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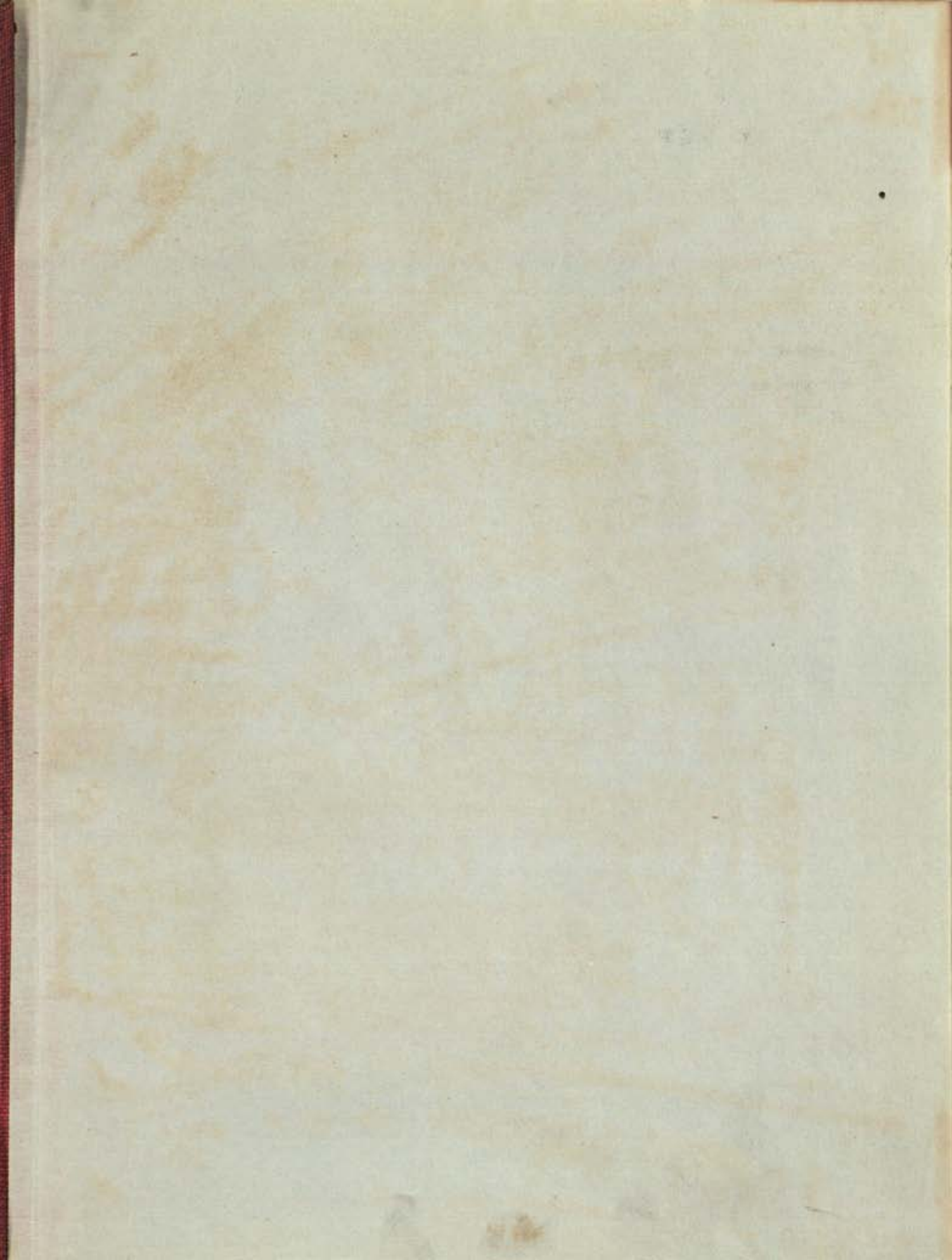
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA .

ARABIC & PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

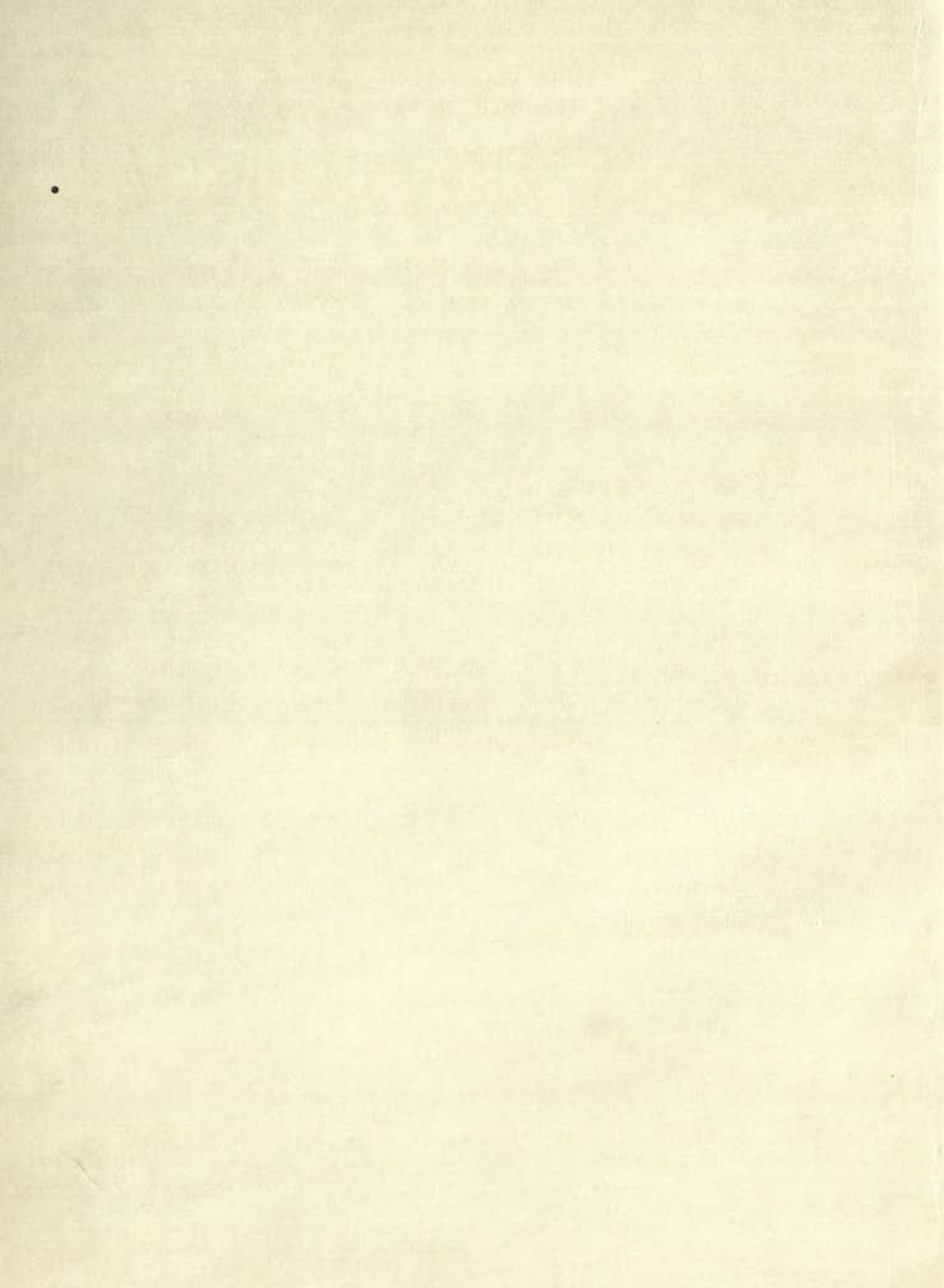
(In continuation of Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1913-20



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JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110011

1987



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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

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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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EPIGRAPHIA INDO-MOSLEMICA

EDITED BY

G. YAZDANI, M.A.,

DIRECTOR OF ARCHAEOLOGY, H. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS, AND GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPhist FOR
MOSLEM INSCRIPTIONS.

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CALCUTTA

SUPERINTENDENT GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA

1917

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INSCRIPTION FOUND IN THE ADHCHINI VILLAGE, NOW PRESERVED IN THE
DELHI MUSEUM OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

BY ZAFAR HASAN, 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 Nasta'liq characters, in the Persian language. It is dated 1127 A.H. (1715 A.D.) and records a statement that one Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm, 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 touch 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 Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm. 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 Baghichi (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 Ma'ṣūm.

¹ *Vide Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology* (ed. Calcutta, 1913), p. 8, C. 42.

² [The hand and foot impressions of Prophet Muḥammad are not rare in India, e.g. the Qadwa Rasūl at Delhi, at Gaur, 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. 363 seq.; (4) Clermont Ganneau's *Archæological Researches in Palestine*, London, 1899, Vol. I, p. 160. The last work refers to the celebrated foot print of the Prophet in Qubbatu-s-Sakhra at Jerusalem, which has rather a curious history. Before the Crusades it was the Qadamu-n-Nabi (the Prophet's foot impression); by the Crusaders it was exhibited as Christ's foot print, and afterwards, and still, as Muḥammad's foot impression. Professor van Berchem further remarks that there are many shrines in Turkish Arabia and Persia where the hand prints (آثار) of 'Alī are shown, for instance, at Baghdad, 'Ukbara (near Baghdad), Mosul, Ardabil (Ādharbāijān), etc. (vide Sarre and Herzfeld's *Archæologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris Gebiet*, p. 26 seq., and Sarre's *Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst*, p. 41). The superstitious 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 Geneva, is described in Baudouin's book on foot prints sculptured and incised on rocks.—Editor.]

TEXT.

(Plate I)

یا الله یا محمد

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

خاتم الرسالة عليه الصلوة والتسليم

از آنجا که پنجه مبارک حضرة یافته ام شنیدم بمکه معظمه بر کوه حرا که انرا جبل ثور گویند
 بسنگ نشان بدن انور حضرة است که ابتداء رهی جبرئیل علیه السلام بر آنسنگ سینه منور چاک
 کرده بانوار پر نموده و در غار جبل ثور که حضرة رقت هجرة پنهان شده بردند نشان پهلور پشت
 دست مطهر است و بطایف متصل مسجد النبی در غاری اثر پهلور پشت دست اقدس و
 نقش پی اهر ماده بمعنه بجه و قطرات شیر موجود است و حضرة بمسجد الحرام . . . نماز
 میفرمودند نزقاق الحجر بگفته کسی از تاسف فوت جماعت تکیه بدیوار ماندند آرنج مبارک
 بسنگ در آمد و از دیوار چپ سنگی عرض کرد جماعة تیار و آن دروغ گو ابلیس بود اثر زبان
 سنگ ظاهر است اخر کتاب الاعلام باعلام بیت الحرام اماکن زیارت نوشته خلاصه ترجمه آنکه
 مابین مواد النبی و خانه حضرة خدیجه در راه مسجدیست بکونچه نام او زقاق المرفق
 آنجا . . . [در کان ؟] . . . [بکر ؟] بود درو صرف میفرخت قریبش بدیواری
 سنگیست درو اثر ارنج دستیست و در کتاب بحرالعمیق از زبدة الاعمال نوشته که ان اثر ارنج
 ید مبارک است و تقي قدسي بتاريخ مکه گفته مردم زیارت ان میکنند و میگویند انحضرت
 تکیه بران سنگ کرده سخن میگفت با سنگ دیگر که پیش انحضرت بود بجانب چپ زیارت او
 نیز میکنند اغلب که این سنگ همان باشد که حضرة فرمودند سنگی میدانم در مکه هرگاه بر او
 میگذشتم سلام میکرد بما و در جبل ابوقبیس قبر حضرة آدم و حوا و شیث علیهم السلام است
 و خلص ترجمه تاریخ آذری آنکه حدردن حرم مکه شریفه حضرة ابراهیم باشاره جبرئیل علیهما السلام
 بسنگ و گل بنا نموده و حد طرف عرفات کوه نمره یازده کرده از مکه زیر کوه در غاری منزل انحضرة
 روز مره بود و سابق برآه آدم از جنت خیمه یاقوت سرخ با سه [قنادیل ؟] طلا و
 حجرالسود بر روشنی ستاره ملائکه آورده جای کعبه داشتند روشنی آنها تا حدردن حرم . . .
 . . . میکردند تا نظر شیاطین بر رو نیفتد و جبرئیل . . . از آدم
 . . . گفت . . .
 . . . اشارت انگشت مبارک دو نیمه شد هر دو نیمه . . . بنص و احادیث

* The words marked with a query are not clear in the inscription, and their reading is doubtful.



ثابت است بآسمان رفت نرسانیده محمد معصوم مخاطب [اعتبار ؟] خان عظیم
الشانی سنہ ۴ مبارک محمد فرخ سیر پادشاہ غازی سنہ ۱۱۲۷

TRANSLATION.

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 *wahī* (the Divine Revelation) Gabriel, peace be upon him, cut open the enlightened bosom and filled it with (Divine) Light.¹ 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 Masjid-u-l-Haram to say his prayers when some one in Zuqāq-u-l-hajar² 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 *Kitabu-l-Ilām bi a'lām i Baiti-l-Haram*,³ 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 Halima and used to go out with her sons to graze sheep.

² *Zuqāq* in Arabic means a street, and *hajar* a stone. *Zuqāq i-hajar* is the name of a street in Mecca, where there is a stone which is reputed to have once spoken. The *hā*, who have visited Mecca say that a tongue-like thing is still shown there.

³ The full title of the book—*کتاب 'علام باعلام بیت 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 446 of that edition, and as the inscription here is incomplete I propose to quote it from *Kitābu-l-Ilām*.

قال القاسم ابو البقاء ابن الضياء في البحر العميق ذكر سعد الدين الاسفرائيني في كتاب زبدة الاعمال ان اهل مكة يمشون اذا ارادوا المواليد من دار خديجة رضا الى مسجد يقولون انه دكان ابي بكر الصديق كان يبيع فيه الخبز واسلم فيه على يده عثمان بن عفان و طلحه و الزبير رضى الله عنهم قال و في جدار هذا الدكان اثر مرفق رسول الله صلعم يروي ان رسول الله صلعم جاء دار ابي بكر ذات يوم و نادى يا ابا بكر رضه انتهى -

"Qāṣi Abul Baqā, the son of Zā, in his *Baḥru-l-'amīq* says: S'adu-d-dīn Isfariyīnī records in his book *Zubdatu-l-ā'māl*, that the people of Mecca when they want to go to the sacred places they go from the house of *Kha-dījah*, 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 'Uthmān, the son of 'Affān, Talha and Zubair, may God be pleased with them! embraced *Islām* before him. He [S'adu-d-dīn] 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 Abū Bakr! . . ."

noticed, and an extract of the notice is : Between the house of the Prophet and that of Her Holiness *Khadījah* there is a mosque on the road, in the street named *Zuqāqu-l-mirfaq*. There was . . . 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-'amīq* quoted from *Zubdatu-l-a'māl* that the mark is of the elbow of the blessed arm. And Taqī Qud-i in the *History of Mecca* 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.¹ 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 *Shīth* : may peace be upon them. An extract from the notice in the *Tarikh-i-Ādhārī* is that in obedience to Gabriel, His Holiness Abraham, may peace be upon both of them ! laid the boundaries of the *Haram*² of the blessed Mecca with mud and stone, and the boundary towards 'Arafāt is the mount *Namirā* eleven *kiroḥ*³ 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 *Hajaru-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 Qur'ān and the *Ḥadīth* was raised to heaven. This was caused to be written by Muḥammad Ma'sūm entitled [? *I'tibār*] *Khān 'Azīmu-sh-shāhānī* : 4th year of the august (reign) of Farrukh Siyar, the victorious king. The year 1127 (A. H.).

NOTE.—The *Panjāh* referred to in the inscription may have been stolen and destroyed by the *Wahābis*, who are bitter opponents of the practice of worshipping such relics. A little before the Mutiny of 1857, a party of *Wahābis* conspired to steal the well-known foot print of the Prophet at Delhi—Qadam Rasūl—which was brought to India from Egypt by Sayyid Jalālu-d-dīn *Bukhārī* alias *Makhdūm Jahāniyān*, during the reign of Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq (752-90 A.H.). The plot, however, was divulged and the conspirators were punished by Bahādur Shāh, the last Mughal King. Maulawī Muḥammad 'Umar Qādīri alias Shāh Sirāj-u-l-Ḥaqq has traced the history of this foot print in his valuable book—*Al-istīlāf wa-tawassul bi-Āthār-i-ṣ-Ṣāliḥīn wa Sayyidi-r-Rasul* (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 Muḥammad.—Editor.

¹ This miracle is recorded in *Al-Kalām-i-mubīn*, published by the Nāmī 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 *Hajaru-l-Aswad* which Muḥammadon : kiss at the time of pilgrimage, while others think that it is another stone in the street of *Zuqāqu-l-mirfaq* (*Zuqāq* = street, and *mirfaq* = elbow).

² *Haram* = sanctuary.

³ *Kiroḥ* and *kos* are both derived from the Sanskrit word *krosa* which literally means 'a shout,' i.e. the distance of a shout. On an average a *kiroḥ* 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-Kalām-i-mubīn*, p. 108, miracle 182). This miracle was performed before the Prophet fled from Mecca to Medina.

سنده از حوضه کور پریر یولا اولامع الو
 خور خاندیس کار پیر خیر بنیاد پریر یولا
 سنده کار از حوضه کور پریر یولا دشتار
 و دلاوری کسب آبادی کرد بر پریر و احوت
 جتن و له را و چیل تووم مرآت اذک
 و سولو بایک و له اصدت بایک ایل ازک
 شی را سوطا کار انعام واره شده زمینی از
 عت سعت سیکر و دو جنوب اسم از جایی کللی
 و نیز حق معینه که از ارانسا پی لایق هفت برج
 و یار و غیره غلامه زمین پید شود و موافق قرین
 بدید و و شهادت از غلامه موافق قرین بدید و و شهادت
 جدید از رانده رفته از حکم سرکار بنیاد ایل
 سنده از حوضه کور پریر یولا دشتار
 و دلاوری کسب آبادی کرد بر پریر و احوت
 جتن و له را و چیل تووم مرآت اذک
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 و یار و غیره غلامه زمین پید شود و موافق قرین
 بدید و و شهادت از غلامه موافق قرین بدید و و شهادت
 جدید از رانده رفته از حکم سرکار بنیاد ایل

A COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KHANDESH.

BY SHAMS-UL-ULAMA, DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, 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

Introduction. 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 Amiru-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 Shāh Nawāz Khān (1699-1757), the author of the *Ma'āthir-u-l Umarā'* (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)

سند از حضور پیر پولاد مع^۱ انوار صوبه خاندیس سرکار ملهیدر خجسته بنیاد پرگنه تر (۶) کالنه

موضع اکار از حضور مذکور پیر پولاد بسبب رشادت و دلایمی سبب

نقشه پیر پولاد

آبادی کردن بر ویر اچوت پتیل ولد راجی پتیل قوم مهراتی

^۲ ازک مرزی و هولو نایک ولد اچوت نایک بهیل ازک^۳ بترتی را موضع اکار انعم داده شد

زمین زراعت شصت بیگه رود جنوب اسم از جالی کالی (۶) و نیز حق معینی که از اراضی

لایق هفت بوجه و یا سر و غیره غله از زمین پیدا شود موافق قرینه بدهد و اوتهارنی از غله

موافق قرینه بدهد و هوشیاری چرکمی از راه آمد و رفت از حکم سرکار هشیار باشد سند از

حضور جمیع اهل کار و راجرشد (۶) حاضر باش درین باب تاکید اکید و قدغن دانسته بهیچ نوع

الی آن ز هیچ آیین^۴ عدول حکمی نورزند سنه ۱۰۱۷ هجری بتاریخ درازدم ۱۲ ماه شعبان

روز پنجشنبه

^۱ لامع انوار, lit., bright with lights, luminous, brilliant, exalted.

^۲ Arak is a Dekhani-Hindi word meaning a 'surname' (Shakespeare's *Hindustani-English Dictionary*, p. 94). It corresponds to Gujarati atak.

^۳ Perhaps the Bhilala tribe of the Bhils. *Khandesh Gazetteer*, p. 83.

^۴ عدول حکمی, 'udul-hukmi, disobedience.

TRANSLATION.

A Grant (*sanad*) from the Court (or dignified presence, *huzār*) of Pīr Paulād, the brilliant in splendour (*lit.* brilliant in rays) in the province (*sūbāh*) of Khandesh, in the district (*sarkār*) of Mulher, of auspicious foundation, in the sub-district (*parganah*) of . . . Kalna in the village (*mauta*) of Ākār. The village of Ākār has been given as a gift by the court of the above Pīr Paulād for bravery and firmness in cultivating and making habitable (waste lands) to Vern Achut Patel, son of Rāoji Patel of the community of Marathi, of the tribe of Morī, and to Haulū Nāik, son of Āchut Nāik,¹ Bhil of the tribe of Barīri.

Land for cultivation, 60 bighas² (near) the southern stream, namely, in the zone of black (soil) and also the settled Haqq³ (*lit.* privilege or right), *viz.* from cultivable lands seven *bojh*⁴ 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 (*uthāveni*,⁵ *lit.* lifting up) of the grain may be given in proportion.⁶ And in carefulness for (watching) the custom-post (*chāuki*) on the road of ingress and egress, they may remain watchful for the orders of Government. The *sanad* may be presented⁷ (*i.e.* shown) to all the people of business and royalty.⁸

Recognizing the urgent⁹ order and injunction¹⁰ 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, Shā'bān, Thursday.¹¹

¹ Nāik has been wrongly written *bāik*, the *nukta* or dot being marked below instead of above.

² A *bigha* in the *Mughal* times was "a quantity of land 60 *gaz* long 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 *gaz* 3,600 sq. *gaz* = 2,600 sq. yards = 0.598 or somewhat more than half an acre." (*Ain-i-Akbari* (Eng. Translation), by Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 62, and *n.*)

³ *Haqq* (حق). We learn from Captain Graham's article on the Bhils (*Historical Sketch of the Bhil 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 Bhils. The Bhil Naik had regular 'Huks', *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 'Huks', which had been heretofore received in kind from every village of the district."

⁴ Hind. *bojh* (بوجہ), load, weight; (in agricultural language) about five *dākas* of corn (John Shakespear's *English and Hindustani Dictionary*).

⁵ From *Uthānā*, a Hindustani word of Sanskrit origin.

⁶ *Qarīnāh*, conjecture, similarity, symmetry, correspondence, regularity, order.

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

⁸ *Rājeasthān* may be a mistake for *rājeansi* (राज रंसी), a Hindi word of Sanskrit origin, meaning 'of royal descent'. It is also the name of a Rajput tribe.

⁹ *Akyad*, most urgent.

¹⁰ The word, as it is written, can be read otherwise, but it seems to be miswritten for *qadghān* (قَدَغْن), *i.e.* injunction order.

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

(The entire produce of) the sixty bighas 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 *bojh* or head loads, etc., of the grain produced in the land, according to approximate calculation, should be paid (by Virū Achut Patel and Haulū Nāik to Pīr Paulād's government). The tax on the removal of the corn should also be paid in proportion to the gross quantity. They (Virū and Haulū) should also be mindful of the orders of Government (Pīr Paulād) in exercising a careful watch on the ingress and egress (of the village). The *sanad* (is issued) from the presence (of Pīr Paulād) to all officials and tax-collectors (?) as 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 Shā'bān, 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 *Ain-i-Akbari* helps us a little in this direction. It says: "Each *Subah* is divided into a certain number of *sarkars* and each *sarkar* into *parganāhs* 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 *Subah* 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 Khandesh. There is no doubt about the reading of the name 'Khandesh' as given in the plate. Khandesh formed one of the several *subahs* in the Mughal times. It was one of the countries that was lately constituted a *subah* by Akbar. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Khandesh was named Dandesh by Akbar after its conquest. It says: "Danyāl (a son of Akbar) was appointed governor of the newly conquered territory, which was called by Akbar Dandesh (a combination of the words Danyāl and Khandesh)."³ Nawwāb Saṃṣamu-d-Daulāh's MS. says the same thing.

بقرجه عرش آشیانی چون قلعه آسیر مقلح گشت این ملک بشافرا ده دانیال مغرض گردید از آن رو به داندیش
شهرت یافت

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

A *subah* or province in Mughal times was divided, as said above, into several *sarkars* or districts. The *sarkār* of the grant is Mulher. It is variously written as Mūlhir, Malhir, Mooleer, Malir or Mālir (*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 Sālher are said to be the strongest of the forts of Baglāna (*Ibid.*, p. 66). The Hyderabad MS. also speaks of it as a *qasbah*.

The two words after the name of the *sarkār* seem to be "*Khujastā bunyād*", 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." Aurangābād is spoken of as *Khujastā bunyād* (*Elliot*, VII, 194, 256, 304).

The *sarkars*, which are sub-divisions of a *subah*, were in Mughal times divided into *parganāhs* or provinces. The province of Kālā is spoken of in the State MS. as being in the possession of Nizāmu-l-Mulk. In one place it is spoken of as *maḥall* and in another as *sarkār* (*Elliot*, VI, p. 102). It was taken by Abul Fazl in the 46th year of Akbar's reign. Its governors are spoken of as *qal'adars* (*Ma'āthīru-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 *Ab-i-Kālā*.

The verbs *دادند* and *باشند* in lines 11 and 12 should have been in the plural form—*دادند* and *باشند*. The dot of their *و* seems to have been omitted through the carelessness of the engraver.

The donor, while bestowing the village on Viṭṭ and Haulū for their services in colonizing the waste lands, has reserved certain items of revenue for his government, namely, the entire produce of the sixty *bigās* of the black cotton soil, a fixed rate on other cultivable lands, and the Uthāvani tax. Further, he has bound the donees 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 colonisation of the desolate areas technically called *زمین بی چراغ* in the Deccan.—Editor.]

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, translated by Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 114 n.

² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

³ Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I, p. 336.

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

The Grantor.

written پير پاولاد without the three *nuktāhs* or dots under the

second *pe*; the second time in the first line, where it is properly written with the *nuktāhs* as پير پاولاد; the third time in the third line where it occurs without the *nuktāhs* as in the right-hand top-corner. The name is that of a Muhammadan. We learn from *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* that Paulād¹ was a Muhammadan name. We do not know who he was. We know of one Pir connected with Khandesh. He was Pir Muhammad Khān of Shirwān, referred to in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, 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 Gujrāt, 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 Bāz Bahādūr. He then made a raid into Khandesh, which was governed by Mirān Muhammad Shah, and sacked the capital Burhānpūr."² He perished while crossing the Narbadāh at night when defeated by Bāz Bahādūr. 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 Roshnā'i of King Akbar's time. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*³ thus speaks of this Pir: "In former times,⁴ a Hindustani soldier had come among the Afghans and set up a heretical sect.⁵ He induced many foolish people to become his disciples and he gave himself the title of Pir Roshanai. He was dead, but his son Jalāla, 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 Roshanais, whose baseness will be hereafter described, His Majesty placed Kunwar Mau Singh in command and gave him Kabul in Jagir." Later on, we read that "Saiyid Hamid Bukhārī, formerly one of the nobles of the Sultans of Gujarat was sent to Peshawar for the repression of the Roshanai 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 Mau 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."⁶ The adjective applied to Pir Paulād, i.e. *Lāmi' anwār*, brilliant in rays, suggests, that possibly he was either one of the descendants or one of the sect of Pir Roshnā'i, because the word '*Roshnā'i*' also means 'luminous'. That this Pir Paulād was a man of some consequence, appears from the use of the word '*Huzūr*' before his name.

In the grant, where the names of the holders of the lands are mentioned we find the terms

The terms Bhil, Mori, Nāik, etc. mentioned in the Grant.

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 *Pālad Turk Bacha*, Elliot, Vol. IV, pp. 68, 79.

² Blochmann's *Translation*, Vol. I, p. 324. See also *Ma'āthir-i-Umarā'*, Vol. I, pp. 69, 71, 390, 615, Vol. II, p. 765.

³ Elliot, Vol. V, pp. 450-51.

⁴ Twenty-five years before this time. *Badāoni*, (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. II, p. 349.

Madkhāt-i-Zandāq wa Ilhād, *ibid.*, Vol. II.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 445.

*Sketch of the Bhil Tribes inhabiting the Province of Khandesh.*¹ Patels were the heads of villages. The Nāiks were the chiefs of the village Bhils. Formerly "the chief Nāiks of the Pargana, 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."²

In the history of Khandesh we find mention of several Bhil Nāiks.³ The word Nāik seems to have been a titular word in the Mughal times. We read of the 'Nāyak 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 Pavār, 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, *nāik*, 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 Māngs, 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 Nāik, receives through his minister all requests for arbitration committees, *panchs*"

"The Khandesh cultivators are Kunbis, Mhārs Bhils Bhils are found here and there tilling on their own account. Some of the younger Bhils take yearly service, *sāldārī* with Kunbis and other cultivators, but most of them are small land-holders, or hire fields from Gujar and other capitalists on the share, *garānd*, principle. The landholder gains most by the bargain. He provides the land and seed, and the Bhil, the labour, cattle and tools."⁷

"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."⁸

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, *sāldār* comfortably without the money-lender's help."⁹ 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.

¹ See *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, No. XXVI, New Series, pp. 201 et seq.

² *Ibid.*, p. 205.

³ *Khandesh Gazetteer*, pp. 423-24.

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 donee 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. 93.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-37.

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 *sanat* must be a numeral. It looks like one. The *nuktāh* of *nūn* 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 *nuktāhs* 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 *Panjshānbāh*, i.e. Friday, and the date is the 12th and the month is *Shā'bān*. Now we find as a matter of fact, that in 1017 the twelfth of *Shā'bān* was Friday. This settles our doubts and fixes the date.¹

The condition of Khandesh 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."

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

"Muhammadan date 12th *Shā'bān*."

A.H.		A.D.	
917	—	4th November, 1511	— Tuesday.
1017	—	11th November, 1608	— Friday."

This settles the question that as the 12th of *Shā'bān* 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 KHĀṢṢ MAḤALL AND NOW PRESERVED
IN THE DELHI MUSEUM OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

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 *Nasta'liq* characters. It records the erection of a building called the *Khāṣṣ Maḥall* in the year 1052 A.H. (1642-3 A.D.) by a daughter of Zain Khān,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 Purāna 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 Archæology.²

It is strange that the inscription has been omitted by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān in his well-known work *Āthār-u-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, 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 *Miftāḥ-u-t-Tawārīkh* two years later, in 1848 A.D., copied this inscription and said that it was on the gateway of the *Khāṣṣ Maḥall*, which was in ruins.³

Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's description of the building is as follows: "Near the Purāna Qil'a there was a palace of the time of Shāhjahān. It was built in the year 1042 A.H., corresponding to the year 1632 A.D., by Zain Khān's daughter, who was entitled *Khāṣṣ Maḥall*. Now this palace is in ruins and only the gateway remains."⁴ Sayyid Aḥmad Khān is supported in his view that *Khāṣṣ Maḥall* 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 Khān was married to Jahangir when he was a prince,⁶ but there is no evidence that she was styled *Khāṣṣ Maḥall*. 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 Aḥmad Khān and to think that *Khāṣṣ Maḥall* was the title of Zain Khān's daughter, after whom the building constructed by her received its name. The word *Khāṣṣ Maḥall* 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 Shāhjahānābād, 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 '*sarāī*,' 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.

¹ For Zain Khān see *Āin-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, pp. 344-46, and *Mu'āḥḥir-u-l-Umarā*, (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. II, pp. 362-70.

² *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archæology*, 1913, p. 6, No. 19.

³ *Miftāḥ-u-t-Tawārīkh*, Nawal Kishor edition, Cawnpore, 1867, p. 240.

⁴ *Āthār-u-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, Cawnpore, 1904, Chapter III, p. 63.

⁵ *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archæology*, 1908, pp. 42-3.

⁶ *Akhbar-nāma*, (ed. Bibl. Ind.), Vol. III, p. 710; *Āin-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. 345, 477 n. 2; *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Aligarh, 1864, p. 8; *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, English translation by Rodgers and Beveridge, p. 19; *Mu'āḥḥir-u-l-Umarā*, (ed. Bibl. Ind.), Vol. II, p. 368.

Sayyid Ahmad Khān and Mr. Beale erroneously fix on the year 1042 A.H. as the date of the construction of the *Khāṣṣ Maḥall*. Apparently they included the letter *bā* and omitted the word 'Jawāb' in the chronogram, and have also overlooked the figure 1052 below the same.

TEXT.

(Plate III)

(۱) بدور شا [د] جهان صاحب توان ثانی که در جهانست جهان پرور و سهر جناب
 (۲) بنا نهاد بهین زمانه خاص محل درین زمین بکرم بذت زین خان دریاب
 (۳) همیشه با [د] بزیر سهر بر قلمون همی ضمیر منیرش پی صلاح و صواب
 (۴) اگر ز سال بنایش بود سوال ترا حساب کن بسرای محل خاص جواب
 ۱۰۵۲

TRANSLATION.

(1) During the reign of Shāhjahān, 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 Khān built the *Khāṣṣ Maḥall*, 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] 'Sarāi Maḥall-i-Khāṣṣ' (the caravanserai of *Khāṣṣ Maḥall*). 1052.

Inscription on the Khass Mahall, Delhi.



Scale 1/83

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TURK SULTĀNS OF DELHI—MU'IZZU-D-DĪN
BAHRĀM, 'ALĀ'U-D-DĪN MAS'ŪD, NĀSIRU-D-DĪN MAHMŪD, GHĪYATHU-
D-DĪN BALBAN AND MU'IZZU-D-DĪN KAIQUBĀD.

By G. YAZDANI.

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 Sultān Īltutmish to the royal throne of Delhi, till the close of Kaiqubād's reign, with whom the dynasty practically ended. No inscription is noticed of the reigns of Ruknu-d-dīn Fīroz and Razziāh; 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, Koil and Budaun, particularly when we remember that in Thomas' time only two inscriptions of Balban were known,¹ while now we have knowledge of as many as ten epigraphs of that king.² Sultān Mu'izzu-d-dīn'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 'Alā'u-d-dīn Mas'ūd are three in number, and one of them contains his name and title in full along with those of one of his Maliks.³ The phraseology of the titles, in most cases, is identical with that given by Minhāj, 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 Sultāns and Maliks 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.

Sultān Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd's reign is also represented by three inscriptions, two of which—one from Malda and the other from Koil—exhibit calligraphy of an extremely elegant type.⁴ The inscription No. XX also, the date of which is unknown, may belong to the reign of Nāṣiru-d-dīn because the 'exalted, Tāj-u-d-dīn Sālārī', the commander-in-chief, and the builder of the inscription seems to be, by the kinship of his name, a relative of 'Izzu-d-dīn Sālārī, who was an important Malik of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-dīn's court.⁵

Of Balban's reign there are eight epigraphs;⁶ while the texts and translations of two more have been added in the form of appendices from previous editions,⁷ because in the case of one from Barwāla the tablet on which it was carved is missing,⁸ 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 Sultāns of Delhi up to Balban,⁹ several of which have not been corroborated by medallion 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. 136. 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 (a).

⁴ See Pls. VIII (a) and XI (a).

⁵ See *Tabaqāt*, pp. 639, 647 and 673.

⁶ Vide Pls. IX-XIII.

⁷ From *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 158, and *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology*, pp. 18-28.

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. 136.

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.¹ 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.² Kaiqubād's reign is represented by four epigraphs, three of which are designed by expert artists³ and one, of Barwāla, probably by a local scribe whose style is rather clumsy.⁴ 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 Qutb Minār, Dargāh of Sultān Ghāri, and Aḥmād-dīn-kā-Jhōnprā, 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 *Naskh* style of writing for ornamental purposes.⁵ This little knowledge was, however, subsequently lost, and in the decorative writings illustrated in this article the script consists of either a mixture of *Naskh* and *Tughra*, or *Naskh* and *Nast'liq*.

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.⁶ 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.⁷

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 Sultān Nāṣir-d-dīn at Aligarh, which, to facilitate comparison with the Garhmuktesar inscription of Balban, has been printed along with the inscriptions of the latter Sultān.

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 Jolāhon-ki-Masjid, Hansi.

This inscription is fragmentary, giving only the titles, سلطان ابوالمظفر مولى ملك العرب والعجم, which apparently refer to *İltutmish*, who was the first monarch to replace the word عرب by ترك in the favourite title ملك العرب والعجم with which the Muslim kings exultantly styled themselves in view of their conquest over the non-Arab nations, whom they styled عجمي.⁸ Thomas gives the inscription on the Minaret

¹ *Delhi Museum Catalogue*, p. 18.

² See Pls. XIV (a) and XV.

³ See *E. I. M.*, 1911-12, Pls. II-V, VI (No. 2), VII, XVI, XVII, XXIII, and XXIX.

⁴ See Pls. X (b) and XIII (b).

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 28 and 30; and *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, by Prof. van Berchem, Vol. XIX, pp. 606 and 718.

⁶ See Pls. XI (b) and XIII (a).

⁷ *Ibid.* Pl. XIV (b).

⁸ *E. I. M.*, 1911-12, pp. 13 and 14.

of Mas'ūd III at Ghazni wherein the monarch has used the titles, **مَلِك رَقَابِ الْأَمَم** and **مَوْلَى مَلِكِ الْعَرَبِ وَالْعَجَم**, which are afterwards so frequently repeated in the inscriptions of the Sultāns of Delhi, particularly those on the Qutb Minār.¹ **İltutmish** 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 **عَرَب** by **تُرْك** and styled himself **مَوْلَى مَلِكِ التُّرْكِ وَالْعَجَم**, 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 **İltutmish** to the Delhi throne this title has not been noticed, except in the Kagol (Bengal) inscription of **Kaika'ās**,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 **İltutmish's** reign—one bearing his name also—exist in Hansi,⁴ and that the style of writing of the inscription, being *Naskh* of a very elegant and vigorous type, bears considerable affinity to that of the inscriptions of this monarch on the Qutb Minār,⁵ prove almost conclusively that the above inscription belongs to the reign of **İltutmish**.

The inscription in its fragmentary condition ($16'' \times 13\frac{1}{2}''$) consists of two lines and reads thus:—

PLATE VIII (b).

..... **رُك التُّرْكِ وَالْعَجَم** (1)

..... **ن اَبُو الْمظْفَر** (2)

TRANSLATION.

. (the king) of Turk and Persian kings (Sultān) 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 Maulawī Muḥammad Shu'aib, whose untimely death has been a sad loss to the cause of Muslim 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 Circle, 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 Maulawī Shu'aib's visit to Hansi has been used as ordinary masonry in some building there, where previously also several inscription tablets were used in this manner. The inscription is in the form of an arch, and the base line measures $33\frac{1}{2}''$, while the height from the middle of the base to the apex of the arch is $24\frac{1}{2}''$. The style of writing is *Naskh* 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 Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Uṭhmān entitled **Nizām-u-d-dīn** in Rajab 638 A.H. (January 1241 A.D.) during Sultān Mu'izz-u-d-dīn Bahram's reign.

¹ See *Chronicles*, pp. 9 and 10, and *E. I. M.*, 1911-12, pp. 16, 17, 22 and 23.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 26 and 27.

³ *E. I. M.*, 1911-12, p. 23.

⁴ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, p. 247.

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,¹ was in this period the cynosure of piety and learning, and the Nizāmu-d-dīn 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.

وكان وفاته العبد الضعيف المرحوم محمد بن علي بن عثمان الملقب بنظام الدين في
الرابع من شهر المبارك رجب عمت ميامنه سنة ثمان وثلثين وستمائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

His—the frail servant, taken into Divine mercy, Muḥammad bin ‘Alī bin Uṭhmān entitled Nizāmu-d-dīn—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 Baṛī Dargāh Inscription, Bihar.

This inscription has already been carefully edited by Blochmann in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XI, II, 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 *Naskh* of a high order, and both the lines and curves have been drawn with great vigour.² The inscription is carved on a large slab of basalt (4' 2" × 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 Tughril, whose full name according to Minhāj was ‘Izzu-d-dīn Tughril Tughān Khān. In 630 A.H. Iltutmish conferred the province of Bihar on him, and in 631 A.H. on the death of Malik Yughantat he became also the feudatory of the country of Lakhnauti. In 640 A.H., which is the date of the inscription, Tughril took possession of Āwadh as far as Kara Manakpur where Minhāj waited on him.³ It is interesting to note that the slaves of Delhi Sultāns even after assuming the regal titles and authority thought it no dishonour to use their former humble style of *السلطاني*—the Royal (slave)—after their names. Tughril also in spite of enjoying the privilege of being the *de facto* ruler of territory extending from Lakhnauti to Kara Manakpur, and Tirhut to Jajnagar, and using such exalted titles—the exalted Khāqān, 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 *السلطاني* after his name.

Mubārak al-Khāzin, who set up the inscription, was one of the slaves of Sultān Iltutmish, and served him in the dual capacity of Treasurer and Ewer-bearer. After the demise of that monarch Mubārak held the fiefs of Uchchah (Sind) and Jalandhar successively, and died at the latter place. Minhāj does not mention Mubārak's appointment as Treasurer in Bihar, although the author was well acquainted with him, being beholden to Mubārak for

¹ For the history of the town of Hānsi see *P. A. S. B.*, 1877, pp. 117 ff.

² See Prof. van Borchum's remarks on this inscription (Appendix C).

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, English Translation by Raverty, Vol. I, pp. 736 *et seq.*

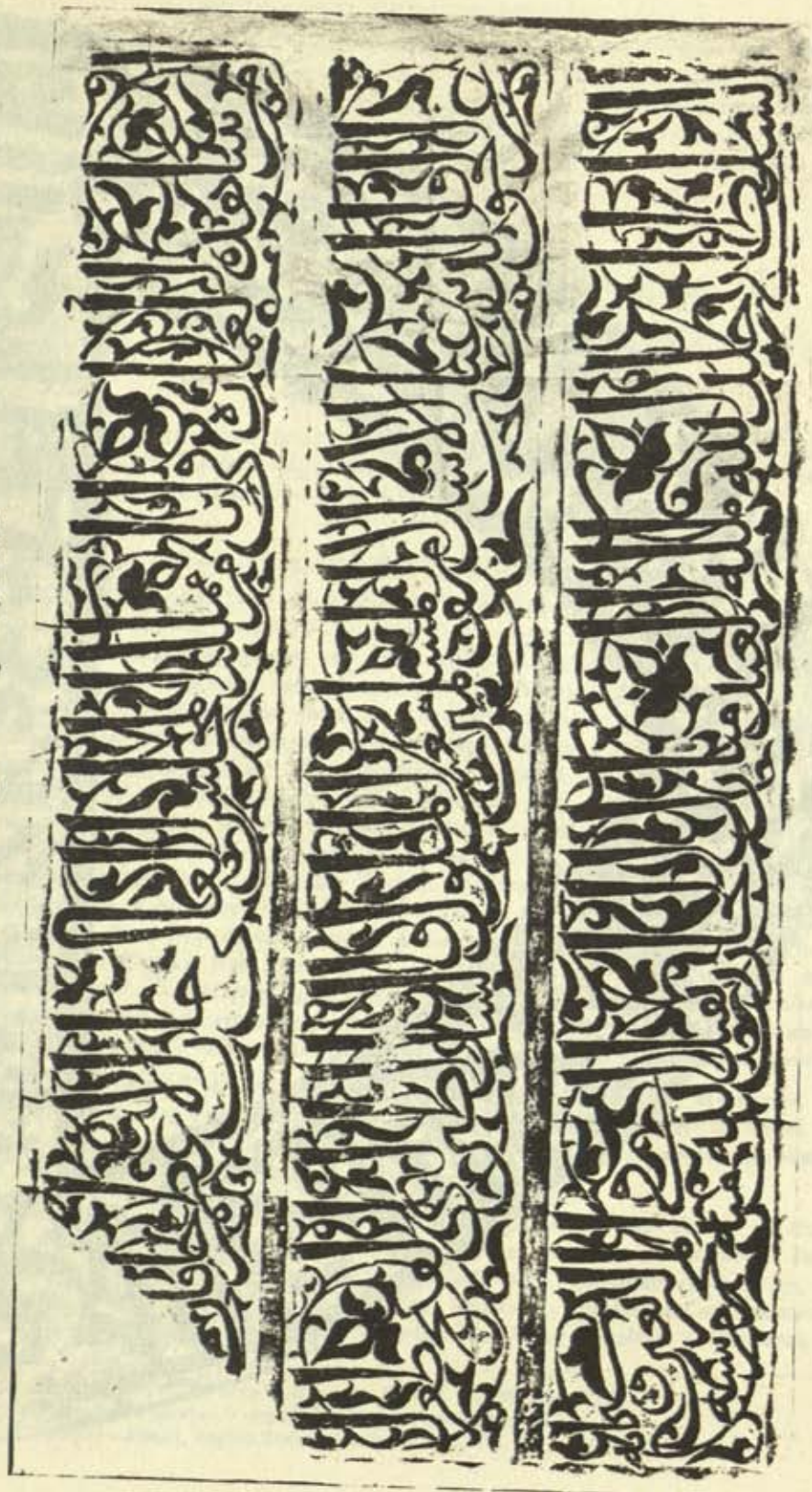
An old inscription from Hansi.

PLATE IV.



Scale 1/25

The Bari Dargah inscription, Bihar.



Scale *166

acts of kindness and encouragement during the tenure of his appointment as Qazi of Gwalior.¹
The full name of Mubārak with titles was—ملك هندرخان مولد الدين مهتر مبارك الخازن السلطاني.

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

PLATE V.

- (1) امر ببناء هذه العمارة في ايام مملكة المجلس العالي خان الاعظم خاقان . . .
- (2) عز الحق والدين غياث الاسلام والمسلمين مغيث الملوك والسلطين ابي الفتح طغرل
- (3) السلطاني خلد الله ملكه العبد مبارك الخازن تقبل الله منه في المحرم سنة اربعين

و ستمائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

The slave, Mubārak, the Treasurer—may God accept his prayers—ordered to erect this building during (the days of) the reign of Majlis-i-‘Alī (of exalted Court), the great Khān, the Kbaqān, 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-‘Alī 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-Ṣāfi as-Sultānī which is pretty distinct in the inscription.

The epigraph which is carved on a slab of sandstone (3’ 8” × 1’ 1½”), is now fixed over the doorway of a mosque opposite to the tomb of Bu-‘Alī Qalandar’s mother. Dr. Horn in the second line has wrongly read the words كبير معارك after د يرگنه مرنک as and considered that the inscription slab was transported to Hansi from Munk. The fort of Hansi was dismantled in 1857 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 by 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 ‘Alī-u-d-dīn Mas‘ūd’s reign mentioning his titles in full, السلطان المعظم علاء الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر مسعود شاهن السلطان, which tally exactly with those given in the numismatical legends, although in the latter sometimes the title المعظم السلطان is replaced by بدرالدين سزقر صوفي رومي. Malik Sunqar whose full name with titles—السلطان الاعظم

¹ *Tabaqāt*, Vol. I., p. 746.

² See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, p. 245.

³ This prayer has been often used in the inscriptions of other Islamic countries (*Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Vol. XIX, pp. 608, 627, 651, etc.)

⁴ *List of Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Panjab* by C. J. Rodgers, p. 67.

⁵ *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, Vol. II, pp. 29-31.

ملک نصرت خان is given in the *Tabaqat*, was a slave of *Itutmish*, and in 640 A.H. when the Turk Amirs rebelled against Sultān Mas'ūd and put Khwājah Muhazzab the Wazir to death, the Malik was the principal ringleader. After that event he seems to have made his submission to the Sultān, because in the same year we find him feudatory of Koil where Minhāj, on his journey to Lakhnauti, waited on him. This author observes that subsequently Malik Sunqar obtained other fiefs,¹ and in 643 A.H., which is the date of the inscription, Panipat was evidently under his administration.

The style of handwriting is plain *Naskh*, a little rough, but not very uncount, bearing considerable resemblance to the calligraphy of the Hansi inscriptions of *Itutmish*'s reign,² which are only twenty years earlier than this inscription. I read it as follows:—

PLATE VI (a).

- (1) امر بنا هذه العمارة في عهد السلطان المعظم علا الدنيا والدين³ ابرالمظفر
 (2) مسعود شاه [بن] سلطان خلد الله [ملكه] . . . ملك كبير معارك مظفر
 مجاهد منصور بدر الدولة والدين
 (3) سيد الامر الملوك⁴ الشرق بنقر صوفي السلطاني اعزاله اقباله في المنتصف من
 شوال [سنة] ثلث و اربعين و ستمائة ☉

TRANSLATION.

In the reign of the honoured Sultān 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn Abū-l-Muzaffar Mas'ūd Shāh, the son of the Sultān, may God perpetuate his (kingdom)!, . . . the great Malik, the victorious warrior, the triumphant crusader, Badr-d-daulah waddīn, (who is considered) the chief of the Amirs by the monarchs of the orient, Sunqar-i-Sūfi as-Sultānī, may God exalt his fortune! ordered the erection of this building in the middle of Shawwāl, 643 A.H. (February, 1246).

V.—Inscription on the Tomb of Shaikh Salāhu-d-dīn, Kaithal, Punjab.

The inscription is mentioned by Rodgers in his 'List', who has also given an incomplete reading of it.⁵ 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" × 1'. The style of writing is *Naskh* of a plain but dignified type, free from all decorative flourishes.

In 643 A.H. the Mughals (who were styled by Minhāj the infidels of *Chin*) made an inroad in the upper provinces of the Delhi empire, and Salāhu-d-dīn 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 Salāhu-d-dīn 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) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ☉ هذه مقبرة الصدر الشهيد الشيخ الكبير صلاح الدين⁶ ابر المعتمد
 الحسين بن محمد

¹ *Tabaqat*, Vol. II, pp. 787-88.

² *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-12, Pls. XIX-XX.

³ ابر is wrong, it should be ابي .

⁴ The ي of ملوك in line 3 is not very distinct, but the reading of the word as ملوك is indisputable

⁵ Vide Rodgers' *List*, p. 61.

⁶ ابر is wrong, it should be ابي

(a) Inscription over the doorway of the Mosque opposite to the Tomb of Bu-Ali Qalandar's mother, Panipat.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Scale '2

(b) Inscription on the Tomb of Shaikh Salahu-d-din, Kaithal (Punjab).

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Scale '11

(2) الحسن بن محمد بن الحسين ابي بكرى علي الزكري^١ ابلخي رحمهم الله
 و قد عاش ثمان و تسعين سنة و مات في الجمعة التاسع من ذي الحجة و هي
 يوم عرفة سنة ثلث و اربعين و ستمائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate !

This is the tomb of the martyred Šadr (Judge), the great Shaikh, Šalāhu-d-dīn Abu-l-Mahmūd al-Husain b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Husain Abu-Bakrī 'Alī az-Zakārī al-Balkhī, may God be merciful to them. He lived ninety-eight years and died on Friday, the 9th of Zī'l-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 Qamru-d-dīn Timur Khān (Governor of Lakhnauti from 5th Zī Qa'dah, 642 A.H.) on the 29th Shawwāl, 344 A.H., from which date until 18th Zī Qa'dah, 656 A.H., when Malik Jalālu-d-dīn 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 Ikhtiyāru-d-dīn Yuzbak Tughril Khān is mentioned, no date has been given.² 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 Ikhtiyāru-d-dīn Yuzbak Tughril 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;³ 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 Tughril'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 Jalālu-d-dīn Mas'ūd Jānī on hearing of Tughril'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 Tughril."

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 Jalālu-d-dīn 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

¹ He was contemporary with Dā'ūd Tā'ī.

² He was contemporary with Shaikh Abu-l-Ḥasan Khurqānī (*Tadhkiratu'l-awliyā*, Pt. II, p. 255, edited by R. A. Nicholson).

³ A companion of the Prophet Muḥammad; Šalāhu-d-dīn seems to have descended from him.

⁴ The cognomen az-Zakārī indicates that Šalāhu-d-dīn was a disciple of Shaikh Bahā'u-d-dīn Zakariyā, the famous saint of Multan, who lived about this time.

⁵ *Tabaqāt*, Vol. I, pp. 712 and 741, and Vol. II, p. 762. ⁶ *A. S. R.*, Vol. XV, pp. 45 and 170-71.

the facts available regarding the succession of the governors of Bengal and try to fix the events in proper order. At the end of Shawwāl 644 A.H. Minhāj records the death of Timur Khān, governor of Lakhnauti, which date is also corroborated by the chronogram composed for this event by Sharfu-d-dīn al-Balkhī.¹

“ On Friday the end of the month entitled Shawwāl,
In the year, according to the ‘Arab era, *khā, mīm, dāl*,
Was Timur Khān’s and Tughān Khān’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 Mas‘ūd Jānī fully established in the governorship of Bengal. It remains to see what chances Ikhtiyār-u-d-dīn 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 Khān,² and they were guided to that conclusion by the absence of the information in the above inscription and also by the fact that Minhāj records the bestowal of the fief of Lakhnauti on Mas‘ūd Jānī in 656 A.H.

At the end of the year 639 A.H. when Sulṭān ‘Alā‘u-d-dīn ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi, the district of Tabarhinda was entrusted to Malik Yuzbak’s charge, and subsequently Lahore was made his fief, which must have been sometime in 640 A.H., because the enthronement of ‘Alā‘u-d-dīn Mas‘ūd took place in Zī Qā‘dh (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 Khān-i-A‘zam subsequently brought him to the presence of the Sulṭān, who pardoned his disobedient conduct.³ This must have taken place in the year 643 A.H., because in that year Ulugh Khān-i-A‘zam 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 fief of Qinnauj was conferred on him, which he retained for ‘some time’; but he again began to show hostility towards the Imperial Court, whence Malik Qutbu-d-dīn 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 fief 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 Minhāj records it in 631 A.H. But that is another matter.

These facts prove clearly that Malik Yuzbak did not succeed to the fief of Lakhnauti immediately after Timur Khān’s death at the end of 644 A.H. Again, if we consider Jalālu-d-dīn Mas‘ūd Jānī to be the next governor after Timur Khān, 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

¹ *Tabaqāt*, p. 742.

² *Tabaqāt*, Vol. II, p. 762.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 762.

⁴ See *Chronicles*, p. 8, and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, p. 246.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 811.

(a) Inscription on the back wall of a Mosque at Gangarampur, Malda.



Scale '1

(b) Inscription on the Jolahon-ki-Masjid, Hansi.



Scale '25

that Mas'ūd Jāni held the *Sief* 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 Khān's death.

On the appointment (probably in 651 A.H.) of Malik Yuzbak to the governorship of Bengal, it appears that Malik Mas'ūd Jāni became the feudatory of Kara, because in the list of Malikis given by Minhāj at the end of the chapter of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, Malik Mas'ūd has been styled the Malik of Lakhnauti and Kara.¹ In 658 A.H. the Imperial Court was seized with panic owing to the invasion of the Mughals under Halaku, and when the Sulṭān's troops issued forth for the purpose of repelling the infidels, Malikis and Amirs were appointed with bodies of troops to the different parts of the empire.² The bestowal, for the second time, of the governorship of Lakhnauti on Malik Mas'ūd Jāni at this juncture indicates that the Sulṭān had great confidence in him and was satisfied with his administration of the province on the previous occasion.

Raverty refrains from using the word Shāh after the name of Malik Mas'ūd, in spite of the fact that he is styled *Shāh* in some of the best manuscript copies of the *Tabaqāt*. He observes that the title 'is certainly redundant, for we nowhere meet with it except for the princes of this dynasty.'³ Raverty's opinion in this matter does not carry much weight, because in view of the other high titles enjoyed by Malik Mas'ūd—*الملك المعظم جلال الحق و الدين ملك ملوك الشرق*—the simple title of *Shāh* 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 Sulṭān Nāṣir-u-d-dīn Maḥmūd, the reigning king, occurs in the inscription. The style of writing, which is *Nasikh*, 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 *Tārīkh-i-Fīros Shāhi* that the pious Sulṭān Nāṣir-u-d-dīn earned his livelihood by copying Qur'āns,⁴ 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,⁵ 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) امر ببناء هذه البقعة المباركة السلطان المعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابي المظفر
 ايلتمش السلطان يمين خليفه الله ناصر امير المومنين انار الله برهانه و ثقل بالحسنى جزاه
 و جدد العمارة في ايام دولت السلطان الاعظم

¹ *Tabaqāt*, 673.

² *Ibid.*, note 9.

³ Note *الملك المعظم عند الملوك جلال* is wrong here, it ought to have been *جلال*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 712.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Fīros Shāhi*, by Barani (Bibl. Ind.), p. 26.

(2) ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابر المظفر محمود شاه بن السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه في نوبة ايلات الملك المعظم جلال الحق و الدين ملك ملك الشرق مسعود شاه جاني برهان امير المؤمنين خلد الله دولته في غرة محرم سنة سبع و اربعين و ستماية ٥

TRANSLATION.

The great Sultān, Shamsu-d-dunya waddīn Abn-l-Muzaffar Īltutmish, as-Sultān, Yamin-o-Khalifatillāh (the right hand of the vicegerent of God), Nāṣir-o-Amīrilmominīn (supporter of the Prince of the Faithful)—may God illumine his argument and outweigh his good deeds with choice gifts!—gave orders to build this sacred house; and it was renovated during the (days of the) reign of the great Sultān, Nāṣiru-d-dunya waddīn Abn-l-Muzaffar Maḥmūd Shāh bin as-Sultān, Nāṣir-o-Amīrilmominīn—may God perpetuate his kingdom and majesty!—and during the governorship of the great Malik, Jalālu-l-ḥaqq waddīn, the king of the kings of the East, Mas'ūd Shāh, the demonstration of (the glory or power) of the Prince of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his government!—on the first of Muharram 647 A.H. (16th April, 1249 A.D.).

VII.—The Koil Minaret Inscription.

The lofty minaret on which this inscription was carved stood in Koil (Aligarh) until 1861, when it was wantonly destroyed through the folly of the officer in charge of the district in that year.² The inscription slab, however, survived the fate of the minaret and is now preserved in the Nizam Museum, Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh. It measures 4' 9" × 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 *Naskh* with a little ornamental flourish, but not *Tughra* as stated by some scholars.³ The letters bear remarkable resemblance to those on the coins of the period, to wit, the words *عبد*, *ناصر*, *المظفر* and *محمود*, are almost identical in form and style with the coin types (Nos. 117 and 137 of the Cabinet of the Indian Museum).⁴ 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.⁵ As regards the reading of the title *ملك العالم*, it can be both *Maliku-l-'Ālam* (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 *Sultān* shows inferiority of rank, and from the phraseology of the titles of the period it is evident that *Malik* meant only a 'feudatory chief'.⁶

Raverty, relying on the point that King Nāṣiru-d-dīn according to the records in the *Tabaqāt* never bestowed the title of Qatluḡ Khān which occurs in the inscription, upon Ulugh

¹ Here *ابر* is wrong, and should be *ابى*.

² *Chronicles*, p. 129, *Gazetteer*, N. W. P., Vol. II, p. 517, and *Ledlie's Miscellany*.

³ See *Gazetteer*, N. W. P., Vol. II, p. 486.

⁴ *Catalogue*, Vol. II, pp. 29 and 32 and Pl. II.

⁵ See *Chronicles*, pp. 129-30, and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, p. 248.

⁶ Professor van Berchem agrees with me regarding the significance of the title (Appendix C).

Khān-i-Balban, thought that it referred to some other person, probably to Nāṣiru-d-dīn's step-father, who is mentioned in the *Tabaqāt* by this title, which he bore long after the date of the inscription (652 A.H.).¹ The title was applied to more than one person during the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-dīn;² but in the inscription the Turki word قتلغ corresponding to Arabic مبارك seems to have been placed before خان as an attribute and خان قتلغ combined is not a proper name or title here. The cognomen of Balban بهاء الحق ر الدين and his quondam designation الشمسي are recorded in the inscription, and simply on account of the additional honorific epithet of قتلغ, Raverty is not justified in doubting the identity of the builder of the inscription with Balban. The view of the use of قتلغ as an attribute in the inscription is further strengthened by the use of the word in a similar manner in the *Tabaqāt* where Minhāj reiterates the titles of Balban—الغ قتلغ اعظم, meaning 'the Great Blessed Exalted',³ being only epithets of honour, and not titles used as proper names.

The inscription reads thus :—

PLATE XI (a).

- (1) هذه العمارة في عهد مملكة السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم ناصر الدنيا ر الدين سلطان السلاطين
- (2) ذي الامان لاهل الايمان وارث ملك سليمان صاحب الخاتم في ملك العالم ابي المظفر محمود بن السلطان خلد الله ملكه ر سلطانه
- (3) . . . الملك العالم الكبير اعظم قتلغخان بهاء الحق ر الدين ملك ملوك الشرق ر الصين بلبن الشمسي في ايام اياته دام معاليه في العاشر من رجب سنة اثني وخمسين و ستمائة ©

TRANSLATION.

This building [was erected] during the reign of the great Sulṭān, the master of the necks of nations, Nāṣiru-d-dunyā waddīn, the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, 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-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd 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 Khān, Bahā'u-l-ḥaqq waddīn, the Malik of the Maliks of the East and China, Balban ash-Shamsī, during the days of his government, (may his high qualities endure!), on the 10th of Rajab 652 A.H. (1254 A.D.).

VIII.—The Bārāhdari 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 الرفعة العدل and the date ستمائة ر ستين in line 1. A complete rubbing of the inscription has now kindly been sent to me by Dr. D. B. Spooner,

¹ *Tabaqāt*, Vol. I, p. 699.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 701 and 704, and Vol. II, pp. 766 and 769.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 720-21.

⁴ 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 lacunæ in Blochmann's reading. The inscription slab was found in the yard facing the shrine of *Shāh Faḡlullāh*, *Bārāhdar Maḡallāh*, and measures 4' 11" x 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 *Naskh* of a good type, but on account of the letters being broken the impression in the rubbing is not very sharp; hence the calligraphical merits of the inscription cannot be fully judged from the estampage.

The inscription mentions the name of *Tatār Khān* as the builder of the tomb over the remains of *Sultān Shāh*, for the repose of whose departed soul many tender prayers have been recorded. Contemporary history does not throw light on the identity of *Sultān Shāh*; but his name indicates that he was of royal birth;¹ 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 *Muḡammad Arsalan Tatār Khān*,² was the son of *Arsalan Khān Sanjar*, the *Malik* who attacked *Lakhnauti* in 657 A.H., and captured the governor, 'Izzu-d-dīn *Balban*, who, it is stated, was martyred.³ *Arsalan 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.⁴ *Tatār Khān* was a most generous and benevolent prince, and his name is specially mentioned in this connection by *Baranī*.⁵

My reading of the inscription is as follows:—

PLATE IX (a).

٦ معظم الخلافة صاحب العدل و الرافة المخصوص بعناية الرحمن ابي
المكارم تاتارخان [خليفة المسلمين خلد] الله ملكه و امارته و ابقى في ديار الممالك عمارته
ببناء هذه المقبرة المتبركة في شهر سنة خمس (٥) [ر] ستين [ر] ستما [ية]
(2) سلطان شاه نور اللهم تربته و يرض غرته و اجعل قبره (٥) [روضة] من رياض الجنان ولا
تجعل حفرة من حفر النيران في ليلة الاحد الثامن عشر من جمادى الاولى سنة ثلاث و
ستين و ستماية و اعمار عبدهما الممزن بانعامهما مجد الكلبلي ☉

¹ A favourite name for princes in Turkistan and neighbouring countries (*Tabaqāt*, pp. 106, 111, 115).

² *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* by *Baranī*, p. 52.

³ Blochmann has through mistake recorded that *Arsalan Khān* was captured and killed, hence he should not be put among the governors of Bengal. Raverty violently criticises this statement (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, p. 246, and *Tabaqāt*, pp. 770 and 771, note 9).

⁴ *Baranī*, p. 58.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁶ Dr. D. B. Spooner's *Munshi* suggests that the first two words of the inscription are لا اله الا الله, 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 م of the supposed شمس makes his decipherment doubtful; secondly, the grammatical construction of the sentence—the words ببناء هذا occurring after the name of the king with his titles—requires a verb in the beginning of the sentence equivalent in meaning to امر (ordered), and not a phrase like لا اله الا الله. The word شمس is doubtful on this account, as also because the attribute معظم which follows it, and is pretty distinct in the inscription, does not suit it well—for شمس there should have been an attribute like لامعه, باهره, etc.

⁷ Adapted from a prayer of Prophet Muḡammad.

TRANSLATION.

... of the Califate, the lord of justice and clemency, distinguished by the grace of the Merciful (God), Abu-l-Makārim 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.)¹ 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 Jumada I, 663 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 Jāmi' Masjid inscription of Jalālī (Aligarh).

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 epigraphs 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 phraseology of its text and the style of its writing.

The inscription is built over the northern bay of the Jāmi' Masjid, a brick and lime structure of modest dimensions, consisting of a hall (48' x 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 *Naskh* and *Nast'liq* 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 *Naskh* 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 *Naskh* 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 *Nast'liq* style; but to give his writing a touch of the *Naskh* 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 *Naskh* characters was not very common even in Balban's time, and ordinarily people found it easier to write the *Nast'liq* 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 *Naskh* characters had become rare. The titles of the king used in the inscription—السلطان المعظم غياث الدنيا والدين—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

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 (δ).

⁴ *Indian Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, pp. 34-5.

date. In these circumstances the only conclusion which may be drawn is that the inscription, if it was set up during Sultan Balban'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" x 9", and the epigraph is carved on it in two lines. The text is as follows:—

PLATE IX (b).

- (1) أمر هذه العمارة المسجد السلطان المعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين
(2) خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه سنة خمس و ستين و ستمائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

The founder of this building—the mosque—is the exalted Sultan, Ghiyāth-u-d-dunya waddin—may God perpetuate his kingdom and authority!—in 665 A.H. (1266-67 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 Ghiyāth-u-d-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 Sultānpūr, 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" x 1' 7" and 1' 9½" x 1' 9" 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, Sonapat.³ The letters are well preserved, except at the beginning of line 3, where they are obliterated, and have made the words before ايبك illegible. Mr. Whitehead deciphers them as محمد which is a very convincing reading; but there is another word between محمد and ايبك which I am inclined to read بن, and which he has omitted. Further the readings of the words occurring between عجمي and المبارك in line 3 as suggested to Mr. Whitehead by Maulawī Muḥammad Hamid and Sayyid Tafazzul Ḥusain are both faulty, and Mr. Whitehead's note in explanation of the phrase عجمي في العام is quite beside the point. The words under discussion are في العاشر من شهر المبارك, which though a little indistinct can easily be identified on the stone.⁴

¹ See *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 112-116.

² See Plate X (a).

³ See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 138.

⁴ See Plate X (a), and *J. P. H. S.*, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 113-14.

Mr. R. B. Whitehead has identified the *إيبك شمسي عجمي* of the inscription with *ملك سيف الدين إيبك الشمسي العجمي* of the *Tabaqāt*,¹ but he has omitted the word *بن* between *محمد* and *إيبك* in his reading of the inscription, and consequently considered *ملك سيف الدين* as the builder of the Sultānpūr mosque. I agree with Mr. Whitehead so far as the identification of *إيبك شمسي عجمي* with *ملك سيف الدين الشمسي العجمي* is concerned; but on account of the presence of the word *بن* between *محمد* and *إيبك* I am inclined to think that the builder of the Sultānpūr mosque was *محمد بن إيبك شمسي* and not *إيبك شمسي* as supposed by Mr. Whitehead. My view is supported, I think, when we consider the fact that *سيف الدين إيبك الشمسي العجمي* was already an old man in 658 A.H.,² being in the service of the Sultāns of Delhi long before 633 A.H., and earlier still in the service of Khwajah Shamsu-d-dīn 'Ajāmī, 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 الدولة [السلطان] المعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين
ابي المظفر
(2) ببلن السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطان [نه] العبد الضعيف الراجي الى
رحمة الله تعالى
(3) محمد بن إيبك شمسي عجمي في العاشرة [را] من شهر المبارك رمضان سنة
اربع و سبعين و ستمائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

This mosque was built in the time of the government of the exalted Sultān, Ghiyathu-d-dunya waddīn, Abu-l-Muzaffar Balban, the Sultān—may God perpetuate his kingdom and authority!—by the frail slave, expectant of the Mercy of God, the High, Muḥammad b. Aibek Shamsi 'Ajāmī, 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 Imām Nāsir,
Sonapat (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.³ To wit, the decipherment of the name of the renewer of the mosque as *مير يبيك* is not supported by the facsimile.⁴ The name appears more like

¹ Malik XXII of Minhāj's list (*Tabaqāt*, Vol. II, pp. 788-91).

² The year in which Minhāj closes his history (*Tabaqāt*, Vol. II, pp. 790-91).

³ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 188, and *P. A. S. B.*, 1873, p. 94.

⁴ See Pl. X (b).

قير بيك which is a common Turki designation.¹ Again Blochmann, as well as Dr. Horn, has failed to notice the word ست above سنه, 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 قير بيك بن ابيك² as indicated by his filionymic was possibly a brother of محمد بن ابيك, 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" × 1' 5". The language is Arabic throughout except the phrase—درازده ماه مبارك—which is in Persian. The word ابو in the title ابو المظفر on account of its position after the preposition ought to have been ابي; but this is an error which is very common in Indian Arabic inscriptions.³

I read the inscription thus:—

PLATE X (b).

- (1) تجدد هذه العمارة المسجد المباركة الميمونة في نوبة السلطان الاعظم ظل الله في العالم غياث الدنيا والدين القايم بقايد الرحمن ابو المظفر بلبن السلطان
(2) ناصر امير المومنين خاد الله ملكه و سلطانه العبد الضعيف قيرابك (قيربيك) بن ابي بيك مقطع سونيت في التاريخ درازدهم ماه مبارك رجب عظم الله حرمة سنه ست و سبعين و ستمائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

During the government of the great Sultān, the shadow of God in the world, *Ghiyathu-d-dunya waddin*, who stands by the support of the Merciful (God), *Abu-l-Muzaffar Balban*, the Sultān, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty!—the frail slave *Qerabek b. Aibek*, the feudatory of *Sonepat*, 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 Jāmi' Masjid, Garh Muktesar.

This inscription has been noticed in *Thomas' Chronicles*, who describes it as 'the single Persian inscription of Balban hitherto discovered.'⁴ The inscription, however, is in Arabic except the Persian title شاهنشاه, which also occurs in the *Qutb Minar* inscription of *Muhammad b. Sam*.⁵ Thomas writes that the text of the inscription was copied for him by *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*; but besides being incomplete it is also erroneous; for instance, the verb بنى at the beginning of the inscription which is absolutely distinct on the stone has been read as مبلى.⁶

¹ *Barani*, pp. 40 and 126.

² The قيرابيك of the inscription may be identified with the son of *Malik Baqbaq* who held this designation, or with قيرابك of سولطان كايكوباد's reign, but in that case we shall have to assume that قيرابك survived *Balban* (*op. cit.*).

³ Prof. van Berchem observes that the error is common also in the Syro-Egyptian inscriptions.

⁴ See *Chronicles*, p. 126.

⁵ *E. I. M.*, 1911-12, p. 27.

⁶ See Pl. XI (b).

(a) Balban inscription of Farrukh Nagar (Punjab).

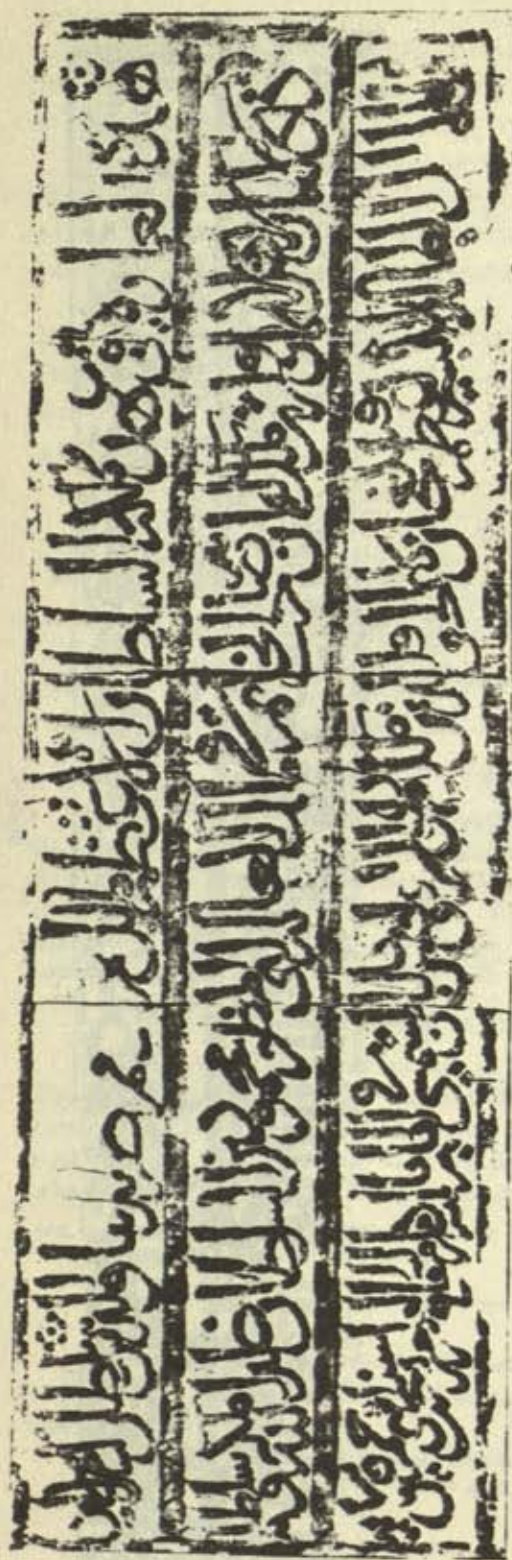


(b) Inscription in the Mosque attached to the Tomb of Imam Nasir, Sonapat (Punjab).



Scale '1

a) Nasiru-d-din Mahmud inscription of Nizam Museum, Aligarh.



Scale '112

(b) Inscription in the Jami Masjid, Garhmuktesar (U. P.).



Scale '112

The style of writing is *Naskh* of an exceedingly fine type, bearing great resemblance to the style of the Aligarh inscription of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-dīn, the artistic merits of which have been so highly praised by Thomas.¹ The Garh Muktesar 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 Muktesar epigraph might have been a pupil of the calligraphist who prepared the model for the Aligarh inscription.

The name of the governor, بيكترس السلطاني, during whose administration the building was erected, is mentioned in the epigraph, although Sayyid Aḥmad Khān has omitted it in his copy. The full name with titles of Bekturs was—ملك اختيار الدين بيكترس السلطاني باريك—and according to Baranī, whose maternal grandfather was an *aide-de-camp* to Bekturs, no Malik enjoyed more than he the confidence of Sultān Balban.² He held the high office of باريك (Lord Chamberlain or Master of Ceremonies), an office which was next in rank only to that of the *Wasir*, and was often reserved for the princes of the royal family. Baranī mentions his name along with those of the two sons of Sultān Balban, with whom he was deputed to drive away the Mughals from the Punjab.³ Later on, when Sultān Balban led an expedition to punish the rebel Tughril to Lakhnauti, 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.⁴

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) بني هذه العمارة في عهد السلطنة السلطان الاعظم شاهنشاه المعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين⁵ ابر المظفر بلبن السلطان
(2) ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه و في ايلة العبد الضعيف بيكترس السلطاني املعه
الله في المنتصف من ربيع الاول سنة اثنى وثمانين و ستمائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

The building was erected during the time of the sovereignty of the great Sultān, the exalted emperor, Ghiyathu-d-dunya waddīn Abu-l-Muzaḥḥar Balban, the Sultān, the aid of the Prince of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—and during the governorship of the frail slave Bekturs as-Sultānī—may God improve him!—in the middle of Rabi' I, 682 A.H. (1283 A.D.).

XIII.—Inscription in the mosque attached to the *Khanqāh* of *Shāh 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 *Khānqāh* of *Shāh Wilayat*, where

¹ See *Chronicles* pp. 129-30.

² *Op. cit.* p. 81.

³ ابر is again a mistake for ابي .

² See *Baranī*, pp. 24, 41, 61 and 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-91.

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. B.*, 1891, pp. 2-4, by Mr. C. J. Lyall (now Sir Charles Lyall), and I agree with him as regards his reading of the inscription, except the designation **الامين السبعسالار** at the end of line 3 which he considered **الشهناش** although he was not certain of his reading, hence he wrote—"الامين is perhaps a mistake for **الامير**, and the word **الشهناش** 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 **ب** of **السبعسالار** over the **ر** of **الامير**, which made him read the word **الامير** as **الامين**, and the word **السبعسالار** deprived of the dot of its **ب** became therefore illegible to him.¹ The expression **الامير السبعسالار** or **الامير السبعسالار** is not uncommon in the epigraphs of this period,² 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 designed by an expert calligraphist. The size of the inscription is rather small, the existing slab measures $15\frac{1}{2} \times 13$ ". The text is as follows:—

PLATE XII.

- (1) [**الشهناش**] **شاه الاعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين ابر المظفر**
 (2) **و سلطانه في نوبة ايات ملك ملك الشرق و الصين**
 (3) **رياض (ق) دام علوه امر هذه العمارة الامير السبعسالار**
 (4) **العاشر من شهر الله الاصم رجب سنة ثلاث و ثمانين و ستمائة ن**

TRANSLATION.

- (1) the great emperor, *Ghiyathu-d-dunya waddin Abu-l-Muzaffar*
 (2) (may God perpetuate his kingdom) and his authority!—during the period of the governorship of the Malik of the Maliks of the East and China (3) *riyaz* (?) —may his lofty dignity ever remain!—the Amīr, 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 Khandān*, Budaun.

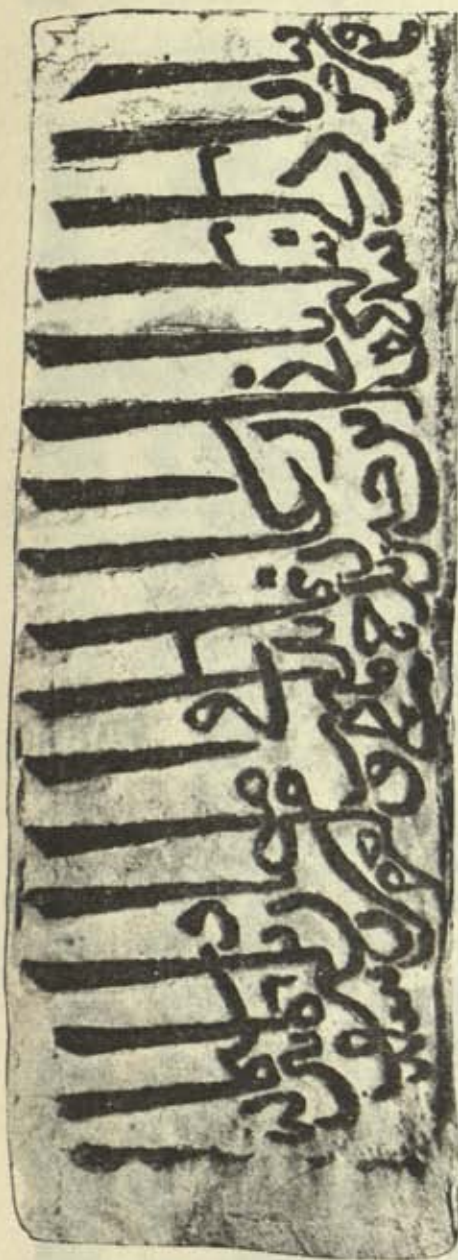
The inscription is interesting from a palæographical point of view, showing how, in this period, side by side with the bold, vigorous characters of the orthodox *Naskh* scribe, there existed a style which though *Naskh* in its element verged on the border of *Tughra*, and possessed the double quality 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 *Iluttmish* inscription over the doorway of the second story of the *Qutb Minār*.³ These two epigraphs are important to the students of Muslim Palæography in India as indicating how the influence

¹ Pl. XII.

² *E. I. M.*, 1911-12, pp. 3 and 13, and *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Vol. XIX, pp. 639, 649 and 761.

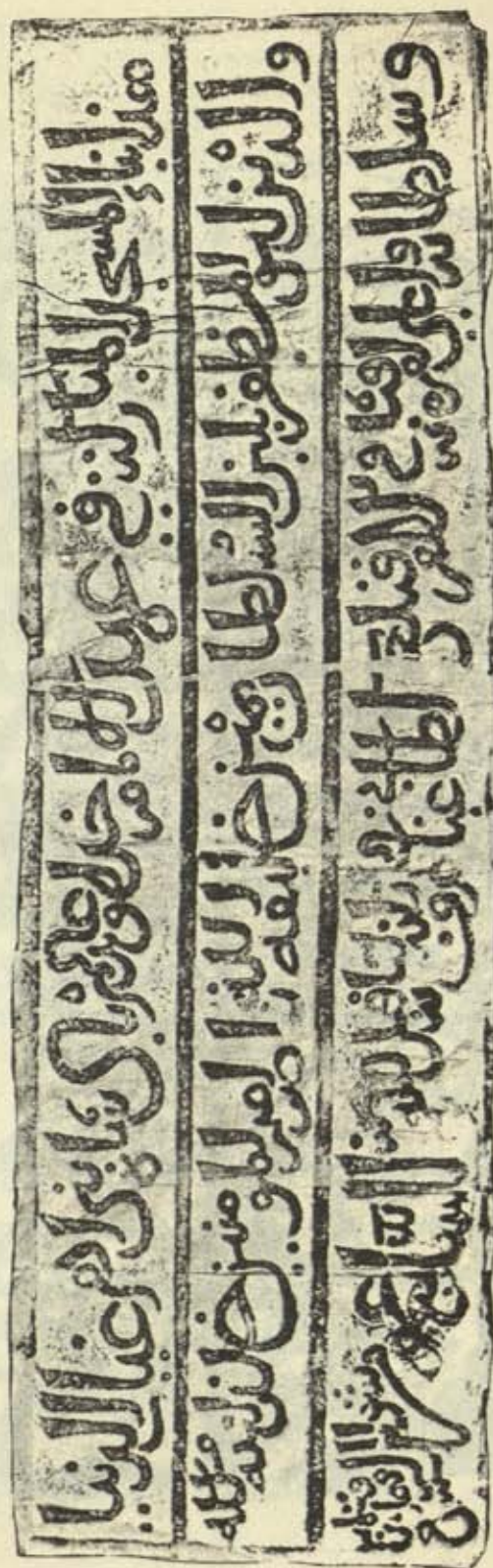
³ *E. I. M.*, 1911-12, Pl. X.

(a) Inscription on the Mosque attached to the Tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khandan, Budaun.



Scale '25

(b) Inscription in a ruined Mosque, Sakit (Etah, U. P.)



Scale '125

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 *Kanzu-l-Tārīkh* of Muḥammad Rāzi-d-dīn (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, يتگين, is absolutely clear.¹ In Balban's reign there were two Maliks of this name, مري دراز and امين خان ايتگين, and the latter may possibly be identified with the builder of the inscription because امين خان incurred the displeasure of Balban on his defeat at Lakhnauti and was hanged in 681 A.H., two years before the date of the inscription.²

The language of the inscription is Persian, and its phraseology, to a certain extent, resembles that of the Quwwatu-l-Islām inscription of Aibek.³ The inscription slab measures 2' × 1'. I read the text thus:—

PLATE XIII (a).

... سارادکي (۶) بنده يتگين بنی این خير را بدعا رحمت مدد نماید و کتب
في الغره من رمضان سنة ثلث و ثمانين و ستماية ٥

TRANSLATION.

... help the slave Yatgin, the founder of this charitable building with an invocation of blessing. (And) it was inscribed on the first of Ramaḡān 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 بادشاه بنی آدم and خداوند عالم are purely Persian, and the construction of the phrase هذا بناء المسجد المباركة, 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 *Nasta'liq* 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 غياثي along with the name of the builder قتلغ سلطاني is interesting, because it does not occur in contemporary history, although, like similar terms, معزي 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 Minhāj.

¹ See Pl. XIII (a).

See Barani, pp. 24 and 83-84.

² E. I. M., Pl. X.

On the identification of the builder of the mosque *قَتْلُغ سُلْطَانِي غِيَاثِي* contemporary history does not shed much light, although the title *قَتْلُغ* occurs with the name of علاء الدين, the nephew of Balban, who in the latter period of Balban's reign held the fief 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" x 1' 10". My reading of the text is as follows:—

PLATE XIII (b).

- (1) هَذَا بِنَاءُ الْمَسْجِدِ الْمُبَارَكَةِ فِي عَهْدِ الْإِمَامِ خُداوندِ عَالَمِ بَادِشَاهِ بَنِي آدَمِ غِيَاثِ الدُّنْيَا
 (2) وَالِدِ الدِّينِ أِبْرَاهِيمَ الْمَظْفَرِ بَابِ السُّلْطَانِ يَمِينِ خَلِيفَةِ اللَّهِ نَاصِرِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ مَلَكُهُ
 (3) وَرَسُولَانَهُ وَأَعْلَى أَمْرِهِ وَشَانَهُ فِي الْأَمْرِ قَتْلُغِ سُلْطَانِي غِيَاثِي عَزَّ اللَّهُ شَانَهُ (؟) [ر]
 قَبْلَ اللَّهِ مِنْهُ السَّابِعُ عَشْرُونَ شَوَّالِ سَنَةِ أَرْبَعِ وَثَمَانِينَ وَسِتِّمِائَةٍ ٥

TRANSLATION.

This blessed mosque was built in the reign of the Imām, the lord of the world, the king of mankind, *Ghiyāth-u-d-dunya* waddia *Aba-l-Mazaffar* Balban, the *Sulṭān*, the right hand of the *Khalīfah*, 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 *Qatlugh Sulṭānī Ghiyāthī*—may God make known his dignity (?) and accept his prayer!—on the 17th of *Shawwāl* in the year 684 A.H. (Dec., 1285 A.D.).

XVI.—Inscription on the *Saddo 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 *Sulṭān Kaiqubād* in due order, and the style of its characters is *Nasḥ* of an extremely refined and artistic type. Calligraphy at this time was a popular art in India, and *Kaiqubād* 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 *إبر* for *أبي*, which is pardonable on account of the title occurring at a long distance from the preposition *فِي*. The name of the builder *بَلْعَمْبَر* 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.

¹ *Barani*, p. 113.

² *إبر* is a mistake for *أبي*.

³ The reading *شَانَهُ* is doubtful, because the first part of the word is not like *شَان*.

⁴ *Barani*, pp. 128 and 144.

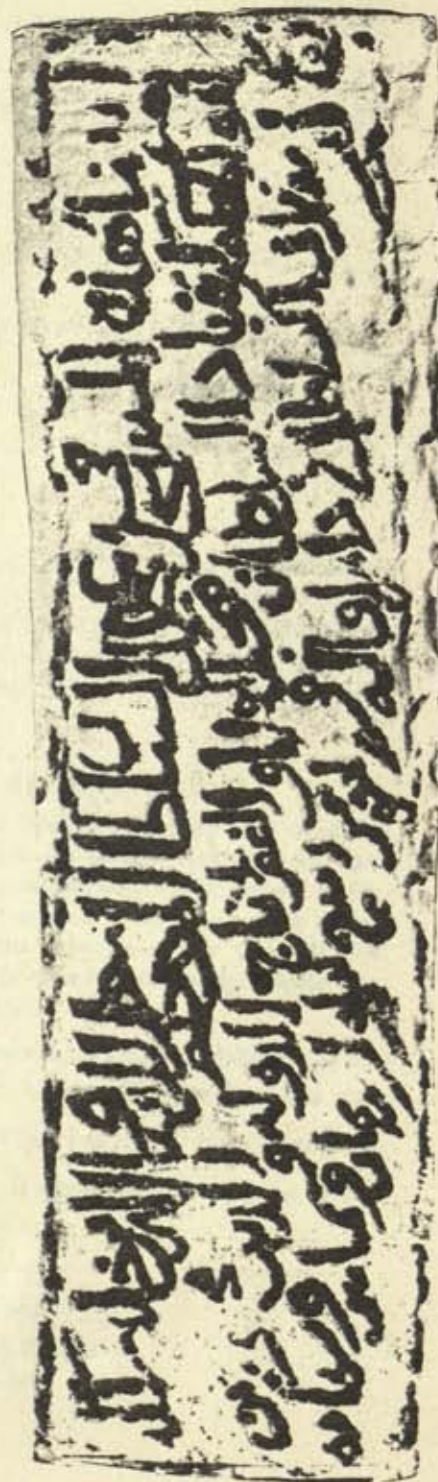
⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

(a) Inscription on the Saddo Masjid, Amroha (U. P.)



Scale '1

(b) Inscription on a ruined Mosque, Barwala (Hissar.)



Scale '25

The inscription consists of two lines, and the slab on which it is carved measures 3' 9" x 1'. I have read the text as follows:—

PLATE XIV (a).

- (1) امر ببناء هذه العمارة المسجد المباركة في عهد دولة السلطان المعظم ظل الله في العالم¹ معز الدنيا والدين المخصوص بعناية رب العالمين القايم بقايد الرحمن²
- (2) ابوالمظفر كيقباد السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه العبد الضعيف الراجي الى رحمة الربى بلعنبر السلطاني في الغرة من شهر المبارك رمضان سنة ست وثمانين وستمائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

The erection of this building, the blessed mosque, was ordered, during the time of the rule of the great Sultān, the shadow of God in the world, Mu'izzu-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 Kaiqubād, the Sultān—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!—by the frail slave, expectant of the mercy of our (*lit. my*) Lord, Bal'anbar as-Sultānī (the Royal slave), on the first of the blessed month of Ramazān, year 686 A.H. (1287 A.D.).

XVII.—Inscription on a ruined mosque at Barwāla, Hissar.

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 الدولة والدين محمود; but as تاج الدولة والدين was a very popular surname at this time, we find no less than three Maliks holding this title in the list of the court grandees of Kaiqubād. Contemporary writers do not give particulars regarding the name and parentage of these three Maliks, and therefore it is difficult to identify محمود of the epigraph with any of them.

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

PLATE XIV (b).

- (1) امر ببناء هذه المسجد في عهد السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا والدين¹ خليفة الله (٢)
- (2) ابوالمظفر كيقباد السلطان محب الزلي و الفقرا تاج الدولة والدين محمود بن
- (3) . . . ح ارسلان السلطاني دام اقباله في الغرة (٢) من ربيع الاول سنة ثمان وثمانين وستمائة ٥

¹ The title occurs in Iltutmish's inscriptions (*E. I. M.*, 1911-12, p. 23).

² This title is also common and occurs, although in slightly different forms, in several early Turk epigraphs in India.

³ Dr. Horn read the title as مخلص الملك 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.

TRANSLATION.

This mosque was ordered to be built during the reign of the great Sultān, Mu'izzu-d-dunya waddin, the vicegerent of God, Abu-l-Muzaffar Kaiqubād, the Sultān, by the lover of saints and pious persons, Taju-d-daulāh waddin Maḥmūd b. Khalj (?) Arsalan, 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-'Alī 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) ... شهنشاه گيهان معز الدنيا
 (2) ... سلطان خلد ملکه در نوبت
 (3) ... بهارل (؟) بن ... ابک الانبي¹ یو معمر سده سبع و ثمانين و ستمائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

... the emperor of the world, Mu'izzu-d-dunya (waddin) ... the Sultān, may God perpetuate his kingdom!, (and) during the period (of the governorship of) ... Bahlol (?) b. ... Aibek Alāni, ... Muḥarram, 687 A.H. (Feb., 1288 A.D.).

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

This inscription is also fragmentary and contains only the cognomen معز الدنيا والدين, and a few eulogistic words. The style of handwriting is *Naskh*, considerably resembling that of the inscription of the same king on Bu-'Alī Bakhsh's Mosque, Hansi.

The inscription measures 1' 10" × 1' and reads thus:—

PLATE XV (b).

.... [مظف] و علی الاعداء معز الدين والدنيا كيد [قباد]

TRANSLATION.

.... (Victorious) over the enemies, Mu'izzu-d-dunya waddin Kaiqubād ...

XX.—Inscription originally belonging to an old mosque, now used as the head-stone of the grave of Shāh Ni'matullāh Shāhid, Fort, Hansi.

The inscription is fragmentary; but it gives the name of the builder of the mosque in full تاج الدولة والدين. The title الامير الاسفيسالار الاجل تاج الدولة والدين مير ميران ساقري —

¹ Alāni, belonging to the well-known Iranian tribe, Alān. For information regarding this tribe see *Encyclopædia of Islām*, pp. 311-312.

² The title also occurs in an inscription of Sultān Itutmish on the Qutb Minār (*E. I. M.*, 1911-12, p. 27, Carr Stephen, p. 61, and *Āthār*, p. 36).

- (a) Inscription over the door of a shop near the southern gate of the Mosque of Bu-Ali Bakhsh, Hansi.



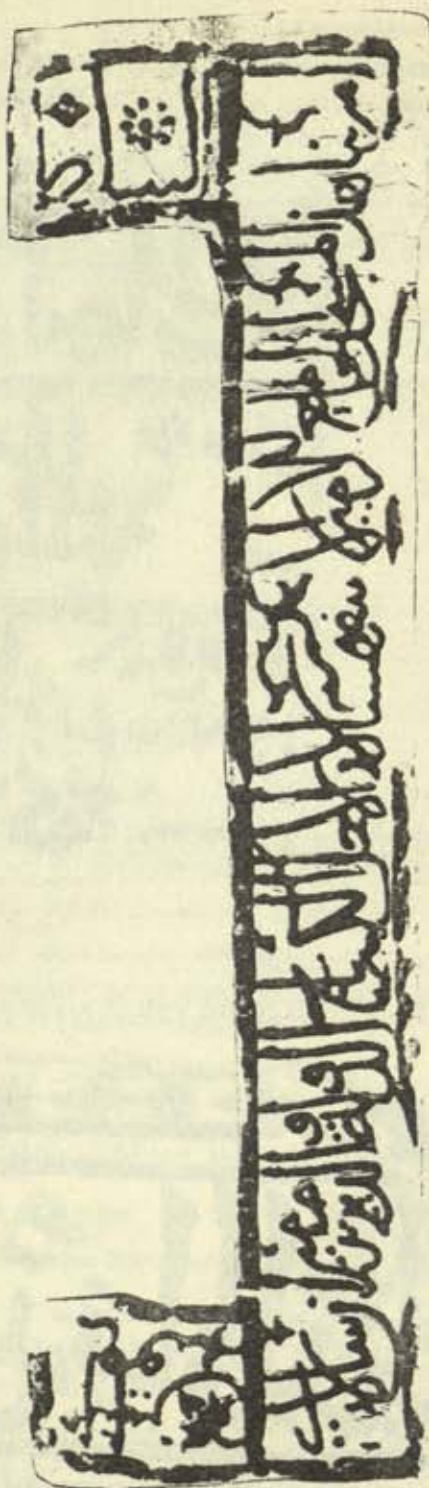
Scale '25

- (b) Inscription on the wall of a Chamber in the Jolahon-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 Ni'matullah Shahid, Fort, Hansi.



Scale 1/166

as already remarked in preceding pages was common in this period, and the family name **سالاري** also occurs after the names of several high officials of the reign of Sultān Nāṣir-u-d-dīn and his successors. Further, as the lists of dignitaries given by Minhāj and Baranī are not exhaustive, it is difficult to identify the builder of the inscription.¹

The style of writing is *Naskh* 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] المومنين امر بنا هذا المسجد الجامع الامير الاسفها سارا
الاجل الكبير تاج الدولة والدين مير ميران سالاري ©

TRANSLATION.

The Sultān [the Prince] of the Faithful,
. . . the erection of this Jāmi' Masjid was ordered by the Amir, the commander-in-chief, the great, the exalted, Tāju-d-daulāh waddīn Mir-i-Mirān Sālārī.

APPENDIX A.

Sanskrit inscription of the reign of Balban, from Pālam, dated the Vikrama year 1337 (A.D. 1280 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 Hindūstānī 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 Paṭhān sultans 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.² 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 *akshara* 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: *Dhṛtaviḷambita* (verse 1), *Sragdhara* (verses 2, 6 and 9), *Anuṣṭubh* (verses 3, 15, 20 and 26), *Āryā* (verses 4, 5, 17, 18, 23, 24 and 28), *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* (verses 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 27

¹ Mir Miran Sālārī may be a relative of 'Izzu-d-dīn Sālārī (see remarks on this inscription *ante*, p. 13).

² Syed Ahmed, *Aḡār-u-ḡ-ḡannādīd*, Cawnpur, 1904, last chapter, pp. 73-81. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London, 1871, pp. 136-138. Rajendra Lal Mitra, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIII (1874), Part I, pp. 104-110; with facsimile.

and 29), *Vasantatilaka* (verses 13 and 16), *Indravajrā* (verses 19, 21 and 22), *Bhujāṅgaprāyāta* (verses 14 and 30) and *Śālīnī* (verse 25). Among the seven Āryā stanzas Nos. 4, 5 and 24 are of the *Gītī* variety whereas No. 23 is a specimen of the *Udgītī* 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 Kāvya style. The poet often chooses his words so as to obtain a repetition of words or syllables,¹ e.g., in the two benedictory stanzas *bhavatām bhavatāpaharō Harō* (vs. 1) and *śaṅkaraḥ śaṅkarishṇuḥ* (vs. 2). Other instances are: *dūrēṣa bhūrēṣavaḥ* (lines 5-6), *sapta-samudra-mudrita* (1. 5), *Śēṣhō pi niḥśēṣhatō* (1. 8), *vidrāṇya nidrāyatō* (1. 9), *pratyakṣa-Viṣṇur-bhuvanaika-jishṇuḥ* (1. 15), and *dharmaśālā viśālā* (1. 17). This tendency which we note 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 *ślēṣa* 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., *Pērujaśāhīr-bbabhāva* (1. 3), *pūrṇṇē* (1. 4), *pravālair-ṇvavahati* (1. 4), *saṁchērṇṇyamāna* (1. 6), *Karṇṇāṣā* (1. 7), *tyaktōrjṇṇāḥ* (1. 8), *Gārjṇṇarāḥ* (1. 8), *jaladhīr-ṇvidrāṇya* (1. 9) and *dharmaśālā* (1. 17). We find even *saṁmrāt* (1. 6). A final sibilant is sometimes retained, if necessary with assimilation, before an initial sibilant. Thus we find *vikṣōbhītās-śatrūn* (1. 5), *-nripatis-saṁmrāt* (1. 6), and *putras-Sādāḥ* (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., *Śakēndraiḥ* (1. 2), *Gaṁgā* (1. 4), *siṁdhu* (1. 4) and *samujjīrṇṇhatō* (1. 6). Final *m* is likewise rendered by *anusvāra* even at the end of a half-verse. The doubling of *chha* after *anusvāra* in *saṁchchhādyaṁānē* (1. 6) is hardly correct. A point of special interest is the occurrence of *jihvāmūḷya* and *upadhāmāṇya* which are seldom found in Nāgari inscriptions. *Jihvāmūḷya* we find in *kṣhōṇ-rēṇu-chchhājābhīḥ-kavalita* (1. 6), *tyaktōrjṇṇāḥ-kila* (1. 8), *Lāṭāḥ-kirāṭā* (1. 8), *nishkēlayaḥ-Kēralāḥ* (1. 7), *vah-kīrṇṇtēva* (1. 18) and *prastātḥ-kritā* (1. 20). *Upadhāmāṇya* is found in the following instances: *Samuśāḍinaḥ-Pērujaśāhī* (1. 3) and *Uttamarājāḥ-putras* (1. 16). Mitra draws attention to the use of *ṣ* to express the hard guttural (ق) 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.²

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 Kāśmīr 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 Gurmukhī and other modern alphabets of the Panjāb are derived from the ancient Śāradā.

¹ This rhetorical figure is called *yamaḥ* or *anuprāsa*. In the *yamaḥ* words, in the *anuprāsa* syllables, are repeated.

² In Gurmukhī the aspirated hard guttural is denoted by the ancient sign for *śka*, i.e., *ṣ* without the top stroke.

As to the language of the concluding passage, Mitra declared it to be "Rājputānē 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 lingual *ṣ* 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 Bāgrī now spoken in Hissār and the neighbourhood, in other words in the tract now known as Hariyānā. The use of *ha* (=is) is typical of this dialect. A point of interest is the occurrence of the name Phillī (Delhi) in its vernacular form. In the Sanskrit it is called Phillī. In the same way we find in the vernacular the personal name Uḍhar, 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 Gaṇeśa 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 Hariyāna—the country round Delhi—ruled first by the Tanvar or Tūar Rājputa, then by the Chauhan Rājputa and at the time of the inscription governed by Śaka,¹ i.e., Muhammadan princes. The poet then enumerates the eight sultans of the Slave dynasty who first ruled at Delhi after the Moslim conquest. It is curious that instead of Sultāna Raziyya Begam we find the name Jalālādīna, i.e., Jālālū-d-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 "Hamīra" is the Sanskritized form of Arabic *Amīr*.² The poet extols the greatness of the Mlāchchha king in no less flattering terms than are used in the panegyrics of the Hindū period. He mentions that, since Balban rules the world, Viṣṇu has forsaken his task and has gone asleep in the Ocean.³ 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 Phillī (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 "Thākura" (Sanskrit *Thakkura*) which implies that he held the position of a Rājput 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 Jehlam, the Bias, the Satluj and the Chināb. 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. *Vamśāvalī*) 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 Śaka was originally the Indian designation of the Sze 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 "Yavana," 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 Rājatarānginī it denotes in particular Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. In later times it is also used as a personal name among Hindū rulers. One of the later Kaṭōch rajas of Kāngra was called Hamīr Chaud. His name is preserved in that of the town Hamīrpur.

³ It should, however, be remembered that, independent from Balban's influence, this sleep of Viṣṇu, 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 Pālamba and to the west of Kusunabhapura (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—Yōgīśvara—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 Hariyāna. This name now-a-days denotes the country round Hīṣār. 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 memoirs¹ "Hurrianah" is said to be situated 90 miles to the north-west of Delhi. "It extends," he says, "80 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 *Puttialah*, on the north-west by the *Batties*, west by the dominions of *Beykaner*, and south by *Jypore*, south-east by the pergunnah of *Dadaree*, east by the districts adjoining to Delhi, and north-east by the cities of *Rhotick* and *Panniput*."

It is evident from the four Sanskrit inscriptions in the Delhi Museum that in the 13th and 14th centuries of our era Hariyāna 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 *Ḍhillī* (l. 9), whereas, in the following inscriptions, it is spelled *Ḍhīhikā*, which is the Sanskritized form of a vernacular "Ḍhillī." In the *bhāṣā* portion of the Pālam inscription (l. 22), we find "Ḍhillī." This is the earliest mention of the place in an epigraphical document. Under Muhammadan rule the name became changed into *Dillī* or *Dihlī*. The former is the spelling current in *Nāgarī*, 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 Pālamba (l. 17), and subsequently in the vernacular form Pālam (l. 21). It is said to be situated at a distance of 5 *kos* from *Ḍhillī*, not of course the modern Delhi, but Old Delhi, the City of *Baī Pithora's Fort* and the *Qutb*. 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 'Ālam ac Dihlī ta Pālam*, "*Shāh 'Ālam*, 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 *Kāngrā* district, with the chief town Pālampur. It probably derives its name from a village Pālamba mentioned in one of the *Baijnāth* eulogies

¹ *Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas*, edited by Captain W. Franklin, Calcutta, 1803, p. 87.

² On popular etymologies of the name *Ḍhillī* see Carr Stephen, *Archæology 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 *Ḍhillī*, adopted by Bühler in his *Kashmir Report*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, Extra Number, *passim*.

(II, 31).¹ 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 Kusumbhapura ("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 Uḍhar 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'avois fait mettre au service de mon Agah, se voulut mêler en entrant de faire son Panegyrique, & après l'avoir comparé aux plus grands Conquerans qui furent jamais, & luy avoir dit cent grossieres & impertinentes flateries, concluait enfin serieusement par celle-cy : 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 Elefans qui la suportent sur leurs têtes ne pouvant soutenir ce grand effort. Je ne pûs me tenir de rire là dessus, & je tâchay de dire serieusement à mon Agah qui ne pouvoit aussi s'en tenir; qu'il seroit 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 hesiter, que je me fais ordinairement porter en Paleky."²

The inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 1337, the 13th of the dark fortnight of Śrāvana. This date, according to Professor Kielhorn,³ corresponds either to 26th June A.D. 1280 or to 13th August 1281. Both these dates fell on Wednesday, the weekday mentioned in the inscription.

TEXT.

[L. 1] [ओं स्व]स्ति ॥ गणपतये नमः ॥ श्री नमः शिवाय ॥
 सृजति रचति संहरतीह यस्त्रियति प्रतिबोधयति प्रजाः ।
 स भवतां भवतापहरो हरो भवतु भावकचिंतितदायकः ॥ १
 [साम्राज्यस्याभि]षेकत्रियममरधुनी यस्य मूर्ध्नि [प्रयांता
 कुर्वन्ती या] तरंगैरधिरतनिचलच्चा-

[L. 2] मरत्वं प्रयाति ।
 शुभ्रांशोरंशुमालावलयमसितसिच्छवचक्रायमाणं
 मानातीतप्रभावो भवतु स भवतां शंकरः शंकरिणः ॥ २
 अभोजि तोमरैरादौ चौहाणैस्तदनंतरं ।
 हरियानकभूरिषा शकैर्द्रैः शास्वतेषुना । ३
 आदौ साहबदीनस्ततः परं बुटुवदीनभूपालः ॥

¹ Cf. Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 114 and 118.

² *Voyages*, Tome II, p. 46, cf. beneath No. V, vs. 5, where the poet actually speaks of Muḥammad Tughlaq as "the mighty Śaka lord, through fear of whom the earth trembles."

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 186, No. 147.

⁴ It is noteworthy that here the name *Chauḥāṇ* is given in its actual form, whereas in other inscriptions we find the Sanskritized form *Chāḥamāṇa* (cf. Nos. IV, 1, 2, and VI, 1, 4).

- [L. 3] जातीय समुस'दीन Xपेरुजसाहिर्बभूव भूमिपतिः ॥ ४
 पञ्चाञ्जलालदीनस्तदनंतरमजनि मौजदीननृपः ।
 श्रीमानलावदीनो नृपतिवरो नसरदीनपृथ्वीद्रः ॥ ५
 आगौडाद्वज्जनांतं द्वविडजनपदात्सेतुबंधात्मता
 दंतस्थं-
- [L. 4] तोषपूर्णे सकलजनपदे प्राज्यसौराज्यराज्ये ।
 यत्नेवायातयात्तितिपतिमुकुटोदहनभ्रष्टरत्न-
 ज्वालाजालप्रवालैर्ब्रह्मति वसुमती वन्यवासंतलोलां ॥ ६
 गंगासागरसंगमं प्रतिदिनं प्राच्यां प्रतीचामपि
 स्नातुं सिंधुसमु-
- [L. 5] द्रसंगममहो यत्नेन्यमाधार्वाति ।
 हिलांदोलितपाणिकंकणभणत्कारिण^१ वारांगना
 यांत्वायांति च निर्भया यदुदयाच्चिचांवराडंवराः ॥ ७
 यत्नेनाग्रसरत्तुरंगमखुरप्रक्षेपविचोभिता-
 श्चचूनच निवारयंति पुरतो दू-
- [L. 6] रेण भूरेणवः ।
 सोयं सप्तसमुद्रमुद्रितमहीहारावलीनायकः
 श्रीहम्पीरगयासदीननृपतिस्त्रिमन्त्राडमुज्ज्वलते ॥ ८
 यद्वाटीवेगधावत्तुरग^२खुरपुटापातसंचूर्णमान-
 चीणीरेणुच्छटाभि Xकवलितककुभि व्योम्नि संच्छाद्यमाने ।
 आदि-
- [L. 7] त्वस्य प्रताप स्वरतर^३विसरहीमिभिस्त्राकमस्तं
 याति प्रायेण राजप्रभृतिषु गणना का च राचौ दिवा वा ॥ ९
 यस्मिन् दिग्विजयप्रयाणकपरे गौडा निराडंवरा
 अंभ्रा रंभ्रपरायणा भयवशाच्चिकेलय Xकेरलाः ।
 कर्णा[टा^४]^५ अपि कंदराश्रयपरा भ्रष्टा महा-
 राट्पुजा-
- [L. 8] स्वयत्तोर्जा Xकिल गूर्जराः समभवन् लाटा Xकिराटा इव ॥ १०

^१ The *aksāra* सु is written above the line.

^२ Mitra reads रणरकारिण

^३ Perhaps we should read यद्वाटीवेगधावत्तुरग. Cf. अर्धमार्गे च वाताश्रयवर्चितसेनिकः *Kathās.* 11, 8, 89.
 [The letter वा is doubtful on the facsimile. It may as well be वाटि in which case the correction suggested by the author becomes unnecessary since वाटी or वाटि means assault.—H. K. S.]

^४ I read with Mitra: प्रतापः स्वरतर. The *visarga* and *i* stroke shown in his facsimile are not in the original.

^५ The *aksāra* टा shown in Mitra's facsimile is absent in the original.

Sanskrit Inscription of Balban's reign from Palam, dated the Vikrama year 1337 (A. D. 1280 or 1281).

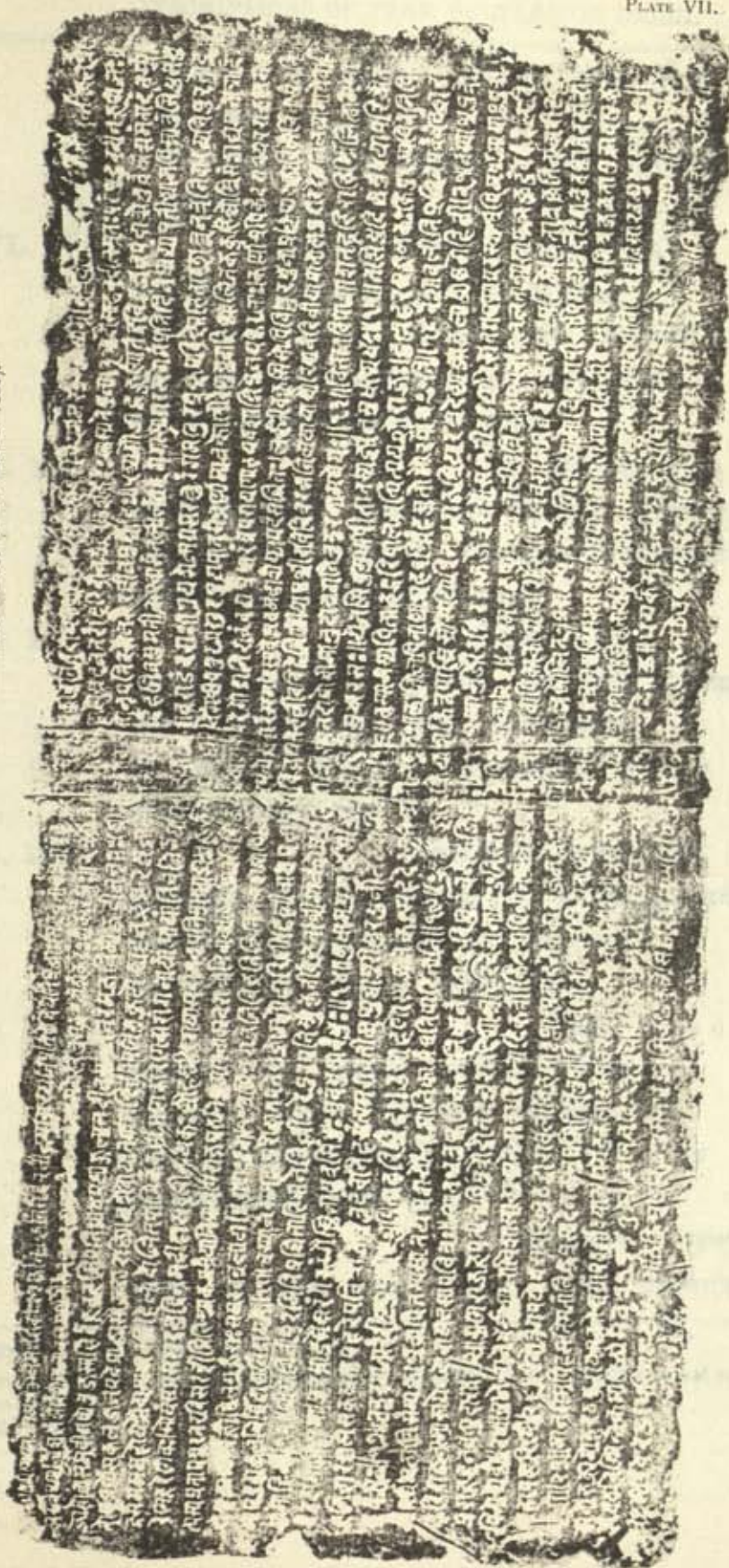


PLATE VII.

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1900

1901

1902

1903

1904

1905

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1905

अस्मिन् राजनि विभ्रति चितितलं शेषोपि निःशेषतो
भूभारं समपास्य वैष्णवमहाशय्यापदं संश्रितः ।
लक्ष्मीं वक्षसि सोपि विष्णुरधुना प्रक्षिप्य रक्षाविधौ
चिन्तासंतति-

[L. 9] मातदुग्धजलधिर्विद्राव्य निद्रायते ॥ ११ ॥

अस्थानिकमहापुरीशतपते राज्ञो मनोहारिणो
ढिल्ली नाम महापुरी विजयते भक्तोव विदेपिणां ।
या पृथ्वीव विचित्ररत्ननिलया या यौरिवानंदिनी
या पातालपुरीव दैत्यनिलया मायिव

[L. 10] या मोहिनी ॥ १२ ॥

श्रीयोगिनीपुरमिति प्रथिताभिधाने ढिल्लीपुरे पुरपतिस्तुक्ता वभूव ।
श्रीमानशेषगुणराशिरपेतदोषो धीमानुदात्तमतिरुद्धरनामधेयः ॥ १३ ॥
वितस्ताविपाशाशतद्रुभिराभिर्गिलित्वामला

[L. 11] चंद्रभागाविभागा ।

पुरस्तादुद'स्तैस्तरंगैरभंगैः[*] स्मिता यत्र सिंधुः सुबंधुस्सबंधुः ॥ १४ ॥
सुधा मधु सुधा सीधु सुधा दिवि सुधारसः ।
येन सिंधुसुधा पीता तस्य ज्ञानसुधाप्यधः ॥ १५ ॥
तस्मिंधुदिव्यसुधया परिधौत-

[L. 12] भूमिभारस्थले सकलतापहरे पवित्रे ।

उच्चैरुदंचति ह्रस्वमरावतीमप्युच्चापुरी सुरधुनीतटवासिनी सा ॥ १६ ॥
तस्यामस्य पिताभूदरिपालस्तत्पिता यशोराजः ।
दुहहरस्तज्जनकः किपुरस्य पितेति पि-

[L. 13] तुवंशः ॥ १७ ॥

उद्धरमाता चंडी पृथुपुत्री पृथुपिता हरिचंद्रः ।
उत्साहणीस्य जनकः सहदेवसुतस्य तोलसुतः ॥²
तोलपिता व्याघ्रहरस्मिंहसुतो गौरपीच इति ॥ १८ ॥
वंशावलोतिप्रथिते प्रबंधे वंशह-

[L. 14] यं पूर्वमभाणि संम्यक्³ ।

अत्रापि तस्य स्मृतये प्रशस्तौ नामानि कामं प्रतिपादितानि ॥ १९ ॥

¹ The *aksara* द् 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 *istinct* mark.

³ Read *सम्यक्*.

इच्छाज्ञानक्रियाशक्तिरूपास्तिस्रोस्य योषितः ।
राजत्रिया रत्नदेव्या जाजला ज्येष्ठगङ्गिनी ॥ २० ॥
तस्याश्च पुत्री

[L. 15] हरिराजनामा कायेन वाचा मनसा पवित्रः ।
ख्यातश्चतुष्षष्टिकलानिधानं प्रत्यक्षविष्णुर्भुवनैकजिष्णुः ॥ २१ ॥
अस्यानुजौ च स्थिरराजजैत्रसंज्ञौ समं वीरडया विभातः ।
स्वस्मापरस्या अपि मध्यमायाः पुत्री

[L. 16] पुराभूद्वनवत्युदारा ॥ २२ ॥
गुणराजभूपती अपि पुत्री हौ तदनु रत्नदेव्याश्च ।
हरदेवो नाथ इति ख्यातः पुत्रोपि कन्यान्धा ॥ २३ ॥
उत्तमराज पुत्रस्माडाली पुत्रिकेत्यपत्ये च ।
मूललताशाखाफलकुटुंबकं कल्पविट-

[L. 17] पिनीस्त्रेयं ॥ २४ ॥
स्थाने स्थाने धर्मशाला विशाला का कानेनाकारि सत्रादिकर्त्रा ।
किंत्वत्रापि श्रान्तपांथयमार्तिच्छेत्रा वेत्रा वापिका काप्यकारि ॥ २५ ॥
पालंघग्रामपूर्व्वे च कुसुंभपुरपश्चिमे ।
कृताच कृतिना वापी दृष्ट्या-

[L. 18] मोहापहारिणी ॥ २६ ॥
पीनीतुंगपयोधरा परिलुठहारावलीविभ्रमा
तृष्णाभ्राम्यदनेककासु[क*]जनलेशप्रशान्तिप्रदा ।
पुल्लभौलितरुप्रसूनपटलयेणि(ः)त्रियामोदिना^१
वापी कापि महामुदं दिशतु च X कातेव कांता

[L. 19] दृशां ॥ २७ ॥
मानसमपि हसति सतां निजप्रसादेन कलुषमिति चितुषा(?)[*]
निजविश्रान्तवि[धा]त्री विद्येवाध्यत्नवेदिनां भाति ॥ २८ ॥
अस्तु स्वस्ति समस्तवस्तुविषयाभीमोपभोग्यात्मभि-

[L. 20] भावैः पुत्रकलचमित्रजनतायुक्ताय युक्ता-

भक्तायोद्धरठकुराय महते स्वर्गापवर्गोदया-

नंदार्येदुकलावतंसचरणद्वंद्विक[निष्ठात्मने] ॥ २९ ॥

^१ In Mitra's facsimile this word reads कुसुमकं, but this does not suit the metre. Besides, the inscription has distinctly कुटुंबकं. Perhaps we should restore it to कुटुंबकं.

^२ [The reading of the first letter of this word is doubtful. It must be न्ना in order to properly interpret the verse, and such a reading is not altogether unwarranted.—H. K. S.]

^३ Read चक्षुषा देवा.

^४ In Mitra's facsimile a क is shown over the line; it is not to be found in the original.

^५ [This letter must be त्ता, and the context requires it to be so. On the plate too the letter may be read as त्ता.—H. K. S.]

^६ Read विश्रान्ति.

अखंडप्रकाशेन योगीश्वरेण प्रशस्ति × कृता पंडितेन प्रशस्ता ।

समस्ताशिषामेकपात्रस्य वापीनिमित्तं सुविस्तारवत्युद्गरस्य ॥ २० ॥

[L. 21] संवत्सरेस्मिन्वैक्रमादित्ये संवत् १२३७ यावणवदि १३ बुधे ॥ ३१ ॥ (Vernacular)

किष्काशन्दोण शरिताण रजि हरीभाण इ देश ह ॥ पंच कोश ठिली अहु^१ पंधि पालंम पवेश ह ॥ जेठ माशि अठ (?) - हि ये अठ (?)

[L. 22] - ह शनिवार ह । पजिवज भाइ शंभति किअ उ कितणु शंशार ह । शिक इ कुलिशि हरिपाल घरि । ठकुर उटर धंम जउ । जल ह्रिउ [अच] यदि दुशंध (?) शंध विउ ॥ वा इ गकुशो अंन मउः ॥ लि० — — —

TRANSLATION.

Om Hail! Adoration to Gaṇapati! Om Adoration to Śiva! May he who creates, 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,² upon whose head the celestial river (Gaṅgā) flows, anointing him with the glory of universal sovereignty, and with its waves serves as an everwaving *chauri*—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 Chauhānas; now it is governed by Śaka (Moslim) princes.

4. In the beginning Sāhabadīna (Shahābu-d-dīn) [became king], after him Shuṭabadīna (Qutbu-d-dīn) the guardian of the earth, [then] was Samusadīna (Shamsu-d-dīn) [and then] Perūjasāhi (Firōz Shāh), the lord of the land.

5. Hereafter [came] Jalālādīna (Jalālu-d-dīn), then was born Prince Maujadīna (Mu'izzu-d-dīn), [then] the illustrious Alāwadīna (Alāu-d-dīn) the excellent king, [and then] Nasaradīna (Nāsiru-d-dīn), the lord of the earth.

6. He, throughout whose whole contented realm under his great and good government from Gauda (Gaur, i.e., Bengal) to Gajjana (Ghazni in Afghānistān), from the Draviḍa country and Setubandha,³ 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,

7.⁴ 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 ascendancy 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

¹ अहु is the suffix of the ablative case. ठिली अहु, "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 seas, the illustrious prince Hamīra-Gayāsādīn (Amīr Ghīyāsu-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, pounded by the hoofs of his horses sweeping the highway,¹ during assaults² 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 boasting, the Andhras take to their caves out of fear, the Keralas forsake their sports, the Kaṇṇāṭas also take refuge in their glens, the Mahārāshṭras (Marāṭhās) vanish, the Gārjaras (Gujars) lose their strength, and the Lāṭas become like Kīrāṭas.⁴

11. Since this king supports the world, Sesha has wholly laid down the burden of the earth and betaken himself to the great bed of Vishnu (the Ocean)⁵; and Vishnu himself, clasping Lakshmi at his breast and dispelling all continuous thought of guarding the world, slumbers now on the ocean 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 Dhillī—a deadly arrow 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 (*alias* Muhammadans) and like illusion, full of fascination.

13. In the town of Dhillī, renowned under the name of Yoginīpura (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 Vitastā (Jhelam), the Vipāsā (Biās), and the Śatadrū (Satluj) [there] is its friend Sindhu (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-bank⁶ pure and pain-dispelling, there rises high [the town of] Uchchāpuri (Uch) mocking Amarāvati [the city of the gods] which lies on the shores of the celestial stream.

17. In that town lived his (Uddhara's) father Haripāla; his (Haripāla's) father was Yaśōrāja; Dullahara was his (Yaśōrāja's) father and Kipu was his (Dullahara's) father. Thus is (his) paternal pedigree.

18. Uddhara's mother was Chandī, Prithu's daughter; the father of Prithu was Harīschandra. His (Harīschandra's) father was Utsāhāna the son of Sahadēva, and he (Sahadēva) was the son of Tola. The father of Tola was Vyāghrahara the son of Simha and grandson of Gaura.

19. In the work known as "the Genealogy" (Vamśāvalī) both pedigrees have already been fully described; here in this Eulogy (Praśasti) 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—Jājālā the eldest spouse with Rājāsī and Ratnadēvī.

21. Her (Jājālā'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.

¹ Or "swift like the wind" if we read *सुहासिपदावत्*.

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 *rājan* also means moon.—H. K. S.]

⁴ [The word *kīrāṭas* 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 Sanskrit text.—H. K. S.]

22. And his two younger brothers, Sthirarāja and Jaitra by name, appear together with their sister Viradā. The second wife (Rājāśrī) had (first) an excellent daughter Dhanavati.

23. And afterwards two sons Gunarāja and Bhūpati. Ratnadevi had a son Haradeva, known as Nātha, and a daughter,

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

25. At different places several extensive rest-houses have been made by this maker of alms-houses (*śāstra*), 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 Pālamba (Pālam) and to the west of Kusumbhapura that wise man made a well which removes thirst and faintness.

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

28. It (this well) mocks even the Mānasa lake (*alias* 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 Ṭhakkura (Ṭhākur), the devout and self-restrained Uḍḍhara, 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 (Śiva).

30. This auspicious extensive eulogy was made by Paṇḍit Yogīśvara of unscathed fame [the learned saint Akhundaprakāśa.—H. K. S.] on the well of Uḍḍhara, that vessel of all benedictions.

In this year of Vikramāditya, in the year 1337, the month of Śrāvaṇa, the 13th day of the dark fortnight, on Wednesday. (Vernacular) In the kingdom of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-d-dīn is the country of Hariyāna. Five kos from Dhilli, Pālam comes in the way. In the month of Jeth on Saturday³

APPENDIX B.

Inscription of Balban at Barwāla.

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

"A second Barwāla 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" × 11".

لور [۶] الاسلام والمسلمين ابو المعظفر بلبن السلطان ناصر امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه
 و سلطانه . . . دام اقباله في العشرين من شهر المبارك رمضان عمت ميانه سنة ثمانين
 ستمائة ٥

¹ [The words ॠ ॠ of the text have not been translated. ॠ ॠ 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 *pīṇa*, if applied to the well, has probably to be taken as past participle of *pī*, but I do not know what double meaning to assign to the word *uttuṅga*.

³ The remaining portion, which I must leave untranslated, contains the name of Ṭhākur Uḍḍhar and his father Haripāl.

TRANSLATION.

"The light (?) of Islām 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, 1282]."

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 *Naskh* 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 *Naskh* writing for that time (in spite of many exceptional cases), and the line of demarkation 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-dārī inscription in Bihar (663 A.H.), or the beautiful Jāmi' Masjid inscription at Garhmuktesar (682 A.H.); or the one in the Saddo Masjid at Amroha (686 A.H.) would be possibly found at the same time in Asia Minor; but certainly not within the Syro-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 Jalālī (665 A.H.), or the one in the Mosque at Budann (683 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 Bihar 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 Hansi inscription (Pl. VIII b), your attribution to *İltutmish* (on account of the *Kunya* 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 Junsbruck, 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 fulān*, and this is the reason why Saladin who was first a *wazir* of the last Fatimid caliph (and after him all the Ayyubī and Mamlūk *sultāns*) 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 Rai.'¹ 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 Bahmanī I (1358-1375 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 Bahmanids, and fixed as the boundary between their kingdom and the Raja's possessions.² Thenceforward it remained an important outpost of the Bahmanid kingdom till 1512 A.D. when Sultān Qulī Qutb Shāh, the governor of the fort, declared independence and made it his capital.³ The new king added many buildings to consolidate the fort and named it Muḥammad Nagar. The fort was further strengthened in the reign of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, who rebuilt it extensively with stone and mortar. In the Mughal period the fort enjoyed the reputation of being impregnable,⁴ 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 Musī 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.⁵

Firishta 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.⁶ 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.⁷ The *Tughra* 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 Sultān Qulī, 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 Bahmanī king Maḥmūd Shāh. The mosque consists of a large hall which is divided into four aisles, and has five arched openings.

¹ See *Ma'āthir-i-Alamgiri* (Bibl. Ind.), pp. 300-301, and *Muntakhbat-i-Lubāb* (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. I, p. 368.

² Vide Briggs' *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power*, Vol. II, pp. 808 et seq. and *Ma'āthir-i-Umarā'* (Text), Vol. III, p. 368.

³ See Briggs, Vol. III, pp. 320-21, and *Khāṣṣ-i-Khāṣ*, Vol. II, p. 368.

⁴ See *Ma'āthir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 300.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 296, and *Khāṣṣ-i-Khāṣ*, Vol. II, pp. 361-362.

⁶ See Briggs, Vol. III, p. 323.

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 *Tughra* of an exceedingly fine type, and the letters are well preserved. I read the text as follows:—

PLATE XIX (b).

- (1) بناء هذا المسجد الجامع في زمان السلطان الاعظم المتوكل على الله الغني ابي
المغاري محمود شاه بن محمد شاه البهمني
- (2) خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ربانيه الميتهل الى الله مالک الملك سلطان قلي
المخاطب بقطب الملك في سنة اربع وعشرين و تسعمائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

This assembly mosque was built during the reign of the great king, al-Mutawakki 'ala'llahi-l-Ghani (trusting in God, the Independent) Abu-l-Maghāzi Maḥmūd Shāh b. Muḥammad Shāh al-Bahmanī—may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty!—and its builder (is) the humble suppliant of God, the Lord of the Universe, Sulṭān Qulī, entitled Qutbu-l-Mulk. In the year 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.).

Inscription on the Makki Darwāzāh.

The inscription is engraved on the façade of the outer gate of the Makki Darwāzāh (so called on account of its facing the city of Mecca). The Darwāzāh 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 Qur'ān and other Islamic books, a practice in which the Muslim writers indulge to give dignity to their writings. The inscription is written in beautiful *Tughra* style and exhibits an art in which vigour and elegance have been skillfully combined. The size of the letters is unusually large and the in. ription measures 46' 2" x 1' 6½". I have read the text as follows:—

PLATE XIX (a).

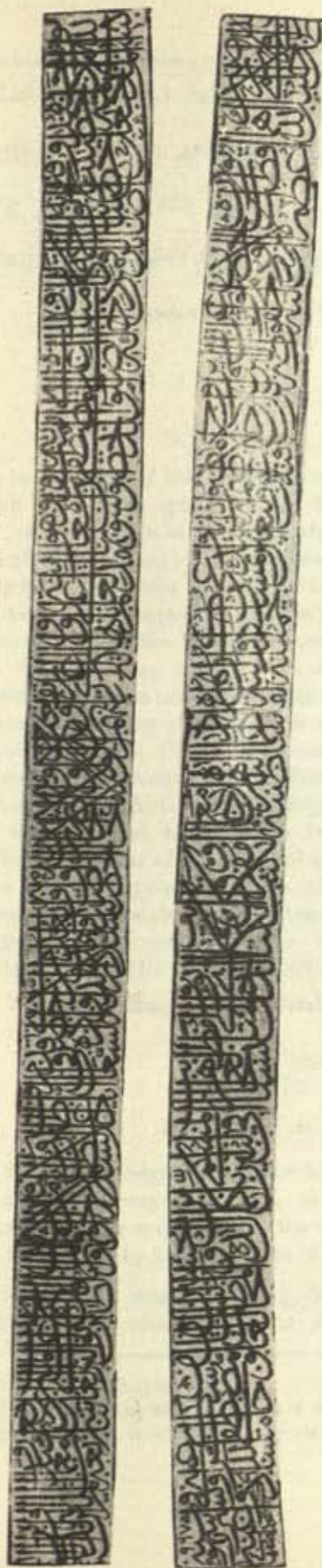
بسم الله الذي جعل كلمة توحيدنا حصنا حصينا واصابنا فتح ابوابه بالرحمة فمن دخله كان
آمنا و الصلوة على المصطفى الذي تمت به حصن النبوة و شعابها و هو مدينه العلم
و علي بابها و على آله التي ارتفعت بهم بروج الولاية و الامامة و اصحابه الخازنين لخصال
الصدق و السلامة و بعد فهذا درب الدولة و حصن السعادة قد بني في ايام خلافة اعظم السلاطين
اكرم الخواقين فهو امان الماء و الطين فاتح ابواب البركة على العالمين رافع بناء شريعة

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 Qur'ān, chap. III, (Āl-i-'Imrān).

³ A saying of Prophet Muḥammad.

(a) Inscription over the Makki Darwaza, Golkonda Fort.



Scale 1/4 in.

(b) Inscription over the door of the Jami Masjid, Golkonda Fort.



Scale 1/4 in.

(c) Inscription on the wall of the prayer-niche, Hira Masjid, Golkonda Fort.



Scale 1/4 in.

سيد المرسلين معمار الدوة و الدين ظل الله في الارضين سمي خليل الله¹ همايون اعظم قطب
 شاه لازال حورون دراته محفوظه عن الزلزل و بروز خلفه عن رصمة التغير و التبدل بمساعي
 جميله ركن دراته القاهرة و عماد سلطنته الباهر جامع الكتب و مفرق الكتائب الذي يزل
 حسباً و نسباً الى مظهر العجايب المحمى في الجبين بكمال الدين حسين و المختاطب لعلم الشان
 بمصطفى خان شكر الله مساعيه و يسر دراعيه في شهر ربيع سنة ٩٦٧ هـ كتبه محمد اصفهاني²

TRANSLATION.

In the name of God, Who made the word of His Unity 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 *Muṣṭafā*, 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 '*Alī* 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), *Humāyūn-i-Ā'zam Qutb Shāh*—may the forts of his sovereignty ever remain safe from the earthquake (of misfortune) and the towers of his kingdom from the clefts 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 ('*Alī*') known among people as *Kamālu-d-din Ḥusain* and entitled *Muṣṭafā 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 I-fahan.

Inscription on the Western Wall, Golconda Fort.

During the reigns of the later kings of the *Qutb 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 Muhammad *Qutb Shāh* by his son *Sultān 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh*.

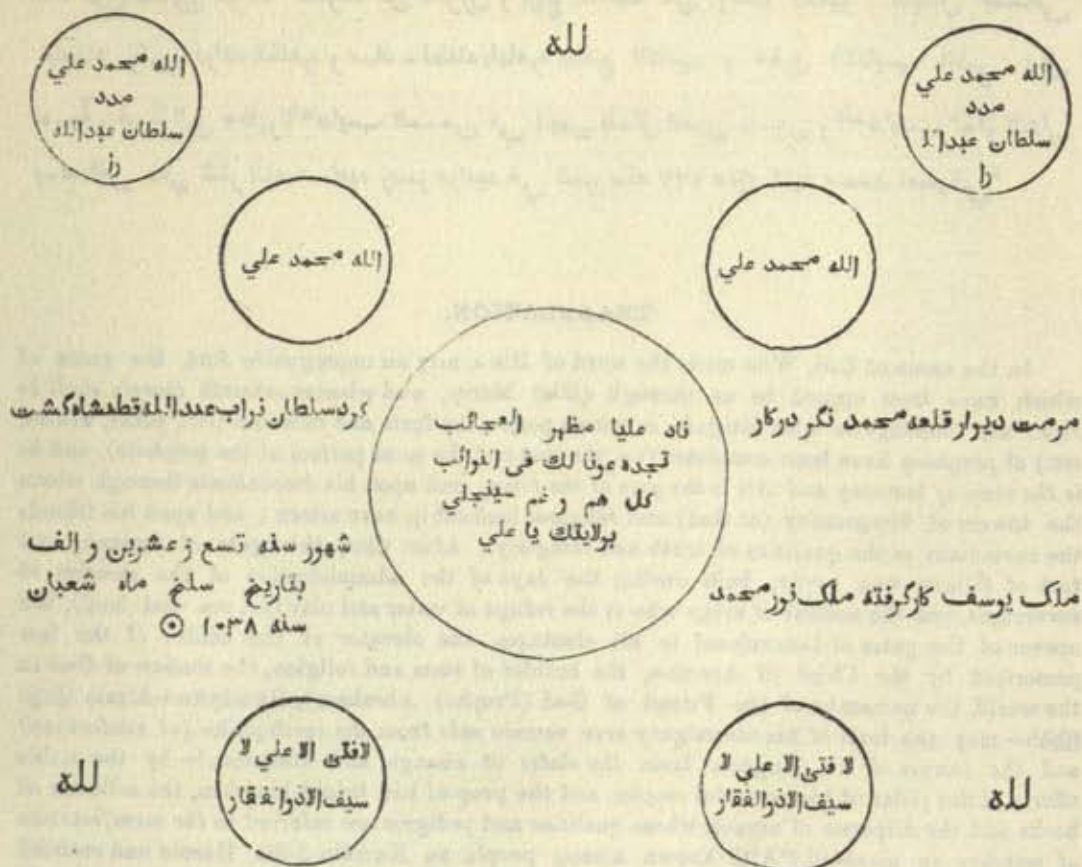
The style of writing is *Naskh*; but a part of the inscription is arranged in oval and circular *Tughra* devices, which are quite pleasing. The inscription is carved on a segmental slab of

¹ The title of Prophet Abraham.

² In deciphering this inscription I was greatly helped by *Maulawī Hamidu-d-Din*, 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).



TRANSLATION.

Unto God.

Allah, Muhammad, 'Ali.

O God! O Muhammad! O 'Ali! help Sultān 'Abdullāh.

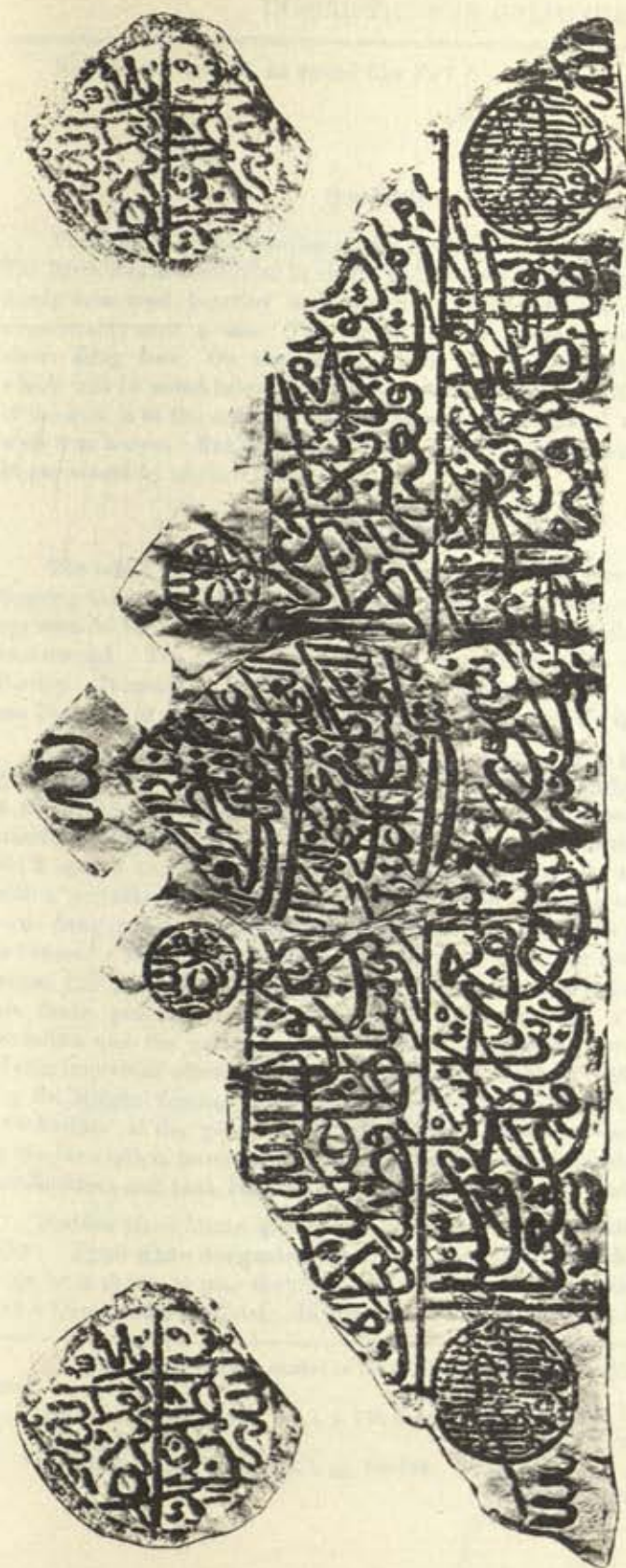
"Invoke 'Ali the manifestation of wonders,
Thou wilt find him succour in misery.
All grief and sorrow will soon disappear,
By thy friendship (with God), O 'Ali."¹

The wall of the Muhammadnagar fort was repaired under the superintendence of Sultān Nawwāb 'Abdullāh Qutbshāh. Malik Yusuf (and) Malik Nūr Muhammad supervised the repairs during the months of the year one thousand and twenty-nine (Hijra). On the last day of Shābān 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.



Scale '125

(b) Inscription on the southern wall, Nau Mahla Palace, Golconda Fort.



Scale '125



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHINA PRESS

The call of the Chinese people
for a new China, 1911-1949, and
the role of the Chinese people in
the revolution, 1911-1949, 1949.

The call of the Chinese people
for a new China, 1911-1949, and
the role of the Chinese people in
the revolution, 1911-1949, 1949.

No soldier like 'Ali, no sword like *Zu'l faqar*.¹

Unto God.

Inscriptions on the Mūsā 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 mediæval Mughal artillery. The construction of the gun is of the ordinary type, being made of laminated bars welded together and clasped 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 $8' 9\frac{1}{2}" \times 1' 4\frac{1}{2}"$ 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 Qutb Shāhi point of view of the siege of Golconda by Prince Muḥammad, son of Aurangzeb, in 1066 A.H. (1656 A.D.), and of the peace which was subsequently concluded. Khāfi Khān relates that the Qutb Shāhi army was reduced to great straits, and hence 'Abdullāh Qutbu-l-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 Asadullāh Khān Bukhari, and he expired on the spot. Three days after his death peace was concluded. Khāfi Khān 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 Bakhshī 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 peace, they would have made a breach therein.

Besides Mir-i-Mirān another historical personage mentioned in the inscription is Mūsā Khān. Khāfi Khān designates him Mūsā Khān Maḥalldar (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

¹ A saying most frequently quoted in the religious literature of the Shiites. *Zu'l faqar*, the name of 'Ali's sword.

² See *Muntakhabu-l-lubāb*, Vol. I, p. 746, and *Ma'āthiru-l-Umarā'*, Vol. III, p. 534.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 747.

⁴ Vide *Ma'āthiru-l-Umarā'*, Vol. III, p. 363.

⁵ See *Muntakhabu-l-lubāb*, Vol. I, pp. 743-745.



the Puranā Pul to Golconda, there is a most beautiful mosque (called the Toli Masjid), which was built by Mūsā Khān 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 (a).

- (1) قایم کرده مورچه و نقب را (2) نزدیک این برج تا بخندق رسانید چون درینجا (3) برج کوچک بود اما حکم جهانمطاع عالم مطیع خسرو (4) زمان شهنشاه دوران السلطان العادل ظل الله (5) ابوالمظفر ابر المنصور ابو الغازی سلطان عبدالله (6) قطبشاه بدستور الوزراء فی الزمان مقرب (7) الحضرت السلطانیة معتمد الدلالة الخاقانیة (8) خان ذی شان سپه سالاری مرسی خان (9) چنان شرف صدر یافت که خرد درینجا (10) برده بدفع غنیم مشغول باشد برآن خان (11) عالیشان شب و روز بهشیاری تمام در دفع (12) غنیم بود و از قضا ربانی غلوه توب بر وجود (13) میر میران چنان خورد که در همان مورچه (14) هلاک گشت و بعد از فوت او بسه روز صلح (15) شد و بعد از گذاشتن محاصره به خان (16) مشار الیه حکم عالی شد که برج عظیم درینجا بنا (17) باید کرد تا غنیم را فرصت نقب مورچه کنند (18) مجال نباشد بنابر حکم همایون اعلیٰ (19) باندک زمانی این برج عظیم بسعی خان مرمی (20) الیه در سال سنه هزار و هفتاد و هفت (21) باتمام رسید و اسم معمار دهرماچار ☉

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-Muzaffar Abu-l-Manṣūr Abu-l-Ghāzī Sultān 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh to the Wazir of the Wazirs of the time, the confidence of the Royal Court, the trust of the State, the Khān, the exalted Commander-in-Chief, Mūsā Khān, 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 Khān with all caution baffled the enemy day and night. And by the divine decree a gun-shot struck the body of Mir-i-Mirān 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 Khān (Mūsā Khān) that a large bastion be built at this place, so that the enemy might not get an oppor-

¹ In the war of succession which ensued on the death of 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh (1083 A.H.), Mūsā Khān supported the claim of Abu-l-Ḥasan.

tunity to dig intrenchments and mines (on this side). In obedience to the auspicious (and) exalted orders, through the efforts of the aforesaid Khān 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 — Dharmāchār.

TELUGU TEXT.

PLATE XVII (b).

Piece I.

- 1 Svasti Śri jay-ālayudaya-Śālivā[ha]-
- 2 na-Śaka-varshālu 1578 Manmatha-nāma-sa-
- 3 māvatsara-Māgha-śu[d*]dha 7 Budhavāraṁ nā-
- 4 ḍu Sulatānu Avaramgujēbu kha-
- 5 saru [śa]haji saṅgiṇu laskarutō va-
- 6 chechi kilē mubāraku Mahamadā-
- 7 [na]garu beḍāvēsi vumḍamgānu vā-
- 8 ri pādusāhi-vajirālō peḍa Va-
- 9 jiruḍu-Miru-Mirā ani atani A-
- 10 varamgujēbu tōṭṭu yī durgam
- 11 mūḍa-dināḷku puchchukomṭṭannān-a-
- 12 ni mōchā . . rātri-pagala chhālā¹ nēṭu-

Piece II.

- 13 . kaṁ deggir ālēdu juka-
- 14 . jahamatā Hajarati Sulatā-
- 15 nu Abdullā-Kutu-Śahagāru (1) tana[vē]-
- 16 gulu doḍḍa Vajirudu mokarrabu
- 17 Hajaratu Amussākhāunigārīki
- 18 hukum yichechi nivu ā buruju-va[d*]da vu[mh]-
- 19 ḍi para-daḍḍu ko[t*]ṭu anduku ohā[lā]
- 20 jāgrata-kaligi vumḍavalen-ani ²alā-
- 21 gē Khānu Maśārnuḷahēgāru rātri-pa-
- 22 galu jāgratato ganimula daphē chē-
- 23 sē panilō mukhyulai vumḍamgānu | [kho]-
- 24 dārajā[tto] | phiramgi-gumḍu Amī-
- 25 ru Mirā[ku] tagilitōnu ā mōchā-
- 26 [lō]nē mayatu ayi pōyanu | a-
- 27 [ṭlu] [mṛi]tam-aina mūḍu-dināḷku [pa]-
- 28 . na āyanu mōchā

¹ Read chālā as in l. 19.² Read ālāgē.

Piece III.

- 29 . m[pa]nahagāri hukmu 'ā-
 30 yitē ālāgē yōlinavāri
 31 hukmu chopuna Khānu Maśā-
 32 rnulabēgāru kōnchemu diva-
 33 sālālō vuppara-Dharmāghāryu-
 34 lachāta tamāmu musaidu²
 35 chēyīnchenu [i*] Avarāngujēbu va-
 36 chchina sēlu su || sna settu kha ma
 37 senu alapu
 38 tamāmu mustaidu ayina-
 39 di su || sna samānu sotaigu (sabaigu?) ala-
 40 pu 1078 Śālivāha[na*]-Śāka-va[rshā]-
 41 lu 158[9]

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 Śālivāhana-Śāka years 1578³—His Majesty the king⁴ Sulutānu Avarāngujēbu (i.e. Sulṭān Aurangzeb) having come with (his) stony (i.e. strong) army was laying siege to the blessed fort (Qil'a-i-mubārak) of Mahamadānagaru.

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

Ll. 13-20⁵ :—Hajarati Sulutānu Abdullā Kutu-Śāha (i.e. Hazrat Sulṭān 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh) on his side gave orders (hukm) to (his) close friend (muqarrab) and great minister Hajaratu Amussā-khānu (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 Muṣārūnilāih) was the foremost in the work of checking (ḍaf') the enemies (ghantān) carefully day and night.

Ll. 23-26 :—May God's will (be done)!⁶ A cannon-shot having struck Amiru-Mirā (he) met with his death (?) (mayatu) at that very battery (mōrchā).

Ll. 26-35 :—Three days after (his) death in this manner . . . ⁷ By the order (hukm) of . . . mpanaha and in the same manner as ordered by His Majesty⁸

¹ Read *ayitē*.

² Read *musta'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 Qasf of Ootabamund corrects *khasars* into *Khasran* and translates the phrase *Khasran Śāhaji* 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 28 is very fragmentary. The translation is therefore not given.

⁸ Probably 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh is meant.

PLATE XVIII.

(b) Inscription on the Ambar Khana
Golconda Fort.

و عهد دولت پادشاه
اکبر پادشاه
طیبه ایسی نهاده در کلاخه انجان
این انبار خانه پادشاه
بنای شهر بر حسب این

Scale *125

(a) Inscription No. 3, Musa Burj, Golconda Fort.

در زمان دولت پادشاه
سلطان
بنای این ملک پادشاه
نمودنی شهر بر حسب این

Scale *136

the above-mentioned *Khān* got (the bastion) completely made (*musia'idd*) by the brick-layer Dharmāchārya within a few days.

Ll. 35-37 :—The year (*Sālu*) in which Avaramgujebu came (in) : *su || sna settu kha ma senu alapu* (1057 A.H.).

Ll. 38-41 :—The complete doing (up of the bastion ?) took place (in) : *su || sna samānu setaigu* (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 fixed in the open an inscribed slab of black basalt measuring 2' 8" x 2' 6". The inscription records the building of some shops, a well and a garden by *Khairāt Khān*, a grandee of the court of 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh.¹ 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 *Nasta'liq* characters. The language is Persian.

PLATE XVIII (a).

(1) در زمان دولت پادشاه والا چاه (2) سلطان عبدالله قطبشاه (3) بنده درلخواه
خیرانخان (4) بنای این ملکها رچاه آب و باغ (5) نمود فی شهر رجب سنه ۱۰۵۰ (۲)

TRANSLATION.

During the time of the government of the exalted king, Sultān 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh, the servant, the well-wisher of the State, *Khairāt Khān*, 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 Aurangzeb during the second Mughal siege, 1687.² 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).

ابوالمظفر محمد معی الدین اوزنگ زیب بهادر عالم گیر بادشاه غازی
سنه ۱۸ جلوس والا سنه ۱۰۸۵ مقدسه هجری

توپ ازدها پیکر

عمل محمد علی عرب

کله یک من بوزن شاه جهانی و باروت سیزده آثار یک نیم پار بوزن شاه جهانی

¹ *Khairāt Khān* was sent as an envoy to Persia by 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh (*Tārīkh-i-Rashīdū-d-dīn Khān*, p. 228).

² See *Mu'āshir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 290.

Abu-l-Muzaffar Muhammad Muhiu-d-din Aurangzeb Bahadur 'Ālamgīr, the victorious king.

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

Aḡdaba Paikar (Dragon-body) Gun.

Made by Muhammad 'Alī 'Arab.

Charge: one maund according to the Shāhjahānī weight¹; gunpowder—thirteen and one-eighth seers according to the Shāhjahānī weight.

Inscription on the Petlā Burj Gun.

This gun was also used during the siege of Goleonda by Aurangzeb and its name فتح رهبر is included in the list given in the *Ma'atḥir-i-Ālamgīr* (p. 290). In workmanship and dimensions it is similar to its rival on the Mūsā Burj and was manufactured by the same maker, Muhammad 'Alī 'Arab. It is now lying on a bastion built in the western wall of the fort, and popularly styled the Petlā 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).

ابو المظفر محمد محيي الدين ارزنگ زيب عالم گير بهادز بادشاه غازي
سنه ۱۶ جلوس همايرن مطابق سنه ۱۰۸۳ هجري مقدسه

توپ فتح رهبر

عمل محمد علي عرب

گله يك من و باروت سيزده آثار پار بالا بوزن شاهجهاني

تا صراحي خنده تعليم از لب دابر گرفت * آتش جست از دهان او و مجلس در گرفت
مي تايد دل بهر وصل اما نميداند که سوخت * شعله جانسوز او تا خصم را در بر گرفت

TRANSLATION.

Abu-l-Muzaffar Muhammad Muhiu-d-din Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr Bahādur, the victorious king.

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

Fath Raibbar (Guide to Victory) Gun.

Made by Muhammad 'Alī 'Arab.

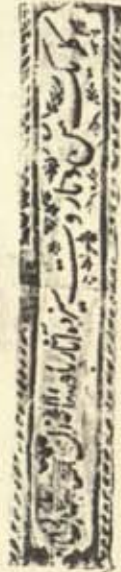
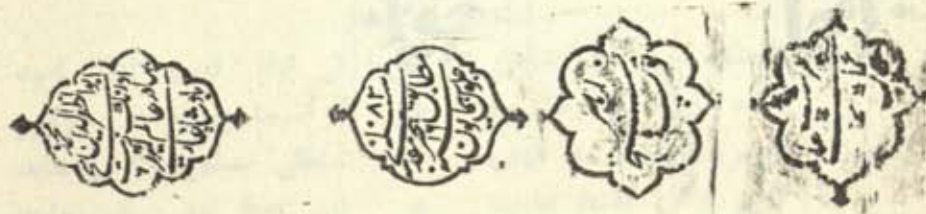
Charge: one maund; gunpowder—thirteen seers and a quarter according to the Shāhjahānī weight.

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 Shāhjahān's *man* weighed 55 lbs., and was defined forty *seers*.

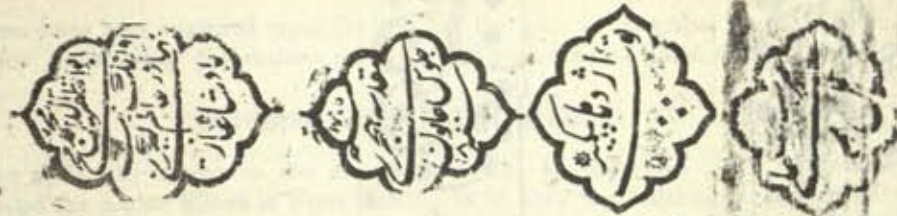
(a) Inscription on the Petla Burj Gun.
Golconda Fort.



Scale "1

(c)

Inscription on the Musa Burj Gun,
Golconda Fort.



Scale "1

(b) Inscription on the Petla Burj Gun,
round the bore, Golconda Fort.



Scale "1

Inscription on the Hira Masjid, Golconda Fort.

عظیم الشان و بی نظیر
 ان مہر الملک
 مغل خان
 کریم زار و قاضی

ابو الحسن علی
 علی بن حسین
 قاضی
 ان مہر الملک

کرمی

Scale '048

"The heart is eager (*lit.* parched) 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 *Bārākdār* 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 ($2' 9" \times 1' 11"$) 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'liq* 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).

(1) در عهد دولت بادشاه جمشاه (2) ملايك سپاه سلطان عبدالله (3) قطبشاه بسعي
بنده درگاه خيرالخان (4) اين انبار خانه باتمام رسيد (5) بتاريخ شهر رجب المرجب سنه ۱۰۵۲ هـ

TRANSLATION.

During the period of the administration of the king equal in rank to Jamshēd, whose army is the heavenly host, Sultān 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh, this store house was completed by the efforts of the servant of the Court, *Khairāt 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 $3' 2" \times 1' 6\frac{1}{2}"$. The inscription consists of four lines of Persian verse, the metre being *Hazaj Musaddas Akhrab Maqbūz Maḥḡāf*. The style of writing is *Nastā'liq* and the model of the inscription was designed by a calligraphist from Shiraz, named Ismā'il.

PLATE XXII.

شاهنشاه دين و قطب شاهان	*	آن قبله فيض اهل اميد
مانند خليل كعبه ساخت	*	کز شمس اوست ماه و خورشيد
از بهر چنين بنای با فيض	*	سلطان حسين را پسنديد
تاريخ بناش گفت هاتف	*	اين كعبه فيض باد جاويد

۱-۷۹

کتبه اسمعیل بن عرب شیرازی

TRANSLATION.

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

Like *Khalil* (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 *Sultān 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 Ismā'il, son of 'Arab *Shirazi*.

Below the inscribed wooden panels three pairs of medallions consisting of *Qurā'nic* 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.

عجلوا بالصلاة قبل الفوت
وعجلوا بالتوبة قبل الموت

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 محمد علي فاطمه حسن حسين

TRANSLATION.

Allah, Muhammad, 'Ali, Fāṭima, Hasan and Husain.

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

TEXT.

ان المساجد لله فما تدعوا مع الله احدا ☉

TRANSLATION.

"Verily the places of worship are set apart unto God: wherefore invoke not any other therein together with God." *Qurā'n*, Chap. LXXII, verse 18 (*Sale*).

In the prayer niche verse 18 from Chap. IX of the *Qurā'n* is inscribed. The style of writing is *Tughra* of a very beautiful type and the name of the calligraphist, Muhammad Taqī-ḍ-ḍīn, is given at the end of the *Qurā'nic* verse. The inscription is carved on a panel of black basalt measuring 15' × 1' 4".

PLATE XIX (c).

انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر و اقام الصلوة و آتى الزكوة و لم يغش
الا الله فعسى ان يكونوا من المهتدين ☉ كتبه العبد تقي الدين محمد بن صالح
البحراني سنة ١٠٧٨ ☉

TRANSLATION.

"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." Qurā'n, Chap. IX, verse 19 (*Sale*). Written by the servant Taqī-d-dīn Muhammad b. Salih al-Bahrānī.¹ 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.).

Inscription on the southern wall of the Nau Maḥla.

The inscription is carved on a slab measuring 2' 10" × 1', fixed on the outer wall of the Nau Maḥla facing the shrine of Gunde Shāh Shāhib. It consists of one line only and apparently belonged to a shrine which at the erection of the Nau Maḥla, during the reigns of the early rulers of the Āṣafjāhī dynasty, was incorporated in it. The text (verse 7, Chap. XCVIII of the Qurā'n) 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).

اولئك هم خير البرية ☉
سنة ١١٧٠

TRANSLATION.

These are the best of creatures.²

An inhabitant of Bahrain.

The full text of the Qurā'nic verse is as follows :—

But they who believe, and do good works; these are the best of creatures.³

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EPIGRAPHIA INDO-MOSLEMICA

EDITED BY

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MOSLEM INSCRIPTIONS.

1915-16.

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MAHDĪ KHWĀJA.

By H. BEVERIDGE.

In the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad (Newal Kishore lithograph, p. 193) 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. Nizāmu-d-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 Nizāmu-d-dīn died in 1003 A.H. (1594-95) at the age of forty-five, so he must have been born about 1548 or 1549. His statement is that Bābur's prime minister, Mir Khalifa, feared and disliked Humāyūn and had an affection for Mahdī Khwāja (they were both Khwājas) who was young and liberal-handed (*javān-i saḥāb u bāzīl*), and was Bābur's son-in-law (the Persian word is *dāmād* which sometimes means husband, and also brother-in-law).¹ 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 Mir Khalifa. It was Nizāmu-d-dīn's father who overheard this utterance. He was then a young man, and was either in charge of government buildings (*Dicān-i-buyūtāt*),² or was an employé in the department. Mir Khalifa had come to court to talk with Mahdī and so Muqīm happened to be present. Suddenly, Mir Khalifa 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 Tājik 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 incautionsness, but it may also have been a warning to Muqīm to keep his mouth shut. However, Muqīm made his escape and went and told Mir Khalifa 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 Khalifa 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 Khalifa's lictors came to him, so we may presume that the soliloquy took place in the forenoon.

Nizāmu-d-dīn's story is told by Erskine in a supplement to his translation of the *Memoirs* (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 Nāma* (translation, i. 277), and in the *Khulasatu-i-Tawārikh*.

It is difficult to believe that the story is not substantially true, and it has been accepted by Abu-l-Faḍl 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 Khānzāda Begam, who was Bābur's full sister, and his senior by five years. She had been twice married before, first to the famous Shaibānī, 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 [*Buyūtāt* is an Arabic term meaning house-expenses; account of such; an office for registering the effects of deceased persons. *Dicān-i-buyūtāt* may be translated Comptroller of Household Accounts.—Ed.]

for it is referred to in the *Habiba-s-Siyar*, under that year, in the account of Muḥammad Zamān who was a grandson of Sultān Ḥusain Baiqara of Herat. The reference is to the Bombay lithograph, Vol. II, Section 3 of the third Part, p. 372. The name of Khānzāda is not mentioned there, but it occurs in B. M. Add. MSS. 16,679 (p. 370). The lithograph indeed says that Mahdī 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 Isma'il in the British Museum, Mahdī Khwāja is called Bābur's *Dīwānbeḡ* 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 Shaibānī's death and to establish himself in Central Asia, Shāh Isma'il sent Khānzāda 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.¹ This Mahdī 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 Murtaza. On the mother's side, Mahdī had royal blood, he being the grandson, or other descendant, of the Central Asian king Abū Khair, who was Shaibānī's grandfather. Though Mahdī seems to have been an old servant of Bābur, they were not always on friendly terms. In the *Habiba-s-Siyar*, in the account of Muḥammad Zamān, we find Mahdī 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 Mahdī and his nephew Raḥīm Dād plotted against Bābur, and that the latter meditated putting them to death. These facts, however, do not militate against the probability that Mir Khalifa should select him as Bābur's successor. In the first place there is no evidence that Bābur knew of the Mir Khalifa's plot, and secondly, Bābur was of a singularly forgiving nature in his treatment of his kinsfolk and connections. Thus he forgave Muḥammad Zamān, and Haidar 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 favourite with Mir Khalifa, and he was a man of an altogether contemptible character. Nor is there any variant in any of the MSS. Nizāmu-d-dīn's story is always quoted as relating to Mahdī, and not to Muḥammad Zamān. A more solid objection to the Mahdī Khwāja, who was Bābur's brother-in-law, being the man whom Mir Khalifa wished to put forward, is that he must have been a man well up in years—Khānzāda was at least 33 or 34 when he married her—and so hardly likely to be called a young man (*jawān*).² Another is that he is called *dāmād* which ordinarily means in Persian a son-in-law, and not a brother-in-law.³ On the other hand, the fact that, as far as the MSS. go, there was only one Mahdī Khwāja who was prominent in Bābur's time, corroborates the view that the Mahdī Khwāja of Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad's story was the Mahdī 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 Mahdī Khwāja who was a liberal-minded man, as evidenced

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

² Apparently, he had a son named Ja'far Khwāja who was old enough to take his place as governor of Etawah, cf. Haid. 327 and 328b. However, the text is obscure, and both Erskine and P. de Courteille have taken Ja'far to be the son of Qutb Khān. See Erskine 37c, and P. de C., II. 314. Since writing this I have noticed that 'All Sher describes Daulat Shāh (see Persian ed., preface, p. 4) as a *jigāt* and that Professor Browne in his English preface (p. 14) 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 Nizāmu-d-dīn's description of Mahdī as a liberal-minded youngman 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, Amīr Khusrāu.¹ Also the Mahdī Khwāja, the brother-in-law, was, like Amīr Khusrāu, 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 Amīr Khusrāu's tomb which is preserved in two topographies of Delhi, the *Sairu-l-Manāzil* of Sangin Beg, and the *Āthār-u-ṣ-Ṣanādīd* of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān.² Of the two books, Sangin Beg's is the earliest, for though both it and the *Āthār-u-ṣ-Ṣanādīd* 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 *Āthār-u-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, as this was first published in 1847. Both works give the inscription, and the second edition of the *Āthār-u-ṣ-Ṣanādīd* has it in facsimile. It was written by the enigmatist Shihāb-u-d-dīn of Herat. This Shihāb-u-d-dīn came to India with the historian Khwandamir in 934 A.H. (1528) and was introduced to Bābur in the beginning of 935, in September 1528.⁴ 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 Bābur's reign, and Bābur 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 Bābur Shahinshāh-i-Qhāzī. This last was a title which Bābur did not assume till after the battle of Kanwa, viz. 933 A.H. or 1527. Then come several couplets of a glowing eulogy on Amīr Khusrāu. Then we have the statement that the tablet was erected by Mahdī Khwāja Sayyid, and the chronogram: *Sa'i-i-jamīl-i-Mahdī Khwāja*, that is, "the beautiful effort of Mahdī Khwāja." But one cannot get out of this chronogram more than 897, that is, 1492 A.D. But such a date is impossible, for Bābur was then only nine years old and had nothing to do with India till many years later. Sayyid Aḥmad, 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 9.⁵ Evidently he has confounded an inscription by one Tāhir, son of 'Imādu-d-dīn, with Mahdī Khwāja's tablet. Naturally the venerable scholar Garçin de Tassy has followed the *Āthār-u-ṣ-Ṣanādīd* in his abridged translation. He also has read the name as Mindhī Khwāja, though there is no *nūn* in the inscription in the *Āthār-u-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*.⁶ Apparently, he did not consult the facsimile which is in an Appendix, p. 37. If we could add a *mīm* to the chronogram, say the *mīm* in *guftam*, we should get an addition of 40 figures and this added to 897 would give 937 or the last year of Bābur's reign. A similar result could be obtained by reading *Khwājahām* (my

¹ [The marble tablet on which Mahdī Khwāja'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 Khusrāu 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. Rien'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 Aḥmad, but he had the advantage of being accompanied by a Persian scholar and antiquarian. However, his copy of the Mahdī Khwāja inscription agrees with Sayyid Aḥmad's. The page in Add. 19,430 has two numbers, 98 in Persian and 53 in English.

⁴ Bābur's *Memoirs*, Leyden and Erskine's translation, p. 382.

⁵ [997 is apparently a misprint for 897 which number is obtained from the phrase—*Sa'i-i-jamīl-i-Mahdī Khwājāhām*.—Ed.]

⁶ [The name Mahdī is pronounced *Mahādī* by common people in India. G. de Tassy 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 *wāw* would place the date (947) ten years later than the last year (937) of Bābur's reign.—Ed.]

Khwāja) instead of Khwāja.¹ García de Tassy's Mehndi would add 50 on account of the *nān*, and the result would be too much, for it would make 947, which would be five years after Shihābu-d-din'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 Mahdī Khawāja'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 Mahdī Khawāja 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 Khawāja. He adds that if any one can make out his name from the letters, twice repeated, *shān*, *qāf*, *lām* and *jīm*, he will call him a clever fellow.²

Another inscription gives the chronogram *ba Rauḡa* and so yields 1014 (1605 A.D.). It is the inscription by Tāhir M. 'Imādu-d-dīn. See Rieu's *Catalogue*, p. 787, where MS. Add. 8,893, Article II, is described. The MS. is a facsimile of Tāhir's inscription.³

Shihābu-d-dīn the Enigmatist is referred to by Bada'ūnī (Ranking's translation, pp. 440-50). He also quotes his verses on Amir Khusrau which occur in Mahdī Khawāja's tablet, and says the tablet was put up by Shihābu-d-dīn. Unfortunately, Bada'ūnī does not quote the lines which refer to Mahdī Khawāja. It is noteworthy that Amir Khusrau was a Sunni, and was supposed to be so strict that the body of a Shī'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'ī-i-jamīl-i-Mahdī Khawājāh* (the beautiful effort of Mahdī Khawājāh) 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 (تكملة) of the required number. The hint is: " (the exact date may be obtained) by the help of the beautiful (letter) in (the name) Mahdī Khawāja—*Sa'ī-i-jamīl-i-Mahdī Khawājāh*." Among the letters forming the name the most beautiful, according to the Islamic point of view, is the letter *mīm*, the initial of the Prophet Muhammad. The addition of forty (the numerical value of *mīm*) gives the date 937 which falls within Bābur'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 *shāns* (300+300), two *qāfs* (100+100), two *lāms* (40+40) and two *jīms* (3+3)." In Persian *خوش* is, indeed, a 'good' name, and the word also means 'great master.' Further, according to the Abjad system, the letters *خ* + *س* + *ر* + *ج*, which constitute the poet's name, are equivalent to two *shāns* ($\begin{matrix} \text{خ} = (\text{ش}) \\ 600 \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \text{ر} = (\text{ر}) \\ 300 \times 2 \end{matrix}$), two *lāms* ($\begin{matrix} \text{س} = (\text{ل}) \\ 60 \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \text{ج} = (\text{ج}) \\ 30 \times 2 \end{matrix}$), two *qāfs* ($\begin{matrix} \text{ق} = (\text{ق}) \\ 200 \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \text{ف} = (\text{ف}) \\ 100 \times 2 \end{matrix}$) and two *jīms* ($\begin{matrix} \text{ج} = (\text{ج}) \\ 6 \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \text{ي} = (\text{ي}) \\ 3 \times 2 \end{matrix}$).

The word *مذکور* after *کاتب* 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 Tāhir's verses the scribe (مذکور) did not think it elegant to repeat it here. So he writes: "Scrib—the same (or above-mentioned), grandson of Shāikh Farid Shakar Ganj."—Ed.]

³ [There are two other inscriptions by Tāhir at Mandū, both of them are dated 1014 A.H. See *A. S. R.*, Pt. II, 1903-4, p. 35, *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 331, and *E. I. M.*, 1903-10, 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.



Scale *16

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



Scale *166

in consequence of a protest by the *Shāikhū-l-Islām* and others (*Bada'ūnī*, ii, Lowe's translation, p. 102, and the *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, p. 218). That Mahdī Khwāja was allowed to put up the tablet implies that he was a Sunni, as naturally would be the case if he were an Uzbek. There is a singular note in the *Āthār-u-ṣ-Ṣanīdī* (Newal Kishore ed. of 1895, p. 42), which says that the body of the "generous man" lies at the feet of Amir Khusrau and it gives the chronogram of the burial of the said generous man.¹ If this note refers to Mahdī Khwāja, and if it be written by Shihābū-d-dīn it is an interesting addition to our knowledge of Mahdī Khwāja. The note does not occur in the 1854 ed. of the *Āthār*, but it is not Sayyid Aḥmad'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 Mahdī Khwāja who put up the marble tablet. The date for the death or burial is 17 Shāwwāl. 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 Khusrau's feet" we get 956 A.H. which is a possible date, especially if the Mahdī of the tablet be a son or grandson of the Mahdī Khwāja who was Bābur's *Dīwānbegī*.

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

PLATE I (a).

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

زمین را ازین لوح شد سرفرازی بدوران بابر شهنشاه غازی²

میر خسرو خسرو ملک سخن	آن محیط فضل و دریای کمال
نثر او دلکش تر از ماء معین	نظم او صافی تر از آب زلال
بلبل داستان سرای بی قرین	طوطی شکر مقال بی مثال
از پی تاریخ سال فوت او	چون فہام سربزانی خیال
شد عدیم المثل یلک تاریخ او	دیگری شد طوطی شکر مقال ³

ز حرف وصل جانان سادہ آمد لوح خاک من

طریق سادہ لہجی بس نشان عشق پاک من⁴

¹ [The note in the *Āthār* is as follows:—

TEXT.

آپ کے مزار مبارک کے پائین مردہ اکرام کی قبر ہے اور اکرام باسود بیاض خسرو تاریخ دفن ہے

TRANSLATION.

"Towards the foot side of the hallowed sepulchre of His Holiness (Khusrau) is the grave of *Mirdās Ikrām*. The chronogram—'Ikrām rested at the feet of Khusrau'—gives the date of interment (1226 A.H.)."
Mirdās like the *choddās* were palace servants in the Mughal time. They still survive in Hyderabad. *Mirdās Ikrām* is apparently a different person from Mahdī Khwāja, for the inscription is too clear to be interpreted in another manner.—Ed.]

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

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

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

مهدی خواجه سید با جاہ و جلال شد بانی این اساس بی شبہ و مثال
گفتم سعی جمیل مهدی خواجه تاریخ بنای این چو کردند سوال¹
حررہ شہاب المعانی الہری

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, *Shahinshāh-i-Ghazī*.

"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—*Adimu-l-mithl*—came as the date,
Another was—*Tutī-i-Shakkar Maqāl*."²

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.³

Mahdī *Khawājā*, the Sayyid exalted in dignity and majesty,
Was the founder of this building, matchless and unique.
I said, "the beautiful effort of Mahdī *Khawaja*"
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 *Hazaj Akhrab* used in Persian literature for the *Rubāʿī*.—Ed.]

² The translation of these lines is by Colonel Ranking, I.M.S., see *Mustakhshab-i-Tawārīkh* (English translation), p. 271. '*Adimu-u-Mithl*' means "peerless"; *Tutī-i-Shakkar Maqāl*, "Parrot of honeyed speech." Both give the date 725 A.H. (Note by Colonel Ranking).

The poetical inscription is by *Shihāb*-d-din, the Enigmatist. On pp. 269-71 of Colonel Ranking's translation, there is given Badā'ūnī's account of Amir *Khusrau*, and at p. 271 it is said that *Shihāb*-d-din not only wrote the inscription but also set up the tablet. But I think it is only Badā'ūnī's bad way of expressing himself that has led the translator to think that Badā'ūnī means that *Shihāb* put up the tablet. Badā'ūnī says nothing about Mahdī *Khawājā*, and does not give the last three lines of the inscription in which *Shihāb* ascribes the erection of the tablet to Mahdī *Khawājā*.

³ [The poet has taken an extreme view of the purity of his love and considers that it would be blemished if any sign of it appeared on his body. The couplet is a fine specimen of the figure of speech styled *مراعاة النظیر*. The translation of this line as also of the couplets that follow is by the editor.—Ed.]

On the Eastern wall.

ای چو در دبی طیر عالم آرا و صفت برسانا است
 امیر خوسرو طایب است امرالعیز از یقین است
 این رخ ناسخ عثمان کمال و صفت کمالی است

On the Northern wall.

و قایلین کلام با نایابی و عظمی
 در عظمی از حیرت و شگفتی
 و در عظمی از حیرت و شگفتی
 و در عظمی از حیرت و شگفتی

On the Western wall.

ای سرشت نامایی بخت از دست نماند
 و در دست نماند و در دست نماند
 و در دست نماند و در دست نماند
 و در دست نماند و در دست نماند

On the Southern wall.

و در دست نماند و در دست نماند
 و در دست نماند و در دست نماند
 و در دست نماند و در دست نماند
 و در دست نماند و در دست نماند

II.—Inscription on the inner walls of the tomb.

PLATE II.

On the eastern wall.

اے خسرو بی نظیر عالم با روضہ تو مرا نیازست
تعمیر نمود طاهر آنرا فیض ازلی ہمیشہ بازست
تاریخ بناش عقل گفتا با روضہ بگو کہ جای رازست^۱

On the northern wall.

قال این کلام ربانی این مقام طاهر محمد عماد الدین حسن ابن سلطان علی سبزواری
هجری سنہ ۱۰۱۴ غفر اللہ ذنوبہ و ستر عیوبہ الکاتب عبد النبی ابن ایوب

On the western wall.

ای شربت عاشقی بجامت وز دوست زمان زمان پیامت
شد سلک فرید از تو منظم زانست کہ شد لقب نظامت
جارید بقاست بنده خسرو چون شد بہزار جان غلامت^۲

On the southern wall.

مرا نام نیک است و خواجه عظیم در شین و در لیم و در قاف و در جیم
اگر نام یابی تو زین حرفها بدانم کہ هستی تو مردی فہیم^۳
کاتب مذکور نبیرہ شیخ فرید شکر گنج

TRANSLATION.

O Khusrau, matchless in the world,
I am a suppliant (or have a prayer) at thy tomb.
It (the tomb) was built by Tāhir;
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 Tāhir Muḥammad 'Imādu-d-dīn Hasan, son of Sultan 'Alī, of Sabzwār. 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 *Hazaj Musaddas Akhrāb*.—Ed.]

² [The metre of these lines is *Hazaj Musaddas Akhrāb*.—Ed.]

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

⁴ [The poetical style of the lines is rather poor and in the chronogram itself the preposition *bi* has been added simply to make up the date 1014, otherwise it has no significance there.—Ed.]

The string (of pearls) of Farid¹ has been arranged by thee,
Hence thy title Nizām—the Stringer (of pearls).
The humble servant Khusrau has attained eternity.
Since with all his heart he became thy devotee.

My name is "good" and "grand master",
(It comprises) two *shins*, two *lāms*, two *qāfs* and two *jims*.
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

الله

نور الدین محمد

بدر شهنشاه عالم پناه ابوالمظفر

بادشاه عادل جهانگیر غازی

خدا الله ملکه و سلطانہ و افاض

علی العالمین برہ و احسانہ ۞

TRANSLATION.

God! God!

In the reign of the emperor, the refuge of the world, the just monarch, Abu-l-Muza'far Nāru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngir Ghāzi, 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 Khusrau's tomb.

PLATE III.

که نامش هست بر لوح جهان چون نقش درخارا	شاه ملک سخن خسرو سر و سالار درویشان
که زبانی داد از آن صورت بخوبی لوح معنی را	چنان در صورت خوبی سخن پرداز شد طبعش
برون آورد درهای معانی را از آن دریا	شد او غواص دریای تفکر رز محیط فضل
ز دارالملک دنیا کرد رحلت جانب عقبنی ³	بسال پنج پنجم و هفتصد از هجرت حضرت

¹ [Babā Farid Shakar Ganj, the spiritual preceptor of the saint Nizāmu-d-dīn.—Ed.]

² [The inscription shows that Tāhīr built the tomb in Jahāngir's reign. The Hijra year 1014 given in inscription II is not decisive enough as to the reign of the king, because in that year Akbar died and Jahāngir succeeded him.—Ed.]

³ [The metre of these lines is *Hasaj*. The text of the inscription is not given either in the *Atādar* or in the *Sairu-l-Manāsir* and it has been deciphered and translated by the editor for the first time.—Ed.]

On the northern wall.



On the western wall.



عاقبت بخیر باد

بقدر الهی مرغ روحش سدره مارا شد ندای ارجعی^۱ چون در رسید از عالم بالا
گذشته بود سی و هشت و نه صد سال از هجرت بدرران همایون بادشاه غازی دانا
شهنشاهی که می شاید اگر کردیان دایم دعای درلش گویند نزد ربی العلی
رفیع القدر صاحبدرستی پاکو، که در عالم نبردست و نباشد مثل او بی مثل و بی همتا
خدایا تا جهان باشد بدرست باشد و بادش خداوند جهان یارز معین و ناصر الاعداد

TRANSLATION.

The prince of the kingdom of speech, Khusrāu, 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 Humāyun, 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).
O 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 Khusrāu's tomb.

PLATE I (c).

اکرام ز نور لطف شه داشته ضر چون ذره که از آفتاب دارد پر تر
اسود بیای خسرو سید گفت اکرام بآسود بیای خسرو^۲
سنه ۴۴ سنه ۱۲۱۶

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 Khusrāu and Sayyid said;
"Ikrām found rest at the feet of Khusrāu."
1216 A.H. (1801 A.D.) corresponding to 44th year of Shāh 'Ālam II's reign.

¹ [The full text of the Qur'ānic verse is—*Irji' ilā rabbikā rāḡiyatam marṡiyā*—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 *Hasaj Akhrāb*, used in Persian literature for the *Rubāʿ*.—Ed.]

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF KING HUSAIN SHĀH OF BENGAL FROM TRIBENĪ.

BY G. YAZDANI.

In my studies of the inscriptions of the early Sultāns of Delhi and their contemporaries, I marked the records indicated above as belonging to the reigns of Kaikā'ūs Shāh (691-702 A.H.) and Firoz Shāh (702-18 A.H.) of Bengal, because Blochmann had considered one of them to be contemporary with (or even earlier than) the Zafar Khān'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.¹ To verify the readings of Blochmann, I asked Dr. D. B. Spooner 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 lacunæ 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 Khān's Mosque at Tribenī.² The tablets vary in size, the one bearing inscription I (Pl. IVa and inscription No. I of Blochmann's paper on the Hugli inscriptions)³ measures 4 ft. 9½ 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. 7½ in. in breadth. The style of writing of record I is *Naskh* with an ornamental flourish which, though not very artistic, is not 'awkward'.⁴ 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 Yūsuf Shāh record of Pandua, 882 A.H., and of the Muzaḥfar Shāh inscription of the same place dated 898 A.H.,⁵ for the words *بسم بالخير* and *بهاو*, *الله* in lines 1, 3 and 4 respectively of the Yūsuf Shāh inscription are identical in form with the same words occurring in lines 1, 2 and 7 of our record, particularly the word *بهاو*, in which the identity is absolute to the minutest flourish. The similarity to the Muzaḥfar Shāh 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 Muzaḥfar Shāh record, may be traced in lines 6 and 7 of our inscription in the position of *و*, while the form of *بر* in the word *برخا* in the last line is uniform in every respect with the same word occurring in line 2 of the Muzaḥfar Shāh 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'ānic 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.⁶

The language of inscription I is Arabic and Persian mixed, and the text has several mistakes in grammar and spelling. In line 6 *آخر* is written for *الآخر*, in line 7 *يكوت* for

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 283-89.

² For a description of the building see *idem*, p. 283.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 283-84.

⁴ Blochmann remarks, "The characters are not in *Tughra* and look awkward." *Idem*, p. 285.

⁵ Muzaḥfar Shāh inscription is dated 898 A.H. and our record 912 A.H.

⁶ Cf. Pl. IVb.

يكونوا and in line 9 يابنده for يافتند. 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 Fīroz Shāh inscription in Zafar Khān's tomb, read the date of our inscription as 713 A.H. The first two words of the date phrase اثني عشر are absolutely clear in the inscription and the last word is more like تسعمائة than سبعمائه, 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, حسين 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.

بہلوی العصر الزمان الغ مجلس المجالس سر لشکر وزیر شهر مشہور حسین آباد و
عمر سچا منکھباد و سر لشکر تہانہ لاہلا و شہر ہادیگر

I agree with Blochmann that the inscriptions originally existed in other mosques in the vicinity of Tribenī and that on the buildings falling into ruin they were removed as curiosities to Zafar Khān'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 Ḥusainabād, occurring for the first time in the epigraphs of Sultān Ḥusain Shāh, confirms the view held by numismatists that it was bestowed by the king on a suburb of Gaur.² Inscription I has the word *buzurg*, 'the Great', after 'Ḥusainabād', which shows that there were two towns of this name at the time, the principal one, which was probably the metropolis during Ḥusain Shāh's reign, was styled Ḥusainabād the Great. The other Ḥusainabād is probably the one in the Murshidabad district, to which Blochmann has referred in his paper.³ Sajlāmankhād, Lāobala and Hādigarh 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 Lāobala with Laopalla, 10 miles east of

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 285, 289 and 290.

² *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, Vol. II, p. 142; *Codrington's Musliman Numismatics*, p. 151.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 295.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 290 and 294.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF KING HUSAIN SHĀH OF BENGAL FROM TRIBENĪ.

By G. YAZDANI.

In my studies of the inscriptions of the early Sultāns of Delhi and their contemporaries, I marked the records indicated above as belonging to the reigns of Kaikā'ūs Shāh (691-702 A.H.) and Fīroz Shāh (702-18 A.H.) of Bengal, because Blochmann had considered one of them to be contemporary with (or even earlier than) the Zafar Khān'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.¹ To verify the readings of Blochmann, I asked Dr. D. B. Spooner 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 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 Khān's Mosque at Tribenī.² The tablets vary in size, the one bearing inscription I (Pl. IVa and inscription No. I of Blochmann's paper on the Hugli inscriptions)³ measures 4 ft. 9½ 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. 7½ in. in breadth. The style of writing of record I is *Naskh* with an ornamental flourish which, though not very artistic, is not 'awkward'.⁴ 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 Yūsuf Shāh record of Pandua, 882 A.H., and of the Muzaffar Shāh inscription of the same place dated 898 A.H.,⁵ for the words *الله*, *بہار*, and *تم بالخیر* in lines 1, 3 and 4 respectively of the Yūsuf Shāh inscription are identical in form with the same words occurring in lines 1, 2 and 7 of our record, particularly the word *بہار*, in which the identity is absolute to the minutest flourish. The similarity to the Muzaffar Shāh 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 Muzaffar Shāh record, may be traced in lines 6 and 7 of our inscription in the position of *و*, while the form of *مرور* in the word *مورخا* in the last line is uniform in every respect with the same word occurring in line 2 of the Muzaffar Shāh 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'ānic 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.⁶

The language of inscription I is Arabic and Persian mixed, and the text has several mistakes in grammar and spelling. In line 6 *آخر* is written for *الآخر*, in line 7 *يكون* for

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 283-89.

² For a description of the building see *idem*, p. 283.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 283-84.

⁴ Blochmann remarks, "The characters are not in *Tughra* and look awkward." *Idem*, p. 285.

⁵ Muzaffar Shāh inscription is dated 898 A.H. and our record 912 A.H.

⁶ Cf. Pl. IVa.

بکونہ and in line 9 یافتند for یافتند . 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 Fīroz Shāh inscription in Zafar Khān's tomb, read the date of our inscription as 713 A.H. The first two words of the date phrase اثنی عشر are absolutely clear in the inscription and the last word is more like تسعمائة than سبعمائه, 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, حسین 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.

بہاوی العصر الزمان الغ مجلس المجالس سر لشکر وزیر شهر مشہور حسین آباد و
عمر سچا منکھباد و سر لشکر تہانہ لاہور و شہر ہادیگر

I agree with Blochmann that the inscriptions originally existed in other mosques in the vicinity of Tribenī and that on the buildings falling into ruin they were removed as curiosities to Zafar Khān'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 Ḥusainabād, occurring for the first time in the epigraphs of Sultān Ḥusain Shāh, confirms the view held by numismatists that it was bestowed by the king on a suburb of Gaur.² Inscription I has the word *buzurg*, 'the Great', after 'Ḥusainabād', which shows that there were two towns of this name at the time, the principal one, which was probably the metropolis during Ḥusain Shāh's reign, was styled Ḥusainabād the Great. The other Ḥusainabād is probably the one in the Murshidabād district, to which Blochmann has referred in his paper.³ Sajlāmankhād, Lāobala and Hādigaṛh 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 Lāobala with Laopalla, 10 miles east of

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 285, 289 and 290.

² *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, Vol. II, p. 142; *Codrington's Musliman Numismatics*, p. 151.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 295.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 290 and 294.

Tribeni, which is not improbable. The terms *عرصه* and *تهانه* 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) رَبَّنَا آتِنَا فِي الدُّنْيَا (2) حَسَنَةً وَفِي الْآخِرَةِ حَسَنَةً (3) نَصْرَ مِنْ رَبِّهِ وَفَتْحَ قَرِيبٍ
وَبَشْرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ (4) قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِنَّمَا يَبْعَثُ مُسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ (5) آخِرِ
[sic] وَأَقَامَ الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَى الزَّكَاةَ وَلَمْ يَغْشَ (6) إِلَّا اللَّهَ فَعَسَىٰ أُولَٰئِكَ أَنْ يَكُونَ [sic] مِنْ
الْمُهْتَدِينَ (7) يَعْنِي هَرَكَةَ عِمَارَتِ كُنْدِ مُسَاجِدِ خُدَايَ رَا بِي شَكِّ وَشَبْهِ إِيْمَانِ (8) أَرْنَدَهُ بِأَشَدِّ
وَهْدَايَتِ يَافِتْنَدَهُ [sic] بِأَشَدِّ خُدَايَ وَقَوْلِهِ (9) عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ السَّعْيُ مَنِّي وَ الْإِتْمَامُ مِنْ
اللَّهِ تَعَالَى (10) بَنَىٰ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ الْجَامِعَ صَاحِبِ السَّيْفِ وَالْقَلَمِ (11) بِهَلْوَى الْعَصْرِ
الزَّمَانِ الْغَمَّ مَجَالِسَ الْمَجَالِسِ مَجَالِسَ (12) اخْتِيَارِ وَ سِرْ لَشَكْرِ وَ زَرْبِ شَهْرِ مَشْهُورِ حَسِينَابَادِ
بِزَرْكِ وَ عَرَصِهِ (13) سَاجِدِ لَامُكِهِدَانِ وَ سِرْ لَشَكْرِ تَهَانِهِ لَارِبِلَا وَ شَهْرِ هَادِيكَرِ عَرَفِ (14) رُكْنِ الدِّينِ
رُكْنُخَانِ ابْنِ عَلَاءِ الدِّينِ السَّرْهَتِي مَدَّ اللَّهُ (15) عَمْرَهُ إِلَىٰ غَيْرِ النَّهَايَةِ وَ إِدَامَ اللَّهُ حُكُومَتَهُ عَلَىٰ
الْعَالَمِينَ (16) وَ ابْتَقَىٰ اللَّهُ خَيْرَاتِهِ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ دَائِمًا وَ نَصَرَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَىٰ عَلَىٰ الْقَوْمِ (17) الْكَافِرِينَ
لَاظْهَارِ دِينِ الْحَقِّ أَمِينَ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ (18) هَرَكَةَ اَيْنِ مَسْجِدِ مَزْمُوتِ كُنْدِ خُدَايَ تَعَالَىٰ بِرَبِّ
رَحْمَتِ كُنْدِ (19) وَ نَعَزْدُ بِاللَّهِ مِنْهَا إِنْ كُنْ سَيِّئًا مِمَّا تَعْمَلُونَ إِنْ مَرَّ بِكَ وَ بَعَثَ مِنْهُ الْمَلَأَ مِنْهُ
أَرْوَاقِي عَزَّتْ كَرْدَانَدُ ٥

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.¹ Succour from God and a speedy victory : and bear thou joyful tidings to the believers.² God, be He exalted, has said : " But he only shall visit³ the mosques of God who believeth in God and the last day, and sayeth the prayers, and payeth the legal alms, and feareth no one except God. Such perhaps may be of those who are rightly directed."⁴ That is, whoever buildeth mosques for

¹ Blochmann's reading contains verse 18, Ch. LXXII of the Qur'ân after this phrase, although the verse cannot be traced in the inscription. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 283.

² Blochmann reads كَرْدَانَدُ, but his reading is not supported by the inscription.

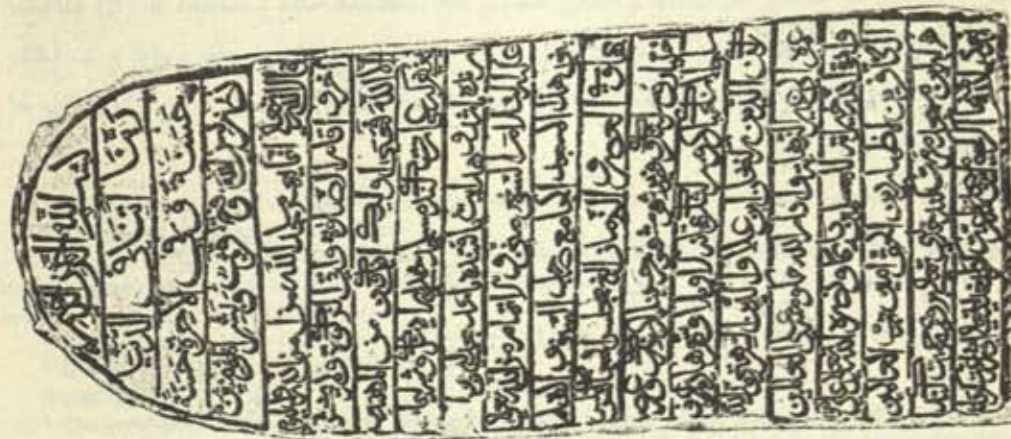
³ Qur'ân, II, 197.

⁴ *Ibid.*, LXI, 13.

⁵ The words occur in the Qur'ân to deter idolaters from entering the mosques, and the word *يعمر* 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.

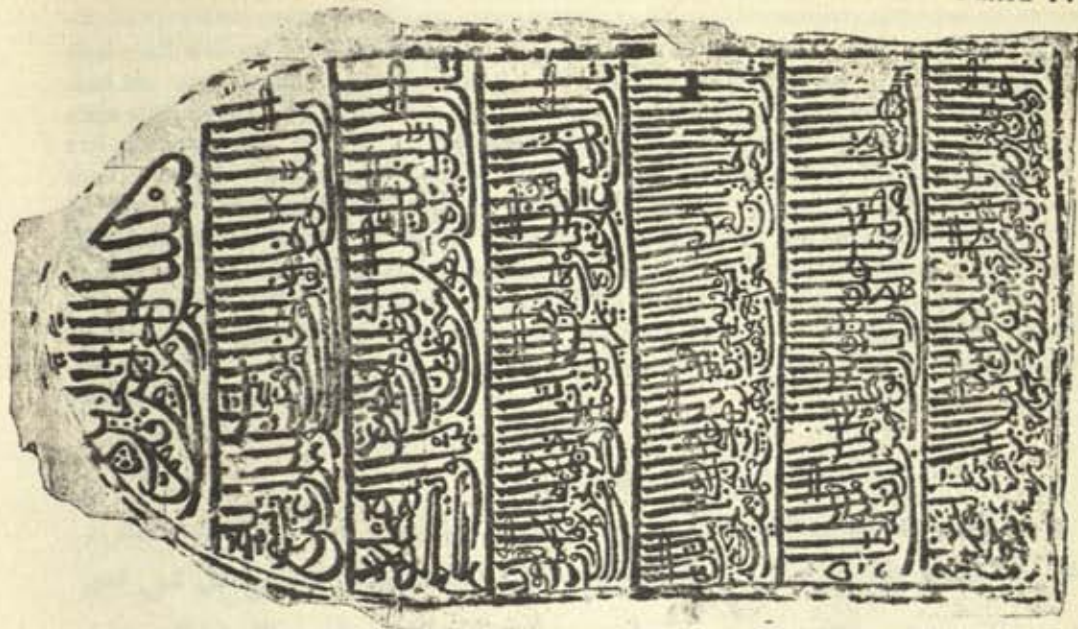
⁶ Qur'ân, IX, 18.

(a) Inscription on the west wall to the right of the central Mihrab, Zafar Khan's Mosque, Tribeni.



Scale 1/2

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



Scale 1/66

God shall without doubt and question be a believer in God and be rightly directed by Him.¹ 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."² This assembly mosque was built by the Lord of the sword and the pen, the hero of the age and the time, Ulugh Majlisu-l-Majālis,³ Majlis Ikhtiyār,⁴ the Commander-in-chief and Wazir of the noted city of Ḥusainabād the Great, and of the territory of Sājlamankhād, and the Commander of the outpost of Lāḥala and the town of Hādigarh, who is known as Rukn-d-dīn Rukn Khān, son of 'Ala'u-d-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) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ تَمَّ بِالْخَيْرِ (2) تَبَارَكَ اللَّهُ أَحْسَنَ الْخَالِقِينَ خَالِقَ الْخَلْقِ ر
مَنْشِي السَّحَابِ وَ مَزَلِ الْمَاءِ . . . (3) تَبَارَكَ الَّذِي بِيَدِهِ الْمَلِكُ وَ هُوَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ
الَّذِي خَلَقَ الْمَوْتَ وَ الْحَيَاةَ لِيَبْلُوَكُمْ أَيُّكُمْ أَحْسَنُ عَمَلًا (4) تَبَارَكَ الَّذِي نَزَلَ الْفُرْقَانُ عَلَى
عَبْدِهِ لِيَكُونَ لِلْعَالَمِينَ نَذِيرًا (5) تَبَارَكَ الَّذِي إِنْ شَاءَ جَعَلَ لَكَ خَيْرًا مِنْ ذَلِكَ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي
مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ وَ يَجْعَلُ لَكَ قَصْرًا (6) تَبَارَكَ اللَّهُ أَحْسَنَ الْخَالِقِينَ يَا أَلَهِي وَ إِلَهَ السَّمَوَاتِ
وَ الْبُرُوجِ مَا فِيهِنَّ وَ إِلَهَ الْأَرْضِينَ وَ الْبَحَارِ وَ إِلَهَ كُلِّ مَا فِيهِنَّ صَلِّ عَلَى نَبِيِّ مُحَمَّدٍ وَ
عَلَى آلِهِ . . . بِالْجَنَّةِ . . . (6) الْمَلِكُ . . . الْمَلَأَن . . . سُلْطَانُ
الْعَادِلِ وَ الْبَازِلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ الْمُظْفَرِ عَلَاةَ الدُّنْيَا وَ الدِّينِ حُسَيْنَ شَاهٍ خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ وَ سُلْطَانُهُ (7) بَنَّاكَ رَدَّ
خَانَاعظم خَانَاعظم بهلوعصر الزمان الخ . . . خان مسند و وزیر و سر لشکر
شهر مشهور حسین آباد و عرصه ساجلامنکھباد (8) و سر لشکر تھانہ لارہلا و شهر . . . مررخا
اننى عشر و تسعماته (9)

¹ This interpretation of the verse, in which the word *يعمر* has been taken to mean 'buildeth', is in Persian.

² A saying of the Prophet Muhammad.

³ *Ulugh*, 'the Great'; *Majlisu-l-Majālis*, 'the Lord of the lords of assemblies'. The titles *Majlis*, *Masnad*, *Šadr*, etc., all mean *Šāhibi majlis*, *Šāhibi masnad*, etc., i.e. 'Lord of the assembly', 'Lord of the throne', 'Lord of the seat of honour', etc.

⁴ *Majlis Ikhtiyār*, 'the chosen person of the assembly', or 'the Lord (*lit.* controller) of the assembly'.

⁵ Qur'ān, 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 Ḥusain Shāh 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 Ḥusainabād, and the jurisdiction extending to Dinajpur in the north, the districts of Monghyr and Behar in the west and portion of Orissa (Jajnagar) in the south. The capital of the other *Iqlim* was Mu'azzamabād (near Mymensingh), and its jurisdiction extended from Kamrup 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 *Wazir* and *Sar-i-Lashkar*; 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 Furgān (Qur'ān) unto His servant (Muhammad), 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 Muhammad and his descendants in heaven king . . . the benevolent the munificent and just Sultān, Abu-l-Muzaffar 'Ala'uddunya waddīn Husain Shah,¹ 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 Sājamankhād, and Commander of the outpost of Lāobala 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*, Vol. II, pp. 172-75.

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE TOMB OF BĀBĀ ARJUN SHĀH, PETLĀD
(BARODA STATE).

BY G. YAZDANI.

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

Bābā Arjun Shāh is reported to have been of Rājput origin; but if the reading of the titles *دمري الآخي* after his name in inscription 1 be correct, it is indisputable that he (or his ancestor) belonged to *آخي* (the capital of Farghānā 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 Ḥtātmish who then reigned at Delhi. Damoh did not become part of the Delhi kingdom until 1383 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 *آخي*.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 Ghiyāth-u-d-dīn Taghlaq 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 *Nasta'liq* of a beautiful type and not different from the style of contemporary records at Delhi, Hansi, Budaon, etc. The name of the scribe given at the end of the record is *أبو بكر محمود* 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 inscriptional 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 *Ākhi* see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 234.

² In the bilingual inscription the saint has been called "Arjuna Ghori", i.e. Arjun of Ghori, which contradicts the style—Arjun *Ākhi*, 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" × 1' 1½". The language is Arabic and I have read the inscription as follows :—

PLATE XIV (a).

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(1) هذا قبر العبد الغريب الراجي إلى (2) رحمة الله تعالى شيخ المشايخ (3) أرجن دمري الأخسي (?) نزل الله قبره بسعة مغفرته (4) قد توفي يوم الاثنين المنتصف من (5) شهر الله الأصم سنة ثلث وثلثين وستمائة (6) كاتبه أبو بكر محمود بن عند العلق (?) ...

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 Shāikh Arjun of Damo and Ākhsi (?), 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 'Abdu-l-Haqq (?) . . .

INSCRIPTION No. 2.

This is a bilingual record in Persian and Sanskrit (Nagari characters) dated Samvat 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 Mu'izzu-d-din, wrested Nahrwala once more from the Hindu ruler Bhīndee in 1193 A.D. But these conquests did not establish Muslim rule in Gujarat until 'Alā'u-d-din Khālji succeeded to the throne of Delhi and sent an army under the command of Ulugh Khān to Gujarat. Raja Karan, the last of the Baghelah dynasty, gave battle to him, but being worsted fled to Deogarh.¹ After the expulsion of the Raja, Ulugh Khān carried on the government and thenceforward *nazims* were regularly appointed to the province by the Sultāns 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 Gujarat and appointed Tājū-d-dīn Jā'far to be the Nazim of the province.² 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 Gujarat 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 Damo al-Ākhsi", i.e. Arjun of Damo and Ākhsi in inscription 1, is styled "Arjun Ghori", i.e. Arjun of Ghor, here. This title confirms the view of the foreign origin of the saint.

¹ *Early History of Gujarat* by Bayley, p. 37.

² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

(a) Inscription on a marble tablet in the tomb of Arjun Shah, Petlad (Baroda State).



Scale .2

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



Scale .166



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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 *Nasikh* 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).

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم [الرحيم]

(1) ... تاریخ ماه مبارک ذی الحجه سنه ...¹ (2) باتمام رسید عمارت چاه از صدقات. خلا [خفه] (3) السلاطین خدایگان عالم بادشاه (4) ر الحاتم غیاث الدنیا والدین غوث الاسلا [م] (5) کھف الثقلیں ظل الله فی الخافقین ابوالمظفر (6) مد الله عمره و خلد دولته در قصبه پیتلادر جوار روضه شیخ المشایخ ... (7) نور الله قبره صاحب عمارت اضعف عباد الله حاجی اسمعیل عثمان شیرازی این عمارت رقف (؟) (8) کرد لرحه الله تعالی و بیست کبه زمین بجهت چاه از مقطع قصبه پیتلادر سید الامرا بدرالدین (9) ابو بکر امیر کوه ... دارد مسلم است تا غریب و شهری را ازین رضع راحتی رسد واجب است (10) بر امرا و ملوک و حاکمان که بعد ازین آیند این خجهر را قائم دارند و هیچ لغزشی (؟) (11) و بیست کنیه زمین که ذکر رفت مسلم دارند تا ثواب در جهانی حاصل کرده باشند و ... [شفا] عی (12) محمد علیه السلام گردد بالنبی و آله اجمعین ☉

TRANSLATION.

On the (20th) of the auspicious month of Zū'l Hija (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, Ghiyathu-d-dunyā waddīn, the defender of al-Islām the refuge of men and demons, the shadow of God in the East and West, Abu-l-Muzaffar may God prolong his life and perpetuate his glory!—in the vicinity of the tomb of Shaikhū'l Maṣhāikh (Arjun Shāh), may God illumine his grave. The builder, the most humble servant of God, Hājī Tamā'il 'Uthmān of Shirāz, dedicated this building to the cause of God, be He exalted. And twenty *kubhas* of land in the town of Petlawadr, the fief of Sayyidi-l-Umarā' Badru-d-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 intercession of Muḥammad, may peace be upon him! through the Prophet and all his descendants.

¹ The Sanskrit version gives the date *Samvat* 1380 *Pauṣe* on *di* 7, corresponding to Zū'l-hijja 20, 723 A.H. (December, 20 (Tuesday), 1323 A.D.).

SANSKRIT TEXT.

- 1 Om Samvat 1380 varshē Pausa vadi 7 Dulibeja chaṁ 20
 2 [Bh]qmāv=ady=ēha Yoginipur-ādhishtita-Mahārāj-ādbirāja-
 3 śrīmat-Suratrāṇa-śrī-Gayāsadina-vijī(ja)ya-rājyē tan-niyukt
 4 ṇahillapattana-śrī-divan-ādēśena Peṭilāpadra-maṇḍala-karaṇi
 5 śrī-Badara-dina . Avubaka Ahamad-amira-kōha-pratīpattau Petila . .
 6 * sha-śrī-A(rjuna) Ghorī sannidhau Skambha-tīrtha-vāstavyen=[ē]
 7 . . [i]lla-ūshamāna-sirājēna jīrṇn-ōddhāra-kupa vahā(*)ē
 8 . . k(e)va-ūghātē kshēpita bhūmi kubha 20 virṇ[ēati ka] . . .
 9 . . sthale śrī-thakkuraj[ā] pālantiyāni

Pārsi Likhitaṁ

TRANSLATION.

Oṁ! In the year 1380 (Vikrama) Samvat, on the 7th day of the dark (fortnight) of Pausa, on the 20th (day) of the lunar month of Dulibeja (Zū'l Hijja), on Tuesday,—on this day in the victorious reign of the glorious Sultān, the illustrious Gayāsadina (Ghiyāthu-d-dīn), the paramount king of great kings, by the order of the Diwan at Anahilapattana . . appointed by him (i.e. the Sultān), under the dispensation of the glorious Badaradina Avubaka Ahamada Amira-koha (Badru-d-dīn Abū Bakr Aḥmad Amīr-i Kōh), agent in the circle of Peṭilāpadra, in the proximity of the revered Arjuna-ghori (Arjun Ghorī), (at) Petila by (Ismāīla?) Ushmana Siraj (Ismā'il Uṭhamān Shirāzī), an inhabitant of Skambhatīrtha (Kambhāyat) were given 20 *kubhas* of land marked off with boundary, repaired well The illustrious Thakkuras (Thākurs) should protect (these gifts). Written (also) in Persian.

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE GOLCONDA TOMBS.

BY G. YAZDANI.

The epigraphs dealt with in this article, apart from their literary and artistic merits, are of supreme importance in the chronology of the Qutb Shāhi 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.

Serial No.	King.	Birth.	Death.	Accession to the throne.
1	Sultān Qutb Shāh.	849 A.H. (7) ¹	Sunday, 2nd Jumada II, 950 A.H. (2nd September, 1543 A.D.). Ref., Pl. Va, <i>Tārīkh-i-Qutb Shāhi</i> (Asafya Library, Hyderabad, MS. No. 401), p. 100, and Briggs' <i>History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power</i> , vol. iii, p. 377.	924 A.H. (1518 A.D.). ²
2	Jamehid Qutb Shāh, son of (1).	957 A.H. (1550 A.D.). Ref., Briggs, iii, 327 and 389; <i>Qutb Shāhi</i> , p. 123.	950 A.H. (1543 A.D.). Ref., Briggs, iii, 324, 325 and 379; <i>Qutb Shāhi</i> , p. 107.
3	Subhān Qutb Shāh, son of (2).	950 A.H. (1543 A.D.) ³	957 A.H.—early part (1550 A.D.); deposed on Monday, the 12th Rajab, 957 A.H. (27th July, 1550 A.D.). ⁴ Ref., Briggs, iii, 394; <i>Qutb Shāhi</i> , p. 138.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Qutb Shāhi* (Hyderabad Library MS. No. 401, p. 107) records that the age of Sultān Qutb 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.

² Firightab gives 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.) as the date of Sultān Qutb's declaring his independence and assuming the title of Shāh, which is apparently wrong, because in 924 A.H. Sultān Qutb built the Jāmi' Masjid at Golconda and in an inscription carved in the mosque he mentions the name of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī as the reigning monarch, and styles himself "Sultān Qutb Qutbu-l-Mulk" without the title of Shāh. The Qutb Shāhi historian confirms the information contained in the epigraph, for he observes—"Sultān Qutb Qutbu-l-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 Qāsim Barīd and Faṭṭuḥ 'Imādu-l-Mulk to seize by violence the Bahmanī 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 Sultān Qutb, in spite of the imbecility of his old master—Mahmūd Shāh—did not assume the regal title as long as he lived. This subject has been fully discussed in a paper entitled—the Date of Sultān Qutb's assuming the title of Shāh, published in the *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1918, pp. 89-94.

³ The Qutb Shāhi historian states that Subhān Qutb 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.

⁴ Mr. L. P. Swamikango, 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 *Encyclopædia Britannica* the day would be Sunday.

Serial No.	King.	Birth.	Death.	Accession to the throne.
	Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, son of (1).	Shawwal, 936 A.H. (June, 1530 A.D.). Ref., <i>Briggs</i> , iii, 371; <i>Qutb Shāhī</i> , p. 92.	Thursday, ¹ 21st Rabi' II. 988 A.H. (5th June, 1580 A.D.). Ref., Pl. VIa, <i>Briggs</i> , iii, 445; <i>Qutb Shāhī</i> , p. 228.	Monday, 12th Rajab, 957 A.H. (27th July, 1550 A.D.). Ref., <i>Briggs</i> , iii, 394; <i>Qutb Shāhī</i> , p. 133.
5	Muhammad Qutb Shāh, son of (4).	Friday, 14th Raragān, 978 A.H. (5th April, 1566 A.D.). Ref., <i>Briggs</i> , iii, 415; <i>Qutb Shāhī</i> , p. 182.	Saturday, 17th Zū'ī Qā'dah, 1020 A.H. (11th January, 1612 A.D.). Ref., Pl. VI, <i>Briggs</i> , iii, 483; <i>Qutb Shāhī</i> , p. 304.	988 A.H. (1580 A.D.). Ref., <i>Briggs</i> , iii, 445; <i>Qutb Shāhī</i> , pp. 223-32.
6	Muhammad Qutb Shāh, son of Muhammad Amīn, sixth son of (4).	Wednesday, ² 23rd Rajab, 1001 A.H. (15th April, 1593 A.D.). Ref., Pl. IXb, <i>Qutb Shāhī</i> , p. 308.	Wednesday, 13th Jumada I, 1035 A.H. (1st February, 1626 A.D.). Ref., Pl. IXb.	Saturday, 17th Zū'ī Qā'dah, 1020 A.H. (11th January, 1612 A.D.). Ref., Pl. IXb, <i>Qutb Shāhī</i> , p. 311.
7	'Abdullah Qutb Shāh, son of (6).	Monday, 28th Shawwal, 1023 A.H. (21st November, 1614 A.D.). Ref., Pl. XIIIa, <i>Qutb Shāhī</i> , p. 321.	Sunday, 3rd Muharram, 1083 A.H. (21st April, 1672 A.D.). Ref., Pl. XIIIa.	Wednesday, 14th Jumada I, 1035 A.H. (1st February, 1626 A.D.). ³ Ref., Pl. XIIIa.
8	Abul Hasan Qutb Shāh, son-in-law of (6).	1699 A.D.	1083 A.H. (1672 A.D.) Deposed 1687 A.D.

Sultān Qutb, the founder of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty, was lineally descended from the ruling family of Qara Quvinlū Turks and was born at Sa'idabād near Hamadān. Some time before his birth, his own tribe had been subjugated by the rival tribe Āq Quvinlū⁴ (White Ram horde), and Sultān Qutb, 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 sufficient inducement to make him visit India a second time. Sultān Qutb, on his arrival in the Deccan, was graciously received at the court of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Bahmani, 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 Qutb-ul-Mulk and the governorship of Telingana.

¹ The 21st Rabi' II 988 A.H. (28th year of 38rd 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 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh's enthronement took place on the day on which his father died, i.e., Wednesday, 13th Jumada I, 1035 A.H. The epitaph on 'Abdullah's tomb (Pl. XIIIa) gives the same week-day—Wednesday; but the Hijri date given in the epitaph is 14th Jumada I, 1035 A.H., instead of 13th Jumada I, 1035 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 Quvinlū were so called owing to their having a black ram on their standard. For their history refer to P. Harbelot, *Et. Ori. Art. Ac-coin* and *Cara-coin*.

Sultān Qulī 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 Bahmanī kingdom was crumbling during the time of Sultān Qulī, 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 Qulī 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 Qulī 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 Qutb Shāhī 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 Qulī was very unfortunate. His third son Yār Qulī Jamshīd, being of an ambitious nature, tired of the long reign of his father and planned his death. On Sunday, the 2nd Jumādā II, 950 A.H. (2nd September, 1543 A.D.), when Sultān Qulī was in the act of kneeling in prayer at the Jāmi' Masjid at Golconda, Mir Muḥammad Hamādānī, the Commandant of the Fort, struck off his head with a stroke of his sabre. The king was buried in a dome which he had himself built for the purpose.

The inscriptions carved on the grave of Sultān Qulī are in the *Naskh* characters and represent calligraphy of no mean order. The Qutb Shāhī 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 artists¹ 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 *Naskh* or *Tughra*, but there are some examples of the *Nasta'liq* script also, and in one case the *Kufi* style has been noticed.²

Jamshīd Qulī, 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 'Alī Barīd³

¹ The names of the Persian artists are—(1) Muḥammad (of Isfahān) and (2) Ismā'īl b. 'Arab (of Shirāz). The name of the Bahrain calligraphist is Taqī-d-dīn Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ. The British Museum Library possesses a history of the Deccan in the handwriting of one Ismā'īl b. 'Arab who is apparently calligraphist 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 Qutb Shāhī history, calls this king 'Kasim Bereed', although the first Bīdar king of this name died long before Jamshīd's accession and the second did not succeed to the throne till 1686 A.D. The original Persian text mentions this king by the name of Barīd Shāh or Barīd Mamālīk, both of which were titles of Bīdar 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, 388; and Hyderabad MS., pp. 112-113.

and Ibrahim 'Adil 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 if 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 'Adil Shāh and Barhān Nizām Shāh, who heartily entered into the scheme. Barhān Nizām Shāh attacked and carried by storm the fort of Qandhār, which was an important stronghold of the Barid Shāhi kingdom. 'Alī Barid, unaware of the secret treaty which had been formed, went for help to his old ally Ibrahim 'Adil Shāh, to whom he was seized and confined. Subsequently, Ibrahim 'Adil 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 'Adil Shāh that he could hold no communication with him if he did not release Barid Shāh immediately. Ibrahim 'Adil 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 957 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.¹ 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 Qutb Shāhi history.² 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 'Ainu-l-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 Sulṭān Quli, for help. This prince, at the accession of Jamshid, had fled to Vijayanagar and joined the service of Ramraj. On receipt of the letters, Ibrahim Quli marched to Golconda and, with the help of the Nā'igwārīs, succeeded in establishing himself on the throne.³

After his accession, Ibrahim Quli elevated Jagdeo Rāo, the chief of the Nā'igwārīs, 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

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 Qutb Shāhi tombs. As a matter of fact, there is not much difference between this structure and other Qutb Shāhi 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 Hyderabad MS., pp. 129-30.

³ 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 Sulṭān Quli and Jamshid Quli, due west of the former, is called the *Chāhote Malik kū gumbad*, '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 Rão 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 Rão returned to the Quṭb Shāhī dominions with the intention of proceeding to Vijayanagar, and laid waste all the villages in his route. Ibrahim Qulī, hearing of his approach, deputed Muṣṭafā Khān, his prime-minister and Commander-in-Chief, to punish the rebel. A severe action ensued near Khammam,¹ in which Jagdeo Rão was completely defeated, and fled to Vijayanagar.

The relations of the Vijayanagar and the Quṭb 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 Rão'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 Rão, to invade the southern districts of the Quṭb 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'igwārīs, and when their chief Jagdeo Rão received the countenance of the Vijayanagar king in his rebellion against Ibrahim Qulī, they all became disloyal. A plot was conceived by Sūrya Rão, the commandant of the Nā'igwārīs in the Golconda fort, according to which on a concerted signal when the king went out to hunt in the country the Nā'igwārīs were to secure all the forts and Sūrya Rão 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, Muṣṭafā Khān, to Bijapur and Ahmadnagar to persuade the monarchs of these two kingdoms to enter into a league against Ramraj. The mission of Muṣṭafā Khān 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 Khān, whose name has already been mentioned, and Rifāt Khān Lārt. 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 *Tughra* inscription over the Makki gate at Golconda. This epigraph shows that the real name of the general was Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain and Muṣṭafā

¹ The modern name of the place is Khammam (Warangal District).

² When Timraj and Govindraj, brothers of Ramraj, rebelled against him, Ibrahim Qulī despatched Qabūl Khān to help Ramraj. *Briggs*, iii, 398; and Hyderabad MS., pp. 144-147.

³ In the wars of Bijapur with Ahmadnagar, Ibrahim Qulī, in consultation with Ramraj, on several occasions mediated 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.¹ To Rif'at Khān is due the credit of the conquest of Rajamandri, Cossim-cota and a large number of forts on the eastern side of Telingana 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.² 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 Shāhi historian, speaking of the prosperity of the country and the hospitality of the king, observes:—

"During the just reign of Ibrahim Kootb Shah, Telingana, 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!"³

Ibrahim Qutb Shāh 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 Shāhi dynasty reached its zenith. The towns of Karul, Nandial and Cuddapa were conquered in the south, and measures were adopted to place the eastern part of the empire (Telingana), which extended up to the sea-coast, under better control. Muḥammad Quli's chief 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 *Darū-sh-Shifā* (public hospital), the *Dād Mahall* (Palace or Hall of Justice) and several Royal palaces. Muḥammad Quli'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 *Tughra* or *Naskh*, or *Nasta'liq*, 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.⁴

During the reign of Muḥammad Quli, an embassy from the Persian king, Shāh 'Abbas, headed by one of his nobles, waited on the Golconda king. Muḥammad Quli 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 Bahmanids. The Qutb Shāhi historian writes that a sum of sixty thousand *huns* (£24,000) was distributed annually to the poor, of which twelve thousand *huns* (£4,800) were given in charity during the month of Muḥarram alone.⁵

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

¹ *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, pp. 48-9 and Pl. XIXa.

² The tank known as the Husain Sagar was built by Ibrahim Quli. *Briggs*, iii, 446; and Hyderabad MS., p. 231.

Briggs, iii, 446; and Hyderabad MS., p. 231.

⁴ The styles of writing of the *Shiite Kalima* and Qur'ānic verses carved on the graves of Muḥammad Qutb Shāh, Hayāt Bekhsh Begam, 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, etc., are mere copies of the styles of religious texts engraved in Muḥammad Qutb Shāh's tomb.

⁵ *Briggs*, iii, 484; and Hyderabad MS., p. 306.

Idem, p. 307.

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 *farman* to 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh that he should not interfere with Mir Jumlā. The countenance 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 Sultān 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—

ختم بالخیر و السعادة

"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 1083 A.H. (1672 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son-in-law Abu-l-Ḥasan, nick-named *Tānā Shāh* (the Fastidious Prince). He is reported to have

¹ Hyderabad MS., pp. 327-37.

² E. I. M., 1913-14, pp. 51-5.

³ The celebrated Persian lexicon—*Burhān-i-Qūfī*—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 Quṭb Shāhī kingdom. The siege of Golconda is well known in history through the facile pen of the great satirist Ni'mat Khān 'Alī; but it is a great pity that this writer, owing to his religious partiality to Abul Ḥasan, has throughout tried to belittle the efforts made by Aurangzeb to conquer the Fort and has often given a distorted version of facts. The fort fell in 1687 and Abul Ḥasan 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 Shāh Rājā Qattal, the father of the Gulbargah saint, Sayyid Muhammad Geṣū Darāz.

I.—Inscriptions in the tomb of Sulṭān Qulī Quṭb Shāh.

The sepulchre of Sulṭān Qulī 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 *Naskh* 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'ān (Chap. II, verses 256-59), at the end of which the following phrases have been added:—

صدق الله العظيم وصدق رسوله النبي الكريم و نحن على ذلك من الشاهدين و
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 *Durūd*¹ which, with the Throne Verse, is repeated on all the Quṭb Shāhī graves to invoke blessing on the soul of the deceased. The text of the *Durūd* is as follows:—

اللهم صل على المصطفى محمد و المرتضى علي و البتول فاطمه و السبطين الحسن و
الحسين و صل على زين العباد علي و الباقر محمد و الصادق جعفر و الكاظم موسى و الرضا علي
و النبي محمد و النبي علي و الزكي العسكري الحسن و صل على العجة القايم الخلف الصالح
الامام المهتم المنتظر المظفر محمد المهدي صاحب الزمان و خليفة الرحمن و مظهر
الايمان و سيد الانس و الجن صلوات الله و سلامه عليه و عليهم اجمعين في سنة ٩٥٠ هـ

"O God, bless the Chosen Muhammad, the Agreeable 'Alī, the Chaste Fāṭima, the two offsprings (viz. of 'Alī), Ḥasan and Ḥusain; and bless the Ornament of holy persons, 'Alī, the

¹ Formula of blessing the Prophet and his descendants.

Learned Muḥammad, the Truthful Jā'far, the Forbearing Mūsā, the Submissive 'Alī, the Pious Muḥammad, the Pure 'Alī, the Virtuous Ḥasan 'Askarī; and 'bless the standing proof (of God), the worthy son, the noble Imām, the expected, the victorious Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the lord of the time, the vicegerent of the Merciful (God), the manifestation of the faith, the lord of mankind and genii: may God's blessing and peace be upon him and upon them all! In the year 950 A.H."

The inscription giving the name and the titles of the deceased king and the exact date of his death is carved in three lines at the foot (south) of the grave. I read it as follows:—

PLATE V (a).

(1) انتقل صاحب هذه الرضة الرضية رعر الملك المغفور (2) السعيد الشهيد الغازي
لوجه الله المجاهد في سبيل الله الملك سلطان قلي (3) المخاطب بقطب الملك المشهور به
برى ملك اثار الله برهانه الى جوار رحمة الله في يوم الاثنين ثاني شهر جمادي الثانيه في
سنة ٩٥٠ هـ

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 Sulṭān Qulī, entitled Qutbu-l-Mulk, known as Bare 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 الغازي 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, Bare 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,¹ and in the translation he has failed to note the connection of the phrase الى جوار رحمة الله with the verb انتقل (meaning "moved to the neighbourhood of God's mercy"), and wrongly attached it to the preceding phrase—انار الله برهانه—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 Qutb 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 Nekkām Khān, a general in the service of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh,

¹ In line 1 he has left out the letter (ر) between the words الرضية and هو, and in line 3 the word في between لوجه الله and يوم. In line 3 he has spelt the name of the month جمادي الثاني instead of جمادي الثانيه as given in the inscription. *E. I. M.*, 1907-8, p. 23.

and Prince Muḥammad Amin, the sixth son of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, are situated. The basement story of Ibrāhīm's tomb is rather high (36 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 Shi'ite creed, and verse 16, Chap. III from the Qur'ān:—

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ عَلِيٌّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ حَقًّا ۝ شَهِدَ اللَّهُ أَنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْمَلَكُ
وَالْعِلْمُ قَائِمًا بِالْقِسْطِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ ۝ فِي سَنَةِ ٩٨٨

"There is no god but God, Muḥammad is the apostle of God and 'Alī 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." (Sale).

The first band of writing carved on the sides of the grave contains verses from the Qur'ān (Chap. II, verses 256-59), as in the epitaph of Sulṭān Qutb Shāh (*ante*, p. 26). The second band contains the *Nadī 'Alī* and the following *Hadīth*:—

قَالَ مُحَمَّدٌ نَبِيُّ الْكَوْنَيْنِ الْمَوْتُ حَيٌّ فِي الدَّارَيْنِ
الْمُؤْمِنُونَ لَا يَمُوتُونَ بَلْ يَنْتَقِلُونَ مِنْ دَارٍ إِلَى دَارٍ

"Muḥammad 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) قَدْ انْتَقَلَ سَاكِنُ هَذِهِ الْحَضِيرَةِ الْعَلِيَّةِ الْعَالِيَةِ وَهُوَ السُّلْطَانُ (2) الْمَغْفُورُ وَالْحَقَّانُ
الْمَرْحُومُ الْمُبَرَّرُ الْمَكْسُورُ (3) بَعْدَ رِضْوَانِ الْمَلِكِ الْإِلَهِ السُّلْطَانِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ تَطْبِشَادَ (4) أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ بِرِغَابِهِ
وَأَسْكَنَهُ مَعَ أَوْلِيَائِهِ جَنَانَهُ إِلَى جَوَارِ (5) رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ يَوْمَ الْخَمِيسِ الْخَادِي وَالْعِشْرِينَ (6) مِنْ
شَهْرِ رَجَبِ الثَّانِي سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَثَمَانِينَ وَتِسْعَ مِائَةٍ مِنَ الْعِجْرَةِ النَّبَوِيَّةِ ۝

TRANSLATION.

The occupant of this high and grand tomb—and he is the Sulṭān 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 Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, may God illumine his argument and cause him to dwell with his friends in His

(a) Inscription on the grave of Sultan Quli Qutbshah, Golconda.



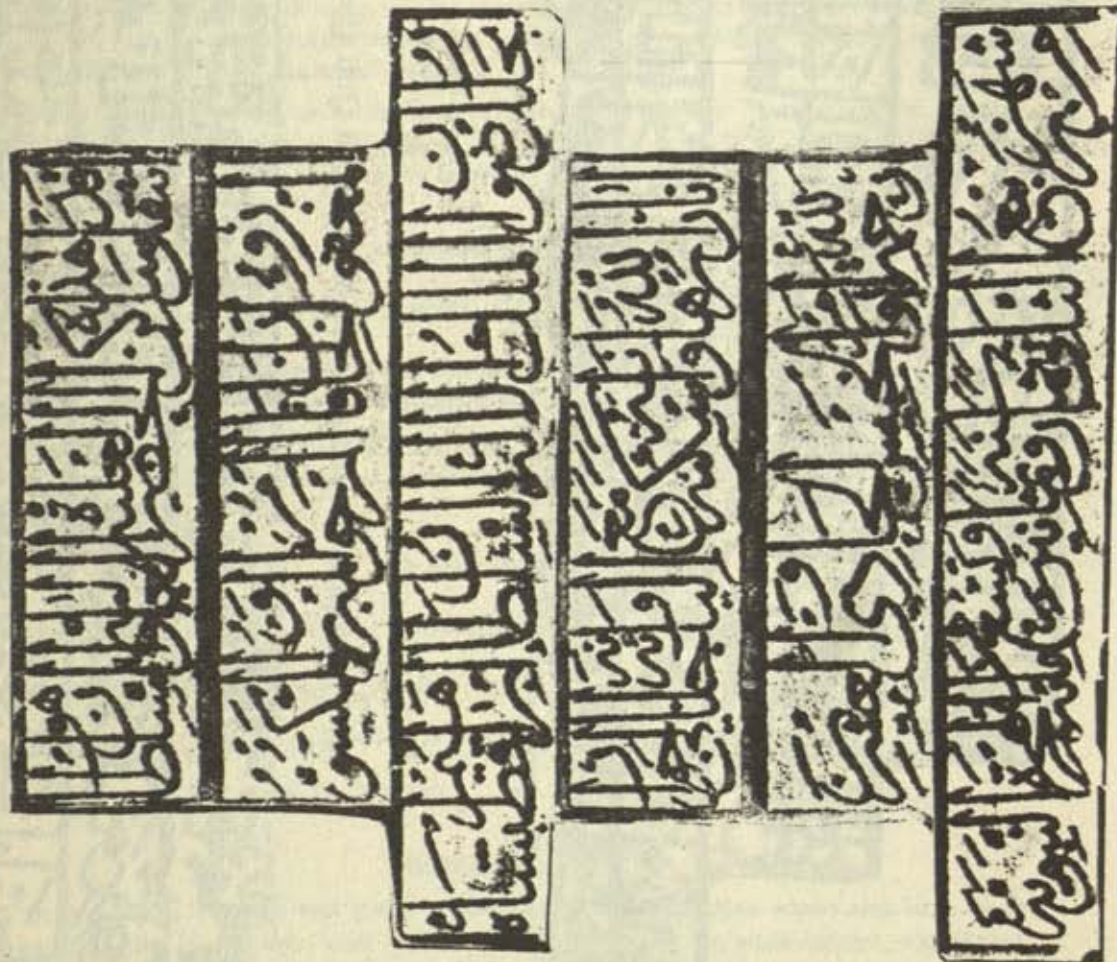
Scale '33

(b) Inscription on the grave of Muhammad Quli Qutbshah, Golconda.



Scale '3

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



Scale *25

PLATE VI.
(b) Inscription on the grave
of Mirza Muhammad Amin,
sixth son of Ibrahim
Qutbshah, Golconda.



Scale *25

Paradise!—marched to the neighbourhood of divine mercy on Thursday,¹ the 21st of Rabi' II, 988 years after the flight of the Prophet (corresponding to June 5, 1580).²

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 *Naskh* characters of a very pleasing style.

III.—Inscriptions in the tomb of Mīrza Muḥammad Amin.

The tomb of this prince, who was the sixth son of Ibrahim Qutb Shāh, is a small dome on a square base, built on the same terrace on which the tomb of his father stands. Muḥammad 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 Sūrah Ikh̄lās and verse 16 from Chap. III (Pl. VIIIa). The Sūrah Ikh̄lās is written in the *Kuṭbī* 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 *Nadī 'Alī*. The third band contains the Arabic poem referred to above and the fourth band the Shi'ite creed, as carved on the grave of Sultān Qutb (ante, p. 26). 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 *Naskh* and the language is Arabic.

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

PLATE VI (b).

- (1) قد اتفق ارتحال المغفور المبرور ذي (2) المناقب العلية³ والمفاخر السلطانية
(3) ميرزا⁴ محمد امين ابن السلطان ابراهيم قطبشاه (4) اكسائه الله حلال المغفرة
و الرضوان في (5) يوم الاحد الخامس والعشرين (6) من شهر شعبان المعظم سنة ١٠٠٣ ٥

TRANSLATION.

The death of the prince, taken into the mercy of God, the purified, the possessor of high virtues and royal glories, Mīrza Muḥammad Amin, son of the Sultān Ibrahim Qutb Shāh—may God clothe him with the garments of pardon and acceptance!—occurred on Sunday, the 25th of the month of Shā'bān, 1004 A.H. (April 14, 1596 A.D.).⁵

¹ See above (p. 20; note 1).

² 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 *الكسوة بحلال الرضوان الملك الإله* into two separate parts, and regards the words *الملك الإله* as 'an unusual expression'. Further, he has failed to notice the connection of *اكسائه مع اربائه جناته* with *انتقل الى جوار رحمة الله* and wrongly connected the former with the benedictory phrase *جناته*. Colonel Haig has also omitted a *زاد* in line 1 before *هو السلطان*, and added the word *في* before *جناته* in line 5.

³ Haig has read this word *عالية*.

⁴ Haig's decipherment is *امير*.

⁵ Haig's reading is *كسائه*.

⁶ The 26th Shā'bān, 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.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (١) يا قاهرا بالمنايا كل جبار | بذر رجحك اعتقني من النار |
| (٢) اليك اسلمني من كان يعصديني | من اهل ربي واصحابي و انصار |
| (٣) في قعر مظلمة قفراء مرحشة | فرداً غريباً رحيداً تحت احجار |
| (٤) امسيت ضيفك يا ذا الجود مرتها | و انت اكرم منزول به قار |
| (٥) فاجعل قرابي بفضل منك مغفرة | انجو اليك بها يا خير غفار |
| (٦) ان الملوك اذا شابت عبيدهم | في رقهم عتقوهم عتق ابرار |
| (٧) و انت يا سيدي اوليهم كرما | قد شبت في الرق فاعتقني من النار |

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 me 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 Shāh.

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 *Basif*.

Inscription on the sides of Mirza Muhammad Amin's grave, Golconda.

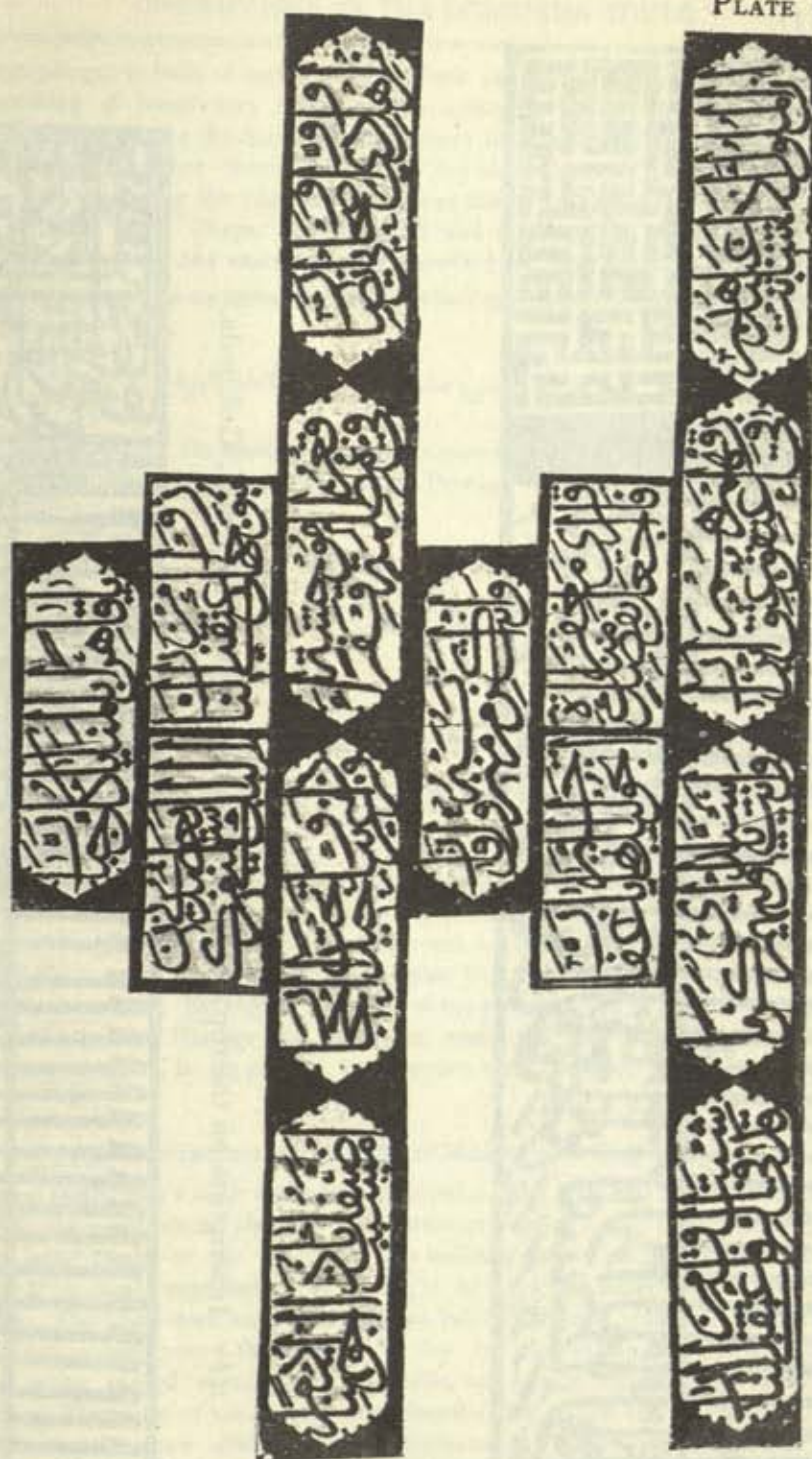


PLATE VII.

Scale '142

(a) Inscription on the top slab of Mirza Muhammad Amin's grave, Golconda.



Scale '25

(b) Inscription on the top slab of Muhammad Qutbshah's grave, Golconda.



Scale '166

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 Shāhi graves, contains the Shiite creed and verse 16, Chap. III from the Qur'ān written in the *Tughra* style. The first three bands of writing along the sides comprise extracts from the Qur'ān; the first containing the Throne Verse (verse 256, Chap. II), the second, verses 285-286, Chap. II, and the third, Chaps. XCVII, CIX and CXII-CXIV. The fourth band comprises the Shiite *Darūd* in the same form as inscribed on the grave of Sultān Qulī (*ante*, p. 26) excepting the words occurring between *المنظر* and *خلقة الرحمن* in line 4 which in this inscription are:—

المنظر المراضى محمد بن الحسن صاحب الزمان ر قاطع البرهان الخ

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

PLATE V (b).

- (1) اعلیٰ حضرت جنت مکانی عرش آشیانی² محمد قلی قطبشاه بن ابراهیم قطبشاه²
 انارالله برهانها (2) بتاریخ روز شنبه هفدهم ماه ذی القعدة الحرام سنه ۱۰۲۰ عشرين و الف
 هجري برحمت حق واصل شد (3) سن شریفش چهل و نه سال و مدت سلطنتش سی و
 یک سال رحمه الله تعالى رحمة كاملة ☉

TRANSLATION.

His Exalted Majesty, whose abode is Paradise and whose resting-place is Heaven, Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, son of Ibrahim Qutb Shāh—may God illumine the argument of both!—was joined to God's mercy on Saturday, the 17th of the sacred month of Zī'l Qa'dāh, 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 Muḥammad Qutb Shāh.

Muḥammad Qutb Shāh's tomb ranks next in splendour and grandeur to the tomb of Muḥammad Qulī; 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' 8" 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.

¹ The style of writing of the benedictory verses also is *Naskh*.

² It is interesting to note that these titles were adopted for Humāyūn and Akbar after their death. Humāyūn died in 1556 and Akbar in 1605. This inscription is dated 1612 and shows the ambition of the Qutb Shāhi princes to use the same titles for their deceased ancestors as were used by contemporary Mughal emperors.

Besides the grave of Muḥammad Quṭb 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 Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh are carved in this order:—

Top slab—Shiite creed and Qur'ān (Ch. III, verse 16). Date 1035 A.H. Pl. VIIIb.

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, Shiite 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) وفات عالیحضرت جنت مکانی سلطان محمد قطبشاه بن میرزا محمد امین بن ابراهیم
قطبشاه فی (2) تاریخ یوم الاربعاء¹ سیزدهم ماه جمادی الاولی سنه ۱۰۳۵ ولادت باسعادتش
در ماه رجب سنه ۱۰۰۱ جلوس همایونش فی (3) هفدهم ماه ذی القعد سنه ۱۰۲۰ مدت
سلطنتش چهارده سال و شش ماه عمر عزیزش سی و چهار سال و ده ماه ☉

TRANSLATION.

The death of His Exalted Majesty, whose abode is Paradise, Sultān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, son of Mirzā Muḥammad Amin, son of Ibrahim Quṭb Shāh, occurred on Wednesday, the 13th of Jumada I. 1035 A.H. (Feb. 1, 1626 A.D.). His felicitous birth (took place) in the month of Rajab 1001 A.H. (April, 1593 A.D.) and his auspicious accession on the 17th of Zū'l Qā'dāh, 1020 A.H. (Jan. 11, 1612 A.D.). The length of his reign was fourteen years and six months and the period of his honoured life thirty-four years and ten months.

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

Of the two other graves in the tomb of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh which bear inscriptions, one is of Sā'imā Khānam, 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 Quṭb Shāhī tombs. The inscriptions carved on the grave occur in this order:—

Top slab—Shiite 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 'Alī*.

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

Band V, Shiite 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).

علیا حضرت خدیجه مرتبه مریم مکانی بلقیس زمانی صالحه عفیفه رابعه² رابعه²
ساجده صالحه خاتم

¹ Haig has read this word as [الحد]. E. I. M., 1907-8, p. 26.

² Haig's reading is رکعبه.

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



Scale '5

(b) Inscription on the grave of Muhammad Qutbshah, Golconda.



Scale '5

(a) Inscription on the grave of Zuhra Bi, Golconda.



Scale '25

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



Scale '2

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



Scale '5

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



Scale '25

TRANSLATION.

Her Exalted Highness, in rank like *Khadijā*,¹ in position like Mary, the *Bilqis*² of the age, the chaste and pious (lady), the humble and devout Rabi'a, *Ṣā'imā Khānam*.

The style of writing of this inscription is *Nasḥ* 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, *Nadī 'Alī*.

Band VI, *Qur'ān* (Chaps. XCVII, CIX and CXII-CXIV).

Band VII, *Shiite 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).

عاليحضرت سيادت و نجابت پناه مغفرت و مرحمت دستگاه شاه خزندار ابن سيادت

پناه شاه محمد الحسيني ☉

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 Bī*.

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 Bī* 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 Bī* 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, *Nadī '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, *Shiite Durūd*.

¹ Muḥammad's first wife.

² Name of the Queen of Sheba.

³ The famous saint of Gulbarga, popularly known as Banda Nawās Gesū Darās, 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) عليا حضرت مريم مكاني خديجه مرتبت زهرا بي
(2) باني ناطمه سلطان بنت سلطان محمد امين ٢

TRANSLATION.

Her Exalted Highness, of Mary's position and Khadijā's rank, Zubrā Bt.² The builder: Fātimā Sultān, daughter of Sultān Muḥammad Amin.

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

The tablet fixed at the head of the grave—Nādi 'Alī and the Shiite creed.

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

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

VII.—Inscriptions on the grave of Princess Kulsūm'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 Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh by his daughter Kulsūm. The sarcophagus, though small, is beautifully carved and decorated with inscriptions. The benedictory verses occur in this order:—

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

Along the sides—Band I, Shiite creed.

Band II, Throne verse.

Band III, Shiite Durūd.

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

PLATE X (b).

- (1) مغفرت پناه ابن کسوم ٢ بنت (2) مرجو من نور الله سلطان محمد قطبشاه
خدا الله تعالى ٤

TRANSLATION.

The child, whose sins have been forgiven, son of Kulsūm, daughter of *Marjā min Nūrillāh* (expectant of the Light of God), Sultān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, may God keep him for ever!

The inscription is interesting as it gives the title—*Marjā min Nūrillāh*—of Sultān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, 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 Sultān and wife of Mirza Muḥammad Amin. Contemporary history, however, throws no light on this point.

³ The spelling of the name Kulthūm (كلثوم) with *sīs* instead of *ṭhe* is unusual.

⁴ Haig's reading of this inscription, besides being incomplete, is faulty. He read it thus—

مغفرت پناه برل بنت کسوم ٢٣٧. *E. I. M.*, 1907-8, p. 27.

VIII.—Inscriptions in the tomb of Hayat Bakhsh Begam.

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

“In the year 1016, the Prince Sooltan Mahomed, son of the late Prince Mahomed Ameen, was honoured with the hand of the King’s beautiful daughter, his own first cousin.”¹

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—Shiite 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 285-86).

Band III, Qur’ān (Chaps. XCVII, CIX and CXII-CXIV).

Band IV, Nādi ‘Alī and Shiite Durūd.

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 *Nasḫ*. I have read the inscription as follows:—

PLATE X (d).

وفات جنت مکانی حیات بخش بیگم بتاریخ بیست و هشتم ماه شعبان شب سه شنبه

سنة ۱۰۷۷ ©

TRANSLATION.

The death of the lady, whose abode is Paradise, Hayat 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 Shāhī 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 *Hadith*:—

من بني مسجداً لله فقد بني الله 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 Hayat 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

¹ Briggs, Vol. III, p. 476.

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 *Tughrā* style of writing:—

نصر من الله وفتح قريب

Qur'ān (Ch. LXI, verse 13).

ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا
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 XIXc). 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 تقي الدين محمد بن شيخ صالح البحراني ١٠٧٧ 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 Mati.

Behind the dry details of ordinary events, the chronicles of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty have a halo of romance, and the names of the beautiful Bhag Mati, Pem Mati and Tāra Mati, aided by local traditions and monuments, conjure up many a stirring scene in the imaginative mind. Pem Mati is reported to have been a concubine of 'Abdullāh Quṭb 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 the 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 جلتي پيم متي

سنة ١٠٧٣

TRANSLATION.

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

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

The benedictory verses on Pem Mati'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, Shīte Durūd in a brief form.



XI.—Inscriptions in the tomb of Nekkām Khān.

Mr. Talbot Wheeler on p. 18 of his book—*Madras in the Olden Times*—speaks of a Nekkām Khān 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 Nekkām Khan, nabob of Golconda, or rather Commander-in-Chief of the army of Abou Hassan, king of Golconda or Hyderabad."¹

He further 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 Neiknam 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 covele for the district of Madraspatam after the flight of the Raja of Chandrayheri."²

The information given at the end of the last extract brings the name of Nekkām Khān prominently before the student of the history of British administration in India. The year of his demise given by Mr. Wheeler is 1672 A.D.,³ which differs by one year from the date written on Nekkām Khān's tomb at Golconda—Zā'ī Hījā 1083 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 Nekkām Khān 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 Neiknam Khan can be discovered in the history of Golconda; and indeed the name is an ordinary title, and another Neiknam 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 Shāhī dynasty subsequent to the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Qutb Shāh is available, and the Mughal chroniclers make only casual references to the history of the Deccan, so the absence of Nekkām Khān's name in the principal Persian works is not a strange circumstance. The name of the General, however, occurs in the historical work *Basāṭin-u-s-Salāṭin* by Mirzā Ibrāhīm Zubairī.⁴ In this history he is described as the most accomplished General in the service of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, who once deputed him to help the Bijāpūr army in defending their country against the Mughal attack under Raja Jai Singh Kachhwāhā, alias Mirzā Rāja, in 1665 A.D.⁵

¹ Abu-l-Hasan did not succeed to the seat of government till 1083 A.H. (1672 A.D.). Mr. Wheeler has confused 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh (1628-72 A.D.) with Abul Hasan Qutb Shāh in this case.

² *Madras in the Olden Times*, p. 33.

³ *Idem*, p. 44.

⁴ *Ethé's Catalogue of Persian MSS.* in the India Office Library, column 175, MS. No. 455, Morley's *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 79, and *Bieu's Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 320a.

⁵ The reference occurs on p. 413 of the Hyderabad lithograph and begins thus :—

سلطان عبداللہ بمجرد دریافت مضمون جواب در تہد سامان لشکر کشی آمدہ فرجی چیدہ گردیدہ مرآتی
ہزارہ ہزار سوار و چہل ہزار احشام جنگی مسلمان در سپہ سالاری فدوی نیکدام خان کہ در شجاعت و ہمت
و تقویت و درایت ممتاز اقران و مرآد امین ہرد روانہ بہ بلدہ بیجا پور کرد الخ

The tomb of Nekkām Khān is situated on the same terrace on which the tomb of Ibrahim Qasb Shāh 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'ān (Ch. XCVII) and Shiite Durūd.

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

PLATE XII (b).

هوالبانی

(1) فرمان جهان مطاع عنایت عنوان و حکم آفتاب شعاع مرحمت بنیان از دیوان
همین (sic) خلافت (2) مشکور چنان شرف مدور یافت که مقدمان و کلکریان و رعایای
موضع منگوارم من اعمال (3) سبط (sic) جنرل عرف حسن آباد بالطاف شاهانه امیدوار
بوده بدانند که از راه عنایت خبررانه که شامل حال کافه (4) فدیوانست از ابتدای شهر
سنه اربع و سبعین و الف حاصل موضع مذکور را وقف لنگر و روشنائی و حفاظ (5) و خادمان
مزار مغفرت پناه جنت مکان نیکنامخان نموده ایم که تا زمان ظهور حضرت صاحب الزمان
(6) صوات الله علیه من الملك العنان¹ مقرر و جاری بوده باشد باید که عهده داران و کارکنان
و دیسپانیان و تهلکریان و مقدمان (7) و کلکریان سبط مزبور موضع مذکور را جهت اخراجات
لنگر و روشنائی و خادمان و حفاظ مزار غفران پناه مومنی الیه (8) مقرر و معین دانسته بلا عذر
جاری دارند و درین باب تاکید تمام و قدغن مالاکلام شناسند و اگر کسی از مضمون فرمان
قضا (9) جریان تخلف ورزه بلعنت خدا و نفرین رسول الله گرفتار خواهد شد ۷ فمن بدله
بعد ما سمعه فانما ائمه علی (10) الذین یدلونہ ان الله سمیع علیم² © تحریر دوازدهم
شهر جمادی (sic) الثانی سنه ۱۸۴ (۱۰۸۴) وفات غفران پناه نیکنام خان دهم نبی حجه
سنه ۱۰۸۳: کتبہ محمد صادق بن علی کاتب ع . . .

TRANSLATION.

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.

¹ The construction of the phrase is grammatically incorrect.

² Haig has read this word as تہدات.

³ This phrase was not deciphered by Haig. It is a quotation from the Qur'ān (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 *141

filled with imperial dignity, to this effect that the Muqaddams (headmen), Kulkarnis (accountants) and the people of the village of Mangalwāram in the division of Janwal, popularly known as Ḥasanabād, 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.,¹ set apart the revenues of the said village as an endowment for the alms-house, the lights, the reciters of the Qur'ān and the servants of the tomb of Nekkām Khān, 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, Despāntians (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'ān 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 Jumada II, 1084 A.H. (Sunday, 14th September, 1673 A.D.). The death of Nekkām Khān, whose sins are forgiven (occurred) on the 10th of Zū'l Hijja 1083 A.H. (Wednesday, 19th March, 1673 A.D.). Written by Muḥammad Ṣādiq, son of 'Alī, the calligrapher: may God pardon his sins!²

XII.—Inscriptions in the tomb of 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh.

The mausoleum of the king is a replica of the tombs of his parents, Sultān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh and Ḥayāt Bakhsh 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'ān (Ch. III, verse 16), Shi'ite creed and the date 1083 A.H.

Along the sides—Band I, Throne verse.

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

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

Band V, Shi'ite Durūd and Nādi 'Alī.

The inscription giving the date of 'Abdullāh Quṭb 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 Nekkām Khān 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 1084. 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 Muḥammad Ṣādiq and the date 1102 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 Ḥasan Tānā 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 وفات بادشاه جنت بارگاه سلطان عبداللہ قطب شاہ بن سلطان محمد
 (2) قطبشاہ یوم الاحد سیم ماه محرم سنہ ۱۰۸۳ ر ولادت باسعادتش بیست و ہشتم شہر شوال
 سنہ ۱۰۲۳ ۷ جلوس ہمایرنش یوم الاربعہ چہاردم ماه جمادی الاولیٰ سنہ ۱۰۳۵ ۷ مدت
 سلطنتش چہل و ہشت سال (3) سن شریفش شصت سال ۷

TRANSLATION.

The date of the demise of the king of heavenly court, Sultān 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, son of Sultān Muḥammad Qutb Shāh, is Sunday, the 3rd of Muharram, 1083 A.H. (April 21, 1672 A.D.), and the date of his felicitous birth 28th Shawwāl, 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 Fāṭima Khānam, daughter of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh.

Near the unfinished tomb of Abul Ḥasan and to the south-west of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh's mausoleum stands the sepulchre of his daughter Fāṭima Khānam. 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 :—

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

Along the sides—Band I, throne verse.

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

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

Band IV, Shiite Darūd.

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

PLATE XIII (b).

وفات جنت مکانی^۲ فاطمہ خانم بنت سلطان عبداللہ قطبشاہ بتاريخ بیستم^۳ ماه شوال
 منی ۱۰۸۷ ۷

TRANSLATION.

The death of (the lady) whose abode is Paradise, Fāṭima Khānam, daughter of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, occurred on the 20th of Shawwāl, 1087 A.H. (Saturday, 16th December, 1676 A.D.).

¹ *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1917, pp. 80-82, and 1918, pp. 95-96

² Haig reads مکانی

³ Haig's reading is سیزده

(a) Inscription on the grave of 'Abdullah Qutbshah, Golconda.



Scale 1/66

(b) Inscription on the grave of Fatima Khanam, Golconda.



Scale 1/33

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 *Panjshabāh*, i.e. Friday, and the date is the 12th and the month is *Shā'bān*. Now we find, as a matter of fact, that in 1017 the 12th of *Shā'bān* 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 *Panjshabāh*, 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. Swamikannu, Esq., Collector of Nellore, the 12th of *Shā'bān*, 1017, falls on Thursday also. Mr. Swamikannu 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 *Shā'bān*, 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. 1608.

"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 8th, 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 *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. Calendar, Vol. IV, p. 1001, 2nd col. (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 *Shā'bān* 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 *Encyclopædia 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 Shābān would have been 10th November, A.D. 1608, 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 1608, and, in this case, Thursday evening, 10th November 1608, would have been the beginning of 12th Shābān.

"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 at all 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 1½ 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 *Encyclopædia 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 spécial interest to students of Muslim chronology.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDO-MOSLEMICA

EDITED BY

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DIRECTOR OF ARCHÆOLOGY, H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS, AND GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR
MOSLEM INSCRIPTIONS.

1917-18

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

By G. YAZDANI.

Naldrug (17° 49' N. and 76° 29' E.) is a small town in the Osmānābād district of the Nizam's Dominions. The tradition, ascribing the foundation of the town to Raja Nala, goes back to the time of Firishṭa who, while describing the warfare between 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bījapūr and Husain Nizām Shāh of Ahmad Nagar in the year 966 A.H. (1559 A.D.), mentions Naldrug as "the place where Raja Nal had formerly erected a strong fortress."¹ 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 'Alā'u-d-dīn Bahmani II (1435-58), we find Naldrug one of the six forts of the kingdom seized by his brother Muḥammad Khān by the aid of the Vijayanagar king.² 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, Naldrug, with Sholapur, Sagur and Gulbarga, was entrusted to the Abyssinian eunuch Dastūr Dīnār.³ On the extinction of the Bahmani dynasty the Fort fell to the 'Ādil Shāhs 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 Shāhi dynasty of Ahmadnagar had made it a bone of contention between them.⁴

'Alī 'Ādil Shāh also changed the name of Naldrug into Shāhdrug,⁵ which appears to have never become popular; but in Firishṭa's history this name frequently occurs in the account of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II (1580-1628).⁶

During the reign of the latter monarch, the Fort of Naldrug was the base of his operations against the Qutb Shāhi and Ahmad Shāhi kings and it is often referred to in this connection in

¹ Briggs, Vol. II, p. 122.

² Ibid., pp. 421-23.

³ Idem, pp. 502-03.

⁴ Ibid., p. 122, and Basūtinu-s-Salāṭin, 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 Naldrug Fort:—

نلدرك (مشتمل بر هشت محال و چهار صد و هشتاد و نر مواضع و ده لك و بيست و پنج هزار و در صد و هفتاد و چهار رزبيه جمع دارد) - شرقي ظفرنگر محمد آباد - شمالي كيدان - غربي پرگنات نكلكوت محمد آباد - جنوبي سرحد سرکار سگر - قلعه كوهي نيست ليكن اطرافش همه كوه فرو گرفته و قلعه در كوه - و آب بهيمرا از اين سرکار شده در سرکار فيروز گده محمد آباد مي رود - در قديم الايام اين قلعه را راجه نل مالوه كه بر دمينتي دختر راجه بهيم بيدري عاشق شده بود ساخته لهذا بدین اسم مشهور - و چون بعد مرور ازمنه اندراس يفته بود در سده نهمد و شصت و شش علي عدلشاه حاكم بيجا پور بظاير تسخير شولا پور كه هميشه متنازعه عادلشاهيه و نظام شاهيه بود با-اني دست دهد قديم جاي قلعه را كه اندك آثار آب ظاهر بود طرح قلعه مستحكم انداخته موسوم به شاه درگ نمود - و ندي بوري را يك طرف قلعه - دي بسته اند در نهايت استحکام پارتقام بيست و دو گر و درميان سد نشيمنى ساخته اند مشهور به پن محل - در ايام برشكال كه آب طغياني ميكند چادری از بالای يك روان مي شود و از بالای نشيمن مي افتد - تاريخ اين سد را يك هزار و هشت و سه نوشته اند - و ده كوهي قلعه منافع به برگرفته مذکور موضعی است تلجا پور ملقب بهمدي آباد - تلجا بهواني آنجا است - از در دستها همه سال خلق انبوه به پرستش آيند - و اين جا از مشاهير و معظم پرستشكدهای دكن است - درگاه شيخ علاء الدين مشهور به لادلی انصاري در كمال رفعت و رونق بفاصله از قصبه واقع شده - پيش از سيد محمد گيسو دراز تشریف آورده *

* Briggs, Vol. II, pp. 146, 149, 151, 152, 154, 159, 161, 162, 165, 170, 180 and 183-86.

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 Qulī Qutb Shāh, which was arranged to maintain peace between the rival dynasties of Bijapūr and Golconda.

In 1686 Aurangzeb conquered Bijapūr, and Naldrug, with other towns of the 'Ādil Shāhi territory, was annexed to the Mughal kingdom. After the establishment of the Āṣif Jāhi 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 'Alī '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 Fortress the reconstruction of which, under the superintendence of Ni'matulla in the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, is mentioned by Firāhta and also recorded in the *Basātinu-s-Salāṭin*. The late Colonel Meadows Taylor, who visited the Fort in 1853, 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" × 30') and a courtyard (42' 6" × 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 inscriptional 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" × 1' 2".

The language of the inscription is Arabic and the style of writing is *Tughra* 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 ابوالمظفر علي عادل شاه خلد الله ملكه قد بنا هذا المسجد
الحصاري في زمان واحد نعمة الله بن خواجه اسمعيل كرد خراجي نهاندي سنة ٩٦٨ ©

PLATE I.(a) Inscription in the Pani Mahall, Naldurg Fort.

آنحضرتی شاه دین پناه منصور
 شامیر محمد علی بن مامور
 در بستن این سالن فیوالت
 سالی شاه چون ساختند و شاهر
 از دیوار این چشمه حیات روشن
 میگردانید و چرخشنان در کور
 از دیوار و در و در و در و در
 کار و کار و کار و کار و کار

Scale '166

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

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	الحمد لله رب العالمين	والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد	والآل الطيبين الطاهرين
الذين هم خير الامم	والايمان والهدى	والنور والبر	والقسط والعدل
والذين هم خير الامم	والايمان والهدى	والنور والبر	والقسط والعدل
والذين هم خير الامم	والايمان والهدى	والنور والبر	والقسط والعدل

Scale '1

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

چشمه شیرین دین قصید بنود کز زلال ششمنه را بنویس
 ساخت خاتون خان خاتون لطیف موج آبش چشم را جوهر بود
 با تفتی کف از آب تارخ سال چشمه پاکیزه از کوثر بود

Scale '1

TRANSLATION.

During the reign of the Sultān, Abu-l-Muzaffar 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—this mosque and the Fort were built simultaneously by Ni'matulla, son of Khwāja Ismā'il Kurd Khirājī of Nihawand, in 968 A.H. (1560 A.D.).

The other inscription is carved on a marble tablet (1' 9" × 1' 4½") fixed in the Pāni Mahall (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 Mahall (Pavilion) built in the thickness of the *band* comprises the hall (23' × 20' 10"), a balcony (26' 3" × 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 'Alī 'Ādil 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 Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. The architect's name, which is given in the inscription, is Mir Muḥammad 'Imādin ('Imād-i-dīn).

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

PLATE I (a).

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| از حضرت شاه دین پناه منصور | * | شد میر محمد عمادین مامور |
| در بستن این سد و بقرنیک آله | * | سدی شده چون سد سکندر مشهور |
| از دیدن این چشم مکهبان روشن | * | میگردد و چشم دشمنان گردد کور |
| از دل کردم سوال تاربخش گفت | * | کاین سد بلطفشاه ماند معمور |

۱۰۲۲ هـ

TRANSLATION.

(1) From the court of the king, the refuge of the faith, the victorious, Mir Muhammad 'Imādin ('Imād-i-dīn, or 'Imādu-d-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 KHĀFĪ KHĀN FROM NARSĀPŪR (HYDERABAD STATE).

By G. YAZDANI.

Narsāpūr is now the head-quarters of a Taluqa in the late Nawab Khurshid Jāh's Pāigāh 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 Narsāpūr 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. Muḥammad Yunus. I visited Narsāpūr 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 Khāfī Khān, 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 Khāfī was from Khifā, 'to conceal,' 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* Khawāfī from Khawaf, a district in Khurasan near Naishapur.²

Elliot also arrived at the same conclusion and remarked :—"What is confirmatory of this opinion is that not only does Ghulam 'Alī Shāh style our author Muhammad Hashim, the son of Khawaja Mir Khawafī, but he himself gives his father's name as Mir Khawafī."³ It is not known in what work of the author Elliot saw his father's name.⁴ The text of the *Muntaḥhabu-l-lubāb* (Bibl. Ind.) contains the name of one Khawaja Kalān Khawāfī, who was the maternal uncle (*Khalā*) 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 Farrakh 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 Shāh 'Alam II's reign (1789 A.D.). The heading runs thus :—

صورت عبارت محمد هاشم بن خواجه میر محرر تاریخ که خوانی الاصل از زمرة نمک پروران
صاحبقران ثانی شاهجهان بادشاه دار پدرش رفیق سلطان مراد بخش بودند و تاریخی
که متضمن احوال اکثر سلاطین هند و خصوصاً بادشاهان تیموریه نگاشته تا ابتدای عهد محمد شاه
بن جهان شاه بن بهادر شاه بحیطه تحریر در آورده *

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 Khawaja Mir as the

¹ This MS. mentions Sultānpūr as another name of Narsāpūr.

² *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, Vol. I, p. 232b.

³ *History of India*, Vol. VII, p. 208.

⁴ *Muntaḥhabu-l-lubāb* (Pt. II, p. 542) contains the name of one Shāikh Mir Khawāfī, but from the context it cannot be inferred that he was the father of the author.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Pt. II, pp. 19-20.

name of Khāfi Khān's father and not Khāfi Khān himself, as stated by Elliot. The author of the anonymous work lived about half a century later than Khāfi Khān 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 Kalān and whose *nisbah* was Khwāfi.

There is, however, no doubt that Khāfi Khān's *nisbah* was Khwāfi¹ 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 Khāfi, the form in which it occurs in the *Muntakhabu-l-lubāb*, as also in the inscription. In the printed text of the *Ma'āthiru-l-Umara'* (Bibl. Ind.) the spelling of the name is not uniform—in some places it has been spelt Khwāfi Khān,² while at others it has been written Khāfi Khān without the 'د'.³ It is, therefore, not certain in what manner Shāhnawāz Khān, the author of the *Ma'āthiru-l-Umara'*, spelt the name in the original manuscript. The spelling, Khāfi Khān, 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:—

آنچه خرد بعد حد تمیز رسیدن در مدت سی چهل سال برای العین مشاهده نموده
بصدوق حافظه سپرده بود بقید قلم در آورد *

"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 Muḥammad 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.⁴

Khāfi Khān'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 *Muntakhabu-l-lubāb*. The exact year of Khāfi Khān'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:—

و در مدت پنجاه و دو سال که مسود اوراق بعد تمیز آمده مشاهده می نماید هیچ ظالم
خود عاقبت بخیر نگشته - و فرزندان او از طرف رزق و آبرو بمراد دل نرسیدند - بل نام و نشان
آن جماعت در ده بیست سال بر صفحه روزگار نماند - و اولاد سعدالله خان لغایت حال که
هفتاد و چهار سال از زمان وفات اوست همه عاقبت محمود و فراج روزی و نیکنام زیست نمودند
و می نمایند *

¹ In the *Muntakhabu-l-lubāb*, Vol. III (Āṣafya Library MSS. Nos. 216 and 403), the author writes:—

تاریخ منتخب لباب تالیف خادم آنم محمد هاشم غرافی که آخر مخاطب بخانی خان نظام الملکی
گردید *

² *Ma'āthiru-l-Umara'*, Vol. I, pp. 4, 264 and 451, and Vol. III, p. 680.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 228.

⁴ Elliot writes:—"It is not impossible that Muḥammad 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 Khwāfi." *History of India*, Vol. VII, p. 209.

⁵ *Muntakhabu-l-lubāb*, Vol. I, p. 741.

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 Bakhsh, whom he accompanied even in the days of the Prince's misfortune and was not tempted to join Aurangzeb's service. When Murād Bakhsh was imprisoned in the Fort at Gwālior, 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 Bakhsh's concubine, Sarsun Bāi, whose cries roused the guards.¹ Khāfi Khān's maternal uncle, Khawāja Kalān, held the office of Diwān of Ujjain² 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-Ḥasan.³ 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 Ramsej in the Deccan. Later on we find him attached to the staff of 'Abdu-r-Razzāq, Faujdār of Rāheri (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 'Ālam I and Kām Bakhsh; but he does not write in what capacity he witnessed the scene.

Afterwards he was employed as Diwān and Officer-in-charge of the entertainment of the Persian prince, Mirza Muḥammad Hāshim, a maternal grandson, in third descent, of Shāh 'Abbās of Persia, who came out to India when Shāh 'Ālam I occupied the throne of Delhi. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar, Nizāmu-l-Mulk, the first Nizām of Hyderabad, appointed Khāfi Khān a Diwān 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 churches⁴ 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 Mir Naṣṣir-u-d-dīn of Herat.⁵ He died in 1144 A.H. (1731-32 A.D.).

¹ *Muntakhabu-l-lubāb*, Pt. II, pp. 155-56.

² Khāfi Khān also mentions a maternal uncle of his father, Zainu-l-'Ābidīn Khān, whom he styles the founder of Anrangabād (Pt. II, p. 555). Zainu-l-'Ābidīn Khān was the Diwān 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. 206-09).

³ *Idem*, p. 290.

⁴ Probably meaning the Protestant churches.

⁵ *Muntakhabu-l-lubāb*, Pt. II, pp. 556-59.

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 *Nasta'liq*. The inscription is in verse and I have deciphered it as follows :—

PLATE I (c).

چشمه شیرین درین قصبه نبود * کز زلالش تشنه را لب تر بود
 ساخت خانیخان چنین چاه لطیف * موج آبش جسم را جوهر بود
 هاتفی گفت از پی تاریخ سال * چشمه پاکیزه از کوثر بود¹

سنه ۱۱۴۰

TRANSLATION.

This town had no sweet spring,
 The limpid waters of which could moisten the lips of the thirsty.
 Khāfi Khān constructed this fine well,
 The waves of the waters of which are life to the (human) body.
 Hātifi composed the chronogram thus :—

"It is a spring purer than the Kauthar."²

1140 A.H. (1727-28 A.D.).

¹ The metre of these lines is *Ramāl*.

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 Kauthar."

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KHALJĪ SULTĀNS 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 Khaljī Sultāns,¹ 'Alā'u-d-Dīn and Mubārak Shāh, and six to their contemporary kings in Bengal, Kaikā'ūs and Fīroz Shāh. The earliest and the latest epigraphs of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn, which are dated 698 and 715 A.H., respectively, come by a coincidence from Hānsi, which was an important military centre during the time of the early Musalman 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. Hānsi possesses four more inscriptions of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn, proving again the importance of the town at the time. The other epigraphs of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn come from Fatehpur Sikrī, Budaun, Bāngarmau (Unao District), and Rāprī (Mainpurī District) in the United Provinces; Rohtak in the Panjab; Delhi, the capital; Bayānā in Rajputana; and Petlād in the Baroda State. These places fairly represent the stretch of the country which in a settled condition was under the sway of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn, although his conquests touched the furthestmost corners of the Indian peninsula.

Mubārak Shāh's reign is represented by five epigraphs, three of which are from Bayānā, one from the Mirzāpur 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 Kaikā'ūs, having been found at Lakhsarai (Monghyr District), Tribenī (Hooghly District) and Devikot (Dinajpur District). The reign of Fīroz Shāh also claims three epigraphs, two coming from Bihar and one from Tribenī. 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 Musalman rule.

Apart from these geographical details, the inscriptions furnish interesting data regarding the chronology and political events of the period. To wit, Kaikā'ūs, son of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, 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 Khān, 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 Petlād (Baroda State), clears the confusion caused by 'Alī Muḥammad Khān (author of the *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadī*) and Firishṭa regarding the Governor of Gujarat who in 715 A.H. was, at the instance of Malik Kāfūr, called to the capital and slain there. The inscription

¹ Cunningham had seen another Khaljī inscription belonging to the reign of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn, at Bayānā, 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 Nohāra 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, Pl. 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 'Alā'u-d-Dīn.

² See inscriptions I-III. To Thomas belongs the credit of arranging the genealogy of the descendants of Bughrā Khān from information given by the acute African traveller, Ibn-i-Batūṭa, in collation with the data furnished by inscriptions and coins.

³ See inscriptions II, III and XXVIII, pp. 11-15 and 38. Also compare Mr. D. Money's article, *Temples of Triceni*, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 395-96.

(No. XXVII) confirms the statement of Barani that it was Alp Khān and not Ulugh Khān who in 715 A.H. was Governor of Gujarat.¹

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 'Alā'ī Darwāza at Delhi, the Jhālar Bāoli and Ukha Masjid at Bayānā, the 'Idgāh at Rāpri, the Zafar Khān's tomb at Tribeni, etc. The greatest interest of the epigraphs, however, lies in their literary and calligraphic features. For example, inscription III on Zafar Khān's Mosque at Tribeni 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 Barai Gate of Hānsi, on the other hand represents the earliest Muslim epigraph in Persian verse. Inscription XXX again from Hānsi, like the well-known chronogram of Babur's birth, *Shash Muḥarram*, indicates the week-day and the date of the month in respect of the completion of a building by the phrase, "*Duṣum māhi Muḥarramo ros Jum'a*," 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 Fergusson'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 'Alā'ī Darwāza 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 Hānsi, becomes somewhat rugged at Bayānā and altogether clumsy at Petlād and Khuldabād.²

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 Barī Dargāh inscription at Bihar dated 649 A.H.³ The intricate designs of the two Firoz Shāh inscriptions, published in this essay (Plates VI b and XII), indicate the early forms of the fine *Tughra* writing of Bengal, which reached its climax a century and a half later during the reigns of the Habshī kings and the house of Husain Shāh.

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.

¹ See inscription XXVII, also Bayley's *History of Gujarat*, p. 39.

² See Pls. IV, XI, XIII and XXIII.

³ *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, Pl. V.

I.—Inscription of King Kaikā'ūs of Bengal, found at Lakhisarai (Monghyr).

Blochmann, in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII (1873), has noticed an inscription of Kaikā'ūs 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.¹ 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 Bankipore, because the inscription is important from a historic point of view, being one of the three inscriptions of Kaikā'ūs 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'ūs was a son of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd (Bughra Khān) is recorded by Amīr Khusrau in his well-known poem—*Qirānu-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 Khān (1282-91 A.D.) up to the accession of Ghiyathu-d-dīn Bahadur (1319-30 A.D.) was constructed for the first time by Thomas from information contributed by Ibn-i-Batūṭa in collation with that supplied by coins and inscriptions.² The numismatic evidence places the reign of Kaikā'ūs 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'ūs the inscription contains the name of Fīroz Aitigin³ and Ulugh Khān, 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'ūs—

مالك رقاب الامم مولی ملوک العرب والعجم صاحب التاج والخاتم

frequently appear on the inscriptions of the early Turk Sultāns of Delhi,⁴ and *يُمِين خَلِيفَةُ اللَّهِ* and *ناصر المومنين* were used by Balban, the grandfather of Kaikā'ūs.⁵ The title *سکندر الثاني* used for Fīroz Aitigin is interesting, as it was used by the contemporary Delhi Sultān, 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khilji, 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.

¹ Letter No. 3770-1, dated 21st September, 1918, from Rai Bahadur G. C. Bannerji, Officiating Collector, Monghyr, to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle.

² *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, pp. 146-48, and *Ibn-i-Batūta*, p. 128 (English translation).

³ Aitigin, full-moon.

⁴ *Chronicles*, pp. 9-10, and *E. I. M.*, 1911-12, pp. 16, 17, 22 and 23.

⁵ *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, p. 22, Pl. XIII d.

The inscription is written in fine *Naskh* 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) رَفَعْنَا لِبَنَاتِنَا هَذِهِ الْمَسْجِدَ الْجَامِعَ فِي عَهْدِ الدَّوْلَةِ السُّلْطَانِ الْمُعَظَّمِ مَالِكِ رَقَابِ الْأَمْرِ
مَوْلَى مُلُوكِ التُّرْكِ وَالْعَبِيدِ صَاحِبِ الْقَنَاجِ وَالْخَاتَمِ رُكْنِ الدُّنْيَا [إِيكَار] شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ بْنِ سُلْطَانِ
بْنِ سُلْطَانِ يَمِينِ خَلِيفَةِ اللَّهِ نَاصِرِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ (2) فِي نَرْبَتِ الْخَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ خَاقَانَ الْمُعَظَّمِ
اخْتِيَارِ الْحَقِّ وَالِدِينَ خَانَ الشَّرْقِ وَالصِّينِ سَكَنْدَرِ الثَّانِي فِيرُوزِ أَيْتُكِينِ السُّلْطَانِي خَلْدِ اللَّهِ
دَوْلَتِهِ رَابِد الْمَظْفَرِ الْمُنْصَوِّرِ الْغَازِي ضِيَا الدَّوْلَةِ وَالِدِينَ الْخَانَ إِدَامِ اللَّهِ دَوْلَتِهِ
وَزَادَ خَيْرُهُ فِي الْغَرِّ مِنَ الْمَحْرَمِ سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَتَسْعِينَ وَ سِتْمِائَةٍ ٥

TRANSLATION.

In the reign of the great Sultān, the master of the necks of nations, the king of the kings of Turks and Persians, the lord of the crown and the seal, Ruknu-d-dunya waddīn Kaikā'ūs Shāh, the Sultān son of a Sultān (who was the) son of a Sultān, the right arm of the vicegerent of God, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful; and during the administration of the great Khān the exalted Khāqān, Ikhtiyār-u-l-ḥaqq waddīn, the Khān of the Khāns of the East and of China, the second Alexander, Firoz Aitigin as-Sultāni (the Royal slave), may God perpetuate his government and may God preserve the victorious, the triumphant, the conqueror (especially combating infidels), Zila'u-d-daula waddīn 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'ūs 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 inscriptional slab is fixed into the wall of Mulla 'Ata's tomb at Devikot (25° 11' N. and 89° E.), in the Dinajpur District. Blochmann has confused Devikot with Gangārāmpūr, a place three miles south of it, and this is why Cunningham rather charily remarks :—"The tomb of Ata, and consequently all the inscriptions, are at Devikot, or Damdama, and not at Gangārāmpūr, as Blochmann was led to believe. Gangārāmpūr is 3 miles 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 Bannagar, 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 Bakhtiyār Khaljī died after his unsuccessful expedition into Tibet.³

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. 18, 23 and 30.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 102-104.

⁴ *Reports by Cunningham*, Vol. XV, p. 97.

⁵ *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 309-10.

The inscription records the erection of a mosque during the reign of Kaikā'ūs and the governorship of Zafar Khān Bahrām Aitigin, under the superintendence of Ṣalāh 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), Muzaḥfar Shāh (1490-93) and Husain Shāh (1493-1518), respectively (fixed into the wall of the tomb),¹ are evidently posterior in date to the mosque described in our inscription, which does not mention the name of 'Aja. The titles of Kaikā'ūs in the inscription are somewhat brief; but it contains the name of his father Maḥmūd (Nāṣiru-d-dīn), instead of styling him *Sultān ibn-i-Sultān ibn-i-Sultān*, as in the Lakhisarai inscription. The mention of the real name, بهرام ایتگین, of Zafar Khān is interesting, as Mr. D. Money, in an article styled *The Temples of Triveni near Hughli*, has narrated some curious legends about his origin and the events of his life.² The similarity of the name, بهرام ایتگین, to that of the contemporary governor of the western frontier of the kingdom of Bengal—فیروز ایتگین—may lead to the conclusion that they were brothers and governed the western half of the kingdom, Firoz Aitigin ruling the westernmost districts, Monghyr, etc., and Bahrām 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 Musalman. He was a Turk, a fact apparent from his name Aitigin, a Turki word meaning 'beautiful moon.' The title—Sikandar Thāni—used for Firoz Aitigin in the Lakhisarai inscription, has been used here for Bahrām Aitigin, which supports the surmise noted above (p. 10) that at this time the attitude of the kings of Bengal towards the Sultāns of Delhi was one of rivalry and independence.

The name of the supervisor, Ṣalāh Jiwand, as observed by Blochmann, is somewhat unusual. 'Jiwan' without the final *dal* is common; but the letter is quite distinct in the inscription. 'Jiwand' seems to be a corruption of 'Jiwan' 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" × 1' 1". I read it as follows:—

PLATE XV (b).

(1) بُني هذا العِمارة المسجد في عهد السلطان⁴ السلاطين ركن الدنيا والدين ظل الله
في الارضين كيكارس شاه بن محمود بن السلطان يمين (2) خليفة الله ناصر امير المؤمنين
خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بفرمان خسرو زمان شهاب الحق والدين سكندر ثاني الغ اعظم همايون
ظفر خان (3) بهرام ايتگين سلطانى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و مد الله عمره بتوايت⁵ صلاح
جيوند ملتاني في الغره من المحرم شهر سنة سبع و تسعين و ستمائة ☉

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 104-107.

J. A. S. B., Vol. XVI, pp. 395-96.

² هذا is grammatically incorrect. It should have been هذه.

³ *Alif* and *lām* before *Sultān* are grammatically incorrect.

⁴ The word has been used in an identical sense in an inscription on the Arhāi dīn ka Jhonpra at Ajmer. *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 waddīn, the shadow of God on all lands, Kaikā'ūs Shāh, son of Maḥmūd, son of the Sultān, the right arm of the vicegerent 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-ḥaqq waddīn, the second Alexander, the great, exalted, auspicious, Zafar Khān Bahrām Aitigin as-Sultāni—may God perpetuate his government and authority—and may God prolong his life!—under the supervision of Ṣalāh 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'ūs 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 Saraswati and the Jamuna. After the advent of the Musalmāns in Bengal it assumed the name of Firozābad, which is still known among the Muslim population of the place. The people refer the last name to Sultān 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 Panduah 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'ūs 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 *Nasḫā* 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 (Mihrāb) 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").

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXIX, p. 282.

² *Ibid.*, p. 283.

³ Another chronogram, composed in a similar style, is given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Bibl. Ind.), p. 246.

شد کرج تبرخان و طغانخان ز جهان * اوارل شب گذشت این آخر شب
آیدله و سابع ماه شوال لقب * خ برد و س رد از تاریخ عرب

This chronogram, however, was not composed for an inscription.

I read the inscription as given below :—

PLATE II.

قال عليه السلام تعلموا العلم فان تعلمه للطاعة و طلده عداة

و مذاكرته تسبيح

- | | | | |
|------|--|---|---------------------------------|
| (1) | لنصب دروس و اتخاذ مدارس | * | |
| (2) | يلقب بالبرهان قاضي الحمارس | * | سليم القضاة الصغير محمد |
| (3) | ليرضى به الرحمن عن كل دارس | * | و قد انفق الاموال في الدرس حسبة |
| (4) | لتدريس علم الشرع فوق الطنافس | * | فيرزق اهل الفضل من عرض ماله |
| (5) | لاظهار دين الله بين الغطارس | * | |
| (6) | به الشر ما لا يتقى بالتارس (٩) | * | ترس من الدرس يتقى |
| (7) | حكى عن عهد الحزم كل المجالس | * | بغربة سلطان السلاطين عهده |
| (8) | يدرم له الدنيا درام الهراجس | * | ملاذ الزرى ركن الدني كيكارس |
| (9) | تبدى ظفر خان هزبر العنابس | * | |
| (10) | و شيد بناء الخير بعد الدوارس | * | بفلم بلاد الهند في كل ركضة |
| (11) | و بذل كنوز المال في كل بائس | * | و قلع عروج الكفر بالبيف والقنا |
| (12) | بتلخيص برهان العلوم الفرائس | * | و احبى بقاء الشرع من بعد ميته |
| (13) | لتثبيت ايمان ارباب الحفارس | * | فدرجو من الفقهاء بانيه دعوة |
| (14) | و برر احسان لاهل القلائس | * | جز الله خيرا انه محض رحمة |
| (15) | للعلاء اعلام العلم العمارس | * | و تعظيم علماء الشريعة جملة |
| (16) | و خاء حروف الرفق حسبان قانس ^١ | * | بتاريخ خاء من سنين و صاها |

TRANSLATION.

He (Prophet Muhammad), may peace be upon him, has said :—

You should acquire knowledge, for its acquisition is verily submission, its search is devotion, its discussion is glorification

(1) to institute lectures and to establish schools.

(2) The offspring of Qāzis, an-Nasir Muhammad, who for (the strength of) his argument is styled Qāzi, 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 (Qāzi's) munificence with every student.

¹ The metre of these lines is *Tawil*.

(a) Inscription in Zafar Khan's Mosque, Tribeni.
Over the lintel of the southern niche.



Scale '2

(b) On the lintel of the southern niche, below (a).



Scale '12

(c) On the right post of the niche.



Scale '12

(d) On the left post of the niche.



Scale '1

(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'ās, may the world lust for him as long as ideas occur in the mind!

(9) Zafar 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,¹ 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 *qalansūa* (pious persons).²

(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.³

(16) (The school was built) in the year obtainable from the letters *خاء*, *صاء*, and *حاء*, the numerical value of which (8+90+600) tallies with the calculation of the chronologist. 1298 A.D.

IV-V.—Inscriptions on the Hammālon 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 Maulawī Muḥammad Shu'aib. They are cut on two red sandstone slabs which are fixed into the spandrels of the central *mihrab* of Hammālon 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,⁴ 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 ('Alā'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 *Naskh*, the letters being quite legible where the stone is not broken. The

¹ Cf. لَنَحْيِي بِهِ بِلْدَةً مَّيْنًا (Qur'ān, Chap. XXV, verse 49).

² *Qalansūa*, a close fitting cap used by the companions of the Prophet.

³ *Amīlūs*, 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) طان السلاطين في العالم
 (2) ث ملك سليمان سكندر الثاني
 (3) ر سلطانه في التاريخ
 (4) المحرم سنة ثمان وتسعين وستمائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

. the Sultān of the Sultāns of the world,
 the heir to the kingdom of Solomon, the second Alexander
 and his sovereignty! On the Muharram 698 A.H. (October, 1298 A.D.).

PLATE III (b).

- (1) الرحمن الرحيم قال
 (2) مفحص قذة¹ بنى الله له بيتا
 (3) نا . علي بن محمد بن . بن محمد بن عبد
 (4) بن فضل بن ربيع رحمة الله عليهم

TRANSLATION.

. most Merciful and Compassionate. Said
 as the nest of a sand-grouse, God buildeth a house for him 'Alī
 son of Muḥammad son of son of Muḥammad son of 'Abd son of
 Fazl, son of Rabi', may the mercy of God be upon them!

VI.—Inscription of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khālji from Sahiswān (Budaun).

The earliest mention of Sahiswān occurs in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, 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 Kara, he passed through Budaun, where his force was largely increased, amounting to fifty-six thousand horse and sixty thousand foot.² In the early part of his reign the fief 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 inscriptional tablet is now in the Jāmi' Masjid at Sahiswān (Qāzi Muhalla),³ with which it apparently

¹ The correct spelling of the word is *īṭā*.

² Elliot, Vol. III, p. 158.

³ *Kanru-t-tarikh* by Razin-d-dīn, pp. 95-6 (Nizami Press, Budaun, 1907).

(c) Inscription in Ikhtiyaru-d-Daulah's tomb, Cambay.



Scale '11

(b) Inscription on the right side of the central Mihrab, Hammalon-ki-Masjid, Hansi.



Scale '162

(a) Inscription on the left side of the central Mihrab, Hammalon-ki-Masjid, Hansi.



Scale '162

(a) Inscription in the old Jami' Masjid, Sahiswan (Budaun).



Scale '125

(b) Inscription in Sayyid's Dargah, Bangarmau (Unao, U. P.).



Scale '2

(c) Inscription on the Barsi Gate, Hansi.



Scale '08

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 palæographic 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 *Tughra* 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 Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd 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" × 11". I read the text thus :—

PLATE IV (a).

بنا این حصن رفیع ارکان . . . مامن اهل ایمان بفرمان مجلس اعلیٰ خدا یگان
سلطان جهان سایه رحمت یزدان علاء الدنیا و الدین الوائق بذصر الله المجاهد فی سبیل الله
ابر المعظفر محمد شاه السلطان ناصر امیر المومنین خلد الله ملکه بتاریخ روز جمعه غره ماه
جمادی الاولی . . . سال هفصد از هجرت نبی علیه السلام و التحیة ☉

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 Sultāns of the world, the shadow of Divine mercy, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the king trusting in Divine help, the warrior for God's sake, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, 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 Jalalu-d-dīn 'Alī's tomb at Bangarmau (Unao District).

Bangarmau has been identified by Cunningham and some other writers with Na-po-ti-po-ku-lo of Hsien 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 Ibrāhīm Lodī, when certain nobles from the Imperial Court, while proceeding to Lucknow, were ambuscaded and defeated near Bangarmau by the troops of Prince Āḡam 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 'Alī b. 'Āyam, while Cunningham calls him 'Alā'u-d-dīn bin Ḡhanaun, 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" × 6".

¹ *J. A. S. B.* for 1873, Pl. V.

² *Reports*, Vol. XI, pp. 48-53.

³ *Elliot*, Vol. V, p. 15.

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).

... الدنيا المجتهد الاجل الكبير العالم الفاضل المنجول المخيف جلال
الحق والدين علي ابن عايم السديساطي قدس سره وصل روحه الى جوار رحمة الله تعالى
الثاني عشر من ربيع الاول سنة اثني وسبع مائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

... the world, the warrior, great and exalted, the *savant* accomplished, profound and awe-inspiring, Jalalu-l-haqq waddin 'Alī bin 'Āyam of Sumaisāt,¹ may his grave be hallowed and may his soul be taken into the neighbourhood of Divine mercy! On the 12th of Rabi' I in the year 702 A.H. (Sunday, 4th November, 1302 A.D.).

VIII.—Inscription on the Barsi 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 Barsi Gate of Hansi and records the building of a lofty gate by 'Alā'u-d-dīn in 703 A.H. (1303 A.D.). The script is a vigorous *Naskh* peculiar to the period of the early Sultāns of Delhi. The inscription is interesting from a literary point of view, being the oldest epigraph in Persian verse in India.² It consists of six verses which are carved in three lines on the stone.

The inscriptional tablet measures 9' x 1' 7". My reading is given below :—

PLATE IV (c).

- (1) بعهد مملکت بادشاه روزی زمین * خدایگان ساطین علاء دنیا و دین
- (2) ابر المظفر شاه جهان محمد شاه * کی باد مملکتش چاردان بر روی زمین
- (3) یگانه خسرو گیاهان سکندر ثانی * رسیده صیت معالین تا به علیین
- (4) بنا نهاده شد این بی نظیر دروازه * کز ارتفاع بکیران همی کند تمکین
- (5) بسمت حضرت دهلی کی هست دارالملک * در حصار حصین
- (6) بینج شنبه ر روز دوم ربيع آخر * بسال هفصد و سه آمده عمارت این⁴

TRANSLATION.

(1) In the reign of the king of the universe (lit., face of the earth), the lord of rulers, Alā'u-d-dunya waddin.

¹ Sumaisāt, a town on the bank of the Euphrates.

² Nizāmu-d-dīn writes (*Tabaqāt*, ed. Lucknow, p. 29) that Malik Taju-d-dīn Rīzā composed a Rubā'ī on the conquest of the Fort of Gwalior (633 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 *Hasaj*.

(2) Abu-l-Muzaffar, the king of the world Muhammad 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 Ihtishām-l-Ḥaqq, 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-din at Hansi. This record is probably of the same period as the Barsi 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-din.¹

The style of writing is a bold *Nasḫ* and the language is Persian. My reading of the text is as follows :—

PLATE V (c).

- (1) بناء عمارت این حصن حصین و دروازہ متین در عهد

 (2) جم نشان و سلیمان تمکین سکندر الثانی ابوالمظفر محمد شاه السلط

TRANSLATION.

This strong fort and massive gateway were built in the reign with Jamshid's dignity and Solomon's glory, the second Alexander, Abu-l-Muzaffar Muhammad Shāh, the Sultān²

X.—Inscription on the Qāṣī'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.³ It is carved on a stone tablet (1' 9½" × 1' 6½") fixed over the entrance door of the Qāṣī's Mosque at Bayana.⁴ 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 *Nasḫ*, 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-din by

¹ No doubt, 'Alā'u-d-din fortified Hansi as an outpost against the Mughals between 702-3 A.H. See *P. A. S. B.* for 1877, p. 124, Inscription VI.

² The text and a translation of the inscription were published in *E. I.*, Vol. II (p. 434), by Dr. P. Horn.

³ *Reports*, Vol. XX, p. 76.

⁴ For the history of Bayana see Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XX, pp. 60-69.

'Abdu-l-Malik b. Abū Bakr al-Bukhārī, entitled *Mughithu-d-din*. Barani (Persian text, p. 353) gives the name of Qāzī Mughithu-d-din in the list of divines and scholars who adorned the court of 'Alā'u-d-din. He writes about them as follows:—

در تمامی عصر علایی در دارالملک دہلی علمای بودند کہ آنچنان استادان کہ ہر یکی علامہ وقت و در بخارا و در سمرقند و بغداد و مصر و خوارزم و دمشق و تبریز و صفہان و سی و زن و در ربع مسکون نباشند و در ہر علمی کہ فرض کنند از منقولات و معقولات و تفسیر و فقہ و اصول فقہ و معقولات و اصول دین و نحو و لفظ و لغت و معانی و بدیع و بیان و کلام و منطق و موی شگافند - و ہر سالی چندین طالبان علم از آن استادان سرآمدہ بدرجہ افادت میرسیدند و مستحق جہاد دادن فتری می شدند - و بعضی از آن استادان در فنون علم و کمالات علوم بدرجہ غزالی و رازی رسیدہ بودند - چنانکہ قاضی فخرالدین ناولہ و قاضی شرف الدین سرباہی و مولانا نصیر الدین غنی و مولانا تاج الدین مقدم و مولانا ظہیر الدین لنگ و قاضی مغیث الدین بیانہ الخ

I read the inscription as given below:—

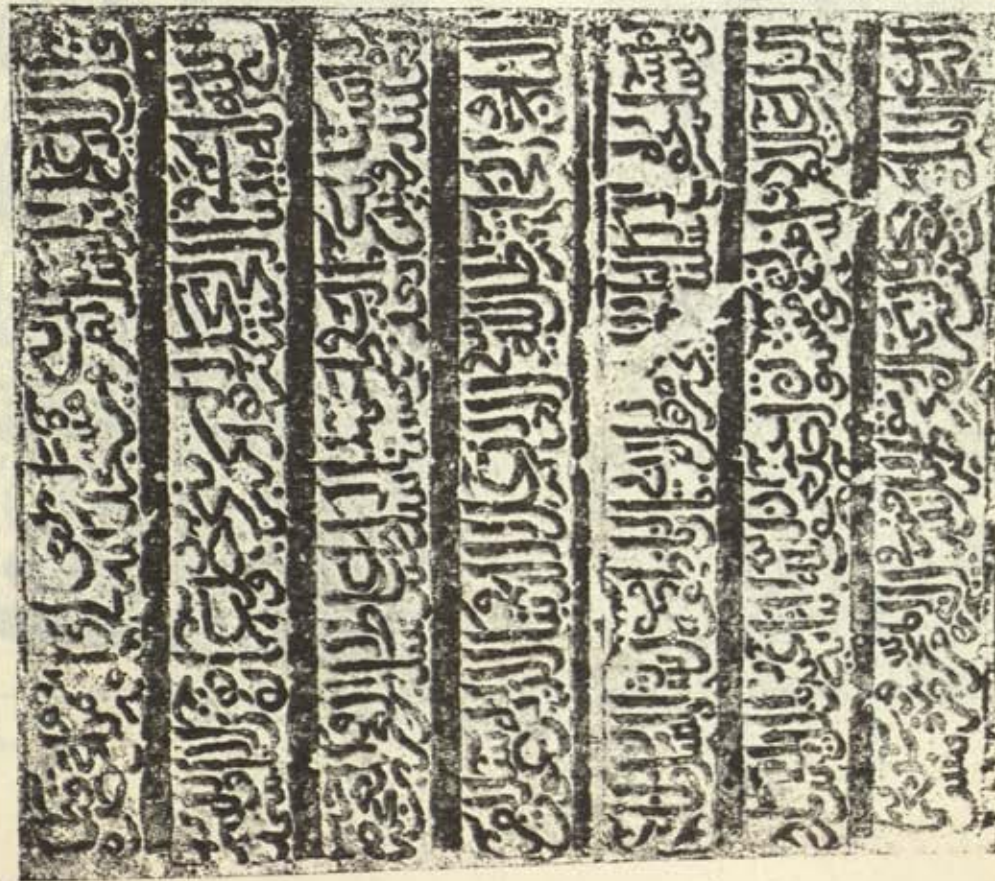
PLATE V (a).

(1) قال النبی علیہ السلام من بنی مسجداً للہ تعالی و لو کمثل مفحص قطاة (2) بنی اللہ لہ بیتاً فی الجنة بحکم هذا الخبر بنی و جدد عمارۃ هذا المسجد و البئر (3) بعد ما اندرستا و ادع بعد ما انطمستا فی عهد سلطنت اعلی سلاطین العرب والعجم صاحب (4) التاج و الخاتم ظل اللہ فی العالم علا الدنیا والدین غوث الاسلام (5) و المسلمین المس... الى اللہ سکندر الثاني... اهل الايمان ابی المظفر محمد شاه السلطان (6) لا زالت اعلام دولہ منصورة منشورة اضعف عباد اللہ الباری عبد الملک بن ابی بکر (7) البخاري الملقب بمغیث الدین... تقبل اللہ منہ فی الغره من المحرم سنہ خمس و سبعماتہ ٥

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 Louse 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 Sultāns of Arabia and non-Arab countries, the lord of the crown and the seal, the shadow of God in the world, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddin, the defence of Islām and the Muslims, . . . towards God, the second Alexander . . . of the Faithful, Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān—may the banners of his kingdom ever remain triumphant and unfurled!—by the humblest servant of God, the Creator, 'Abdu-l-Malik bin Abū Bakr al-Bukhārī, entitled *Mughithu-d-Din* . . . may God cacept his prayer! On the first of Muḥarram 705 A.H. (Saturday, 24th July, 1305 A.D.).

(a) Inscription in the Qazi's Mosque, Bayana.



Scale '25

(b) Inscription in the Jami' Masjid, Alapur (Budaun).



Scale '09

(c) Inscription on a slab fixed to the ground near the grave of Shah Ihtishamu-l-Haq, outside the old Hisari Gate, Hansi.



Scale '071

PLATE VI.

(a) Inscription in the Dini Masjid, Rohtak.



Scale "1:42

(b) Firoz Shah Inscription of Bihar dated 709 A. H.



Scale "1:25

XI.—Inscription in the Jāmī 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 'Alā'u-d-dīn 'Ālam Shāh (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 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khaljī was governor of Budaun before his accession to the throne, may induce one to surmise that Alāpur was named after that Sultān.

The inscription is fragmentary and it has been noticed in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLI, p. 112. The inscriptional 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).

... من . . . داد بك بخطه بدارن في المنتصف من ربيع الأول سنة سبع و
سبعمائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

. son of Dād Bek (Master of Justice) in the province of Budaun. In the middle of Rabi' 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 60' × 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 inscriptional 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) بتوفیق حضرت بزدان . . . حامی ملت حجازی علا الدین والدين . . .
سلاطین . . . (2) . . . ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه این معبد
میرمان و نزعہ جای اعل ایمان عمارت فرمود بتاریخ غرة ماه رمضان سال هفصد و ششت
از هجرت بود ٥

¹ The name *Dīnī* is somewhat unusual as all mosques are for religious worship. *Dīnī* may be a corruption of *Ādina*.

² *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 436.

TRANSLATION.

By the grace of Almighty God, the defender of the faith of Hijāz, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddin kings Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān—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 Ramaẓān 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 Ḥaṭim Khān's palace.¹ Blochmann found the gateway in a dilapidated state and it apparently fell down shortly afterwards, but the inscriptional slab is still at Bihar, and through the kindness of the Superintendent, Archaeological 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, Ḥaṭim 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 *Nasḥ* and *Tughra* 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 Sultāns 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) بنى هذه العمارة المزينة في عهد السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابى المظفر
 فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه (2) و نوبة ايلة الخان العادل الهائل الغازي
 تاج الحق و الدين حاتم خان ابن السلطان خلد الله الملك العبد الضعيف محمد حسن بيكتروري
 في شهر سنة تسع و سبعمائه ☉

TRANSLATION.

This additional building was constructed during the reign of the great Sultān, Shamsu-d-dunya waddin Abu-l-Muzaffar Firoz Shāh, the Sultān—may God perpetuate his kingdom and authority!—and during the governorship of the just and benevolent Khān, the warrior (for the sake of God), Taju-l-Ḥaqq² waddin Ḥaṭim Khān, son of the Sultān (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.).

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 249.

² Blochmann could not read this title.

³ Blochmann read بيكتروري which is not convincing.

XIV-XXIII.—Inscriptions on the 'Alā'ī Darwazāh at Maihraulī (Quṭb), Delhi.

These inscriptions were edited for the first time by the late Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan in his well-known work, *Āthār-u-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, 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 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khaljī 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."¹ The gateway is in the south cloister of 'Alā'u-d-dīn's extension to the Mosque at Quṭb (Quwwatu-l-Islām) 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 $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet inside and $56\frac{1}{2}$ 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 Quran and the Hadis 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 sub-structure' ; 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

¹ *History of Indian Architecture* (revised edition), Vol. II, p. 210.

² *Archæology of Delhi*, pp. 54-57.

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 Khusran most appropriately remarked—"and upon the surface of the stones he engraved the verses of the Kurán in such a manner as could not be done on wood; ascending so high that you would think the Kurán was going up to heaven, and again descending, in another line, so low that you would think it was coming down from heaven"¹—all bear testimony to the fact that Pathan artistic genius at this period was at its zenith. The script is a *Naskh*, showing a tendency towards ornamentation which subsequently developed into the delicate and subtle *Tughra* 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 Sultāns of Delhi² 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 'Alā'ud-dīn, whose name is commemorated in these inscriptions, Thomas has observed, "There are some incidents in 'Alā'ud-dīn'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." 'Alā'ud-dīn'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.³ 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 Ḥanifa.

I read the inscriptions on the eastern doorway thus:—

PLATE VII.

On the right pier.

بنا این بقعه شریف و اساس این عمارت منیف بود در عهد سلطنت و ایام مملکت
خدا یگان سلاطین جهان خسرو دارا نشان سلطان [ن کا] مل عدل و رافر احسان شهشاه شامل تزییق⁴
نافذ فرمان معلی منابر اسلام محیی آثار احکام بنی مذابر مساجد طاعات رافع اساس معابد
عبادات عامر بلاد هدایت غامر دیار غرابت باهی بفرق علا و تاج سلطنت داهی با قصر اعتلاء و
کرسی مملکت مظهر قوانین جهاد مبرهن براهین اجتهاد ضابط بلاد جا . .

On the left pier.

. . . لاطین رافع بناء محراب و منابر اسلام ناصر اساس صوامع اصنام ناصب قواعد خیرات
خافض⁵ حرانیت مسکرات بادشاه کشور کشای سایه رحمت خدای مرید بتائید یزدان

¹ *History of India* by H. Elliot, Vol. III, p. 69.

² *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, p. 14.

³ *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 38-43.

⁴ Sayed Ahmad has left out this word. *Āthār* (Cawnpore ed.), Appendix, p. 85.

⁵ This word also has been omitted by Sayed Ahmad. *Idem*, p. 86.

⁶ Sayed Ahmad read this word as حافظ.

Inscriptions on the Eastern door of the 'Ala'i Darwaza, Delhi.

On the right pier.

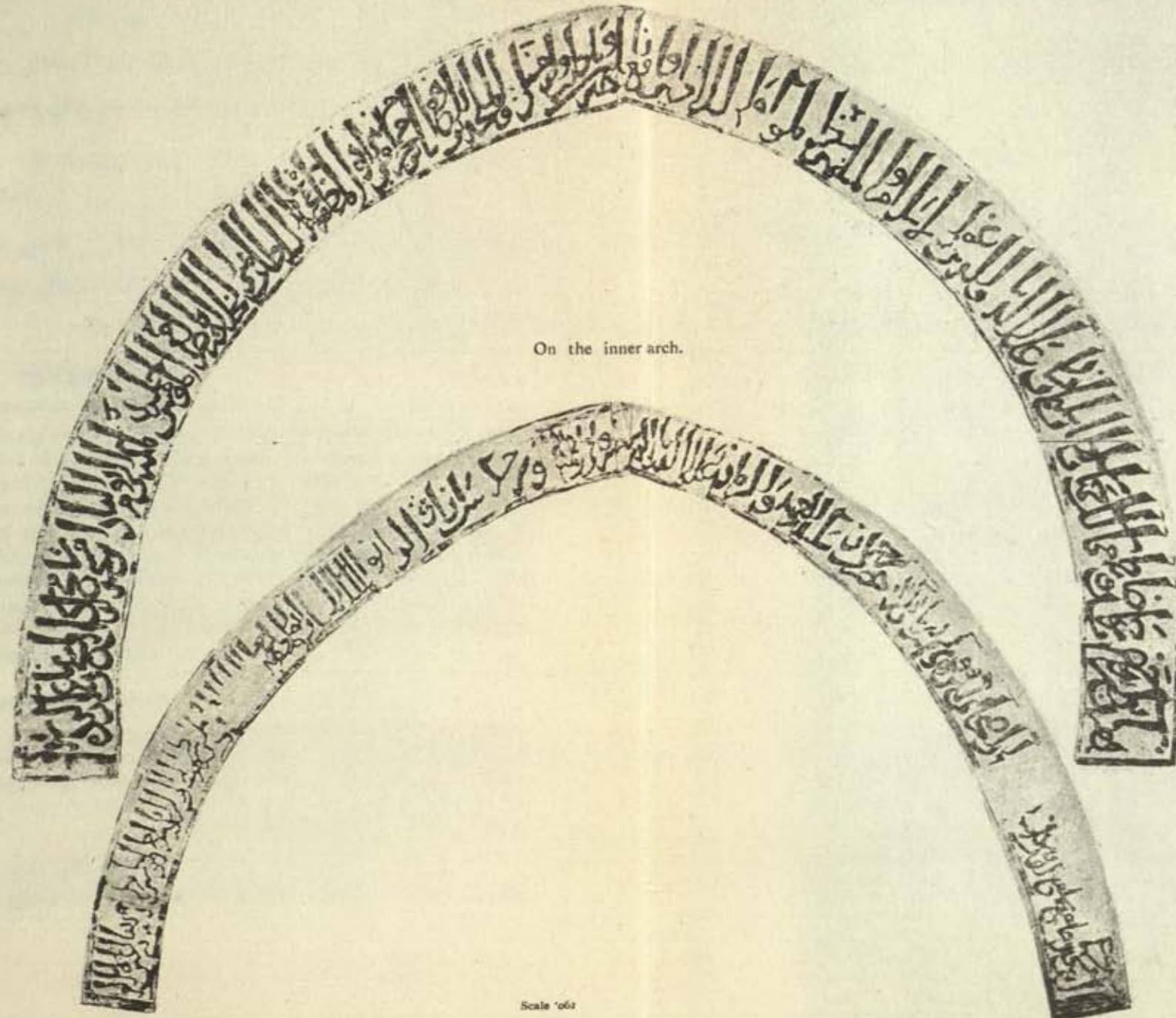
PLATE VII.



On the left pier.



On the outer arch.



On the inner arch.

ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه في عمارت المساجد
و ابد^١ سلطانه في اثاره المعابد و ابقاه في المملكة و الخلافة مدي الدنيا ما تليت
سوره^٢ الذي ارى بعده ايلا من المسجد الحرام الى المسجد الاقصى ☉ في القاريخ
في الخامس عشر من شوال سنة عشر و سعمائة ☉

On the outer arch.

بقرمان برگزیده حضرت رحمان ضابط ممالك جهان سلطان سايمان نشان علا الدنيا و الدين
غوث الاسلام و المسلمين عز المارک و السلاطين قانع . . . قاض رؤس . . . و الملحين
رافع اساس محراب و منبر ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين
خلد الله ملكه الى يوم القناد^٣ اين مسجد شامخ ارکان راسخ بنیان عمارت کرده شد ☉

On the inner arch.

اين مسجد جامع شامخ ارکان^٤ . . . اصحاب دين . . . بقرمان برگزیده
حضرت رحمان سكر العهد و الزمان علا الدنيا و الدين الائق
. . . بالملك المنان ابو المظفر (محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة) مظفر العدل و الرقة
ناصر امير المؤمنين على الاسلام ☉

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 pulpits 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, ingenious 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),^٥ the world-conquering monarch, the shadow of Divine

^١ Sayed Ahmad's reading is ابد .

^٢ See Qur'ān, Chap. XI, verse 34.

^٣ Sayed Ahmad has read these words as مسجد جامع شامخ .

^٤ The date has been left out by Sayed Ahmad.

^٥ This refers to 'Alā' u-d-dīn's ordinance against the use of wine and intoxicating drugs. *History of India* by H. Elliot, Vol. III, p. 180.

mercy, blessed (lit., helped) by the Divine assistance, Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, the right arm of K̲hilāfat (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 K̲hilāfat 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-Harām (Sacred House at Mecca) to the Masjidul-Aqṣā (the temple of Jerusalem) !"¹ On the 15th of Shawwāl 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 Sultān with Solomon's insignia, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the defence of Islām and the Muslims, the bestower of honour on kings and rulers, the destroyer the infidels, the elevator of the bases of the prayer-niche and the pulpit, Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, the right arm of K̲hilāfat, 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 (Jāmi' Masjid) with lofty pillars men of religion by the order of the elect of the Lord Merciful, the Alexander of his time and period, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn confident in (the help) of the Benevolent Lord, Abu-l-Muzaffar (Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, the right arm of K̲hilāfat), the manifester of justice and mercy, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, Islām.

I read the inscriptions on the southern door as given below :—

PLATE VIII.

On the right pier.

بتوفیق ایزد بی همتا و معبود بی ائثال منشی^۱ ۲ لمسجد اسس علی
التقوی تعالی امره و شانه و توالی عدله و احسانه بر مقضي خیر مامور امر فول
وجهک شطر المسجد الحرام محمد رسول الله علیه السلام کما قال من بنی مسجدا لله بنی
الله له یتقا فی الجنة مجلس اعلی خدایگان سلاطین زمان شهنشاه موسی فر سلیمان امکان^۳
راعی شرایط شریعت محمدی و حامی مراسم ملت احمدی مرکب مذاہب معالم و مساجد و
مرطد قواعد مدارس و معابد معہد بنیان رسوم مسلمانی و مؤسس مبانی مذہب نعمانی
قلع اصل مرده فجار و قاطع فرج قیدہ کفار و هادم بناء ضرامع اصنام رافع اساس
مجامع اسلام مظهر آیاه

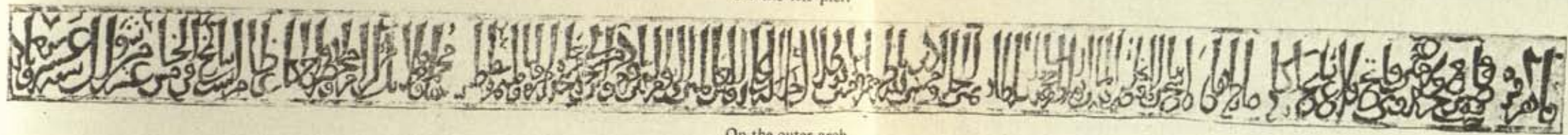
¹ Qur'ān, Chap. XVII, verse 1.

² Sayed Ahmad read these words as منشی نثرا مثال.

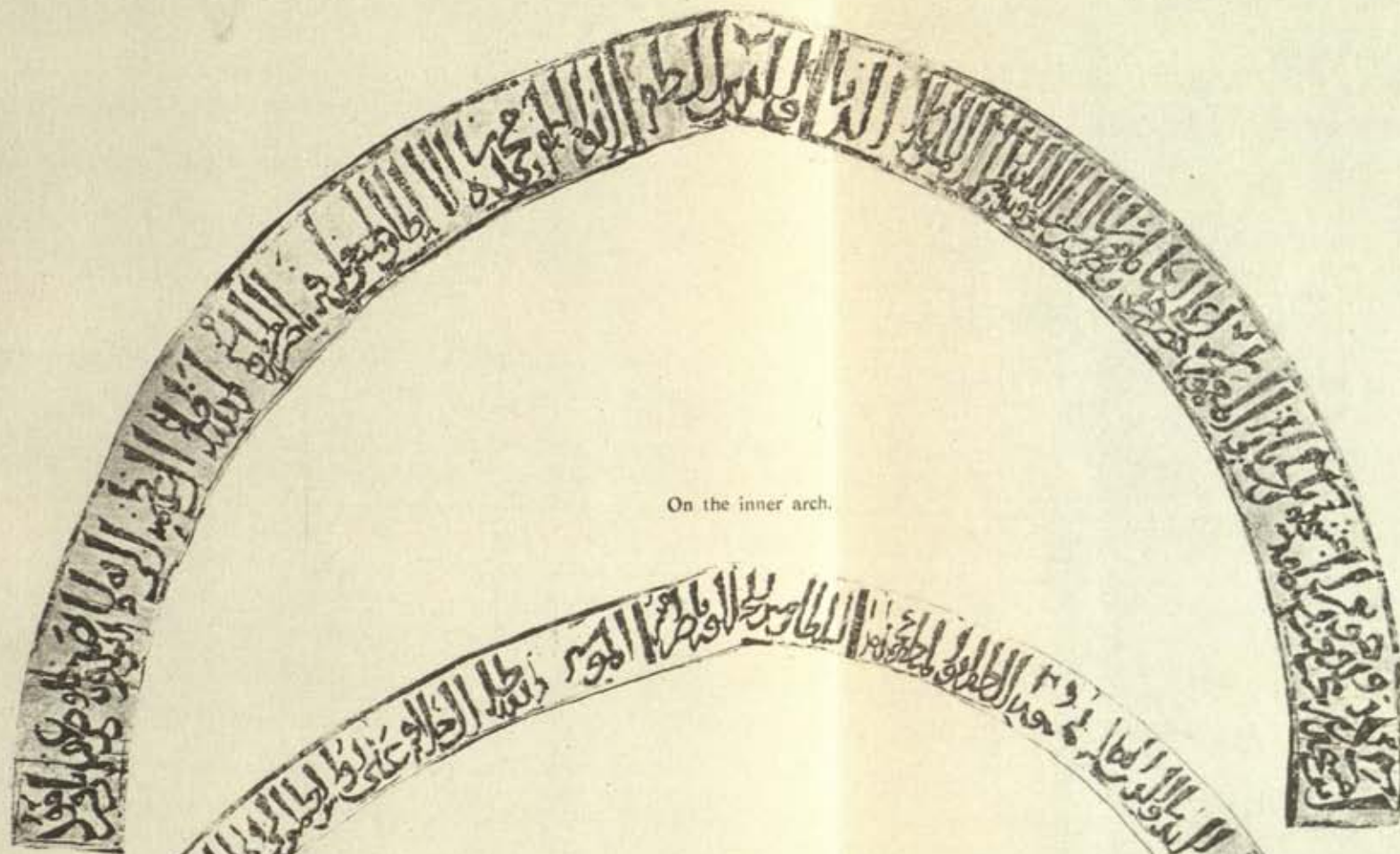
³ The امکان of امکان is clear in the inscription, but Sayed Ahmad has read the word as مکات.



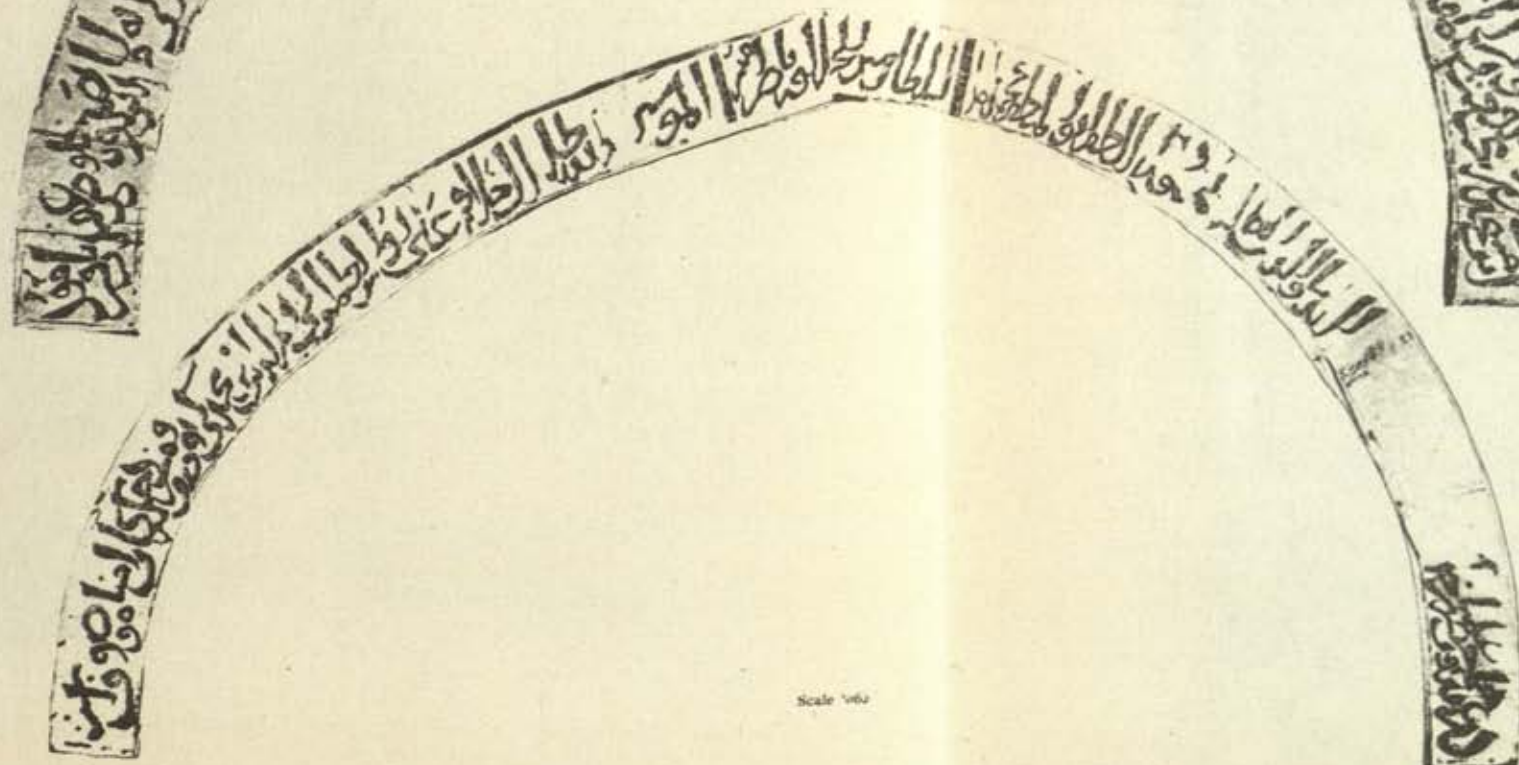
On the left pier.



On the outer arch.



On the inner arch.



On the left pier.

قاهر كفره شرق و صين¹ قاعم فجره روى زمين فاتح قلاع شامخ اركان² ضابط بقاع راسخ
بليان المعتصم الله المذان ابر المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة مبین
دين الله ناصر امير المؤمنين مد الله ظلال جلاله على روس العالمين الى يوم الدين بنا فرمود
اين مسجد کى³ مسجد حياه زمرد اوليا و ملثم شفاه طايفه اتقيا مجمع ملائک
کرام و محضر ارواح انبيا عظام است بناربخ في الخامس عشر من شوال سنة عشر و سبعمائه ٥

On the outer arch.

اين مسجد کى در فسکت و رفعت چون بيت المقدس مشهور بلكه ثاني ببيت المعمور
است حضرت اعلى خدايگان فايض فضل شامل احسان المريد بقاليد الملك المذان علا الدنيا
و الدين الظفر ابر المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين مد الله ظلال
عظمته الى يوم الدين بصدق نيت و خلوص عقيدت بنا فرمود ٥

On the inner arch.

در عهد همايون حضرت عليا خدايگان (علا) الدنيا و الدين الغالب⁴
بالجنود الظفر ابر المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين مد الله ظلال
خلافته على روس العالمين الى يوم الدين اين مسجد کى بوصف و من دخله کان آمنا
مرووف است ٥

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 Masjidul-Harām (Ka'ba),"⁶ Muhammad, the
apostle of God, may peace be upon him!, 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 protector of the rulings of
Muhammadan law, the upholder of the ceremonies of Ahmad's⁷ 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 Hanifa) 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 زمین . زروف .

² کى has been spelt کى in the Qutb Minar inscriptions as well. E. T. M., 1911-12, p. 13.

³ Sayed Ahmad's reading is العالی .

⁴ Idem, Chap. II, verse 139.

⁵ آیه contains the reading سامع امکان .

⁶ Qur'ān, Chap. IX, verse 109.

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-Muḡaffar Muḡammad Shāh, the Sultān, the right arm of Khilāfat, 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 Shawwāl 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-Muqaddas (Holy temple at Jerusalem), or rather it is a second Baitu-l-Mā'mūr,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, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddini-ḡ-ḡafr, Abu-l-Muḡaffar Muḡammad Shāh, the Sultān, the right arm of Khilāfat, 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 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the conqueror through his victorious army, Abu-l-Muḡaffar Muḡammad Shāh, the Sultān, the right arm of Khilāfat, 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.

چون ایزد تعالیٰ علا علایه و سمی اسماره برای اعیانی مراسم ملت و اعلاء معالم شریعت
خدا یگان خلفاء³ جهانرا برگزیده تا هر لمحہ اساس دین محمدی استحکام می پذیرد و هر
لحظه بناء شریعت احمدی قوی می گردد از برای درام مملکت و نظام سلطنت عمارت
مساجد طاعت بحکم کلام من لا رب سواه کی انما یعمر مساجد الله من آمن
با (له) ⁴

Inscription on the left pier.

خلد الله ملکه الی يوم القیام فی رفع بذو جوامع الاسلام و ابقاء مدی ازمان
فی اشاعة الاحسان⁵ فی التاريخ فی الخامس عشر من شوال سنه ٧١٠ و سبعمانه ☉

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'ān, Chap. III, verse 91.

⁵ The stone is broken after these words.

⁶ Sayed Ahmad read this word as اسلام

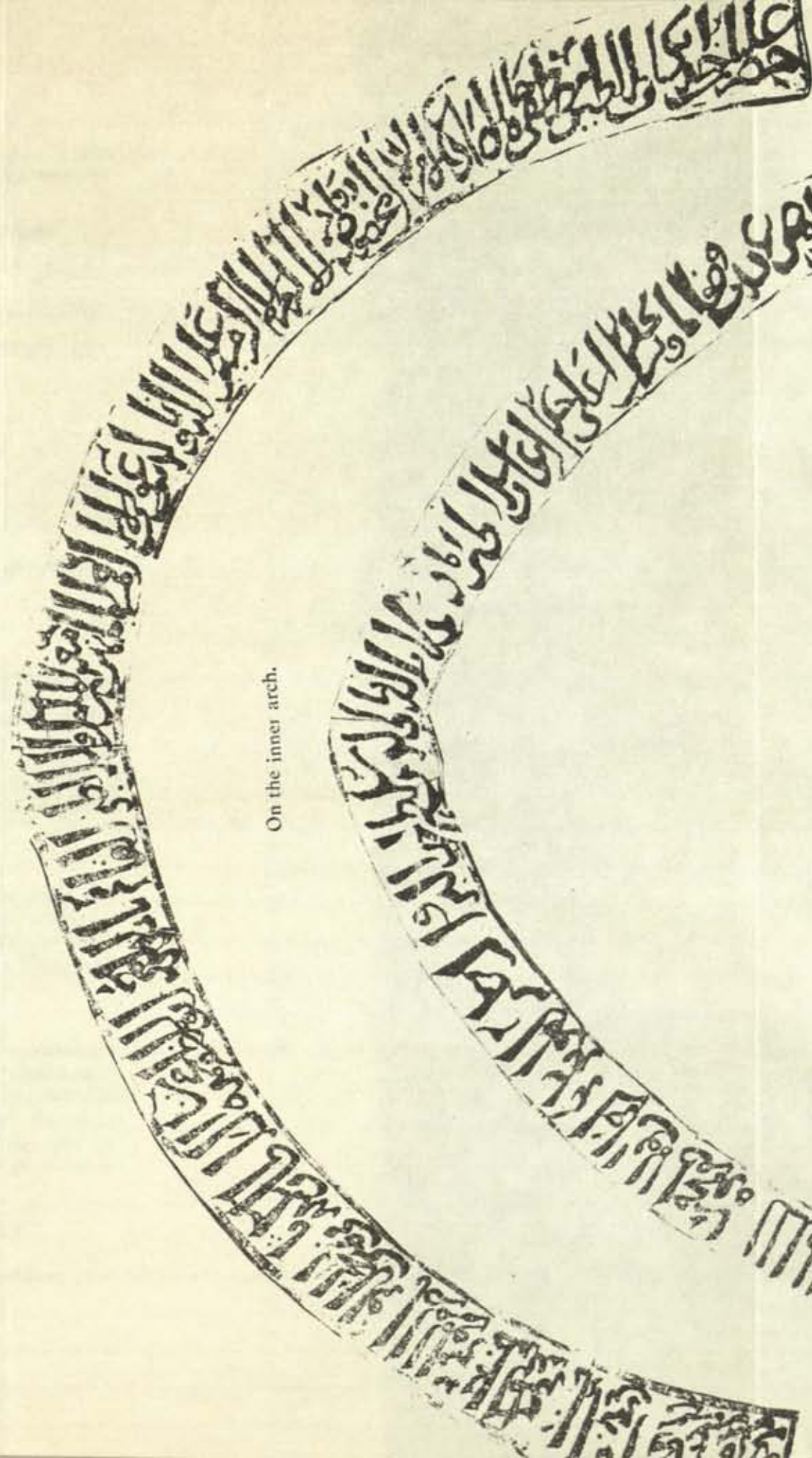


On the right pier.

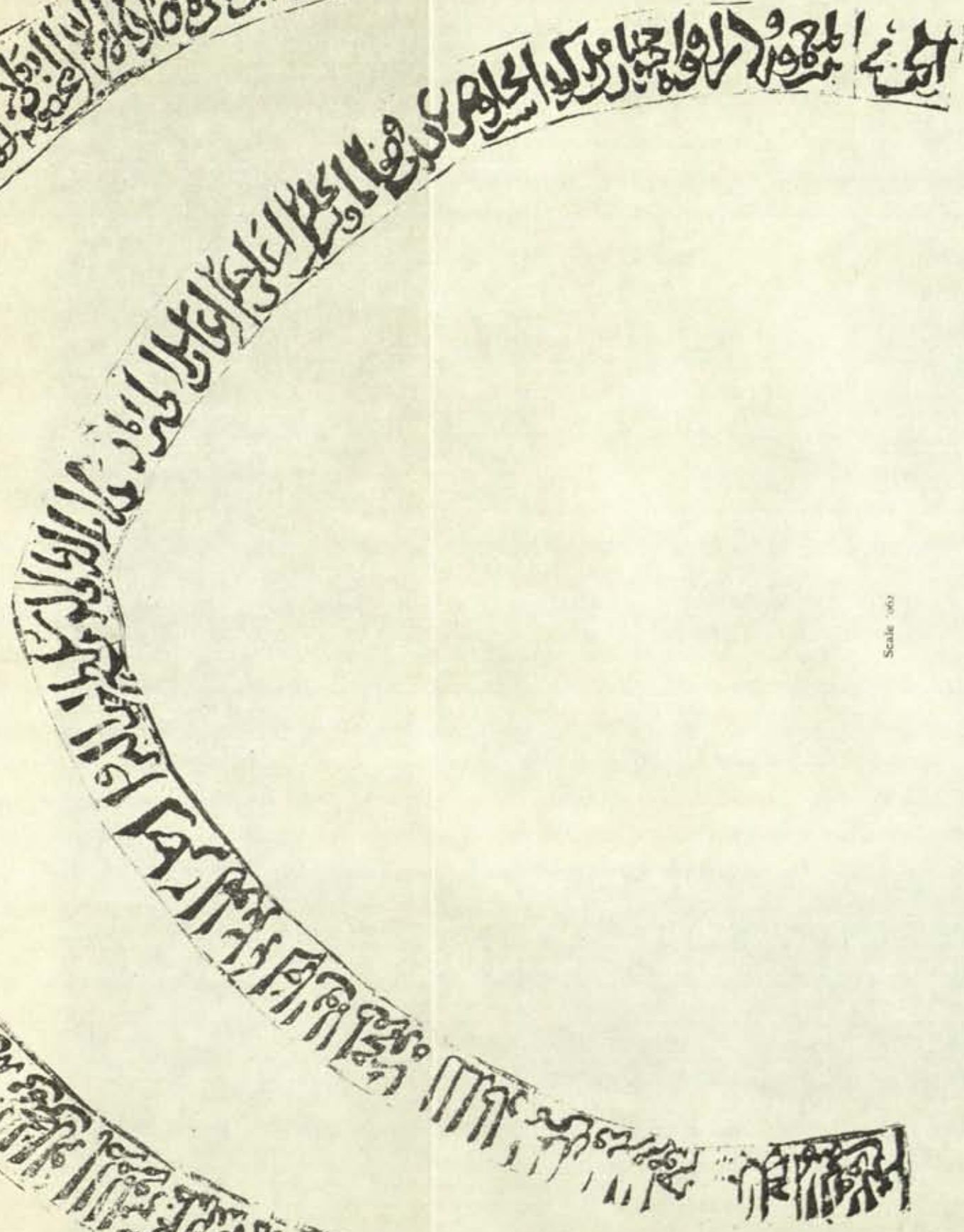


On the left pier.

On the outer arch.



On the inner arch.



Inscription on the outer arch.

حضرت عليا خدايگان سلاطين مصطفى جاء الضارع لامر الله المخصوص بعذبة الاكرم
الاكرمين علا الدنيا والدين غوث السلام و المسلمين مغيث الملوك و السلاطين انقايم
بتائيد الرحمن ابو المظفر محمد شاه لسلطان سكندر ثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين
خلد الله ملكه بذاء ابن خيرات سنت و جماعت اسم عمارت فرمود ٥

Inscription on the inner arch.

ابن كى ثاني بيت المعمور و در افواه چون جنان مذكور است بخلوص
عقيدت و صفا طوبت مجاس اعلى خدايگان سلاطين زمان علاء الدنيا و الدين سلطان
البر و الاحسان المولد بتائيد الرحمان ابوالمظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة ناصر
امير المؤمنين . . . عظمة الى يوم الدين ٥

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 Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, the right arm of Khilāfat, 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 Muṣṭafa (Muḥammad), submissive to the command of God, distinguished by the grace of the Most Bountiful Lord, 'Alā'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 Shāh, the Sultān, the second Alexander, the right arm of Khilāfat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom!, built this auspicious (house, which is the place of worship) of Sunnat u Jamā'at.²

¹ Sayed Ahmad's reading is معز.² Sayed Ahmad read this word as قضا.³ Sayed Ahmad's reading is ملكه.⁴ Qur'ān, Chap. IX, verse 18.⁵ Sunnat u Jamā'at, adherents of the first four Caliphs, in opposition to Shī'as, the followers of 'Alī.

Inscription on the inner arch.

This (building), which is a second Bait-i-Mā'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, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the benevolent and generous Sulṭān, blessed by the help of the Merciful, Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sulṭān, the right arm of Khilāfat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful . . . his glory till the Day of Judgment !

XXIV.—Inscription of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khaljī in the 'Idāgh at Rāprī (Mainpurī District).

Rāprī (26° 58' N. and 78° 36' E.) is a village in the Shikohābad Tahsil of the Mainpurī District. It was a prosperous town under the Musalman rulers and is often referred to in contemporary history. The present inscription is the earliest Muslim record at the place, but Rāprī seems to have come under the rule of the Sulṭāns of Delhi a century earlier, for Shihābu-d-dīn's army defeated Jai Chand at Chandwar, a little to the north of Rāprī, in 1194.

The inscriptional tablet (5' x 2') is set over the central Mihrab of an old 'Idgāh,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 'Alā'u-d-dīn and of his illustrious General, Malik Kāfūr, who in the year (711 A.H.), referred to in the inscription, returned to Delhi after his conquest of Southern India.² As Rāprī at this time formed the fief of Malik Kāfūr,³ so the 'Idgāh 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) بنا این بقعه شریف بتوفیق یزدانی و تالید سبحانی و بفضل ربانی در عهد خلافت
سکندر الثانی (2) علا الدنیا و الدین المخصوص بعنایت رب العالمین ابوالمظفر محمد شاه
السلطان (3) ناصر امیر المومنین و ارباب ایالت بنده کمتر خدائگانی کانور سلطانی تقبل الله
مذنب (4) و احسن الله جزائهم فی الملتصف من شهر المبارک رمضان عظم الله حرمتہ سنہ احدى
عشر و سبعمائه ⑤

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, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, who is distinguished by the favour of the Lord of the worlds, Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sulṭān, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, and during the administration of the humble servant of his Majesty, Kāfūr, the Royal slave: may God accept their (Muḥammad Shāh's and Kāfūr'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.).

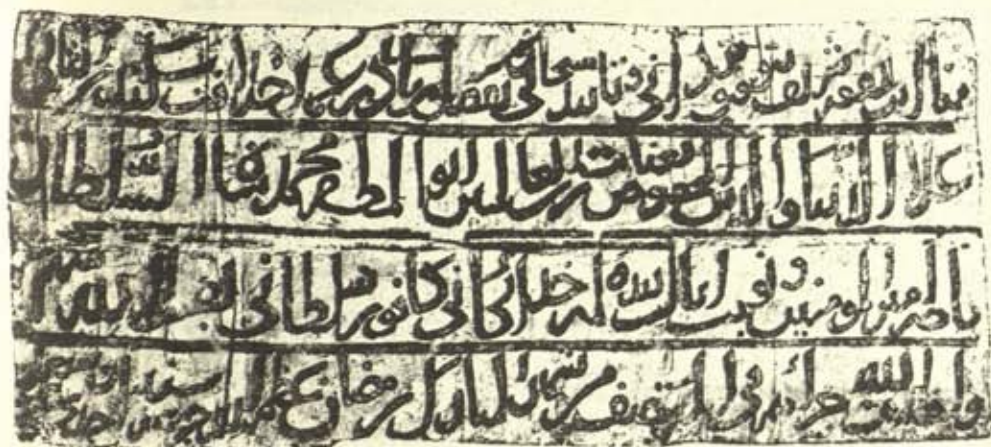
¹ It is situated at a distance of a mile and a half north-east of Rāprī.

² Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 374-75.

³ Barani (Bibl. Ind.), p. 328.

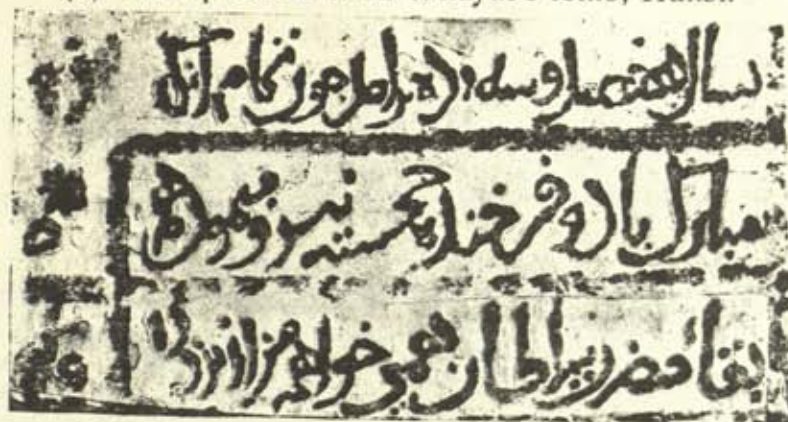
⁴ The inscription is noticed in *P. A. S. B.* (August, 1873), *A. S. R.* (Vol. IV), and *Gazetteer*, N. W. P., Vol. IV (ed. 1876).

(a) Inscription in the 'Idgah at Rapri (Mainpuri, U.P.). PLATE X.)



Scale '08

(b) Inscription in Shah Wilayat's tomb, Hansi.



Scale '14

Inscription in a tomb, west of Shah Jalalu-l-Haq's shrine, Pirzadon-ka-Muhalla, Panipat.



Scale '142

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 inscriptional tablet is fixed to the north side of the platform and measures 2' 2" × 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 inscriptional tablet. The letters of the preserved portion are distinct and written in *Naskh* style. The language of the inscription is Persian and it is composed in verse, the metre being *Hasaj*. I have deciphered the inscription as follows:—

PLATE X (b).

- (1) بسال مفید رسد و ده برآمد چون تمام اندک
 (2) مبارک باد و فرخنده خجسته نیز و میمن هم
 (3) بقاء حضرت سلطان همی خواهم من از یزدان¹

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 Sultān².

XXVI.—Inscription in the Ambiya Walli 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 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khaljī,³ 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 Wali 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' × 17' and a courtyard 33' × 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" × 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 *Hasaj*.

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 *Atār-i-Akbari*, p. 190 (ed. Agra, 1324 H.).

PLATE XI (a).

(1) تمام شد این عمارت مسجد در عهد خلافت بادشاه جهان خسرو زمان ناصر
 زمره مظلوم منتصف . . . و عموم علماء الدنيا و الدين مغيث الاسلام و المسلمين (2) القايم
 بصحة الله الداعي الى محبة الله المخصوص بعناية الرحمان ابرالمظفر محمد شاه السلطان
 خلعت خلافته بتاريخ ١٢٢٠ چارشنبه درازدم ماه شوال سنه ثلث عشر و سبعمائه ٥

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, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddin, the redresser of Islām and the Muslims, who is abiding by the Divine argument, calling (people) to the path of God, distinguished by the grace of the Merciful, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, may his kingship be preserved till eternity!—on Wednesday, the 12th of Shawwāl 713 A.H. (30th January, 1314 A.D.).

XXVII.—Arabic inscription in the Shrine of Arjun Shāh at Petlād (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 ('Alī Muḥammad Khān, author of the *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadī*, and Firishta) regarding the exact name of the governor, who administered the province of Gujarat, after its conquest by Ulugh Khān in the reign of 'Alā'u-d-dīn.¹ Among the four chief nobles of the court of the latter king one was Ulugh Khān, the brother of the Sultān, 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 'Alā'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, whither 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 'Alā'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 Kāfūr, who was then the *Wasīr*, he was put to death without any just cause.³ Firishta and 'Alī 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. Zia Barani distinguishes between Ulugh Khān and Alp Khān and, according

¹ Amīr Khusrāo places this event in 698 A.H. and 'Alī Muḥammad Khān in 696, but Firishta and Zia Barani describe the conquest in 697 A.H. which is pretty certainly the correct date. *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 74, *Briggs*, Vol. I, pp. 327-29, and *Bayley*, pp. 37-38 n.

² *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 208, and *Bayley*, p. 39.

³ *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 179, and *Bayley*, p. 39 n.

⁴ *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 203 n., and *Bayley*, p. 39.

(a) Inscription in the Anbiya Wali Mosque, Fathpur, Sikri.



Scale '09

(b) Inscription in Arjun Shah's shrine, Petlad (Baroda State).



Scale '11

to him, it was the latter who, in 715 A.H., was called from Gujrat and slain at the instance of Malik Kāfūr.¹ The present inscription, which is dated 713 A.H., supports the statement of Barani and shows that Alp Khān and not Ulugh Khān was the Governor of Gujrat.

The inscription, besides the name of Alp Khān, mentions the names of two other nobles of 'Alā'u-d-dīn's time—Ikhtiyāru-d-dīn and Badru-d-dīn Dīnār. Ikhtiyāru-d-dīn 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-dīn Dīnār is probably the Malik Dīnār referred to in the *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadī* as father of 'Alā'u-d-dīn's wife, who was honoured with the title of Zafar Khān and was sent as *Nāḡim* to Gujrat.² He was later recalled by the king and put to death without sufficient cause.³

The inscription, which records the erection of a *masjid*, is incised on a slab of sandstone (6' x 1') placed on the floor along the west wall of Arjun Shāh's shrine.⁴ The style of writing is *Naskh*, 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) الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين ونوبت
(2) الخان الاكرم اليخان وبايالت سيد الامرا اختيار الدين . . . وسعي الجميل عبده بدر الدين
دينار (3) . . . من شهر المبارك رمضان سنة ثلث عشر وسبع مائه ٥

TRANSLATION.

The building of this mosque was completed during the reign of the great Sultān, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn and the administration of the most benevolent Khān, Alp Khān, and the governorship of the chief of the nobles Ikhtiyāru-d-dīn . . . , through the commendable efforts of his (P) servant, Badru-d-dīn Dīnār . . . auspicious month of Ramazān 713 A.H. (December, 1313 A.D.).

XXVIII.—Inscription of Fīroz Shāh of Bengal in Zafar Khān's tomb at Tribenī, 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" x 10") imbedded in the northern side of Zafar Khān's tomb.

Apart from its fine style of writing the epigraph is interesting, as it mentions the names of the king, Fīroz Shāh of Bengal (1302-18) and of his deputy Zafar Khān 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

¹ Elliot, Vol. III, p. 208.

² Bayley, p. 40.

³ During the rebellion of Akat Khān, Malik Dīnār showed great courage in guarding the Royal harem Elliot, Vol. III, p. 173.

⁴ For a description of the shrine see E. I. M., 1916-16, p. 15.

697 A.H., during the reign of Kaikā'ūs (*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.¹ I have read the inscription as follows:—

PLATE XII (a).

(1) الحمد لولي الحمد ○ بنيت هذه المدرسة المصممة دار الخيرات في عهد سلطة
والي المبرة صاحب التاج والخاتم ظل الله في العالم المكرم² الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم
شمس الدنيا والدين المخلص بعناية رب العالمين وارث ملك سليمان ابي³ المظفر فيروز شاه
السلطان خلد الله سلطانه (2) بامر الخان الاجل الكريم المبجل الجزيل العطا الجميل الثنا
نصير الاسلام ظهير الانام شهاب الحق والدين معين الملوك والسلطين مربى ارباب اليقين
خانجهان⁴ ظفر خان اظفره الله باعدائه⁵ وعطفه على اربائه⁶ في غرة المحرم المضاف الى
سنة ثلث عشرة وسبعمائه ○

TRANSLATION.

Praise be to Him to whom praise is due! This school, which is called Dāru-l-Khairāt (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 waddīn, who is distinguished by the grace of the Lord of the universe, the heir of the kingdom of Sulaimān (Solomon), Abu-l-Muḡaffar Firoz Shāh, the Sultān—may God perpetuate his authority!—by the order of the great Khān, the liberal, the exalted, who is generous in gifts and worthy of (lit., beautiful in) praise, the supporter of Islām and the helper of mankind, Shihābu-l-Ḥaqq waddīn, the aider of kings and monarchs, the patron of believers, Khān-i-Jahān (Khān of the world), Zafar Khān, 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" × 1') bearing this inscription, leaning against the wall of the Chhota Dargāh in Bihar.⁷ 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. E. A. S.* (Vol. VI, N. S., p. 373).

² *J. A. S. B.* (XXXIX, p. 287) contains the reading *الاکرم* which is incorrect.

³ *ابي* is clear in the inscription, which is grammatically correct. I do not understand how Blochmann read it *اب* and then pointed out that the word was grammatically incorrect.

⁴ Blochmann's reading is *خان محمد*.

⁵ The reading *اعدائه* is not supported by the facsimile.

⁶ This phrase has not been correctly deciphered by Blochmann.

⁷ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XI, II, p. 250, and *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 291.

(a) Inscription in Zafar Khan's tomb (north side), Tribeni.



Scale '1

(b) Firoz Shah inscription dated 715 A. H., Indian Museum, Calcutta.



Scale '2

Hātim Khān,¹ 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 Bahrām b. Hājī. The language is Arabic.

I have read the inscription as follows :²—

PLATE XII (b).

(1) بني هذه المسجد في نوبة السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابي المعطر فيروز
شاه السلطان و ايلم اماره خاقان الزمان³ المخاطب بختان (2) ادام الله ظلالهما العبد الراقى
بالله و لكرمه الراجي احقر الخلاق بهرام ابن حاجي تاب الله عليه و غفر لوالديه في الغرة من
رجب سنة خمس و عشرة و سبعمائه ☉

TRANSLATION.

This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sultān, Shamsu-d-dunya waddīn Abu-l-Muzaffar Fīroz Shāh, the Sultān, and during the administration of the king (Khāqan) 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, Bahrām, son of Hājī, 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-Ḥaqq,⁴ there is a building in the lower part of which the present inscription is engraved on a tablet measuring 2' 9" × 1' 4". It is a Persian record, composed in verse and consisting of three lines.⁵ The metre is *Muḥarrī'*.

The style of writing is plain *Nasḫā* and where the stone has not decayed the letters are quite distinct.

The inscription records the building of an enclosure by one Malik Ishāq 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.

² The text and a translation of the inscription are published in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, p. 250, and *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 291.

³ This title shows that Hātim Khān at the time of the inscription seems to have acquired great authority. In the other inscription (*ante*, p. 22) he is styled only "the just and liberal Khān."

⁴ For the history of Shāh Jalāl see *Khāsinatu-l-Asfīyā* (Nawal Kishore lithograph, pp. 361-65).

⁵ In the introduction (p. 9) I have stated, as previous scholars had written, that the phrase—*Durum māhi Muḥarramo roz Jum'ā*—like the well-known chronogram of Bābur's birth, gives the Hijra year. But on a closer examination of the inscription I have found that the word—*roz*—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 Khaljī Sultāns.

I have read the inscription as follows ¹ :—

PLATE X (c).

(1) بانی این حظیرہ بتوفیق کردگار
میر معظم آن ملک اسحاق لشکری
(2) در عهد شاه باذل محمودشہ کہ او
ممتاز جود گشتہ دگر عدل گستری
(3) تاریخ بود پانزدہ رعیصد (۶) از . . .
در مہ محرم و جمعہ چہ ہفتہ

TRANSLATION.

(1) By the grace of God, the builder of this enclosure is the exalted Mtr, Malik Ishāq Lashkari.

(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-dīn Khaljī from Rāprī (Mainpurī 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 furnish me with the information that the inscriptional tablet is now placed in a small modern mosque at Rāprī, near the house of Saim Khān Nambardār of the village; but it originally belonged to the Jāmi' Masjid of Rāprī, which is now in complete ruins.²

The inscription, which is fragmentary, mentions the name of 'Alā'u-d-dīn and refers to the religious wars, which he waged against the infidels.³ 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 *Nasikh*. I have deciphered the text as follows :—

PLATE XIV (a).

* * * * *

کہ شاد شد ز غزاهاش روح پیغامبر

* * * * *

علاء دنیا ر دین

* * * * *

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 52' 6" x 28'. The ruins of the mosque are at a short distance from Rāprī to the west of the village.

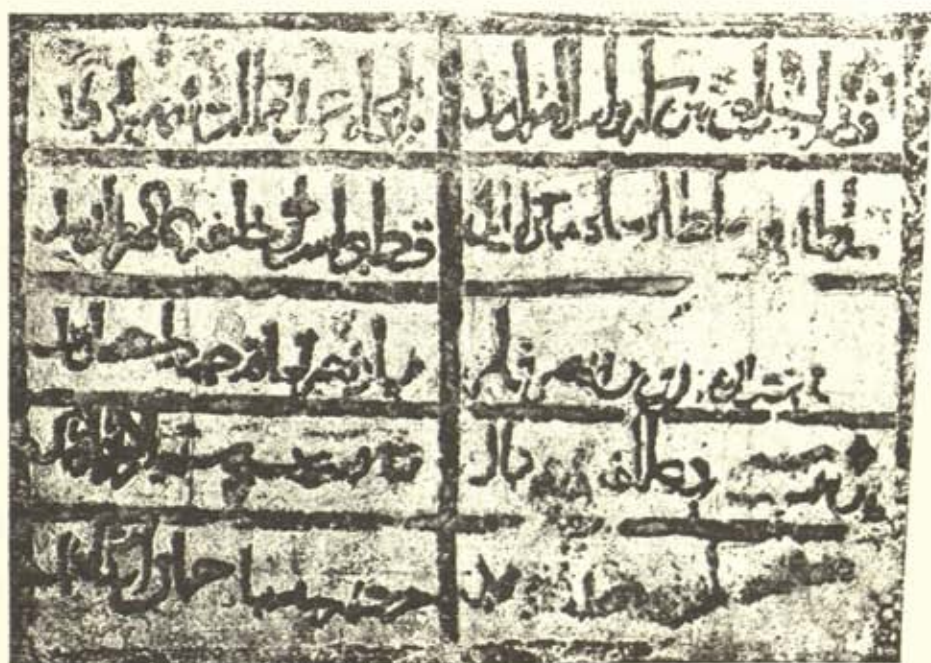
³ There is another inscription of 'Alā'u-d-dīn at Rāprī (*ante*, p. 30).

(a) Inscription originally in the Jami' Masjid at Rapri (Mainpuri, U. P.).



Scale 1/166

(b) Inscription in a mosque in Dakhni Tola, Bhuili (Mirzapur).



Scale 1/2

که چتر بر سر از هست سایه بان آله

ز هجرت نبی از سال بود

* * * * *

... باد تا ابد از فضل حق درام بملک (؟)

بسعی خامه یزدان سنان د

* * * * *

برای حاجب خود راز بان

برای این خط بدیع کند

* * * * *

TRANSLATION.

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 migration 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 councillor

XXXII.—Inscription on Ikẖtiyāru-d-Daulah's tomb, Cambay.

Cambay (*Khambāyat*, 22° 18' N. and 72° 40' E.) is mentioned by Mas'ūdī (915), and later by Marco Polo and his countryman and contemporary Marino Sanudo, as one of the most flourishing ports of India.¹ In 1298 'Alā'u-d-dīn's army under Nuṣrat Kẖān and Ulugh Kẖān 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.² Later Alp Kẖān, brother-in-law of the Sultān, was appointed Nāẓim 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. Quṭb-u-d-dīn, having succeeded his father on the throne of Delhi, sent Malik Kamālu-d-dīn to restore order; but 'he obtained the honour of martyrdom and the disturbances became greater than ever.'³ Our inscription is dated 716 A.H.

¹ *Travels of Marco Polo* (edited by H. Yule), Vol. II, p. 398, Note 1. Ibnī Baṭūṭā 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. 40.

and as it commemorates the martyrdom of *Ikhṭiyāru-d-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 *Ikhṭiyāru-d-Daulah* as *مخزن معمورة كهنبايت* (Treasurer of the City of Cambay), instead of *بحر بك معمورة كهنبايت* (Commander of the Sea in the City of Cambay). In the list of *Maliks* of 'Alā'u-d-dīn's reign, given by Baranī (Persian text, pp. 240-41), we find a *Malik Ikhṭiyāru-d-dīn Tagīn*, who may be identical with the *Ikhṭiyāru-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 *Mādhō Rāo's* house, which is used as a sort of guest-house by the Cambay State at present.

The style of writing is *Nasḥ* and the language Arabic. I decipher the inscription as follows:—

PLATE III (c).

Top (arch): *Qur'ān* (Chap. LIX, verse 22).

Outer bands: Do. (Chap. II, verses 256-57).

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:—

هذا القبر للامير الكبير المرحوم المغفور السيد
الشهيد اختيار الدولة ر الدين بحر بك معمورة كهنبايت
... . برد الله مضجعه ر آنس رحشته قد توفى ليلة
الثلاثا سابع عشر من شهر جمادى الاخر سنة سادس
عشر وسبعمائه صلى الله على خير خلقه محمد ر آله

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, *Ikhṭiyāru-d-daulah waddīn*, *Baḥr Bek* in the city of *Khambāyat* 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. (6th September, 1316 A.D.). O God, bless the best of the creation, Muhammad and his descendants!

XXXIII-XXXIV.—Two inscriptions of *Mubārak Shāh Khālji*, dated 718 A.H., on the *Jhālar Bāoli* at *Bayānā*.

The *Jhālar Bāoli* is situated about two miles north of *Bayānā* and derives its name from the pillared cloisters which surround it like a fringe (*jhālar*).¹ 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. A.*, Vol. XX, pp. 69-70.

(a) Inscription on the north-east doorway of the Jhalar Baoli, Bayana.



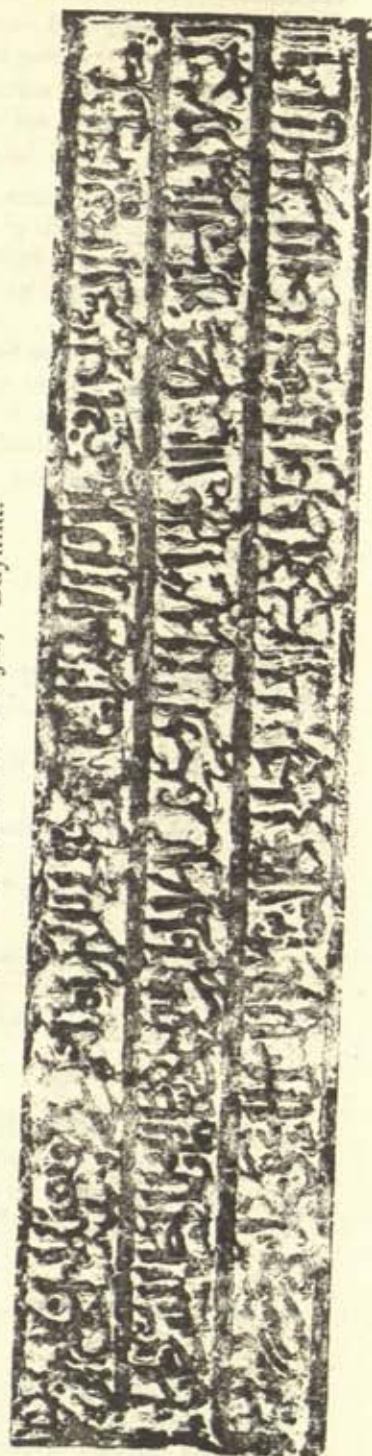
Scale 1/66

(b) Inscription on the south-east doorway of the Jhalar Baoli, Bayana.



Scale 1/2

(c) Inscription in the Ukha Masjid, Bayana.



Scale 1/25

Bāoli (reservoir of water) itself is 79' 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 Bāoli there are two inscriptions, in Arabic and Persian respectively, both dated in A.H. 718 (1318 A.D.), during the reign of Mubārak Shāh Khaljī, and mentioning the name of Malik Kāfūr as the builder of the Bāoli. There is a third inscription in Sanskrit, inscribed on one of the jambs of the N.-E. doorway, which mentions the name of one Rāipat and the date—"Tuesday of the bright fortnight of Vaisākha, Sam. 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 Kāfūr survived Sultān 'Alā' u-d-dīn only thirty-five days, and as the latter, according to Barani, expired in the first week of Shawwāl 716 A.H., Malik Kāfūr must have died in Zū'l Qā'd 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 Kāfūr as the builder of the Bāoli. This apparently contradictory information may be reconciled if we suppose that Kāfūr began the construction of the Bāoli 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 *Naskh*, 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 الاسلام و المسلمين وارث خلافة دارود و سليمان ابي المظفر خليفة الله مبارك شاه
(2) السلطان بن السلطان خلد الله خلافة العبد الراجي الي رحمة الرباني كافور السلطاني
تقبل الله منه في سنة ثمان عشر و سبعمائه ☉

TRANSLATION.

The defence of Islam and the Muslims, heir of the kingdom of David and Solomon, Abu-l-Muzaffar Khalīfatu'llāh (Vicegerent of God) Mubārak Shāh, the Sultān, son of a Sultān—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—by the servant who is expectant of Divine mercy, Kāfūr, 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) در زمان ملك (؟) سلطان الزمان قطب دين مالک دارالخلافة شهریار بحر و بر
(2) بنده درگاه ار كافور سلطاني بگفت تاشد این مائین بنا باین لطافت درکرد
(3) چهار در با چهار گنبد بنگر و تاریخ آن سال رماء از سال هجرت هفصد و هزده شمر³

¹ *Conservation Note on Bayānā*, by Sir John Marshall, dated 20th September, 1907.

² *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 208-10.

³ The metre of these lines is *Ramāl*.

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, Kāfir, 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 Hasan's Tomb at
 Khuldābād, Aurangabād District.

Khuldābād, better known by its original name, Rauza (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 Rauza as his last resting place and this choice gave the town the modern name of Khuldābād after the title of the emperor, Khuld Makāni (of Heavenly abode).

The tomb of the Poet Mir Hasan² 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 Qhājū, the nephew of Balban.³ Near the latter grave the tablet of the present inscription is lying. The tablet has no connection with Malik Qhājū'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" × 1'.

The inscription commemorates the erection of a building in 719 A.H. (1319 A.D.), during the reign of Mubārak Shāh Khalji, by one 'Ambar, grand-usher to Khusrāu Khān.⁴ According to Barani, Mubārak Khalji 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 Khusrāu Khān and deputed him with a large army for the conquest of Mābar.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 *Hasaj*. The style of writing is *Naskh*, 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 lucid account of the tombs at Rauza.

² He was one of the Court-poets of Sultān 'Ala'u-d-Dīn Khalji to whom most of his laudatory poems are addressed. When Muḥammad Bīn Tughlaq in 727 A.H. forcibly removed the inhabitants of Delhi to his new capital, Deogir, Mir Hasan went with them and died there in the same year. See *Badā'uni*, Vol. I, p. 226, *Barani*, pp. 67, 359, and *Rieu* (Catalogue), Vol. I, p. 618.

³ For the particulars of Malik Qhājū's life see *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 520, Vol. III, pp. 135, 137-40, 536.

⁴ For information about him see *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 211, 215, 219, 222-23, 226, 558, 564, 604-05, 607.

⁵ *Idem*, pp. 214-15.

(a) Inscription of 'Ala'u-d-Din Khalji (copied from Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. XX.)



(b) Inscription of Mubarak Shah Khalji from Khuldabad (Aurangabad).



I have deciphered the text as follows :—

PLATE XXIV (b).

- (1) بعد دولت سلطان عالم * که عدلش در جهان چون شمس تابان
 (2) شه گیتی قطب دین و دنیا * مبارک شاه سلطان ابن سلطان
 (3) بنا کرد این عمارت بنده عنبر * یکی از (؟) حجاب اعظم خسرو خان
 (4) محرم ماه بود از عشر اول * و از تاریخ هفصد نوزده دان¹

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 Shāh, the Sultān, son of a Sultān,

(3) The slave 'Ambar, (who is) 'one of the chief-ushers of Khusrau Khān, 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.).

XXXVI.—Inscription of Qutbu-d-din Mubarak Shāh in the Ukha Masjid, Bayānā, dated 720 A.H. (1320 A.D.).

The Ukha Masjid is one of the largest buildings in Bayānā, and occupies a space of 124' in length from east to west by 74' from north to south.² 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 Qutb buildings."³

The inscription, which is set over the archway of the entrance gate, records the erection of a mosque by Kāfār Sultān, in the reign of Qutbu-d-din Mubarak Shāh, 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 Jhālar Bāoli, was completed after Kāfār's death (*ante*, p. 39).

The style of writing is *Naskh* of an elegant type ; but the letters have been much injured by the effects of weather. The language is Arabic. The inscriptional tablet measures 5' 6" × 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 (Uṣā) 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.

³ *Conservation Note on Bayānā*, by Sir John Marshall, dated 20th September, 1919.

I have deciphered the text as follows:—

PLATE XIII (c).

(1) امر بنا هذه العمارة المباركة الشريفة اللطيفة في عهد السلطان العالم العادل المعظم
مولى ملوك الشرق العرب والعجم مشيد قواعد الاحسان . . . (2) الجود والاکرام ظل الله
في الارضين قطب الدنيا والدين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين مغيث الملوك والسلاطين وارث
خلافة داود وسليمان ابي المظفر خليفة الله مبارك شاه (3) السلطان ابن السلطان خلد الله
سلطانه وابد خلافته العبد الراجي الى عفو انغفار كافور السلطاني . . . في سنة عشرين و
سبعمائه ٥

TRANSLATION.

The slave, soliciting the pardon of the Merciful (God), Kāfūr Sultān,¹ 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 waddīn, 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 Khālifatu'llah Mubārak Shāh, the Sultān, son of a Sultān—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' x 1' 6") fixed in the lower wall of a mosque in Dakhni Tola at Bhuilī in the Mirzāpūr District.² 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" x 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 *Nasḥā* characters. The metre is *Muṣṣarri'*.

I make out the epigraph as follows:—

PLATE XIV (b).

(1) فضل خدای بین کز اسلام تازه شد . . . یگا . . . عهد مملکت شهریار . . .
(2) سلطان ابن سلطان شاه مبارک آنکه قطبی است کر خليفة 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 Sultān, Shāh Mubārak, who is a Quṭb (Chief) who has become he lord of the upper world.

(3-5)

¹ In the inscription the name of Kāfūr occurs after the name of the king.

² Bhuilī is mentioned in the *Tudāgat* (English translation, p. 550) as a *pargana* included in the *ḥif* of Muḥammad Bakhtiyār.

INSCRIPTIONS 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 Shāhī kings of Golconda and deals with thirteen epigraphs,¹ beginning with the reign of Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, the builder of the city of Hyderabad and coming down to the reign of Abul Ḥasan, 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 Shāhī dynasty; but their chief interest however lies in the variety and elegance of their scripts.

The inscription over the door of the Jāmi' Masjid, written by Bābā Khān, represents perhaps the finest example of the *Nastā'liq* script in the Deccan (Pl. XVII a). Another inscription from this building (Pl. XVI) and the *Nadī 'Alī* on the grave of Khādīja in the Mir Ka Dā'ira (Pl. XVIII a) are good specimens of the ornamental *Naskh* which, in a simple form, assumed the name of *Thulth*; 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 Miṣrān Miṣk's Tomb, is interesting, as showing the style of writing called *Shikasta*, which had its origin from *Nastā'liq*, 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 Shāhī 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 Shāhī 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 Jāmi' Masjid, Hyderabad City.

The mosque is one of the earliest buildings erected by Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh (1580-1612) to adorn his newly founded capital, Hyderabad, or Bhāgnagar, as it was originally styled. Firishṭa mentions it along with the *Ohār Minār* and writes—"Māhomed Koolly Kootb Shah built an elegant masjid in the middle of the city."²

¹ I have not included in this paper the two short inscriptions in the Bādshāhī 'Āshūr Khāna giving the names of Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh and 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh. For a description of this building see *Annual Report Archaeological Department, His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1914-15*, p. 8.

² *Briggs*, III, 452.

The city of Hyderabad has expanded in an irregular manner since Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh's time, and a dense growth of houses and shops envelops the exterior of the Jāmi' Masjid, entirely spoiling the beauty of its original surroundings—the *Chār Minār* square, the *Chār Kamān piāzza* and the Royal palaces.¹

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 *Tā'liq* characters. The name of the king is omitted in the inscription, but the name of his minister, Aminu-l-Mulk, under whose superintendence the mosque was built, is mentioned. Aminu-l-Mulk held the distinguished office of Mir Jumla immediately before the famous Sayyid Mir Muḥammad Amin of Astrabād, who is better known in history by his official designation than by his real name. Aminu-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 Qulī Qutb Shāh's reign.²

The name of the calligrapher is Bābā Khān who seems to have been a Persian artist. I have read the inscription as follows:—

PLATE XVII (a),

که ندی دیده در عهدش نگویی ³	*	(1) جهاندارى بشاهان شهر یاری
زلعش سر زند چون گفتگوی	*	(2) دل آسایش کند جان تازه گردد
گلستان ارم گردیده روی	*	(3) زمین را رشک جنت کرد خلقي ⁴
که در سقفش فلک گردیده گوی	*	(4) بامر عالی خود مسجدی ساخت
کند هر لحظه جنت رفت روی ⁵	*	(5) مگر در پیش صحن او نماید
تقاضای مسلمانی عالمی	*	(6) بنام خوش در آنجا می نماید
زهی عالی بذای خیر گوی ⁶	*	(7) کسی پرسد اگر تاریخ او را

تمام گشت بسعی ملک امین الملک

حرره بابا خان

¹ For a description of these monuments see *Tavernier* (Pt. III, pp. 94-96) and *Tavernier*, Vol. I, pp. 152-53.

² *Briggs*, III, 461-69.

³ The metre of these lines is *Hasaj*.

⁴ Haig read this word as *یاره*, *E. I. M.*, 1907-8, p. 28.

⁵ Haig's reading is *گردانید*.

⁶ The second hemistich of line 5 and first hemistich of line 6 have been left out by Haig.

† The chronogram gives the year 1006 A.H. corresponding to 1597 A.D.

(a) Inscription over the doorway of the Jami' Masjid, Hyderabad City.



Scale '111

(b) Inscription on the grave of Khadija Bi in Mir-ka-Daira, Hyderabad City.



Scale '333

1198
Inscription in the prayer-niche of the Jami' Masjid, Hyderabad City.

PLATE XVI.



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 Bābā Khān,

The inscription in the prayer-niche consists of an extract from the Qur'ān (Chap. II, verses 137-38), the name of the calligrapher, Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad, son of Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, 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, Pl. 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.

كاتبه العبد ابن جمال الدين حسين جلال الدين محمد الفخار الشيرازي في ١٠٠٦ هـ

TRANSLATION.

Written by the servant, Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Al-Fakhkhār, son of Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, 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 of Astrabad. He was a minister (*Wakil-us-Saltanat*) to Muḥammad Qutb 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 satirist and historian of Aurangzeb's reign, Ni'mat Khān 'Āli, is buried here.

⁴ For Mir Momin see *Hadīqat-ul-'Ālam* (Hyderabad lithograph), pp. 238-39.

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 Durr.
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, <i>Nādi 'Alī</i> , 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).

فوت عفيفة صالحة صائمة ساجدة بي بي خديجة بنت سيد مير علي استر آبادي شيخ ارند
بن تاريخ عاشر جمادي الاول سنة ١٠٣١ هـ ☉

TRANSLATION.

The death of the chaste, pious, austere (lit., continually fasting) and devout (lit., continually prostrate in adoration) lady, *Khadija*, daughter of Sayyid Mir 'Alī of Astarabād,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'i Sāhibā's Tank, Hyderabad.

On the road which runs from *Khairatabād* to Golconda, about half a mile from the former place, is situated the tank of Mā'i 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 54½° E. Long., town near the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea.

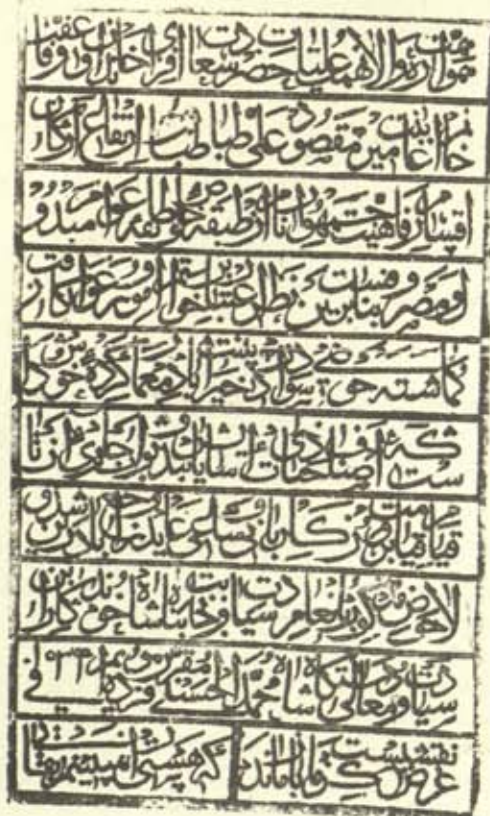
² *Awand*, furniture particularly belonging to the kitchen, as pots, pans or other vessels. The title *Shaikh* Awand, 'master of the pot,' or 'master of the drinking-vessel,' seems to have been given to this gentleman in a spiritual sense for his leadership in religious matters.

PLATE XVIII. (a) Inscription on Khadija Bi's Tomb, Mir-ka-Daira, Hyderabad.



Scale *106

(b) Inscription in S.-W. Pavilion of Mai Sahiba's Tank, Hyderabad.



Scale *142

(c) Inscription on the inner side of the eastern doorway of Mian Mishk's Tomb, Hyderabad.



Scale *111

In the top storeys of both the towers, there are inscriptions carved on tablets of polished black stone.¹ 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 *Naskh* 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 Khānam Āgha, daughter of Mir Maqṣūd 'Alī Tabāṭabā,² and subsequently the gift of the same tank by that lady to Shāh Khundkār. Khānam Āgha was the wife of Prince Mirzā Muḥammad Amin, the youngest son of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh (1550-80 A.D.) and mother of Muḥammad Qutb Shāh, the sixth king of the dynasty (1612-26 A.D.). The mention of the name of Khānam Āgha's father in the inscription incidentally throws light on the influence of the Tabāṭabā Sayyids, during the reign of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and the rules of his son and grandson, Muḥammad Quli and Muḥammad Qutb Shāh, a fact also recorded by Firishṭa who writes :—

"Ibrahim Koolly Kootb Shah 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 Tubatibba 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 Moortuza Subzwary, the general of Ahmudnuggur."³

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 XVIII (b).

(1) همواره همت را نهمت⁴ علیا حضرت سعادت افزای خاندان وفا رعقت
خانم آغا بنت میر مقصود علی طبا طبایا بر ارتقا اركان (3) اقسام رفاهیت جمهور انام از طبقه
خاص و طایفه عوام مبدول⁵ و مصروفست بنا برین نظر اعتبار بر خواتم امور و عواقب
کار (4) گماشته حوضی در سواد پنت خیر اباد⁶ معمار کرده خردش (5) ست⁷ که اصناف
نی حیات آسایش یابند و ثواب جاری آن تا (6) قیام قیامت بروزگار بانی⁸ و ساعی عاید
و راجع باشد درین و (7) لا⁹ حوض مذکور بانعام سیادت و نجات پناه شاه خوندکار این (8)
سیادت و معالی دستگاه شاه محمد الحسینی مقرر فرموده ایم فی ۱۰۳۴ ©
غرض نقشیست کز ما باز ماند * که هستی را نمی بینم بقای¹⁰

¹ The tablet in the S.-E. tower measures 2' 7" x 1' 6", while that in the S.-W. tower is 3' x 2'.

² *Tabāṭabā*, the surname of the great-great-grandson of 'Alī, Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm, on account of his pronouncing the letter ق like ط. Descendants of Tabāṭabā are called *Tabāṭabā'īs*.

³ *Briggs*, Vol. III, p. 333.

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 همت instead of نهمت.

⁵ The calligrapher has written the *lām* of مبدول in line 3 while the first four letters of the word—مبدول—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 پنت properly, which is a Hindi term meaning 'market.' He has joined it with the following word and read the two words together as خیرات اباد, instead of خیر اباد.

⁷ Haig's reading is خوش داشت.

⁸ Haig read this word as باقی.

⁹ The calligrapher has committed a mistake of Persian orthography here also by writing the و of لا in line 6 and لا in line 7.

¹⁰ The metre of this line is *Hasaj*.

TRANSLATION.

The mind, (filled) with high aspirations, of Her Highness, the source of felicity (lit., who increases the felicity) to the family (noted for its) fidelity and chastity, *Khānam Āgha*, daughter of *Mir Maqṣūd 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā*, 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 *Khairabād* has been built by her, in order that living beings of various classes may be convenienceed 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 *Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh*—1020-35 A.H.) to the refuge of Sayyids and persons of noble birth, *Shāh Khundkār*, son of the noble and exalted *Shāh Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī*.

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 perman~~ence~~

V.—Inscriptions in *Raḥīm Khān's Mosque, Hyderabad*.

In the old city of Hyderabad, along the road which runs from the *Purāna Pul* to *Golconda* some of the most beautiful monuments of the *Quṭb Shāhī* 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.

Raḥīm Khān's mosque belongs to the above group of monuments and is situated at a short distance from the *Purāna Pul*. It is a small structure, comprising a prayer-hall (27' × 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 *Tughā* of an extremely fine type. The name of the calligrapher, which occurs at the end of the inscription, is *Mir 'Alī*.

The façade of the prayer-hall is also adorned with a row of inscribed panels, which comprise the *Shiite Durrūd*, the *Qur'ānic* phrase —

نصر من الله وفتح قريب و بشر المومنين

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" × 9". I have deciphered the verses as follows :—

PLATE XIX (b).

که از بندگان قطبشست	*	الساعات نشان رحیم خان
چو تمام شد چو صبحکست	*	صفای مسجد جانفزای از
نه این سجده گاه مهر و مهست	*	بسال هزار و پنجاه و سه سپهر گفت

(a) Inscription on two loose slabs lying in the Toli Masjid, Hyderabad.



Scale '111

(b) Inscription on the facade of Rahim Khan's Masjid, Hyderabad.



TRANSLATION.

The august (personage), Raḥīm Khān,
 Who is a servant of Qutb 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 Toli Masjid, 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 'Abdullah Qutb 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. 3-5,² 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 (*kalasa*) 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 *sikharas* 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" x 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 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh. This mosque is different from the Toli Masjid, 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 Maḥaldār (Lord Chamberlain); but in time of war he played also the rôle of a general. For the particulars of his life see *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, pp. 51-3, and *Muntakhab-i-tuhāb* (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 *Ramāl*. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq*. I have deciphered the epigraph as follows:—

PLATE XIX (a).

در زمان شاه خیر اندیش گردن بارگاه * یافت اتمام این بنا از سعی شیخ پیشوا
خواستم چون سال تاریخش ز پیر غیب گفت * شد بحکم شاه عبدالله این مسجد بنا¹
سنه ۱۰۴۳ کتبه لطف الله الحسینی القبریزی

TRANSLATION.

In the reign of the well-wishing king of heavenly court,

This building was completed through the efforts of the *Shāikh*, the leader.

When I asked the Invisible Inspirer for a chronogram of the building; he said,

"This mosque was built by the order of King 'Abdullah."

Written by Lutfullah al-Ḥusaini at-Tabrezi, 1043 A.H. (1633 A.D.).

The other inscription in the Toli Masjid is also in Persian verse, and consists of two lines. The style of writing is *Naskh*. I have deciphered it as follows:—

PLATE XX (a).

لن الملک الیم لله الواحد القهار

موسی خان بنا کرد این مسجدش * که شد مستعد دور عبد الله شاه²
بقاریخ مسجد چنین شد ندا * بنا کرد مسجد بنام خدا³
سنه ۱۰۸۲

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 Miyān Mišk, Hyderabad.

Miyān 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

¹ In calculating the numerical value of letters for the chronogram the *lām* of 'Abdullah which is double (مشدد) will be counted twice.

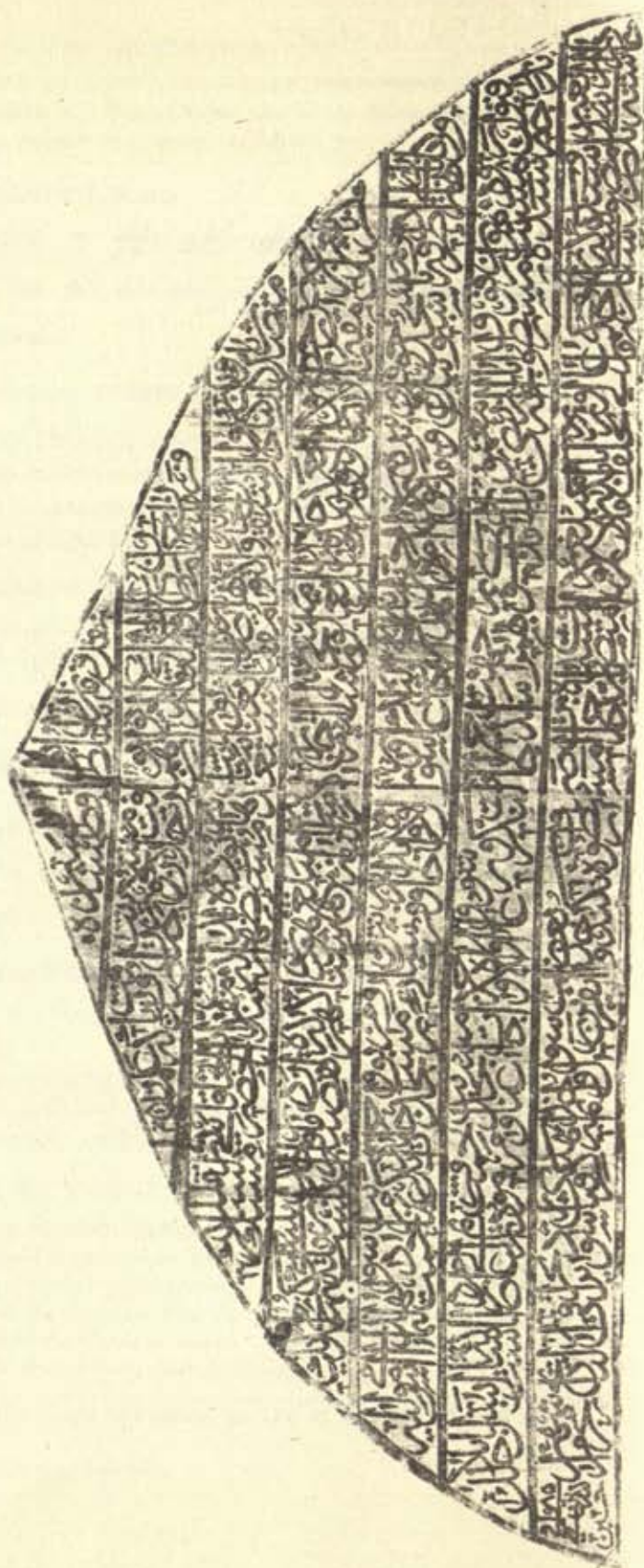
² For the sake of rhyme *Shāh* should be read without *ā* here.

³ The metre of these lines is *Mutaqārib*.

(a) Inscription in the prayer-niche of the Toli Masjid, Hyderabad.



(b) Inscription over the western doorway of Mian Mishk's Tomb, Hyderabad.



the Deccan. The tomb of Miyān Miṣḥk is situated near the eastern end of the Purāna Pul and consists of a spacious quadrangle (145' × 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 inscriptional tablets are fixed which bear the *farmāns* of king Abul Ḥasan, describing in detail the revenues set apart for the maintenance of the tomb (Pls. XXb-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 Muḥammad Qutb Shāh (Pl. XVIII c). This epigraph apparently has no connection with the tomb of Miyān Miṣḥk 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 inscriptional tablet is fixed over the southern doorway of the sepulchre (Pl. XXII). It bears a *farmān* of king Abul Ḥasan, which is similar as regards its contents to the two *farmāns*, 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 *Tughra* (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 فرمان سلطان ابرار الحسن قطبشاه

(1) فرمان جهان مطاع و آسمان ارتفاع از دیوان همایون خلافت مشهور چنان زینت
صدر یافت که عاملان (2) متصدیان و کارکنان حال و استقبال کتوالخانه و تهانه مقاضایان (۳)
مستعد پر بعنایت شاهانه مستظهر بوده بدانند که مقرب الحضرت الخاقانی ملک مشک
سر لشکر (3) کرناتک بعرض مقیمان حضور لامع النور رسانید که حاصل بازار تعلق مسجد
مشار الیه خارج سالیانه مبلغ هشتاد هون که تفصیل
آن در فرمان ملکیها محمد نگر (4) و دوکانها (۵) بازار در طرفه
مسجد اخراجات لنگر عاشور و الاره و آبدارخانه
و فرش و روشنائی مسجد مزبور و اخراجات دیگر عنایت و مرحمت شود
لهذا التماس مرمی الیه (5) بدرجۃ قبول رسیده و هشتاد هون مسطور فوق بآنچه از معموری بازار
مذکور بهم رسد جهت اخراجات لنگر و عاشور و الاره و اخراجات مسجد عنایت و مرحمت فرمودیم
امر عالی صادر است که سال بسال بلا خلل (6) جاری داشته از تغیر و تبدل باشند

کسی که از حکم عالی ما تخلف ورزد یا آنکه مبلغ مذکور را متصرف شده باخراجات مسطره
صرف نکند بغضب خدا و نفرین رسول خدا و ائمه هدی گرفتار شود تحریرا فی
التاریخ شهر محرم فی ۱۰۸۵ کتبه حسین بن تقی ①

TRANSLATION.

Copy of the farmān of Sultān Abul Ḥasan Qutb Shāh.

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 *Kutwālkhāna* and *Thāna*² of Musta'iddpūr, having been protected by Royal grace, should know that the trusted servant of the Imperial court, Malik Mišk, 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 Mišk), besides the annual grant of 80 *huns*³ as detailed in the *farmān* 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 *Alāwā* and *Ābdār Khāna*⁴ and the lights and carpets of the above mosque, as also for (similar) other expenses. Accordingly, the request of the aforesaid (Miyān Mišk) 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 *Alāwā* 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 Ḥusain b. Taqī.

(2-3) *Inscriptions over the Eastern Gateway.*

Arranged in a circle : the names of the twelve *Imāms* and the following verse—

PLATE XXIII (a).

مردمی که بتائید... حق دکن است * محب قطب بجان علی ابوالحسن است

TRANSLATION.

The Deccan is by Divine grace the abode of love ;

By 'Ali's life ! Abul Ḥasan is the loving chief.

Below this inscription another is carved which reads as follows :—

PLATE XXI.

(1) نقل فرمان سلطان ابوالحسن قطبشاه ① عاملان کتوالخانه و تهازه مستعد پور و موضع
عطاپور حوالی قلعه مبارکه محمد نگر بوجه مستظهر بدانند که معتمد الخدمت ملک مشک

¹ This inscription is carved on an arch-shaped black stone tablet which is 3' 2" high and 7' 9" wide.

² *Kutwālkhāna* and *thāna* may not be understood here as only 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 *Hun*, gold coin of the Deccan about 52 grains in weight, often called pagoda.

⁴ *Alāwā*, place where incense is burnt and rites are performed to commemorate the death of Ḥusain, grandson of the Prophet Muhammad. *Ābdār-Khāna*, lit., 'water-closet' ; but here it means the house where cold drinks are distributed to the thirsty to bless the soul of Ḥusain from whose camp the troops of Yazid had cut off the supply of water before his murder.

(2) کلیددار بعز عرض مقیمان حضور لامع النور رسانید که حاصل بازار مسجد خود و پنت و باغچه و سه قطعه زمین مزرعه انعام خود و وظیفه مسجد و غله زمین انعام میر ملک خرید خود که در موضع (3) مذکور واقعست بعد از اخراجات ضروری آن سید و بیست هون جهت لنگر عاشور و آله [و] آبدار خانه چهل هون سالیانه جهت لنگر مسجد و روشنائی و بعضی سالیانه هشتاد هون و غله زمین انعام میر ملک (4) مشاھرہ داران لنگر مسجد و بعضی یکصد و در هون آنرا متولی بیست هون موزن ده هون فراش شش هون تیل چراغ شش هون فرش مسجد در ربع هون مطبخ شش هون سقا شش هون جهت تعمیر مسجد بعضی دوازده هون (5) دیوتی (6) هفت نیم هون دربان دوازده هون دو نفر را جارو کش شش هون نویسنده بهمه هشت و ربع هون اخراجات حمام و مشاھرہ داران سالیانه نود و هشت هون آنرا هیزم سالیانه چهل هون و خوراک گاو و دلو و ریسمان شانزده و ربع هون پله کار (6) شش هون (6) کیسه مال دو نفر را شانزده هون فراش شش هون تیل چراغ یک نیم هون حصیر و لنگی و غیره یک ربع هون مالی آب کش را دوازده هون بدین موجب رقف صحیح شرعی نموده بنذر حضرات دوازده امام علیهم السلام نزدیک (7) مسجد خود یک حبه تجارز نموده طعام پخته بدریشان و مستحقین می خورانید، باشند اخراجات عاشور و حمام و مشاھرہ چاکران می رسانیده باشند لهذا التماس مومی الیه بدرجه قبول رسیده امر عالی صادر شد که بر نهج رقف (8) نمودن ملک مشار الیه سال بسال بلا خلل جاری داشته از تغییر و تبدیل آن اجتناب نمایند و باغچه از روی معذوری بازار و پینت و باغچه و مزرعه زمین چه بهم رسد بدل اخراجات (9) صرف نمایند کسی که تخلف ورزد یا طمع نماید مسلمان یا هندو هر که باشد بغضب و سخط خدای تعالی گرفتار شود و از شفاعت شفیع روز جزا محمد مصطفی صلی الله علیه و آله و سلم بی نصیب و سیاه زر گردد ☉ سنه ۱۰۸۹ ه^۱

TRANSLATION.

Copy of the farmān of Sultān Abul Hasan Qutb Shāh. The (revenue) officers of the Kutwāl-khāna and Thāna of Musta'iddpūr and Mauzā (village) 'Atāpūr (which are) in the vicinity of the auspicious fort of Muḥammadnagar (Golconda), having been protected (by Royal grace) should know that the trusted servant Malik Mishk, the Keeper of the Royal key, has been granted the honour of laying this request before those standing in the illustrious presence (of His

¹ The tablet on which this inscription is carved measures 5' 8" x 4' 8".

Majesty) that (1)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 Mishk), (2) the grant relating to the mosque and (3) the produce of the land situated in the above village ('Atāpūr), originally in possession of Mir Malik as Royal award, and afterwards purchased by him (Miyān Mishk), 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 *huns* should be apportioned for (the following purposes)—(i) for the charities of the 'Āshūr and the maintenance of the *Alāwā* and the *Ābdār Khāna*: forty *huns* per annum; (ii) for the alms-house of the mosque, the lights and other expenses: eighty *huns* 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 *huns* as detailed here—the Superintendent of the mosque, twenty *huns*; the *Mu'azzin*,² ten *huns*; the *Farrāsh*,³ six *huns*; oil and lamps, six *huns*; carpets for the mosque, two and a quarter *huns*; kitchen, six *huns*; the water-carrier, six *huns*; repairs of the mosque and cognate expenses, twelve *huns*; the *Deotī*,⁴ seven and a half *huns*; the porter, twelve *huns*; the two sweepers, six *huns*; the clerk, eight and a quarter *huns* (total = 102 *huns*); (iv) for the establishment of the bath and other expenditure relating to it: ninety-eight *huns* per annum as detailed here—wood, forty *huns* per annum; fodder for oxen and ropes and buckets, sixteen and a quarter *huns*; the *Pallah Kār* (?), six *huns*; two shampooers, sixteen *huns*; the *Farrash*, six *huns*; lamps and oil, one and a half *hun*; matting, bathing-cloth, etc., one and a quarter *hun*; the *Mali* or drawer of water, twelve *huns*. 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 Mishk 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 'Āshūr and the Bath and the salary of the establishment, be (regularly) paid. Accordingly, the request of the aforesaid (Miyān Mishk) having been accepted, this exalted order has been issued that the endowment made by the above Malik (Mishk) 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 overtaken 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).

الحمد لله والمنة به باتمام رسيد ابن عمارت فايز النور مسمي بجادر خانة حضر نامدار (٩)
حسب العكم شاه اعظم خاتان معظم ابر المظفر محمد قطبشاه خلد ملكه ابدًا بمبلغ

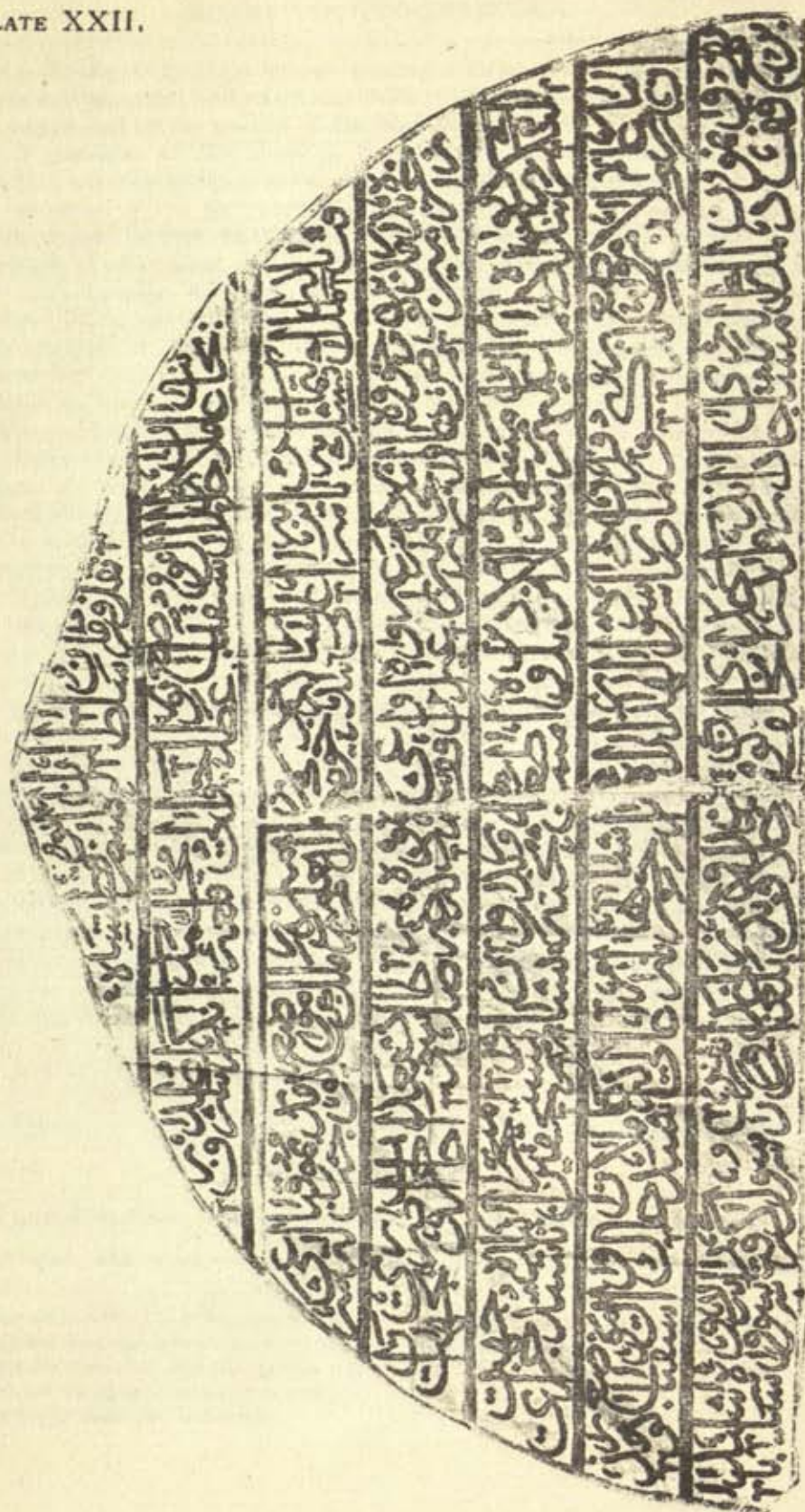
¹ The numerals in Arabic and Roman figures showing the different items of income and expenditure are not in the original and have been added by me to make the meaning of the sentence clear.

² *Mu'azzin*, the public crier, who assembles the people to prayers by proclamation from a high place.

³ *Farrāsh*, one who spreads the carpets or cushions.

⁴ *Deotī*, probably means the 'door-keeper.'

Inscription over the doorway of Mian Mishk's Tomb, Hyderabad.



یکهزار چهار صد هن رایج دارالسلطنه سلطانگر حرسه الله تعالى عن كل شر والخطر بتاریخ شهر
محرم ر سده خمس ثلاثین بعد الف^۱ ۵

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 (*Khaqān*), Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Qutb Shāh—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 فرمان سلطان ابوالحسن قطبشاه

- (1) بجانب عاملان حال و استقبال موضع عطاپور حوالی قلعه محمد نگر شرف صدر
- (2) یافت که ملک مشک التماس به پاینده سرپر اعلی رسانید که خود (?) مکمل زمین انعام
- میر ملک در موضع مذکور بموجب قبالة شرعی (3) ز خریده میر مذکور بر رجوه خاص و اشجار
- در زمین مزرعه و غیره آن وقف شرعی نموده که هر چه حاصل شود بعد اخراجات ضروری آن بجهت
- (4) لنگر بنذر درازده امام علیهم السلام مسجد نزدیک است طعام پخته بدریشان و
- مستحقین میبخشاند^۲ باشند جهت جزای (5) آن بنام عاملان موضع مذکور فرمان صادر شود
- لهذا از راه مرام شاهانه امرعالی شد که عاملان حال و استقبال موضع مذکور (6) بر نهج وقف
- نمودن ملک مشار الیه جاری دارند و اگر احدی تخلف خلاف
- و رزق بلعت خدا و نفرین رسول گرفتار شوند و سیاه رو باشند^۳ ۵

TRANSLATION.

Copy of the farmān of Sultān Abul Hasan Qutb Shāh.

(This order) has gained the distinction of issuing to the present and future Revenue officers of *Mausad* (village) 'Atāpūr, in the vicinity of Muḥammadnagar Fort, that Malik Miḥk 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 ('Atāpūr) originally in possession of Mir 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-

^۱ The tablet bearing this inscription measures 6' 3" x 1' 4".

^۲ The correct spelling of this word is خوراند.

^۳ The inscription is carved on an arch-shaped black stone tablet measuring 2' 4" in height and 4' 4" 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 Mišk), 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 Mišk's grave.*

PLATE XXIII (b).

الحکم لله

(1) بتاريخ بیست و نهم ربیع الاول (2) ل 1 یم الا حد جنّی میان (3) مشک برحمت

حق پیوست ⑤

سنة ۱۰۹۲

TRANSLATION.

All authority is for God !

On the 29th of Rabī' I, Sunday, the blessed (lit., resting in Paradise) Miyān Mišk was taken into Divine mercy. 1091 A.H. (18th April, 1680 A.D.).²

¹ According to the rules of Persian grammar the *lām* of *al-awwal* should have been written in line 1 after the letters *الاول*.

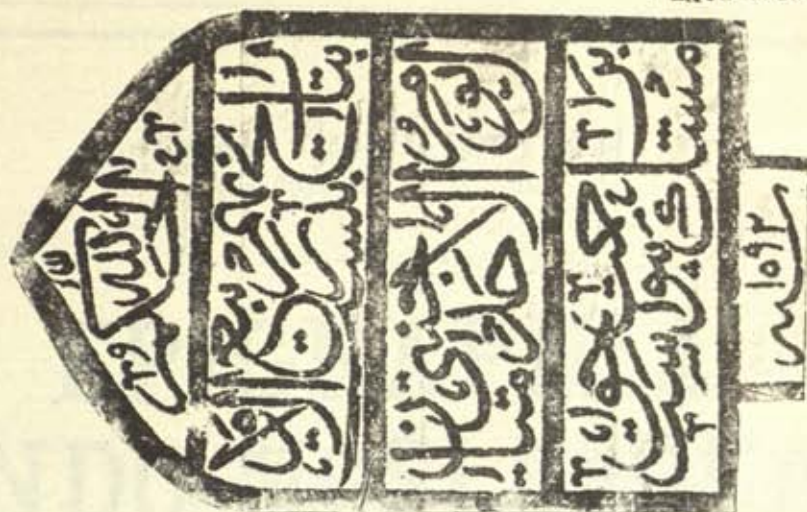
² In the inscription the figures 1092, giving the year, occur at the end and not after the name of the month. Further, the 29th of Rabī' I, 1092, was a Thursday, so it is apparent that Miyān Mišk did not die in that year. The 29th of Rabī' I, 1091 H., was a Sunday, so it is very probable that Miyān Mišk died in 1091 H., and the inscriptional tablet was set up in 1092 H.

(a) Inscription over the eastern doorway of Mian-Mishk's Tomb, Hyderabad.



Scale 2

(b) Inscription on the tomb of Mian Mishk, Hyderabad.



Scale 2



Seal of the 13th Dalai Lama (1872-1933)



Seal of the 14th Dalai Lama (1935-2011)

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MOBLEM INSCRIPTIONS.

1919-20

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INSCRIPTIONS OF SIKANDAR SHĀH LODĪ 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 Shāh Lodī in a ruined well near Hauz Khāss at Dehli (No. IX), which he brought to the notice of the Director-General of Archaeology.¹ The latter officer kindly supplied me with a photograph of the epigraph, suggesting that I should publish it in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*. 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 Shāh 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 917 A.H. (1494-1511 A.D.). The language of the inscriptions is Persian of rather an inelegant type, which is generally the case with Pathān records. The script is *Nasta'liq*.

Sikandar Shāh Lodī, whose real name was Nizām Khān, was the son of Bahlol Shāh, the founder of the Lodī dynasty. A very interesting story is related about his accession to the throne. The mother of Sikandar Shāh, named Zibān, was the daughter of a goldsmith, but she was the most favourite queen of Bahlol Shāh, and had been in his company when he died near Sakit in the year 894 A.H. (1489 A.D.).² Immediately after the death of Bahlol, the nobles met together to consult as to whom they should elevate to the throne. Some were in favour of Āzam Humāyūn, the grandson, and others of Bārbak Shāh, the eldest surviving son of the Sultān. While they were debating, the mother of Sikandar Shāh addressed them from behind the curtain on behalf of her son. 'Isā Khān, a cousin of Bahlol Shāh, who gave preference to Bārbak Shāh 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 'Isā Khān towards a queen of the late Sultān, who had just departed, caused annoyance to Khāni Khānān Farmullī, and an altercation between these two nobles ended in Khāni Khānān's becoming a warm partisan of Sikandar Shāh. The Khāni Khānān and the nobles of his party carried the corpse of Bahlol Shāh to Jalālī,³ and having called Sikandar Shāh from Dehli raised him to the throne on Friday, the 17th of Shabān of the year 894 A.H.⁴ (16th July 1489 A.D.).

Sikandar Shāh 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 us 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 Safdarjang's Tomb and the Qutb Minar. Among other buildings we visited Hauz Khāss. 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 *dāoī* of the circular kind in a small field with mounds and ruins about it. On the western side of the well, a few feet from the top, we saw the tablet with the inscription. As the whole well 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 well. I sent the photograph on to Sir John Marshall."—Editor.]

² Sakit is a small town in the district of Etah.

³ Jalālī is a small town in the district of Aligarh.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i Firāqat*, Part I, p. 179; *Khawāṣṣ-i Tawārīkh*, p. 273; *Tabāqāt-i Akbarī*, 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.¹ He waged wars against the Hindū Rājas of Dholpur, Gwalior and Narwar, and, to provide facilities in subduing them, transferred his capital from Sirī² to Agra.³

Sikandar Shāh was fond of architecture, and during his reign many new buildings were erected. He also, in pursuance of the policy of the emperor Fīroz Shāh, 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 Mihrāb of a mosque at Khairpūr.

This inscription has already been noticed by Major Cunningham (*A. S. R.*, Vol. XX, p. 156), 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'ān* 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 Shāh. 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 Shāh. It is not improbable that the mosque was also then renovated, as the incised plaster ornamentation of the mosque is evidently of Sikandar Shāh's time.

The inscription runs as follows :—

PLATE I (a).

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ (2) قَالَ اللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى إِنَّ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا
مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا (3) عَمَّارَاتِ أَيْنَ بَقَعَ شَرِيفِ دَر (4) عَهْدِ سُلْطَانِ السَّلَاطِينِ بَادِشَاهِ رُبْعِ مَسْكُونِ (5)
بَرْكَزِيدِهِ حَضْرَتِ كَرْنِ فَيَكُونُ الرَّائِقُ بِالتَّائِيدِ (6) الرَّحْمَنِ ابْنِ الْمَظْ [فَر] سَكَنْدَرِ شَاهِ ابْنِ بَهْلُولِ شَاهِ
(7) سُلْطَانِ كَانَهُ (؟) خُلْدِ اللَّهِ مَلِكِهِ وَ سُلْطَانِهِ وَ أَعْلَى أَمْرِهِ (8) رِشَانِهِ دَرِ عَمَّارَاتِ مَسْجِدِ جَامِعِ نَرْعِ
بَنَّاكَوْدِهِ مَغْفُورِ مَرْحُومِ (9) اِبْنِ اِمَامِدِ وَ مِيرِ جِهَانِ (؟) بَنَّا رِيخِ غَرَمَا [ه] رُبْعِ الْوَلِ
سَلُهُ تَسَعِ مَالَةٍ (؟)

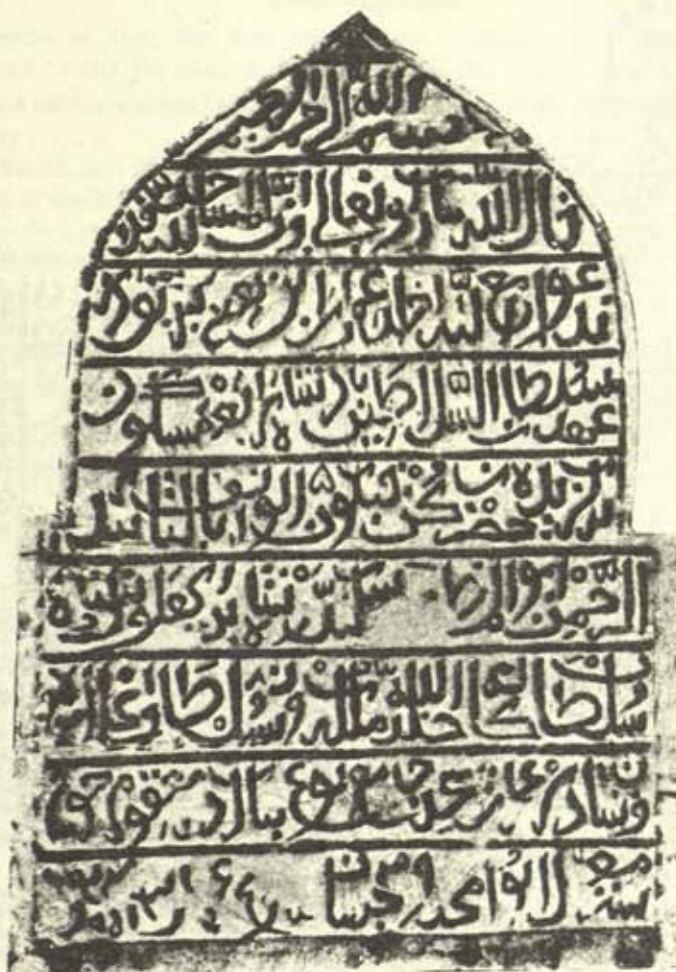
¹ *Elliot*, Vol. IV, p. 446.

² Sirī was founded by 'Alāu-d Dīn Khaljī in the year 1303 A.D. some 7 miles to the south of Shāhjahānābād, the present city of Delhi. It has fallen into ruins and dwindled to a village, now called Shāhpur Jat.

³ *Tārīkh-i Firishāh*, Part I, p. 183.

⁴ This word seems to be نَرْعِ, but misspelt in the inscription.

(a) Inscription over the Mihrab of a mosque at Khairpur.



Scale '166

(b) Inscription on Baghi ' Alam ka Gumbad at Humayunpur.



Scale '166

(a) Inscription on an anonymous building at the village of Muradabad Pahari.



(b) Inscription on the Nili Masjid, Kharera village



Scale 1/2"

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.'¹

"This sacred edifice was built anew within the building of the Jāmi' Masjid by the deceased of happy memory Abu Amjad, during the reign of the sultān of sultāns, 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 Maẓaffar Sikandar Shāh, the son of Bahlol Shāh, the sultān—may God perpetuate his kingdom and reign, and exalt his command and dignity! Dated the first of the month of Rabi' u-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 'Ālam kā Gumbad at Humāyūnpūr near Haus Khass.

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) بنا این عمارت در عهد دولت سلطان الاعظم سکندر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه
(2) این گنبد میان شیخ شهاب الدین تاجخان سلطان ابو سعید بنا [ر] بخ بیستم ماه رمضان
سنه ست و تسعمایه ٥

TRANSLATION.

"This building was erected during the reign of the great king Sikandar Shāh Sultān—may God perpetuate his kingdom! The dome of Miẓān Shaikh Shihābu-d-Dīn, Tājkhānī Sultān Abū Sa'id: on the twentieth of the month of Ramāẓān, the year nine hundred and six (9th April 1501 A.D.)."

III.—Inscription on the western arch of an anonymous building at the village of Murādsābd Pahārī.

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 چشمه بھال (fountains of Bhānā). Mubārak Khān Nūhānī was a powerful noble at the court of Sikandar Shāh. He is reported to have died at Patna in the year 901 A.H.,² when he was returning with Maḥmūd Khān Lodī, another noble of Sikandar Shāh, after making a treaty with 'Alāuddīn, the Sultān of Bengal. The year 906 A.H., recorded in the inscription as the date of the erection of the buildings by Mubārak Khān Nūhānī, 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 "Nūhānī" which is wrongly written in Firishṭa, and in its translation by Briggs, as لہانی (Lūhānī).

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 Qur'ān, Chap. LXXII, verse 18.

² Tārīkh-i Firishṭa, Part I, p. 182; Tūlūqātī Akbarī, p. 162.

are a domed tomb, locally called *Bājra kī Gumbad*, and a ruined well now no more in use. The *Bājra kī Gumbad* is apparently a building of the Lodi period, and I am inclined to believe that it is no other than *Haḡira* of the inscription, and its present name is a corruption of "*Haḡira kī Gumbad*."¹ 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 "*Dahliz*" (vestibule). My reading of the inscription is as follows:—

PLATE II (a).

بتاریخ . . . ماه رجب رجب قدره حظیره و دهلیز و چاه چشمه بهانا (۵) [م] بارکخان
نوحانی بنا کنانید برای آبخو را سنه ست و تسعمایه در عهد سندر شاه ☉

TRANSLATION.

"On . . . of the month of Rajab, may its honour increase, an enclosure, a *Dahliz* (vestibule) and a well (of the fountains of Bhānā(?)) were built for the supply of drinking water by Mubārak Khān Nūhānī. 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 9' 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 *مسجد* and *له فی الجنة* read by Dr. Horovitz as *بنی* is really *بنی*. It is clearly written as such in the inscription, and as it belongs to a well-known *Hadith*² there can be no doubt as to its reading.

(2) The word after *عمارت منار* in the first line is read by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān as *مبارک* and Dr. Horovitz suggests its reading as *گنبدي*; in my opinion it is *بندگی* which is an honorific title usually added by way of respect before the names of important personages, especially those of saints.

(3) The word *حضرت* written below *سلطان سلاطین* has been omitted by Dr. Horovitz, and so has been *شاه* which is written after *بهلول*, while the letter "ر" has been inserted by him between *العظام* and *المعظم*.

(4) In the second line after *خراصخان* he reads *در گنبدي*. The last word which he reads *در گنبدي* is clearly written in the inscription as *درز بندی* and cannot be read otherwise. Of the remaining two words the first, which he reads *چونا*, has been taken by him as a title of Khawās Khān. 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—*Bājra kī Gumbad*—is not very convincing. The dome at a time may have been used for storing *Bājra* (maize), hence the name *Bājra kī Gumbad*.—Editor.]

² *Mishkāt Shārif* (ed. Muṭtabāṭ Press, 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 چوکمندي**. The word **چوکمندي** is very unusual, possibly it has been used in the sense of **چوکبندي**, the ending **بندي** having been replaced by **مندي** to avoid its repetition. My reading of these words is therefore **باچوکمندي و درز بندي**.

(5) At about the end Dr. Horovitz has omitted the word **من** between **الغره** and **ماه**. I read the whole inscription as follows¹ :—

TEXT.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنا مسجدا لله تعالى بنى الله له في الجنة بيتا
مثله - عمارت مناره بندگان حضرت سلطان سلاطين شمس الدنيا والدين مرحوم مغفور طاب ثراه
و جعل الجنة مثواه شكست شده بود مناره مذکور در عهد دولت سلطان اعظم المعظم [ا] لمكرم
سكندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه را علي امره و شانه [و] عمل خانزاده
فتح خان بن مسند عالي خواصخان باچوکمندي و درز بندي و مرتبها بالا مرمت كرد [ه] مرتب
كنانيد الغره من ماه ربيع الآخر سنة تسع و تسعمائة

TRANSLATION.

"The Prophet, may God's blessing be upon him, said 'whosoever builds a mosque for God, God builds for him a house like it in paradise.' The building of the *Manāra* of his holiness (**بندگان**) and his majesty (**حضرت**), the King of Kings, Shamsu-d-Dunyā-Waddīn, 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 *Manāra*, during the reign of the most exalted, great and honoured Sultān, Sikandar Shāh, the son of Sultān Bahlol Shāh—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his sovereignty and raise his command and his dignity—and under the supervision of Khinzādah Fath Khān, the son of Masnadi 'Alī Khawās 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 Nili Masjid at the Kharera village.

The inscription consists of five lines and is engraved on a marble slab measuring 3' 8" by 1' 9". It refers to Khawās Khān, a trusted servant of Sikandar Shāh, as being the governor of Dehli. We learn from the *Tārīkh-i Firishṭa* (Pt. I, pp. 182-3) and *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī* (pp. 163-4) that Khawās Khān was originally governor of Māchhtwāra (in the Panjab), but was appointed to the governorship of Dehli in the year 907 A.H. (1501 A.D.) in supersession of Aṣghar Khān, against whom heavy complaints had been preferred to the emperor. Aṣghar Khān, having heard this, quitted Dehli before the arrival of Khawās Khān, and set out for Sambhal to attend the court, where he was put in confinement. Khawās Khān took possession of Dehli, 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-Moslemica*, 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* Farmullī, 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 *Khawās 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 *Khawās Khān* was deputed in company with *Ālam Khān*, the governor of Mīwat, and *Khāni Khānān Nūhāni*, the governor of Rapri,¹ to reduce Dholpur. The emperor also followed these nobles, and the fort of Dholpur was soon taken. After the departure of *Khawās 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 Dehli 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 *Āmil* (governor) of Dehli, it may be inferred that he was removed from there either by death or by transfer to another province. The reference made by Dr. Horowitz (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* for the year 1911-12, p. 32) to Masnadi *Āli Khawās Khān* is incorrect; it refers to a noble of *Shēr Shāh*, whose real name was *Muṣāḥib Khān* and the title of *Khawās Khān* was conferred upon him by that emperor about the year 944 A.H. (1538 A.D.).²

I read the inscription as follows:—

PLATE II (b).

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ۝ اتفق بيننا هذا المسجد المتين بعهد سلطان السلاطين
 ظل الله في الأرضين (2) المتوكل على الرحمان سكندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد [1] لله
 ملكه و سلطانه و اظهر كل لحظة برهانه بعمل ر شهرداري خاناعظم مسند (3) عالي خراسان دام
 عاليا بانيه عمارة المذكورة ضعيفه نحيفه الراجي الى رحمة الله المنان كسنبهيل دايه خانزاده معظم
 (4) ر مكرم ميان فتم خان بن خراسان الثاني من ماه ربيع الاول سنة احدى عشر وتسعمائة
 بايد كه هر كه درين (5) مسجد در آيد براي عبادت بدعاء سلامتي ايمان بانيه مذكور و خيريت
 دارين فتم خان ياد الله اعلم بصواب ۝ كاتب [1] لعرف بر خوردار ناصر كمال احمد 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 *Bahlol Shāh Sultān*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his sovereignty and glorify his words for ever—under the supervision and governorship of *Khāni Āzam Masnadi Āli Khawās 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) *Kasunbhil*, the nurse of the great and generous *Khānzāda Mīan Fath Khān*, the son of *Khawās Khān*, on the second of the month of *Rabi'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, Maihraul.



Scale *2

(b) Inscription on the tomb of Shaikh 'Ala-ud-Din at Shaikh Sarai.



Scale *25

foundress and for the welfare of Fath Khān in both the worlds. God knoweth what is right! The writer of (these) letters (is) Barkhurdār Nāṣir Kamāl Ahmad Khān."

VI.—Inscription on a domed Chhatrī 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 دولت خان is not clearly decipherable and has been omitted also by Thomas. In all probability it is a title of Daulat Khān.¹ My reading of the inscription is as follows:—

PLATE III (a).

(1) در عهد همايون سلطان الاعظم المعظم المتركلى على (2) الرحمان سكندر شاه بن بهلول
شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه (3) ر سلطانہ بنا كرد اين گنبد بنده اميدوار بر رحمت پروردگار
(4) دولت خان خواجه محمد غره ماه رجب سنه اثنى عشره و تسعمائيه ٥

TRANSLATION.

"During the auspicious reign of the great Sultān, trusting the Most Merciful, Sikandar Shāh, the son of Bahlol Shāh Sultān—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 Khān Khwāja Muḥammad 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 'Alāu-d-Dīn 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 Khān on the tomb of Shaikh Yūsuf Qattāl. 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 'Alāu-d-Dīn, the founder of the tomb, was the son of Shaikh Nūru-d-Dīn and a descendant of Shaikh Faridu-d-Dīn Shākarganj of Pākpatan. 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:—

PLATE III (b).

(1) بنا اين عمارت گنبد در عهد سلطان الاعظم ابو (2) المعظم سكندر شاه سلطان خلد الله
ملكه ر سلطانہ (3) باني گنبد شيخ علاء الدين نور تاج شيخ نبیسه قطب (4) العالم شيخ فريد
شكر گنج ماه محرم سنه ثلث عشر و تسعمائيه ٥

TRANSLATION.

"This domed building was erected during the reign of the great Sultān Abul Muẓaffar Sikandar Shāh Sultān—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his sovereignty. The founder of the dome was Shaikh 'Alāuddīn Nūr Tāj Shaikh, the grandson of the pole star of the world,

¹ [I would read the words as—خواجه محمد غره و مير خاشم و مير خان ذير اشلم —Editor.]

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 Hauz Khāss.

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 Aḥmad 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 *Kalima* 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 *Kalima* 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; *Kalima* being given at the actual place in the beginning.

[لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله] سلطان
[فیررز] شاه طاب ثراه و جعل الجنة مثواه بن شیخ
بن شیخ حاجي که گنبد مذکور خواجه الهداد فیررز و میان جلال عیان
.

UPPER LINE.

. فرمایش کرد میان ده مرتب گردانید در عهد سلطان السلاطین
سلطان سکندر بن سلطان السلاطین سلطان بهلول شاه خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و اعلى امره و شانه
در بیستم ماه مبارک رمضان سنه ثلاث عشر و تسعمایه

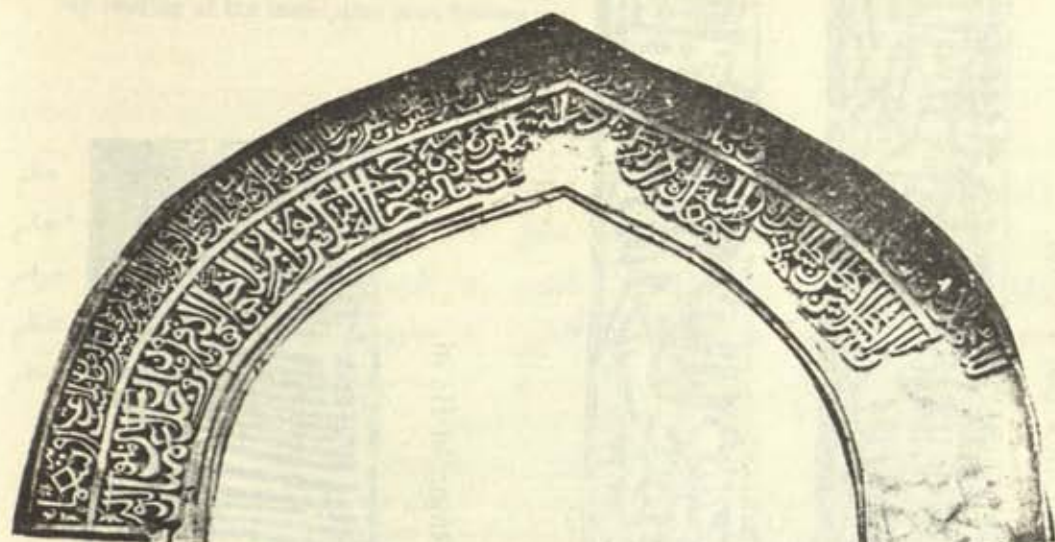
TRANSLATION.

"There is no God but Allāh and Muḥammad is his prophet.
the king of kings Sultān Firoz Shāh—may his ashes be sanctified and may God make paradise his
resting place son of Shaikh son of Shaikh Hājī
that the above-mentioned dome Khwāja Iahdād Firoz and Miān Jalāl, their
uncles ordered repaired
during the reign of the king of kings Sultān Sikandar, the son of the king of kings Sultān Bahlol
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 Hauz Khāss, 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 **Chāhi Khāss** 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.



Scale '1

(b) Inscription on a gateway near Rajon ki Ba'in.



Scale '25

Shāh Lodī 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).

تاریخ چاه خاص

- (1) بنا فرمود چاه همچو زمزم * سکندر شاه لودی شاه عالم
- (2) خایفه بن خلیفت شاه عادل * ز عدلش بیخ اسلامیت محکم
- (3) ده اندر ده است کز . . . شیرین * برگردش ازدهام اجناس مردم
- (4) در آن دم برد عامل بیگخانی * منور بن خراسان اعظم
- (5) ز رجب یازده بردست ماه * سنه نهصد دگر بد پانزدهم

TRANSLATION.

Chronogram of Chāhi Khās.

- (1) Sikandar Shāh Lodī, the king of the world, built a well like Zamsam.²
- (2) He is a Khālifa (king), son of a Khālifa and a just king, owing to whose justice the foundation of Islām 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 Bībī Hūr and Nūr's tomb at the Adhchirī village.

The inscription is incised in plaster, and consists of one line 13' 8" in length. It refers to 'Abdullah, the son of Ilahdād 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 ○ تمام شد عمارت این مقام متبرک بندگی ملک العلماء تاج
الصلحا میان عبدالله بن الهداد طلمنبی لا زال ظلّه علینا روز شنبه فی الذّاتی عشر من شهر الله
رجب سنه الخامس عشر و تسعمایه در عهد سلطان السلاطین سکندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان
خلدالله 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 Haus Khās near which it is built.

² Zamsam is a well at Mecca, the water of which is considered to be sacred by Muhammadans.

³ Tulambah lies at a distance of 40 kos (about 80 miles) from Multan. During the time of Akbar it was a pargana or maḥāl in the Sarkār of Bāri Dōb, the province of Multan (*Āīn Akbarī*, English translation by Jarret, Vol. II, pp. 329-30).

⁴ *Tārīkh-i Firishāh*, Pt. I, p. 182; *Tadhqāt-i Akbarī*, 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, Miān 'Abdullah, the son of Ilahdād of Tulanbah—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, Sikandar Shāh, the son of Bahlol Shāh Sultān—may God the Great perpetuate his kingdom!"

XI.—Inscription inside the central Mihrāb of a mosque at Maihrauli.

The mosque bearing the inscription formed part of the compound of the house of Lala Paras Das, Government Treasurer and Honorary Magistrate of Dehli. 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 Archæological 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 Sikandar Shāh and is dated 917 A.H. (1511 A.D.). I read the text as follows:—

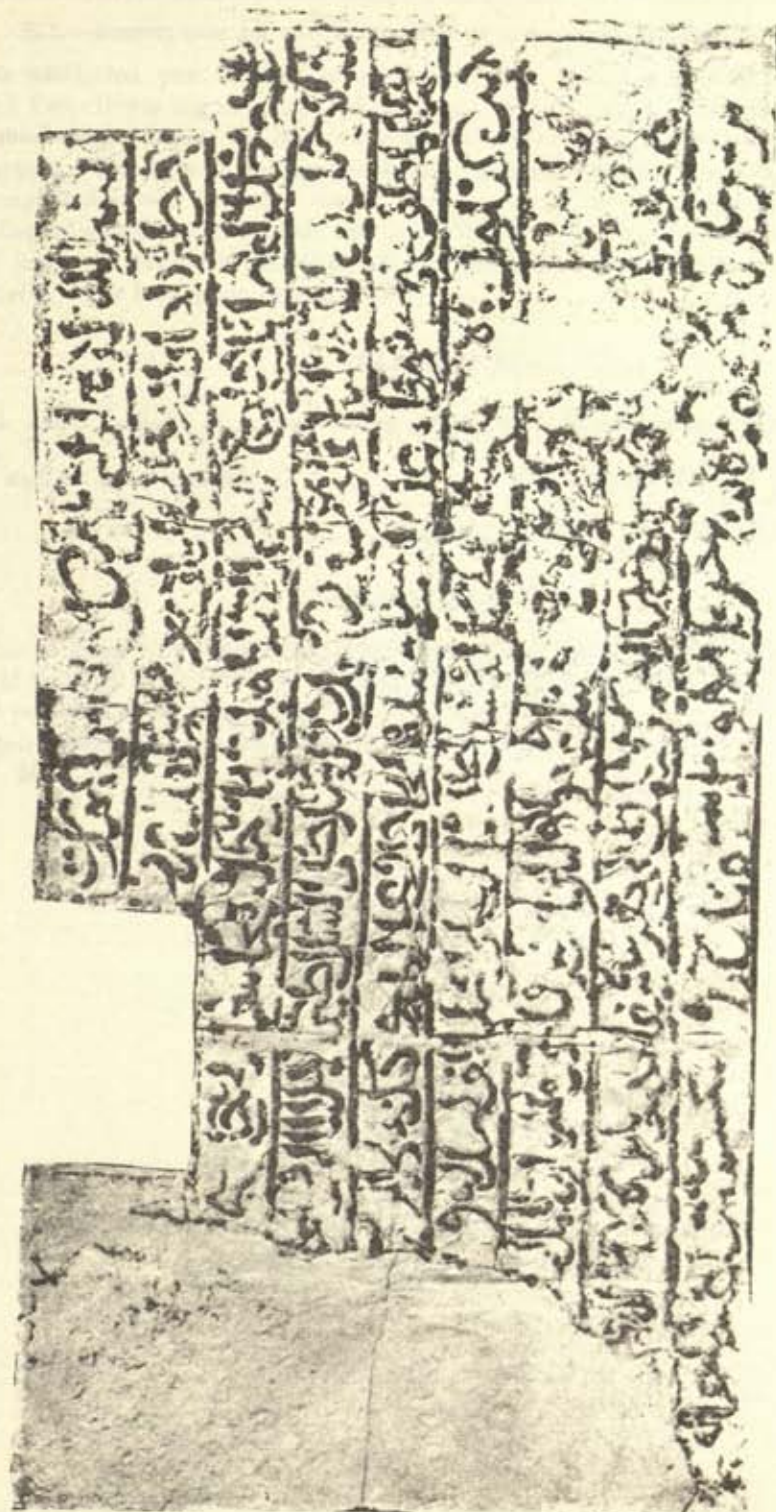
PLATE VI.

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ① بنا کرد این عمارت (2) حظیره را خان اعظم خاقان معظم
سپهدار . . . (3) . . . معدن الفضائل جامع السیف والقلم المرید بتأیید السبحان مجلس اعلیٰ
... (4) . . . زاد الله دولته و اعلیٰ امره و شاته در زمان دولت سلطان
السلطین ظل الله فی العالم [لم] . . . (5) السماء المظفر علی صغرف الاعداء
اسلام ملجاء خاص و عام المتوکل علی [الرحمان] . . . (6) . . . بن بھلول شاه
سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و ابد علی الخلاق (7-8) . . .
... حقیر شاه صفا . . .
... (9) . . . بتاریخ هفتم ماه رجب رجب قدره . . . لله الفتح
روز پنجمشده سنه سبع عشر و تسعمایه ②

TRANSLATION.

"In the name of God, the most merciful and compassionate. This tomb was erected by the great Khān and the grand Khāqān, 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, Majlisi 'Ālā . . . 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 . . . Islām, the refuge of high and low, trusting [the Most Merciful] . . . the son of Bahlol Shāh Sultān—may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and continue for ever over people . . . the humble, Shāh Safā . . . on Thursday, the seventh of the honoured month of Rajab . . . the year nine hundred and seventeen (1511 A.D.)."

Inscription on a mosque at Maihrauli.



XII.—Inscription on the north side of a gateway near Rājōn ki Bā'in.

This inscription was brought to my notice, when I was listing ancient monuments of Maihraul Zail. It was engraved on a red sandstone slab, fixed on the northern wall of a gateway, which stood near *Rājōn ki Bā'in* 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).

آغاز این عمارت در عهد سلطان الاعظم الراقى بتائيد الرحمان ابو المظفر سکندر شاه بن
بہلول شاه سلطان خلد اللہ ملکہ رسلطانہ بلقیس بنت خواجه محمد
بن شیخ محمد ہفتم ماہ جمادی الآخر سنہ خمسین

TRANSLATION.

"This building was commenced during the reign of the great Sultān, the dependent on the help of the Most Merciful, Abul Muzaffar Sikandar Shāh, the son of Bahlol Shāh Sultān—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his sovereignty! Bilqis, the daughter of Khwajah Muhammad, the son of Shaikh Muhammad on the 7th of Jumada 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 Pachorā. 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 Bhairava Darwaza, that is, the Gate dedicated to Bhairava, another name of Siva. 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 inscriptional tablet (6' x 2' 3") fixed on its outer side. The letters of the inscription are well preserved and I have deciphered it as follows:—

TEXT.

Plate VIII.

کشاده باد بدرت شه این درگاه * بحق اشهد ان لا اله الا الله

- (1) در در شاه عادل خسرو کامل ظل الله سلیمان جاء خلائق فناء السلطان برهان نظام شاه
(2) خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و افاض على العالمين برة و احسانه بامر مرید مالک البحر و البر
مملکت مدار...² ملک (3) عنبر دام عزه و اقباله شد بانی این درگاه علیه مالک خان عالی شان
نتیجه الاعیان³ شجاعت نشان ناصر الخوانین فی (4) الزمان ناصر فرهادخان دام عزه در قاربه
سنة خمس و ثلاثين و الف هجرت النبى على مشرفها الصلوة و تحية ☉

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 Sultān, 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 Farhād 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 *Nasta'liq* of a rather ornamental type, but not elegant.

² There is a letter like *می* between مدار and ملک, the connection of which is not clear.

³ The expression *نتیجه الاعیان* is somewhat uncommon: it may be the sculptor's mistake for *نخبة الاعیان*; but on the stone *نتیجه* is absolutely clear and does not admit of an alternative reading.

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 Musalman dynasties of the Deccan are by far the most reliable and complete, has omitted the name of this Burhān Nizām Shāh (III), and apparently confused his reign with that of Murtaẓa Nizām Shāh II.¹ The name of Burhān Nizām Shāh (III) is, however, preserved in the *Basāʾtin-u-s-Salāṭin*, where it occurs in connection with the event of the reign of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh (1628-56 A.D.).² Colonel Haig has fixed 1603-1630 A.D. as the period of Murtaẓa Nizām Shāh's (II) reign; but in 1019 H. (1610 A.D.) we find bitter enmity between him and Malik 'Ambar,³ and, as another inscription in the Fort, dated 1019 H. (1610 A.D.), gives Burhān Nizām Shāh's name as that of the reigning king,⁴ it is very likely that in that year Malik 'Ambar set up the latter as king and deserted the cause of Murtaẓa Nizām Shāh II. The *Basāʾtin* mentions the name of Murtaẓa 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 Burhān Nizām Shāh (III) continuously mentioned in that book until Mahābat Khān's expedition to conquer the Fort of Daulatabād in 1041 H. (1631 A.D.).⁵ In connection with this event the *Basāʾtin* records that Burhān Nizām Shāh had died a natural death, or was killed through the hands of Fath Khān (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. Khāfi Khān mentions the death of a Nizām-i-Mulk at the hands of Fath Khān in 1040 H.,⁶ which supports the fact that Burhān Nizām Shāh III died in 1040 H. (1630 A.D.). The correct dates of the last three kings of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty based on the above facts are as follows:—

Murtaẓa Nizām Shāh II, 1603-10 A.D.

Burhān Nizām Shāh III, 1610-30 A.D.

Ḥusain Nizām Shāh (son of Burhān), set up by Fath Khān in 1630, and taken prisoner by the Mughals in 1632.

Another historical name mentioned in the inscription is that of Farhad Khān. Briggs in his translation of *Faria-e-Souza* (Tome III, Pt. i, ch. 8)⁷ refers to a General of Burhān Nizām Shāh who during the siege of Chaul (1592) was made prisoner with his wife and children. According to *Faria-e-Souza* the wife of the General was ransomed but he with his daughter became converts and proceeded to Lisbon. *Firishṭa* and *Basāʾtin* on the contrary continue to mention the name of Farhad Khān 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 Nizām Shāhī kings, while at others espousing the cause of the rival dynasty of Bijapūr.⁸

Inside the Fort at Antūr is another inscription of Burhān Nizām Shāh III, set up in the prayer-niche of a mosque on the north-western end of the large tank.⁹ The mosque is a small

¹ *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, p. 286.

² *Basāʾtin* (Hyderabad ed.), pp. 286-306.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁴ Plate VIIb.

⁵ *Basāʾtin*, p. 296.

⁶ *Muntakhabu-l-lubāb* (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. I, p. 401.

⁷ *Briggs*, iii, 525.

⁸ *Briggs*, iii, 316-20, and *Basāʾtin*, 287-92.

⁹ For a description of the tank and other monuments inside the Fort see *Annual Report*, Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, 1919-20, pp. 4-8.

structure consisting of a single hall with three arched openings facing the tank. I have deciphered the inscription as follows¹ :—

TEXT.

Plate VII (a).

(1) در در اشرف همایون ظلّ آله برهان نظام شاه (2) خلد الله ملکه ر سلطانه
بامر مؤید دین متین پیغمبر (3) ملک عنبر شد بانی مسجد از بهر ثواب دارین اسمعیل
حسین در ربع عشرین (4) ساخته شد ۱۰۲۴ ©

TRANSLATION.

"In the glorious and auspicious reign of (the king), the shadow of God, Burhān Nizām Shāh (may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty!), Ismā'il Husain, 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 'Ambar. Completed in 1024 H. (1615 A.D.)."

To Burhān Nizām 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 follows² :—

TEXT.

Plate VII (b).

(1) شد شه برج بنا در عهد ظلّ آله برهان نظام شاه
(2) بهکم نافع البشر ملک عنبر بنوردهم رجب در سنه تسع عشر الف ©

TRANSLATION.

"The Royal Bastion was built during the reign of (the king), the shadow of God, Burhān Nizām Shāh, by order of the benefactor of mankind, Malik 'Ambar. On the 19th of Rajab, 1019 H. (1611 A.D.)."

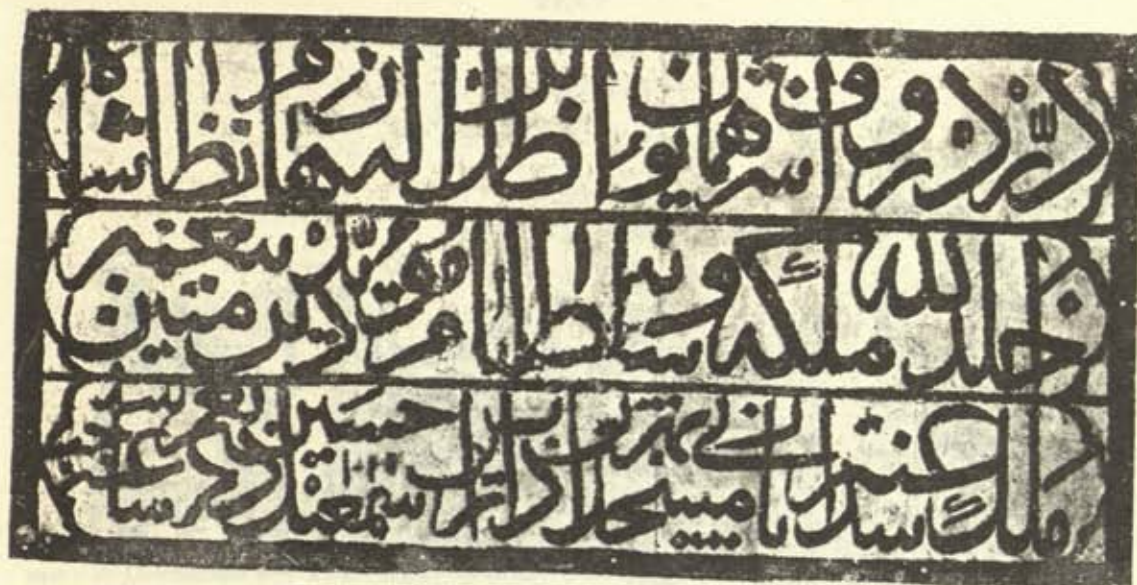
Two miles south of Antūr is a square stone pillar which bears an inscription mentioning the direction of Nāgapūr and Jālā on the east, Antūr and Burhānpūr on the north, Daulatabād and Ahmadnagar on the south and Maihwan and Chāltagāon on the west. It also contains the Hijri date 1000 H. and records that the pillar was erected during the reign of Burhān Nizām Shāh. This Burhān is the second king of the name in the list of the Nizām Shāhi 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.

¹ The tablet bearing the inscription measures 2' 6" × 1' 2". The style of writing is *Nasikh* 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 در ربع عشرین and ساخته شد ©

The tablet on which the inscription is carved measures 18" × 16". The style of writing is *Nasikh*.

(a) Inscription on a mosque at Antur Fort.



Scale '2

(b) Inscription on a bastion at Antur Fort.



Scale '25

PLATE IX.

(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 follows¹ :—

TEXT.

Plate IX (a).

On the eastern side of the pillar.

در زمان حضرت برهان نظام شاه فی شهر سنه الف

شرق راه ناکا پور و جالفا پور

On the southern side.

جنوب راه دولت آباد و احمد نگر

On the western side.

راه مہون و چالیس کام

On the northern side.

راه انتر و برهان پور

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 Nāgapūr and Jālnapūr on the east : to Daulatabād and Ahmadnagar on the south : to Maihwan and Chālisgāon on the west : (and) to Antūr and Burhānpūr on the north.

¹ The style of writing is *Nastā'liq*.

INSCRIPTIONS AT BODHAN, NIZAMABĀD DISTRICT.

By G. YAZDANI.

Bodhan ($18^{\circ} 40'$ N. and $77^{\circ} 53'$ E.), although the headquarters of a taluqa, is a very small town, situated fourteen miles west of Nizamabād, with which it is connected by a pucca 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 religious 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 Chālukya Sōmēśvara I, and refers to the town as having been a *rājadhāni* or residential city of "Indra Vallabha", i.e. probably the Rāshtrakūṭa Indrarāja III Nityavarsha (c. A.D. 915-7).¹ Further, coming down to Muhammadan rule in the Deccan we have two inscriptions of Muḥammad 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 Aurangzeb 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 Muḥammad 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 Muḥammad 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 *tirthankaras* 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 $7' 3" \times 1' 3"$, those of the other $8' \times 1' 3"$. 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).

بنا شد این باس در عهد خلیفه سلطانی [الناس] طین در زمین برگزیده
حضرت رب العالمین ابوالمجاہد محمد ©

¹ The inscription was discovered by me in 1921, when I was measuring the enclosure wall of the Deval Masjid—a 6th or 10th century Hindu temple converted into a mosque by Muḥammad 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.

(a) Inscription of Muhammad Tughlaq from Bodhan (Nizamabad).



Scale 0.83

(b) Another inscription of Muhammad Tughlaq from Bodhan.



Scale 0.83

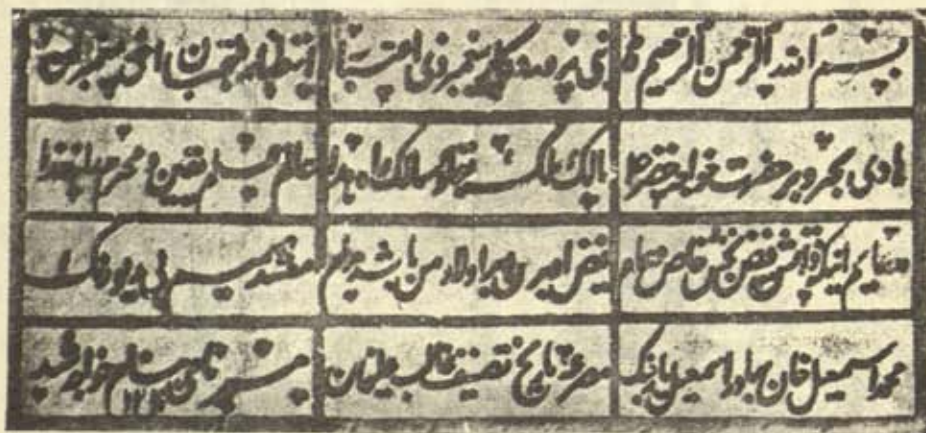
PLATE XV.

(a) Inscription on a mosque at Bodhan (Nizamabad).



Scale *3

(b) Another inscription on the same mosque.



Scale *25

TRANSLATION.

"This watch-tower¹ was built during the reign of the Caliph the Sultān of the Sultāns of the surface of earth, the chosen one of the Court of the Nourisher of the worlds (God), Abu-l-Mujāhid Muhammad"

PLATE XVI (b).

تمت هذا العمارة الميمونة في زمن السلطان السلاطين ناصر امير المومنين² المختصر
بغايت بن تغلق شاه السلطان

TRANSLATION.

This auspicious building was completed during the reign of the Sultān of Sultāns, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, distinguished by the grace, son of Tughlaq Shāh, the Sultān

III-IV.—Inscriptions in a Mosque at Bodhan.

In the eastern part of the town of Bodhan is a very small mosque, styled the 'Ālamgiri Masjid, on which two inscriptions are carved.³ The mosque consists of a single hall which possesses no architectural merits. One of the inscriptions belongs to the reign of Shāhjahān 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 Maahhadi, whose name occurs in line 7. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq*, but very poor in execution.⁴ My reading of the text is given below.

PLATE XV (a).

هو الفياض

- (1) بعم قادر مطلق خدای هر دو جهان بدرستی یمنبر ذی شان
- (2) بدر شاه جهان بادشاه هفت اقلیم خلیفه حق و مالک رقاب عالمیان
- (3) . . . بذل و کریم شاهزاده ارنگ زیب که هست بر سر عالم بغایت الرحمان
- (4) بنای کرد یکی معبدی بهشت آیین ز بعد آنکه شده برد دیر بدکیشان

¹ *باسی* is a Deccan word meaning a watch-tower at the entrance of a village or town. It is called *باسی* now.

² Firishtha writes that Muhammad Tughlaq struck a large number of coins after the confirmation of his sovereignty by the Caliph at Bagdad. The title *ناصر امیر المومنین* 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 الله الرحمن الرحيم ○ یا حضرت ابوالعباس ملکان المعروف بخواجه خضر بن بلیان بن کلیان بن سماع بن
سم بن نوح علیهم السلام ارحمهم دعا

⁴ The tablet on which the inscription is carved measures 2' 4" × 10½".

- (5) شد این بنای معظم بسعی اله یار مرید ر بنده صاحبقران شه گیهان
 (6) بخواستم ز خرد از سنین تاریخش رجوع بکرد بدرگاه علم الانسان
 (7) ز حضرت صمدیت ندای غیب رسید بگوش مشهیدی از هاتف فصیح بیان
 (8) که این خجسته مکان چو بفیض قدس شده بچری سال بنایش زبس بفیض مکان

۱۰۶۵ هجری

الفقیر فیروز

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 Shāhjahān 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 Aurangzeb, 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 Ilāh Yār, 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 Mashhadī 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 *Nastālīq* and the tablet bearing the inscription measures 1' 6" × 9". I have deciphered the text as follows :—

PLATE XV (b).

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

نبی پروردگار پیغمبر نبی اعتبار انتظار ملقبان اخي پیغمبران

هادی بحر و بر حضرت خواجه خضر

مالک ملک بقا و سالک راه هدا عالم علم یقین و محرم راز خدا

دعایم این که ذاتش فیض بخش خاص و عام فیض او بر من و بر اولاد من باشد مدام

¹ 'Allam'ī *insāna* is a Qurānic phrase, meaning God taught man the names of various things, that is, blessed him with knowledge.

محمد اسماعيل خان بهادر اسماعيل يار جنگ صميم يي ويزنگ

مصرعه تاريخ تصليف غالب عليخان

مسجد نامي بقام خواجه شد

۱۰۲۲ هجري

TRANSLATION.

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 Khizr.
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 Ismā'il Khān Bahādur, Ismā'il Yār Jang.¹

The hemistich containing the chronogram was composed by Ghālib 'Alī Khān. It runs thus—"This mosque acquired fame owing to its being styled after the name of the Khwaja."
1220 H.—(1805 A.D.).

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE FORT AT QANDHĀR, NANDED 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-Hamid and Muhammad Sālih who both give long descriptions of the siege of the Fort during Shāhjahān's reign, describe it as absolutely impregnable at that time. The Fort has a high *champ 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 Musalman 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 *Nasikh* 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
 ۷۰۰۰ باد پاندارش همراز شد (۶)
 خراج و قسمت و نسبت نباشد
 ز مقطع و کارکن رز خوط دیگر
 بضبطش هیچ اقلیمی نیارست
 ۷۰۰۰ جزیه خرد قمر روبرز (۶)
 حلال حق بر ایشان حرامست

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.

* In the inscription *ک* is spelt *ل* with *پا*.

ۛ متوقع شوند زین خیر در زر
 بعدلش (؟) هیچ شخصی در جهان نیست
 ۛ هم جانش نبخشد . . . یکدر
 ز هجرت مقصد رچهل چہار ہر دست
 ملک سیف الدل مقطع مخیر
 + + + + +
 ۛ فرمودہ
 آن زائر حرم مصطفی صفی الدین
 زاهد ہر

TRANSLATION.

Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, the Sultān,
 May for him be preserved Confided
 There is no part of the country which is not connected with the Royal Court, either by pay-
 ment of tribute, or (annexed to the administrative) divisions, or (bearing some other kind of)
 relation: or through Imperial fief-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 Saifu-d-Daulah, the generous fief-holder;

 ordered.
 The pilgrim to the tomb of the Prophet, Saifu-d-Din
 has been pious.

The inscription, though incomplete, is interesting as throwing light on the administrative
 divisions of the Deccan by Muḥammad Tughlaq, a fact also alluded to by Firishṭa, who has
 mentioned the names of some of these divisions.¹ The name of Qandhār, which according to the
 inscription was held as a fief by Saifu-d-Daulah, however, is not mentioned by Firishṭa.

II-III.—Inscriptions on the western wall of the Fort at Qandhār.

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 Murtaḥa Nizām Shāh I (1565-86 A.D.). The

¹ Briggs, i, 437.

script of the inscriptions is *Nasikh*, 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 و محمد علي ارياو
 بدرر همايون شهزاده مرتضا (sic)
 سنه اربع و سبعين و تسعمائه
 اين بهانج ز پولاد خان چاکر شه ولا (sic)

Built in the name of God, Muhammad, 'Ali and the saints;

During the auspicious 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).

در در شه مرتضا (sic)
 ز غور بخان شد بنا

TRANSLATION.

During the reign of the King Murtazā.

It was built by Ghori Khān.

IV-V.—Inscriptions of Governor Ibrāhīm Khān at Qandahār Fort.

There are two inscriptions in the Qandhār 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 *Nasikh* 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 فتح قريب و بشر المؤمنين ○ (2) تمام شد برج ابراهيمي
 در ايام ابراهيم خان (3) بن قائم شجاعت خان ○ حواله آقا رومي سنه ۹۹۸ ○ رقمه
 و کتبه علاء الدين ○

TRANSLATION.

"Help from God and immediate victory, and convey these happy tidings to the believers".

²The Ibrāhīmī bastion was completed during the governorship of Ibrāhīm Khān, son of

¹Scholars 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.

²The tablet bearing the inscription measures 2' 6" × 1' 6".

PLATE X.

(a) Inscription on the western wall of Qandhar Fort.



Scale *25

(b) Inscription on the western wall of Qandhar Fort.



Scale *25

PLATE XI.

(a) Inscription on a bastion near the inner gate of Qandhar Fort.



Qāsim Shuj'āt Khān. Placed in charge of Aqa Rāmī (of Asia Minor), 998 H. (1590 A.D.).
Written by 'Ala'u-d-Dīn.

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) بنا این شه برج شده بدر ابراهیم خان
(2) در سنه ثمان تسعین برای سپاهیان
حواله آقا رومی

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 Tahsil 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'liq*. I have deciphered the text as follows:²—

Plate XII (b).

- (1) بن محمد خواجه دهر که باشد خاک راهش عین اکثیر (sic)
(2) بدر شاه عالم گیر غازی بنا فرمود باغ از ارج تصویر
(3) زهی باغی که از نظاره ار بگرد سرمه گردد نور تحریر
(4) بین تاریخ از پیر دانش پرسیدم بگفت از حسن تقریر
(5) بیفزای چون پنج اندر حسابش شد تاریخ سالش رشک کشمیر

TRANSLATION.

- (1) Muḥammad 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 'Ālaungir 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'liq* and the language Persian. The tablet bearing the inscription measures 10" x 8".

² The inscriptional tablet measures 1' 6" x 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.'¹

1095 H.=1684 A.D.

VII.—Inscription on the bastion in front of the Tahsil Office, Qandhār.

The inscription is carved on a small tablet,² and consists of three lines only. The characters are *Nast'liq* but crude in execution. The text reads as follows :—

Plate XII (a).

ساخت بلار
ساخت برج بلار سنگرام
انست تجدید اسلام

TRANSLATION.

Built by Ballar (or Balhar).

The bastions were built by Balhar Singham.

Renovated by the Islamites.

VIII-XII.—Inscriptions in the Jāmi' Masjid, Qandhār 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 Shāhī and 'Adil Shāhī 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) ران المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا ☉ (2) هذه دار ينادي الطالبين الذاكرين ☉
(3) هذه جنات عدن فادخلوها خالدين ☉ (4-5) اظهار كماليت يافته مسجد رفيع محمدي
شهر سنه ١٥ ()

In margins.

- (1) شد بنا در وقت ابراهيم عدل بادشاه مسجدی پراز صفا و صفی رسیده تا . . .
(2) از برای خواندن قران نماز و ذکر حق کرد فرمایش بار عبدالعزیز نیکخواه

¹ The numerical value of the phrase رشاک کشمیر —'Envy of Kashmir'— gives the year 1090, and by adding five to it we obtain 1095 H., the date of the laying out of the garden.

² The inscriptional tablet measures 7½" x 6".

³ The inscriptional tablet measures 2' x 1' 7". The style of writing is *Nasikh*.

⁴ The inscription consists of two lines measuring jointly 1' 3" x 9". The style of writing is *Nast'liq*.

PLATE XII.

- (a) Inscription on the bastion in front of Tahsil Court,
Qandhar Fort.



Scale *33

- (b) Inscription fixed on the curtain wall of a bastion
near the inner gate of Qandhar Fort.



Scale *25

- (c) Inscription on a pillar found buried under earth
near the causeway of Qandhar Fort.



Scale *25

PLATE XIII. (a) Inscription on the Jami' Masjid, Qandhar Fort.



Scale 1/25

(b) Another on above building.



Scale 1/25

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-Muhammadi was completed during the year 1015 H. (1606 A.D.) (P).

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 : 'Abdu-l-'Aziz, the well-wisher, suggested the idea to him (the builder).

Plate XIII (b).

در زمان آقا اعظم آقا مراد اتمام مسجد جامع شد *

TRANSLATION.

"During the governorship of the great Āqā, Āqā Murād, the Jāmi' Masjid was completed."

Plate XIV (a).

(1) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ عَلِيٌّ وَلِيُّ اللَّهِ
(2) دکرور . . . پادشاه شاه نظام دادست آن نظر درازده امام
(3) گرفتیم عالم را بمریدی بزرگ فتح نصرت بخشیده خدایا مدام¹
سنه ۹۴۷ هـ (۵)

TRANSLATION.

(1) There is no god but God ; Muhammad is the Apostle of God. There is no god but God ; 'Alī is the Friend of God.

(2) Again . . . the king, Nizām 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).

(1) درکنار حوض کوثر قلعه را معمور داشت

مسجد رفیع محمدی اتمام این برنور داشت

¹ The inscriptional tablet measures 1' 8" × 11". The style of writing is Nasta'liq but very crude in execution. In hemistich 1 of line 2 the second word from the beginning is not clear.

(2) برج عنبر سری قبلہ بانجمین (?) راست کرد
 خضر معنی صفدر کاریز را بریان (جریان؟) بداشت¹

TRANSLATION.

(1) Along the side of the Kauthar Hauz, the lofty Muḥammadi 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 (Klizr) of Poetry kept the stream of (Thought) in flow (?).

PLATE XIV (c).

مرتب شد در وقت ملک عنبر

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 *Nāgari* 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 بانجمین in line 2 is not clear. The style of writing is *Nasḥ* and the tablet bearing the inscription measures 1' 6" × 1' 1".

(a) Inscription on the Jami' Masjid, Qandhar Fort.



Scale *25

(b) Another.



Scale *25

(c) Another.



Scale *25

INSCRIPTIONS AT ELGANDAL.

By G. YAZDANI.

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 *pucca* 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 Rājās of Warangal and later of the Quṭb Shāhī Kings. After the conquest of the Deccan by Aurangzeb it, like other fortresses of the Quṭb Shāhī 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 *Barahdari* 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 *Nast'iq*, but crude and inelegant in execution. The first portion of the inscription consists of the Shiite *Durūd*, mentioning the names of the twelve Imāms, and the latter records the building of a mosque by one Abu-l-Faṭḥ, entitled Mansūr Khān in 931 H. (1525 A.D.) The Quṭb Shāhī kings professed the Shiite faith and the mosques built during their reign generally have their inscriptions beginning with the Shiite *Durūd*. I have deciphered the text as follows:—

PLATE XVII (a).

(1-4) اللهم صل على محمد المصطفى و علي المرتضى الخ ○ بنا نمود اين مسجد ابر
الفتح المصطفي (5) بمنصور خان بتاريخ شهر جمادى الاول سنة ٩٣١ ○ مشقه العبد ابر القاسم
الاكبر الحسيني القاسمي بن . . . ○

TRANSLATION.

Shiite *Durūd* (in the beginning).

This mosque was built by Abu-l-Faṭḥ, entitled Mansūr Khān; in the month of Jumada I 931 H. (1525 A.D.).

Written by the servant Abu-l-Qasim-l-Akbara-l-Huṣainia-l-Qāsimi bin

II.—Inscription on a well at Elgandal.

It is a Persian inscription, written in the *Nast'liq* characters, and containing the chronogram of the building of a well. The chronogram, according to one system of calculation

(تَامِيَه) gives the date 1238 H.; but according to another (تَخْرِجَه), it yields 972 H. In my opinion it is a *Tāmiya* chronogram and 1238 H. (1822 A.D.) 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 رسيد بمن * چشمه فيض شد ز فضل وكرم¹

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 لب التواريخ are available in India and also preserved at the British Museum (Rieu's *Catalogue*, 1082b). *Lubbn-t-Tawārikh* is a general history of India from the time of Sultān Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghori to 1101 H. Khāfi 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 Bhāra Mal received the title of Rāi in the twentieth year of Shāh Jahān's reign and was appointed Diwān of Dām Shikoh. 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 راي بندرابن.

Bindrāban held the Diwanship of Prince Bahadur Shāh, and Khāfi Khān writes that he was dismissed during the siege of Bijapūr (1093 H.) as implicated in the Prince's clandestine dealings with the besieged.² 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 *Nast'aliq* characters. The tablet bearing the inscription measures 3' 1" x 1' 9". My reading of the text is given below:—

PLATE XVIII (a).

(1) در زمان خديو دريا دل * شاه از رنگ زيب شاه زمن
(2) چشمه ساخت في سبيل الله * از يقي خلق راي بندرابن
(3) سال تاريخ از ز هاتف غيب * فيض جاري ندار سيد بمن
چسونت راي ۱۱۰۴ هـ * كته سلطان محمد محتسب

TRANSLATION.

(1) During the reign of the generous king Shāh Aurangzeb, the King of the world;

¹ According to the *Takhrīz* system of calculation the numerical value of the words چشمه فيض (266) will be deducted from the figures obtained from راي وكرم.

² Khāfi Khān, Vol. II, p. 321.

(a) Inscription on a mosque at Elgandal.



Scale '25

(b) Inscription on a well at Elgandal.



Scale '25

(2) Rāi Bindrāban 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 *chārdnogram*— 'Everflowing bounty.'

Jaswant Rāi—1104 H. (1693 A.D.) Written by Sultān Muḥammad, 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 *Durūd* and two lines of Persian verse, written in *Nastā'liq* characters. My reading of the text is given below:—

PLATE XVIII (b).

یا اللہ ○ اللہ صل علی محمد و علی آل محمد و بارک و سلم ○ یا اللہ
 (1) بدر شاه عالم گیر ازین بیر (؟) * چو احمد بیگ کرد این کار عقبی
 (2) سواد کفر شست انوار اسلام * نظام دین احمد سال اتمام
 * ۱۱۰۸

TRANSLATION.

(In the beginning) Sunnite *Durūd*.

(1) In the reign of Aurangzeb, when Aḥmad Beg by (building) this did a work for the next life;

(2) The darkness of infidelity was cleared by the light of Islām, and the year of the completion (of the building) was to be found in the phrase—'the constitution of Aḥmad's (Muḥammad's) faith.' 1108 H. (1696 A. D.).

75087

(a) Inscription on a well at Elgandal.



Scale *125

(b) Inscription of Aurangzeb from Elgandal.



Scale *142

1875



