، but misspelt in the inscription.
(a) Inscription over the Mihrab of a mosque at Khairpur.

Scale 1/66

(b) Inscription on Baghi 'Alam ka Gumbad at Humayunpur.

Scale 1/66
TRANSLATION.

"In the name of God, the most merciful and compassionate. God the exalted and most high has said 'verily the mosques are for God, therefore invoke not any one with God.'

"This sacred edifice was built anew within the building of the Jāmiʿ Masajid by the deceased of happy memory . . . . . . Abu Amjad . . . . . ., during the reign of the sultan of sultans, the king of the fourth part of the inhabited globe, the favoured one of the Almighty, the dependent on the help of the Most Merciful, Abul Mughaffar Sikandar Shāh, the son of Bahrol Shāh. the sultan—may God perpetuate his kingdom and reign, and exalt his command and dignity! Dated the first of the month of Rabīʿu-l-Awwal in the year nine hundred (30th November 1494 A.D.)."

II.—Inscription on the western outer arch of the tomb locally known as Baghi Alam ka Gumbad at Humayunpur near Haus Khagg.

The inscription is engraved on a black marble slab measuring 3' 0" by 1' 1". It consists of two lines and runs as follows:—

PLATE I (b).

(1) Bana ibn abr umarat dar adh daralt Sultan al-azam sangudiv shar a-Sultan al-hal al-Mulk.
(2) abri mubarak shaikh shahab al-din tajjalul sultan al-abbasi ibn buta [r] [f], bismillah alrahman alrahim.

TRANSLATION.

"This building was erected during the reign of the great king Sikandar Shāh Sultan—may God perpetuate his kingdom! The dome of Miyān Shaikh Shihabuddin, Tajjāhi Sultan Abū Saʿīd: on the twentieth of the month of Ramāṣ, the year nine hundred and six (8th April 1501 A.D.)."

III.—Inscription on the western arch of an anonymous building at the village of Muradabād Pahāri.

The inscription is incised in plaster and consists of one line, 3' 11" in length. It is partly obliterated at the beginning, the rest being intact and legible. The reading of the words marked with a query, about the middle, is however doubtful. They seem to be proper names and I read them as بی‌م‌ف (fountains of Bhānā). Mubarak Khan Nāthānī was a powerful noble at the court of Sikandar Shāh. He is reported to have died at Patna in the year 901 A.H., when he was returning with Mahmūd Khan Lodī, another noble of Sikandar Shāh, after making a treaty with 'Abduddin, the Sultan of Bengal. The year 906 A.H., recorded in the inscription as the date of the erection of the buildings by Mubarak Khan Nāthānī, therefore cannot be correct. Possibly it is the date of the inscription, which might have been put up after his death. The inscription also corrects the reading of "Nāthānī" which is wrongly written in Fīrīghta, and in its translation by Briggs, as لدی (Ldānī).

It is difficult to identify with certainty the buildings mentioned in the inscription. In the vicinity of the inscribed monument there are several old buildings among which the prominent

1 Qurʾān, Chap. LXXII, verse 18.
2 Tārīkh Fīrīghta, Part I, p. 182; Tārīkhī Akbars, p. 162.
are a domed tomb, locally called Bajre kā Gumbad, and a ruined well now no more in use. The Bajre kā Gumbad is apparently a building of the Lodī period, and I am inclined to believe that it is no other than Haḍra of the inscription, and its present name is a corruption of "Haḍra kā Gumbad." On this assumption the inscribed building, which consists of a chamber measuring internally 11' 6" square, and having arched openings on the north and west, must be the "Dahlis" (vestibule). My reading of the inscription is as follows:—

PLATE II (a).

TRANSLATION.

"On... of the month of Rajab, may its honour increase, an enclosure, a Dahlis (vestibule) and a well (of the fountains of Bānā?) were built for the supply of drinking water by Mubārak Kān Nuhānt. The year nine hundred and six (1500-1501 A.D.) during the reign of Sikandar Shāh."

IV.—Inscription on the doorway of the first story of the Quṭb Minār.

This inscription has already been published by Dr. J. Horovitz, who edited all the Arabic and Persian epigraphs of the Quṭb Minār in this journal for the year 1911-12 (pp. 31-2), but I have to notice it here in connection with other records of the period. It consists of two lines engraved on red sandstone slabs measuring 3' 6½" by 1' 1". It is well preserved, but the style of writing being a little ornamental presents some difficulty in its decipherment. I differ from Dr. Horovitz in certain points which are detailed below:—

(1) The word between لَّهُ یَا بَنِي ٱلْمُهَدَّدَةِ للهۚ تَعَالَیٰ بَنِي یَهُودِ i.e. لَا یَا بَنِي یَهُودِ as read by Dr. Horovitz is really لَا یَا بَنِي یَهُودِ. It is clearly written as such in the inscription, and as it belongs to a well-known Ḥadīth except there can be no doubt as to its reading.

(2) The word after سُلْطَانُ سَلاَطِینَ in the first line is read by Sayyid Ahmad Khan as and Dr. Horovitz suggests its reading as which is a very honorific title usually added by way of respect before the names of important personages, especially those of saints.

(3) The word حضْرَت which has been omitted by Dr. Horovitz and so has been كَعْبَةَ, which is written after لِبَالِلِّلَّهِ, while the letter "ظ" has been inserted by him between اسماء and لِبَالِلِّلَّهِ the name.

(4) In the second line after خَرَامَخَان which he reads جَرَاغُنَدُی مَرْتُوهُ Das used by has been taken by him as a title of Khawājā Khan. There are two other inscriptions (Nos. V and IX) wherein the name

1 [I am afraid, Mr. Zafar Hasan's surmise regarding the origin of the name—Bajre kā Gumbad—is not very convincing. The dome at a time may have been used for storing Bajra (maize), hence the name Bajre kā Gumbad.—Editor.]

2 Miḥḍār ʿSharif (ed. Muḥtabāl Pras, Delhi), p. 68.
of this noble occurs but without this title or appellation, nor do we find it added to his name in any historical work. The reading of these two words is really very doubtful; to me they look as if they were با جهانسي. The word جهانسي is very unusual, possibly it has been used in the sense of جهانسي, the ending جهانسي having been replaced by جهانسي باچه جهانسي باز جهانسي.

(5) At about the end Dr. Horovitz has omitted the word ما بين الغزه من and I read the whole inscription as follows:

TEXT.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بناء مسجد لله تعالى في الجنة بيتا...

Translation.

"The Prophet, may God's blessing be upon him, said 'whoever builds a mosque for God, God builds for him a house like it in paradise.' The building of the Maqṣura of his holiness (حفرت) and his majesty (بنضكي), the King of Kings, Shamsu-d-Dunyā-Waddin, who has received God's pardon and forgiveness (deceased)—may his ashes be sanctified and may God make paradise his dwelling place—had been injured. The said Maqṣura, during the reign of the most exalted, great and honoured Sulṭān, Sikandar Shāh, the son of Sulṭān Bahrol Shāh—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his sovereignty and raise his command and his dignity—and under the supervision of Khwāzadah Fath Khān, the son of Masnadi 'Alī Khwāz Khān, was restored—its drum was repaired, the cracks were filled in and the steps were set in order. On the first of the month of Rabi‘ul-Ākhir, the year nine hundred and nine (23rd September 1503 A.D.)."

V.—Inscription on the central arch of a mosque locally known as Nilī Masjīd at the Khurīra village.

The inscription consists of five lines and is engraved on a marble slab measuring 3' 8" by 1' 9". It refers to Khwāz Khān, a trusted servant of Sikandar Shāh, as being the governor of Dehlī. We learn from the Tartīkh Firīshq (Pt. I, pp. 182-3) and Tabāqāt Akbarī (pp. 163-4) that Khwāz Khān was originally governor of Māḍhīwār (in the Panjab), but was appointed to the governorship of Dehlī in the year 907 A.H. (1501 A.D.) in supersession of Asghar Khān, against whom heavy complaints had been preferred to the emperor. Asghar Khān, having heard this, quitted Dehlī before the arrival of Khwāz Khān, and set out for Sambhal to attend the court, where he was put in confinement. Khwāz Khān took possession of Dehlī, but soon after confided its management to his son Isma‘īl Khān, and himself proceeded under the royal order to

1 For the facsimile see Epigraphia Indo-Musulmica, 1911-12, Plate I.
the court where he was received with kindness. About the same time information was received of the death of Khāni Khānān Farmull, the governor of Bayāna, and, as the place, on account of its containing a strong fort and fortifications, had become a seat of revolt and rebellion, it was taken from the sons of the deceased Khāni Khānān and given to Khwās Khān. But he does not seem to have gone there, for we learn that shortly after Safdar Khān, another noble, was appointed to subdue Agra, which was then dependent on Bayāna, and Khwās Khān was deputed in company with ‘Alam Khān, the governor of Miwat, and Khāni Khānān Nāhānī, the governor of Rapri, to reduce Dholpur. The emperor also followed these nobles, and the fort of Dholpur was soon taken. After the departure of Khwās Khān to Dholpur, the above historical works are quite silent about him. It is, however, from epigraphical records that we gather a little more information about him. The inscription under notice indicates that he continued to be governor of Dehlī until the year 911 A.H. (1505 A.D.), while from the epigraph No. IX, which refers to one of his sons Munawwar Beg Khān as ‘Azmī (governor) of Dehlī, it may be inferred that he was removed from there either by death or by transfer to another province. The reference made by Dr. Horovitz (Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica for the year 1911-12, p. 32) to Masmadi ‘Ali Khwās Khān is incorrect; it refers to a noble of Sher Shāh, whose real name was Muṣtahib Khān and the title of Khwās Khān was conferred upon him by that emperor about the year 944 A.H. (1538 A.D.).

I read the inscription as follows:—

PLATE II (b).

(1) بسم الله الححمي الرحيم ۴ اتفق بناء هذا المسجد المتقبي بعهد سلطان السلطنين
ظل الله في الرحمه ۲ المتركل على الرحمه سكندر شاه بن باهللو شاه سلطان خان [۱۲] الله
ملقه وسلطانه واظهر كم حظة برهانه بعمل ر شردادري خان أظم ممد ۳ (۲۳) خادران دام
عاليها بالله عمارة المذكورة ضعيفة أخفف الراجي إلى رحمة الله الممتاز كسبدي جابه خانزاده همظم
(۱) ز مكمين ميال فقس خان بن خرازخان الثاني مي ماه ربيع الأول سنة احد و عشر ر تسعماية
(۵) مصصر فر إيد باري بيداد بدعا سلماني اباز باني مذرز خليل
(۵) فناء فقس خان بن ارد الأيم الفاسهد بن شرف بدردار نام كمال أحمد خان

TRANSLATION.

"In the name of God, the most merciful and compassionate. This strong mosque happened to be built in the reign of the king of kings, the shadow of God on both the worlds, trusting the Most Merciful, Sikandar Shāh, the son of Bahol Shāh Sultān—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his sovereignty and glorify his words for ever—under the supervision and governorship of Khāni ‘Aṣam Masmadi ‘Ali Khwās Khān—may he always be great. The foundress of the above-mentioned building (is) the weak, the infirm and the supplicant for compassion at the hands of the beneficent God (named) Kasunbhīl, the nurse of the great and generous Khānān Mīn Fath Khān, the son of Khwās Khān, on the second of the month of Rabī‘-ul-Awwal in the year nine hundred and eleven (3rd August 1505 A.D.).

—Let any one that cometh to the mosque for worship should pray for the faith of the said

1 Rapri is now a village in the district of Mainpuri, U. P.
2 Elliot’s History of India, Vol. IV, p. 359.
PLATE III.

(a) Inscription on a Chhatri at Rajon ki Ba’in, Maihrauli.

(b) Inscription on the tomb of Shaikh ‘Ala-ud-Din at Shaikh Sarai.

Scale '2

Scale '25
foundress and for the welfare of Fath Khán in both the worlds. God knoweth what is right! The writer of (these) letters is Barkhurdár Násir Kamál Ahmad Khán."

VI.—Inscription on a domed Chhatri at Rajon ki Ba'in near Maihrauli.

This inscription has been noticed by Edward Thomas in his Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi (p. 370). It consists of four lines and is engraved on a red sandstone slab measuring 2' 1" by 1' 3". In the last line a word after "درولت خان" is not clearly decipherable and has been omitted also by Thomas. In all probability it is a title of Daulat Khán.1 My reading of the inscription is as follows:

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PLATE III (a).

(1) در عهد همايون سلطان (العظم معظم المترکل على (2) الرحمان سکندیشی محل بملله شاه سلطان خلد الده ملكه (3) ر سلطانه بما تاد این گندل بهذه اعمدیار برحمت پروردگار
(4) درولت خان . . . خواجه محمد غره ماه رجب سله انی شیخ رہو تعمایه

TRANSLATION.

"During the auspicious reign of the great Sultan, trusting the Most Merciful, Sikandar Shâh, the son of Baholi Shâh Sultan—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his sovereignty—this dome was built by the slave, the expectant of the mercy of the Omnipotent, named Daulat Khan . . . Khwaja Muhammad on the first of the month of Rajab in the year nine hundred and twelve (17th November 1506 A.D.)."

VII.—Inscription on the doorway of the tomb of Shaikh Alau-d-Din at Shaikh Sarai.

The inscription consists of four lines and is engraved on a grey stone slab measuring 2' 3" by 1' 8". It has been erroneously placed by Sayyid Ahmad Khán on the tomb of Shaikh Yusuf Qattâl. The origin of this mistake is inexplicable; the epigraph is locally known to have been in situ since it has been put up there.

Shaikh 'Alaw-d-Din, the founder of the tomb, was the son of Shaikh Nūr-d-Din and a descendant of Shaikh Farid-d-Din Shakarganj of Pakpattan. He was a popular saint like his predecessors and built this tomb during his lifetime. He died in 948 A.H. (1541-42 A.D.) some thirty-five years after its erection.

I read the inscription as follows:

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PLATE III (b).

(1) بنا این عمارت گنبد در عهد سلطان (العظم ایوب (2) المظفر سکندیشی سلطان خلدآله ملكه ر سلطانه (3) بانی گنبد شیخ عالاؤدین نور تاج شیخ نبی به قطب (4) العالم شیخ فرید

شکر گنبد ماء خوشن سله هشت عشر ر تسامیه

TRANSLATION.

"This domed building was erected during the reign of the great Sultan Abul Mu'awzu Sikandar Shâh Sultan—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his sovereignty. The founder of the dome was Shaikh 'Alauddin Nur Taj Shaikh, the grandson of the pole star of the world.

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1 [I would read the words as . . . - Editor.]

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قفلت خان ذی احشام ر تعمایه محمد --

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Shaikh Farid Shakarganj; in the month of Muḥarram, the year nine hundred and thirteen (1507 A.D.)."

VIII.—Inscription on the arch tympanum of the southern doorway of Firoz Shāh's tomb at Haus Khāṣṣ.

The inscription is incised in plaster and has been much obliterated. It has already been published by Cunningham who has attempted to improve the reading of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān, but in both these cases it is fragmentary. The epigraph seems to refer to the repairs of the tomb of Firoz Shāh. It consists of two lines which enclose the tympanum of the arch. As the inscription is readable only in fragments, it is doubtful whether it begins from the upper or lower line. The Kalīma at the beginning of the upper line is, however, in favour of the opinion that it commences from there; but this line has date at its end, which is generally to be found at the end of inscriptions, and the lower line finishes quite abruptly. I am inclined to think that it begins from the lower line, and it is only for the sake of respect that the Kalīma has been written in the upper line. Similar instances are frequently met with in the Mughal documents, wherein religious quotations or the names of the emperors are written with the same regard at the top, and their actual places in the documents left blank.

I read the inscription as follows:—

PLATE IV (a)

LOWER LINE; Kalīma being given at the actual place in the beginning.

[لا الله إلا الله محمد رسول الله ] سلطان السلطانين سلطان
[ فرید ] شاه طلاب ثرا ر جعل الحدیث مثرا
بن شیخ خواجہ الہاد فرید زر میان جلال عیوین

UPPER LINE.

فراشبند کرد میان ده مرتب گردیند
سلطان و سلطان سلطان سلطان سلطان بن بلال شاه خلیفہ ملکه ر سلطانہ ر امیر ر شاه
در پیغام ماء مبارک رمضان سنه گیاه عشر قسماء

TRANSLATION.

"There is no God but Allah and Muḥammad is his prophet. the king of kings Sulṭān Firoz Shāh—may his ashes be sanctified and may God make paradise his resting place son of Shaikh son of Shaikh Hājjī that the above-mentioned dome Khwāja Iḥādd Shāh and Mān Jalāl, their uncles ordered repaired during the reign of the king of kings Sulṭān Sikandar, the son of the king of kings Sulṭān Bahrol Shāh—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his sovereignty and exalt his command and his dignity—on the twentieth of the sacred month of Ramazān, the year nine hundred and thirteen (23rd January 1508 A. D.)."

IX.—Inscription originally found in a ruined well at Humāyūnpur near Haus Khāṣṣ, now preserved in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology.

The inscription consists of five lines of Persian poetry and is engraved on a marble slab measuring 3' 10" by 1' 10". It refers to the building of a well named Shāhi Khāṣṣ by Sikandar
(a) Inscription on the southern doorway of Fizoz Shah’s tomb.

(b) Inscription from a ruined well at Humayunpur.
(a) Inscription on the doorway of a mosque near Bibi Nur's tomb.

(b) Inscription on a gateway near Rajon ki Ba'in.
Shāh Lodi during the time when Munawwar Beg Khān, the son of Khawās Khān, was governor of Dehlī.¹

My reading of the inscription is as follows:—

PLATE IV (b).

 Таразخ جاه خاص

(1) بنا روزود جاه همجر زمزم، سكندر شاه لردي شاه عالم
(2) خلفه بن خلفنت شاه عادل، ز عدلش بياخ إسلامست حكم
(3) در اندرده است كر، ... صدرن يرجع وسماج اجنس مرم
(4) در ان دم دن فعال بیگخانی، ملو بن خراشخان أعظم
(5) ز رجب پادت بوضست ماره، سنده مهد ذكر بر پانزهم

TRANSLATION,

Chronogram of Chāhi Khās.

(1) Sikandar Shāh Lodi, the king of the world, built a well like Zamaam.²
(2) He is a Khalifa (king), son of a Khalifa and a just king, owing to whose justice the foundation of Islam is strong.
(3) [The well] is ten (cubits) by ten (cubits), and as its water is sweet it is surrounded by people of different classes.
(4) At that time Munawwar Beg Khān, the son of the great Khawās Khān, was governor.
(5) It was the eleventh of the month of Rajab, the year nine hundred and fifteen (25th October 1509 A.D.).”

X.—Inscription on the doorway of a mosque near Bibi Hûr and Nûr’s tomb at the Atchhînî village.

The inscription is incised in plaster, and consists of one line 13’ 8” in length. It refers to ‘Abdullah, the son of Ilaçdâd of Tulambah,³ who is known in history as one of the chief doctors of the Islamic law during the reign of Sikandar Shāh.⁴ The inscription runs as follows:—

PLATE V (a).

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ؤ تحمس شه عمارت ابن مقام مطرک بنذکی ملک الطما تاج
المبع میان عبداللله بن الیبداد طلکی لا زال ظهار علیفا روز شنیب نی اللتی عشر من شهر الله
رجب سنة اخامس عشر تسمیه در سلطان السلاطین سندر مه بن پهلول شاه سلطان
(خلمتالله تعالی ملکه

¹ For Khawās Khān, vide inscription V. It is not improbable that the well was given the name Chāhi Khās in imitation of Hauss Khās near which it is built.
² Zamaam is a well at Mecca, the water of which is considered to be sacred by Muhammadana.
³ Tulambah lies at a distance of 40 kos (about 80 miles) from Multan. During the time of Akbar it was a parganah or mahl in the Sarkâr of Bâri Dâsh, the province of Multan (Afısi Abbâri, English translation by Jarret, Vol. II, pp. 328-30).
⁴ Tārihi Firżaht, Pt. I, p. 183; Tabâḏāt Abbâri, p. 164.
TRANSLATION.

"In the name of God, the most merciful and compassionate. This sacred building was completed by his holiness, the chief of the learned, the crown of the pious, Mír ʿAbdulláh the son of Ibád.  Of ʿUthmán—may God continue his shadow upon us—on Saturday, the twelfth of the month of God Rajab, the year nine hundred and fifteen, during the reign of the king of kings, Sínán Désh Sháh, the son of Bahlol Sháh Sultán—may God the Great perpetuate his kingdom!"

XI.—Inscription inside the central Mihráb of a mosque at Máihrusulí.

The mosque bearing the inscription formed part of the compound of the house of Lála Parás Daś, Government Treasurer and Honorary Magistrate of Deólt. The gentleman has a very keen interest in antiquities and ancient monuments, and with a view to the mosque being properly looked after, he has kindly presented it, at my suggestion, to the Archeological Department. A partition wall has been recently erected between the mosque and his house.

The inscription consists of nine lines. It is incised in plaster, and is so much obliterated that only a few fragments of it are now readable. The inscription refers to the erection of a tomb by a noble of Sínán Désh and is dated 917 A.H. (1511 A.D.). I read the text as follows:

PLATE VI.

(1) Bismilláh al-ráhmání al-ráhím 0 بن كردم ابن عمارت (2) حضيرة راخان constituting Múʻá al-Múṣák (3) (4) معند القضاء جامع السيف والمدرسة بالمدينة السبع. 0 جامع السيف والمسجد (5) راه الله منزلته راعي أميره رشته در زمان درست سلطان السلاطين ظل الله في العا [ال] عم 0 (6) السماح المشرف على مغفر العدا [ال] إمام صلى الله عليه وسلم [علي] السماح (7-8) [ال] بن بلبل شاه 0 (9) 0 بن لفظ 0 ملك سلطانه رادع على [أغلفه] 0 حفر شاه مغا [ال] شاه بدرخ هفمت ماء رجب تردة 0 لله الفتح رزع بynchronized منذ عشرة تسعماياء 0

TRANSLATION.

"In the name of God, the most merciful and compassionate. This tomb was erected by the great Khán and the grand Khágán, the commander of the age, the mine of virtues, perfect in the use of the sword and the pen, assisted by the help of God, Majlisí ʿÁlá 0 may God increase his wealth and exalt his command and his dignity during the reign of the King of Kings, the shadow of God on [the world] the heaven, the victorious over the ranks of enemies 0 Islam, the refuge of high and low, trusting [the Most Merciful] the son of Bahlol Sháh Sultán—may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and continue for ever over people 0 the humble, Sháh Sáfá 0 on Thursday, the seventh of the honoured month of Rajab 0 the year nine hundred and seventeen (1511 A.D.)."
XII.—Inscription on the north side of a gateway near Rājūn ki Ba’īn.

This inscription was brought to my notice, when I was listing ancient monuments of Māhrūli Zail. It was engraved on a red sandstone slab, fixed on the northern wall of a gateway, which stood near Rājūn ki Ba’īn and formed an entrance to an enclosure containing several graves. The style of writing, which is ornamental Naskh, presented some difficulty in deciphering, and it was fortunate that I arranged to take its estampages for the gateway has lately collapsed and the epigraph been lost in its debris. The inscription consisted of only one line 1' 9" long. It was partly obliterated at the end and I have not been able to decipher it satisfactorily. The inscription runs as follows:—

PLATE V (b).

آغازین عمارت در عهید سلطان العظم الرائق بناه الله ملكه رسلطانه... بالقیس بنت خراجه محمد بن شیخ محمد هفتم ماه حمادی الخرسانه خمسین ...

TRANSLATION.

"This building was commenced during the reign of the great Sultan, the dependent on the help of the Most Merciful, Abul Musaffar Sikandar Shāh, the son of Bahlol Shāh Sultan—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his sovereignty! . . . . . . . Bilqis, the daughter of Khwajah Muhammad, the son of Shaikh Muhammad . . . . on the 7th of Jamada II . . 50 A.H."
INSCRIPTIONS OF NIZĀM SHĀHĪ KINGS FROM ANTŪR FORT, AURANGABAD DISTRICT.

By G. Yazdani.

The Fort of Antūr (20° 27' N. and 75° 15' E.) stands fifty-eight miles north-west of Aurangabad, and eighteen miles south-east of Kajgāon, a small station on the main line of the G. I. P. Railway between Manmād and Pachnār. The Fort is built on a high cliff of the range of hills which divide the Deccan plateau from the plains of Khandesh. The only approach from the plains is by a winding foot track, which passes sinuously round rough boulders and steep rocks and under no circumstances would have offered a safe climb to assailants of the Fort. The total distance from the foot of the hill to the first gate of the Fort is nearly two miles, and the walls and bastions are so built that the garrison could destroy the foe by musket shots, or by rolling down heavy stones upon any point of the ascent.

The first gateway of the Fort is called the Bhaïravā Darwaza, that is, the Gate dedicated to Bhairava, another name of Śiva. The approach from here to the second gateway consists of a paved walk which has several turnings and flights of steps. The arrangement of the walls of the Fort suggests the idea of barbicans in Mediæval European Forts. The second gateway has a large inscriptive tablet (6'×3') fixed on its outer side. The letters of the inscription are well preserved and I have deciphered it as follows:—

TEXT.

Plate VIII.

(1) در فر شاه عادل خسر کامل ظل الله سلیمان جاه خالیق پناه السلطان برمان نظام شاه
(2) خلاد الله ملک و سلطانعلی ایمان یک مراد ملک بخار ر البر مملکت مدار ... ملک (3) عفر دام، و ایمان شاه بانی این درگاه علیه ملک خان علی شان
(4) نتیجه الامام شیخ علی الشامشیری ناصر الکرمانی نی (5) الزمان ناصر فرحتخان دام عزه مر نارم
(6) سنه خمس ر تا پنجم ر الف هیجرت الفی المله و علیہ ر تبهیہ

TRANSLATION.

"May this gate ever remain open through the good fortune of the king and the potent effect of (the Islamic creed) there is no god but God!"

In the reign of the just king, the accomplished ruler, the shadow of God (on mankind), the one possessing Solomon's dignity, the refuge of people, the Sultan, Burhān Nizām Shāh (may God perpetuate his kingdom and majesty, and may God pour his (the king's) blessings and benevolence over the world!), this lofty gateway was built by the exalted Khān, the chief of the nobles, the valorous, the supporter of the Khāns of his time, Nāṣir Firdōs Khān (may his honour ever last!), by the order of the devoted servant of the lord of the land and the sea,

1 The style of writing is Nashī of a rather ornamental type, but not elegant.
2 There is a letter like between مدر and ملک, the connection of which is not clear.
3 The expression ظل ... الامام شیخ Uncommon: it may be the sculptor's mistake for ظل ... الامام Shīkh. The expression is absolutely clear and does not admit of an alternative reading.
Inscription on the gateway of Antur Fort.
the support of the kingdom, Malik ‘Ambar (may God preserve his glory and felicity!): in the year 1035 of the era of the Migration of the Prophet (may blessings and benediction be upon the founder of the era!).

Colonel T. W. Haig, whose lists of the Musulman dynasties of the Deccan are by far the most reliable and complete, has omitted the name of this Burhán Niẓām Shāh (III), and apparently confused his reign with that of Murtaza Niẓām Shāh II. The name of Burhán Niẓām Shāh (III) is, however, preserved in the Basāfīn, where it occurs in connection with the event of the reign of Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh (1623-56 A.D.). Colonel Haig has fixed 1603-1630 A.D. as the period of Murtaza Niẓām Shāh’s (II) reign; but in 1019 H. (1610 A.D.) we find bitter enmity between him and Malik ‘Ambar; and, as another inscription in the Fort, dated 1019 H. (1610 A.D.), gives Burhán Niẓām Shāh’s name as that of the reigning king, it is very likely that in that year Malik ‘Ambar set up the latter as king and deserted the cause of Murtaza Niẓām Shāh II. The Basāfīn mentions the name of Murtaza II up to the year 1020 H. (1610 A.D.) which confirms that he continued to rule up to that time; but later on we have the name of Burhán Niẓām Shāh (III) continuously mentioned in that book until Mahābat Khan’s expedition to conquer the Fort of Daulatabād in 1041 H. (1631 A.D.). In connection with this event the Basāfīn records that Burhán Niẓām Shāh had died a natural death, or was killed through the hands of Fath Khan (son of Malik ‘Ambar), who subsequently placed the royal crown on the head of the deceased king’s young son Ḥusain, then only seven years old. Khan Khan mentions the death of a Niẓām-i-Mulk at the hands of Fath Khan in 1040 H., which supports the fact that Burhán Niẓām Shāh III died in 1040 H. (1630 A.D.). The correct dates of the last three kings of the Niẓām Shāhi dynasty based on the above facts are as follows:

Murtaza Niẓām Shāh II, 1603-10 A.D.
Burhán Niẓām Shāh III, 1610-30 A.D.
Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh (son of Burhán), set up by Fath Khan in 1630, and taken prisoner by the Mughals in 1632.

Another historical name mentioned in the inscription is that of Farhad Khan. Brigge in his translation of Fariya-e-Souza (Tome III, Pt. i, ch. 8) refers to a General of Burhán Niẓām Shāh who during the siege of Chaul (1592) was made prisoner with his wife and children. According to Fariya-e-Souza the wife of the General was ransomed but he with his daughter became converts and proceeded to Lisbon. Firīṣṭa and Basāfīn on the contrary continue to mention the name of Farhad Khan in India up to the events of 1632; during which time he is shown to have frequently changed masters, sometimes being a staunch adherent to the Niẓām Shāhi kings, while at others espousing the cause of the rival dynasty of Bijapur.

Inside the Fort at Antur is another inscription of Burhán Niẓām Shāh III, set up in the prayer-niche of a mosque on the north-western end of the large tank. The mosque is a small
structure consisting of a single hall with three arched openings facing the tank. I have deciphered the inscription as follows:

**TEXT.**

Plate VII (a).

1. در دور اشرف همایون ظل الله برگان نظام شاه
2. خلدلله ملک ر سلطانه
3. پنجمد میبد میرزا پیغمبر
4. ملک علی شر شاهی مستند از بره ثواب دارین اسماعیل
5. حسنین در ربع عشرافین (5) ساخنه شد. ۱۰۰۰

**TRANSLATION.**

"In the glorious and auspicious reign of the king, the shadow of God, Burhān Niğām Shāh (may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty!), Ismā‘īl Ḥusain, in order to secure the reward of both the worlds, built this mosque at the instance of the defender of the sound faith of the Prophet, Malik ‘Amar. Completed in 1024 H. (1615 A.D.)."

To Burhān Niğām Shāh III’s reign belongs another inscription in the Fort dated 1019 H. It is carved on a bastion in the north-western wall of the Fort. I have deciphered it as follows:

**TEXT.**

Plate VII (b).

1. شد شه برچ بنا در عهد ظل الله برگان نظام شاه
2. بعدهم نافع بالدیر ملک علیصد هنیم رجب در سنه تسع عشرافین

**TRANSLATION.**

"The Royal Bastion was built during the reign of (the king), the shadow of God, Burhān Niğām Shāh, by order of the benefactor of mankind, Malik ‘Amar. On the 19th of Rabi‘, 1019 H. (1611 A.D.)."

Two miles south of Antūr is a square stone pillar which bears an inscription mentioning the direction of Nāqapūr and Jālma on the east, Antūr and Burhānpūr on the north, Daulatabād and Ahmadnagar on the south and Maḥwan and Qhīltāqūn on the west. It also contains the Hijri date 1000 H. and records that the pillar was erected during the reign of Burhān Niğām Shāh. This Burhān is the second king of the name in the list of the Niğām Shāhī dynasty and should not be confused with Burhān III, the duration of whose reign (1610–30) has been discussed above. Burhān II ruled from 1590–94, and this inscription, dated 1000 H. (1592 A.D.), quite fits in with his reign.

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1. The tablet bearing the inscription measures 2' 6" x 1' 2". The style of writing is Naqsh of a rather pleasing type.
2. On the stone the figures 1024 are pretty distinct which enable us to read the words at the end of the inscription, between 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0. The tablet on which the inscription is carved measures 18" x 10". The style of writing is Naqsh.
(a) Inscription on a mosque at Antur Fort.

(b) Inscription on a bastion at Antur Fort.
(a) Inscription on a pillar near Antur Fort.

(b) Inscription on a broken tablet lying in a cell at Qandhar Fort.
My reading of the inscription is as follows:

**TEXT.**

Plate IX (a).
On the eastern side of the pillar.

On the southern side.

On the western side.

On the northern side.

---

**TRANSLATION.**

(This pillar was erected) in the reign of His Majesty Burhān Nizām Shāh, during the months of the year 1000 H. (1592 A.D.). (To show) the way to Nāgāpūr and Jālpātūr on the east; to Daulatabad and Ahmadnagar on the south; to Maihwan and Chālīstān on the west; (and) to Antūr and Būrbānpūr on the north.

---

1 The style of writing is Nastālig.
INScriptions AT Bodhan, Nizamabad District.

By G. Yazdani.

Bodhan (18° 40' N. and 77° 53' E.), although the headquarters of a taluq, is a very small town, situated fourteen miles west of Nizamabad, with which it is connected by a duka road. The place is strewn with sculptures of Jaina and Brahmanical professions of faith, and it has three large tanks in the North, East and South. This town has also a line of fortifications, consisting of thick mud walls which run round it. Contemporary history does not mention Bodhan; but the vast array of antiquities and the discovery of both Hindu and Muslim inscriptions in recent times establish the fact that the town possessed considerable religions and strategic importance in early days. A Canarese inscription, which is being edited for the Hyderabad Archaeological Series by Dr. L. D. Barnett, bears a date corresponding to May 29th, 1056 A.D., in the reign of the Chalukya Samsévara I, and refers to the town as having been a rájakáti or residential city of "Indra Vallabha", i.e. probably the Ráṣṭra Kúta Idravara III Nityavarsha (c. A.D. 915-7). Further, coming down to Muhammadan rule in the Deccan we have two inscriptions of Muhammad Tughlaq at the place; one of them records the erection of a watch-tower and the other the completion of another structure the name of which is not given. The script of these inscriptions is similar to that in vogue at the time in Delhi and they were apparently designed by court calligraphers. To complete the story of the Deccan's conquest there is an inscription of Aurangzeeb also, which commemorates the building of a religious edifice on the site of a Hindu temple.

I give below the inscriptions in their chronological order.

I. II.—Inscriptions of Muhammad Tughlaq in the Deval Masjid at Bodhan.

The Deval Masjid, as its name signifies, was originally a Hindu temple, and converted into a mosque by Muhammad Tughlaq at the time of his conquest of the Deccan. The plan of the building is star-shaped; it has undergone little alteration at the hands of the Moslems excepting the removal of the shrine-chamber and the setting up of a pulpit. The original arrangement of the pillars remains undisturbed and the figures of siva Shankaras may be noticed on some of them to this day. The building has a high plinth and also a vast court around it enclosed by a wall of massive masonry.

The inscriptions are carved on several pieces of stone which, at present, are lying in the interior of the building. Both of them are incomplete, the tablets bearing them evidently broke when the buildings, on which they were originally set up, collapsed. The existing pieces of one tablet measure collectively 7' 3" × 1' 3", those of the other 8' × 1' 3". The style of writing is Naskh, of a bold, vigorous type resembling closely the contemporary script of Delhi inscriptions. The phraseology of the epigraphs also confirms the surmise of their being designed by a Court writer.

I have deciphered them as follows:—

PLATE XVI(a).

The inscription was discovered by me in 1921, when I was measuring the enclosure wall of the Deval Masjid—a 9th or 10th century Hindu temple converted into a mosque by Muhammad Tughlaq. The inscription is carved on a square pillar, which at the time when I noticed it first served the purpose of a step to a platform on which some Muslim graves are built.
(b) Another inscription of Muhammad Tughlaq from Bodhan.

Scale 0.83

(c) Inscription of Muhammad Tughlaq from Bodhan (Nizamabad).

Scale 0.83
Plate XV.

(a) Inscription on a mosque at Bodhan (Nizamabad).

(b) Another inscription on the same mosque.
TRANSLATION.

"This watch-tower was built during the reign of the Caliph . . . . the Sultan of the Sultan of the surface of earth, the chosen one of the Court of the Nourisher of the worlds (God), Abu-l-Mujahid . . . . Muhammad . . . ."

PLATE XVI (b).

تمت هذا العمارة العظيمة في زمن السلطان السلاطين ناصر الإمبراطورين الشريف
بناها . . . . بن تغلقهالسلطان . . . .

TRANSLATION.

This auspicious building was completed during the reign of the Sultan of Sultan, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, distinguished by the grace . . . . . . son of Tughlaq Shah, the Sultan . . . . . .

III-IV.—Inscriptions in a Mosque at Bodhan.

In the eastern part of the town of Bodhan is a very small mosque, styled the Alamgir Masjid, on which two inscriptions are carved. The mosque consists of a single hall which possesses no architectural merit. One of the inscriptions belongs to the reign of Shahjahan and records the construction of a mosque by Aurangzeb, probably at the time when he as a prince was the Governor of the Deccan. The chronogram gives the date 1065 H. (1655 A.D.) which tallies with the period of Aurangzeb’s governorship of the Deccan, shortly before his marching upon Delhi against his imperial father.

The inscription consists of eight lines of Persian verse composed by the poet Ma’shahdi, whose name occurs in line 7. The style of writing is Nasta’liq, but very poor in execution. My reading of the text is given below.

PLATE XV (a).

هلالیش، (1) باب، تام مطلق خدام، هر در جهان برستی . . . . . . . باب، ذی شان
(2) برادر شاه جهان باشی، هفته اینام، خليفة حق رمان رقبا عالمیان
(3) بذل رکم شاهزاده، ارزگزیپ، که هست برسر عالم، عبنایت الرحمان
(4) باب، کری که، معمید، پیش، آیلی، ز، بعد آنکه شد، بر، دیر، باًکشان

1 is a Deccan word meaning a watch-tower at the entrance of a village or town. It is called now.

2 Firsiha writes that Muhammad Tughlaq struck a large number of coins after the confirmation of his sovereignty by the Caliph at Bagdad. The title of Nasmalarumoneen was the special feature of these coins.

3 In the mosque there is a third inscription also, the text of which contains the names of various prophets. It seems to have been set up as a charm to avoid the danger of evil. The text runs thus:—

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم 0 يا حضرت ابراهیم ملاک ملک ملک وصالح خضر بن بیلی بن کلیان بن سلمان بن

4 The tablet on which the inscription is carved measures 2' 4" × 10½".
(5) شد این بنا معمود بعمی اله بار میدر بندید صاحب قریش شم گیلان
(6) بخشتم ز خرد از سهیل تارخش رجع برک بهرگا علم الانزل
(7) زحفرت مصدبی ندای غیب رسید بکش مشهده از حاتم فصیح بیان
(8) که این خسته مکان چریغ بفیض تدش شده
الفیقیر فیرز

TRANSLATION.

(1) In obedience to the commandment of the Almighty God, the Lord of both the worlds; and in love of . . . . . . the exalted Prophet :

(2) During the reign of Shâhjâhn the king of the seven climes, the vicegerent of God (lit. Truth), the master of the necks of people :

(3) . . . the benevolent and generous Prince Anurângæb, whose existence is a blessing of the Merciful God on people :

(4) He built a house for worship with (all) the qualities of Heaven : after the site has been previously occupied by the temple of infidels.

(5) This large building was completed through the efforts of Ilâh Yâr, the disciple and servant of the lord of the happy conjunction, the king of the world.

(6) I consulted the Intellect about the chronogram, he (Intellect) sought inspiration at the Court of the Divine Teacher.¹

(7) The unknown voice of the eloquent Inspirer reached the ears of Maâshâdâ from the Everlasting Court.

(8) That, as this auspicious house possesses the virtues of the Holy Region, the chronogram should be determined from the phrase—"Most blessed house." 1065 H. (1655 A.D.).

The other inscription carved in the mosque belongs to a later period for it bears the date 1220 H. corresponding to 1805 A.D. It is in Persian verse of the most insipid kind showing very degenerate taste. The style of writing is Nastâliq and the tablet bearing the inscription measures 1' 6" x 9". I have deciphered the text as follows:—

PLATE XV (b).

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
نپی برودگان پیغمبر ذنی اعتبار انتظار ملقپان اخی پیغمبران
هادی بعیر بر حضرت خواجہ خضر

ماک ملک بقای ر ساک راه هدای علم علم یقین ز حضر راز خدا
دعاً این کہ ذاتش فیض فیش خاص وعالم نفيش ار برز وبرازدہ ۰۰ بخش مداد

¹ Alliance is a Qur'anic phrase, meaning God taught man the names of various things, that is, blessed him with knowledge.
The Prophet of God, the Apostle of distinction,
The expected one among the (divine) title-holders, the brother of Apostles;
The guide in land and sea, His Holiness Khwaja Kibir.
The lord of the eternal kingdom, the traveller of the path of righteousness,
Proficient in divine knowledge, initiated into the divine secret.

My prayer is that, since his person bestows felicity on to the high and low (alike), may his blessings be continuous to me and to my descendants.

. . . without cant or insincerity,

Muhammad Ismail Khan Bahadur, Ismail Yar Jung. ¹

The hemistich containing the chronogram was composed by Ghulib Al Khân. It runs thus—"This mosque acquired fame owing to its being styled after the name of the Khwaja." 1220 H.—(1805 A.D.).

———

Probably an Asafzâl Taluqdâr (District Officer).
INSCRIPTIONS IN THE FORT AT QANDHĀR, NANDÊ DISTRICT, H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.

By G. Yazdani.

Qandhār, twenty-four miles south-east of Nanded, is the headquarters of a Taluqa in the latter district. The approach to the place is difficult for there are hills and forest almost all round, and in ancient times the garrison of the Fort always took advantage of the natural defences in harassing the invaders. Mullā 'Abdu-l-Hamīd and Muhammad Sālīh who both give long descriptions of the siege of the Fort during Shāhjāhān's reign, describe it as absolutely impenetrable at that time. The Fort has a high château de mars which covers the fortifications of the Fort from attacks by cannon from a distance, while against an attack from near at hand the bastions and several tiers of walls are so built that the garrison could destroy the besiegers at any point. There is also a deep moat, having only one causeway which was always destroyed in time of danger.

The walls of the Fort are well preserved up to now but the buildings inside have fallen into ruin owing to the neglect of centuries. The inscriptions fixed on the various parts of the Fort preserve a fairly complete record of the Musulman dynasties which governed the country from Muhammad Tughlaq's conquest of the Deccan till Aurangzeb annexed it to the Delhi empire. I give below the texts and translations of thirteen inscriptions which are now being published for the first time.¹

I.—Inscription of Muhammad Tughlaq at Qandhār Fort.

The tablet bearing the inscription seems to have broken in to several pieces some time ago, for now only two pieces are to be seen in a cell, near the second gateway of the Fort. The cell on account of snakes has recently been closed with a rubble filling. One of these pieces measures 19'×10', the other is 28'×10'. The letters of the lower portions of both pieces are indistinct, otherwise the inscription is quite legible and the names of the king and the governor as also the date are perfectly clear. The style of writing is Naskāh and the language Persian. The inscription is in verse.²

My reading of the text is as follows:—

Plate IX (b).

محمد شاه تغلق شاه سلطان
(١) پاد پالدار شد
خراج ر تمست ر نسبت نباشد
ز مقطع و کارکن رز خوط دیگر
پیچش هم‌الیکی نیایست
(٢) جیج خود
فرم ر برزر
(٣)
بالال حق بر ایشان حرمسنت

¹ Inside the Fort besides these thirteen inscriptions there are two or three others which I have not included in this article owing to their texts and writing being identical with some of those published here.

² The tablet being broken the lines are not continuous.

³ In the inscription Σ is spelt Σ with ܪ.
TRANSLATION.

Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, the Sultan,
May for him be preserved Confided
There is no part of the country which is not connected with the Royal Court, either by payment of tribute, or (annexed to the administrative) divisions, or (bearing some other kind of) relation: or through Imperial sīf-holders, or agents, or other officials.
He did not bring any country under his control
But he imposed the jizya on the people.
May lawful things become forbidden for those
Who appropriate money (for their own purposes) out of the charitable institute.
Through his justice there is none in this world
Whose life has not been protected
It was 744 of the Hijra (era):
Malik Saif-ud-Daulah, the generous sīf-holder;
ordered.
The pilgrim to the tomb of the Prophet, Šaftu-d-Din
has been pious.

The inscription, though incomplete, is interesting as throwing light on the administrative divisions of the Deccan by Muhammad Tughlaq, a fact also alluded to by Fīrīṣta, who has mentioned the names of some of these divisions. The name of Qandhar, which according to the inscription was held as a sīf by Saif-ud-Daulah, however, is not mentioned by Fīrīṣta.

II. III.—Inscriptions on the western wall of the Fort at Qandhar.

On the western wall of the Fort several inscriptions are carved, the texts of some of them being identical with one another. They record the construction of certain bastions and walls by Polād Khān and Ghori Khān during the reign of Murtaza Nīgām Shāh I (1565–86 A.D.).
script of the inscriptions is Nasḵā, but poor in artistic effect and so is the language which is Persian of an inelegant type. I have deciphered the texts as follows:—

Plate X (a)

بنا شد بنام خدا ر معهد علي اریاء
بدر همایون شهنشاه مرتحلا (sic)
سنہ اربع ر سبین و تسعداء
ابن بهامی زورالدان چاکر شا رلا (sic)

Built in the name of God, Muḥammad, ‘Ali and the saints;
During the suspicious reign of the Emperor, Murtazā.
In the year 974 H., (1566 A. D.).
This bastion (was constructed) by Polād Khān, servant of the exalted king.

Plate X (b).

(sic)
در درر شه مرتحلا
زغم دخان شد بنا

TRANSLATION.

During the reign of the King Murtazā.
It was built by Ghōrt Khān.

IV-V.—Inscriptions of Governor Ibrāhīm Khān at Qandhar Fort.

There are two inscriptions in the Qandhar Fort which record the building of certain bastions during the governorship of Ibrāhīm Khān, as also the fact of their being placed under the charge of the Gunner Aqa Rūmī (of Asia Minor).¹

One of these inscriptions is set up on a high bastion, which is built near the innermost gate of the Fort, and commands a good view of the surrounding country. The inscription consists of ‘three lines,’ in bold Nasḵā characters which are quite elegant. The language is Persian. My reading of the text is as follows:—

Plate XI (a).

(1) نصر من الله و نعم تربت ر بشر المولاه (2) تمام شد بدر ابراهيمي
در اوزم نورالدین خان (8) بن قاسم شجاعت خان (3) حواله آنا رازی
... سنه 198 و رفته
ر کناب علیالدین

TRANSLATION.

"Help from God and immediate victory, and convey these happy tidings to the believers".

¹ Scholars interested in the history of the introduction of guns into India may note that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we invariably find Turkish officers and engineers in charge of the artillery.

² The tablet bearing the inscription measures 2' 6" × 1' 6".
Plate X.

(a) Inscription on the western wall of Qandhar Fort.

(b) Inscription on the western wall of Qandhar Fort.
(a) Inscription on a bastion near the inner gate of Qandhar Fort.

(b) Inscription on the western wall of Qandhar Fort.
INSCRIPTIONS IN THE FORT AT QANDHĀR, NANDÉD DISTRICT.


The other inscription is carved on the western wall and having been exposed to weather its letters are considerably damaged. I have, however, deciphered it completely and my reading is as follows: 1—

Plate XI (b).

(1) بناء ابن شه برج شهد بدراء ابراهيم خان
(2) در سنة ثمان تسعين بري سباهيان
حراش أقا رضي

TRANSLATION.

The Royal Bastion was built for the guards (of the Fort) during the governorship of Ibrāhīm Khān, in the year 98 H. (998 H. = 1590 A. D.).

VI.—Inscription of Aurangzeb at Qandhār Fort.

On the top of the bastion on which inscription IV is carved is a tablet which bears an epigraph of Aurangzeb's reign. It records the laying out of a garden, and the tablet therefore originally must have been fixed on one of the buildings near the present Tahsīl Office where traces of a garden are still to be seen. The inscription is in Persian verse and consists of five lines. The style of writing is Nasta’īq. I have deciphered the text as follows: 2—

Plate XII (b).

(1) محمد نعو مصطفى خالد ده
(2) بناء نورم باي از امر تحریر
(3) زهی باشی چه از نظر ای
(4) په تاریخ از بیت داشت
(5) بیغزای بنه اند حساب

TRANSLATION.

(1) Muhammad ... d-Dīn, the chief of the world, the dust of whose feet; (lit. path) is the essence of elixir:
(2) During the reign of Shāh ʿAlāngīr Ghāzi, he laid out a garden (beautiful) like a picture.
(3) How excellent that garden on seeing which the collyrium of the eyes of the on-lookers turns into divine light. 3
(4) Regarding the chronogram I inquired of Wisdom, who replied in an elegant manner:

1 The inscription consists of two lines, the characters being Nasta’īq and the language Persian. The tablet bearing the inscription measures 10" × 8".
2 The insessional tablet measures 1' 6" × 1' 3".
3 What the poet wants to tell is that the sight of the garden has a brightening effect on the eye of the on-looker—collyrium, which is black and dark, turning into 'divine light.'
(5) If you add 'five' in your calculations, the chronogram will be —'Envy of Kashmir.'

1095 H. = 1684 A.D.

VII.—Inscription on the bastion in front of the Tahsil Office, Qandhar.

The inscription is carved on a small tablet, and consists of three lines only. The characters are Nastā'liq but crude in execution. The text reads as follows:

Plate XII (a).

ساخت بالر
ساخت برف سکرام
است تجدید اسلام

TRANSLATION.

Built by Ballar (or Balhar).
The bastions were built by Balhar Singhram.
Renovated by the Islamites.

VIII-XII.—Inscriptions in the Jāmi‘ Masjid, Qandhar Fort.

On passing through the innermost gateway of the Fort the visitor notices on his right (west) an entrance to the fortifications; but before reaching them he will find to his left a small mosque, styled the Jāmi‘ Masjid. On this building are carved several inscriptions mentioning the names of Nizām Shāh and ‘Adil Shāh kings. The styles of writing as also the literary merits of these inscriptions are insignificant and their only interest lies in the fact that they preserve the record of the alterations or additions which have been made to the building at various times.

I have deciphered the inscriptions as follows:

Plate XIII (a). 3

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(1) راان المسجدلاة فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا أ (2) هذه دار بنادي الطالبين الذكرين أ
(3) هذه جنات عدن خالدلة خالدتين أ (5-4) اظهار كمالية ياثيه مسجد رفيع مجيد
شر ورفه 15 أ

In margins.

(1) شهد بنا فر شهاب خراش بطاش رصفر رصفرد تا...ERM
(2) الزبيدي خواندن قران فما أراذك حق كرم فرماش بار بار غدالعزر نفكراه

1 The numerical value of the phrase 'Envy of Kashmir' — gives the year 1000, and by adding five to it we obtain 1005 H., the date of the laying out of the garden.

2 The inscriptive tablet measures 7½” x 6½”.

3 The inscriptive tablet measures 2’ x 1’ 7”. The style of writing is Nastā'liq.

4 The inscription consists of two lines measuring jointly 1’ 3” x 9”. The style of writing is Nastā'liq.
(a) Inscription on the bastion in front of Tahsil Court, Qandhar Fort.

(b) Inscription fixed on the curtain wall of a bastion near the inner gate of Qandhar Fort.

(c) Inscription on a pillar found buried under earth near the causeway of Qandhar Fort.
Plate XIII. (a) Inscription on the Jami' Masjid, Qandhar Fort.

(b) Another on above building.
TRANSLATION.

In the name of God the most Merciful and Compassionate. "Verily the mosques are for God (i.e., God's worship): you should not invoke anyone along with God. This house calls the seekers (after God), those who repeat His name. These are gardens of eternal bliss: enter them to live permanently." The lofty mosque styled Masjid-i-Muhammad was completed during the year 1015 H. (1606 A.D.) (?).

In margins.

(1) During the reign of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh (II), the serene mosque, the fame of which has reached . . . , was built.

(2) (A house) for the reading of the Qu'rān, the saying of prayers and the recital of the name of God: 'Abdul-l-'Azīz, the well-wisher, suggested the idea to him (the builder).

Plate XIII (b).

[Arabic inscription]

TRANSLATION.

"During the governorship of the great Āqā, Āqā Murād, the Jāmī Masjid was completed."

Plate XIV (a).

[Arabic inscription]

TRANSLATION.

(1) There is no god but God; Muhammad is the Apostle of God. There is no god but God; Āli is the Friend of God.

(2) Again . . . . the king, Niẓām Shāh, who has fulfilled the vows made to the twelve Imāms.

(3) I conquered the world, through strength and courage: God always blessed (me) with victory and success. 947 H.

Plate XIV (b).

[Arabic inscription]

The inscriptive tablet measures 1' 8" x 11". The style of writing is Nasīḥ but very crude in execution. In hemistich 1 of line 2 the second word from the beginning is not clear.
TRANSLATION.

(1) Along the side of the Kauthar Hauz, the lofty Muḥammadī Masjid, completed (through its serenity) the limpidness of the waters of the Hauz and added to the beauty of the Fort.

(2) The 'Ambar Bastion was built facing the west: the spirit (Khizr) of Poetry kept the stream of (Thought) in flow (?).

PLATE XIV (o).

TRANSLATION.

"Built during the administration of Malik Ambar."

The style of writing of this inscription is infinitely superior to those of the others and seems to have been written by an expert calligrapher. It consists of one line only and measures 1' 3" × 6".

VIII.—Inscription on the capital of a pillar near the steps leading to the causeway of Qandhār Fort.

While descending from the champ-de-mars in order to approach the outer gateway of the Fort the visitor will notice the capitals of two pillars, the shafts of which are buried underground one at each side of the entrance leading to the causeway. On one of these capitals is carved an inscription the text of which has kindly been deciphered for me by Dr. D. B. Bhandarkar and will be published in a subsequent issue of this Journal. The inscription is in Nāgarī characters and consists of one line only, measuring 1' 6" × 4½".

1 The language of these lines is very erratic and the meanings of some words are obscure; for example the significance of پنجمین in line 2 is not clear. The style of writing is Nāgari and the tablet bearing the inscription measures 1' 6" × 1' 1".
(a) Inscription on the Jami‘ Masjid, Qandhar Fort.

(b) Another.

(c) Another.
INSCRIPTIONS AT ELGANDAL.

By G. Yezdani.

Elgandal was until 1905 a separate district in the Warangal Division of H. E. H. the Nizam’s Dominion. It is now the headquarters of a taluqa, situated about three miles north of Karimnagar, the present seat of the district, whence it is approached by a puxwa road. Elgandal possesses a historical fort which being situated in a hilly tract on the borders of Gondwana and Telingana, was first an important outpost of the Rajas of Warangal and later of the Qu’b Shâhí Kings. After the conquest of the Deccan by Aurangzeb it, like other fortresses of the Qu’b Shâhí kingdom, was annexed to the empire of Delhi.

The fort is an ancient structure, built on the crest of a hill around which a moat about fifty feet wide and twenty feet deep has been cut and curtains and bastions constructed at various points in the slope of the hill. At the top there are to be seen the remains of a Barakahari and a small mosque which has recently been restored. The minarets of the mosque have excited the curiosity of visitors for a considerable time, as they oscillate when shaken. The reason is simple enough, for the minarets are built of circular blocks of masonry, placed one above the other and connected by a steel rod which passes through the centre. When visitors shake the minarets the steel bar oscillates and along with it the masonry blocks.

At Elgandal, beside the Fort, there are a number of old mosques and wells, some bearing inscriptions which are studied below.

I.—Inscription from a mosque at Elgandal.

The inscription consists of five lines carved on a stone tablet, measuring 1’ 8” by 1’ 7”. The style of writing is Nasta’lîq, but crude and inelegant in execution. The first portion of the inscription consists of the Shiite Darûd, mentioning the names of the twelve Imâms, and the latter records the building of a mosque by one Abu-l-Fath, entitled Mansur Khan in 931 H. (1525 A.D.). The Qu’b Shâhí kings professed the Shiite faith and the mosques built during their reign generally have their inscriptions beginning with the Shiite Darûd. I have deciphered the text as follows:—

PLATE XVII (a).

Shiite Darûd (in the beginning).

This mosque was built by Abu-l-Fath, entitled Mansur Khan; in the month of Jumada I 931 H. (1525 A.D.).

Written by the servant Abu-l-Qasim-l-Akbara-l-Hujainia-l-Qasim bin . . .

II.—Inscription on a well at Elgandal.

It is a Persian inscription, written in the Nasta’lîq characters, and containing the chronogram of the building of a well. The chronogram, according to one system of calculation
gives the date 1238 H.; but according to another (تَخْرِيج), it yields 972 H. In my opinion it is a تَمْيِىْنا chronogram and 1238 H. (A.D. 1822) is the date of the building of the well. The tablet bearing the inscription measures 1’ 1” x 6½”. I have read the text thus:

**PLATE XVII (b).**

شاه طالب ندا رضي بسن * چشمئ نپس شد زفضم رکم

**TRANSLATION.**

O majestic enquirer! I have heard a voice saying, the ‘cistern of bounty’ has been completed through (divine) grace and benevolence.

III.—Inscription on Bindrāban’s well at Elgandal.

This is the most important inscription at Elgandal mentioning the name of Rāi Bindrāban, a well-known historian of Aurangzeb’s time. The manuscript copies of his work are available in India and also preserved at the British Museum (Rieu’s Catalogue, 1082b). Lubna-t-Tawārib is a general history of India from the time of Sultan Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ghūr to 1101 H. Khāfī Khān referring to this work writes that after a diligent search when he procured a copy he was disappointed for it did not contain half the facts recorded by him.

Bindrāban’s father Bhūra Mal received the title of Rāi in the twentieth year of Shāh Jahān’s reign and was appointed Diwan of Dārā Shāikoh. Bindrāban says that he received the same title from Aurangzeb, which fact is corroborated by the inscription for it mentions his name with the title راى بندربان.

Bindrāban held the Diwananship of Prince Bahadur Shāh, and Khāfī Khān writes that he was dismissed during the siege of Bījāpūr (1093 H.) as implicated in the Prince’s clandestine dealings with the besieged. He seems to have been given later some office in the Deccan for, but for his holding an imperial appointment, the Muhtasib (Ecclesiastical Censor) would not have composed the present inscription.

The inscription consists of three lines of Persian verse and is written in bold Nastāʿīq characters. The tablet bearing the inscription measures 3’ 1” x 1’ 9”. My reading of the text is given below:

**PLATE XVIII (a).**

(1) Shāh ʿazīz Zib Shāh Zaman
(2) چشمئ سلخ گی سبیل علله
(3) سال تاریخ از زهاتيف غیب

کاتب سلطان محمد خطسب

**TRANSLATION.**

(1) During the reign of the generous king Shāh Aurangzeb, the King of the world;

---

1 According to the Tashriḥi system of calculation the numerical value of the words رکم (866) will be deducted from the figures obtained from چشمئ فیش

(a) Inscription on a mosque at Elgandal.

(b) Inscription on a well at Elgandal.
(2) Râi Bindrâban built a well for (the convenience of) the people, as a charitable deed in the name of God.

(3) From the Divine Inspirer I heard the chronogram—‘Everflowing bounty.’

Jaswant Râi—1194 H. (1693 A.D.) Written by Sultan Muhammad, the Ecclesiastical Censor.

IV.—Inscription of Aurangzeb from Elgandal.

This is carved on an oval stone panel, measuring 2' 10' across on the long side and 1' 4' on the other. The inscription consists of the Sunnite Durâd and two lines of Persian verse, written in Nastâ’îq characters. My reading of the text is given below:

PLATE XVIII (b).

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{يا الله ۰ اللهم صل على محمد و على آل محمد وبارك رسل } \\
\text{۰ يا الله }
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{c}
(1) \text{بدرپور شاه عام غیر ازین بید (؟) } \\
(2) \text{سواد کفر شست اثر اسلام } \\
\hline
\text{۱۱۰۸}
\end{array}\]

TRANSLATION.

(In the beginning) Sunnite Durâd.

(1) In the reign of Aurangzeb, when Ahmad Beg by (building) this .... did a work for the next life;

(2) The darkness of infidelity was cleared by the light of Islam, and the year of the completion (of the building) was to be found in the phrase—'the constitution of Ahmad's (Muhammad's) faith.' 1108 H. (1696 A.D.).
(a) Inscription on a well at Elgandal.

(b) Inscription of Aurangzeb from Elgandal.