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 6th 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
40 -1987
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA
ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT
1951 and 1952

ARABIC AND PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE AGRA FORT

BY MAULAVI MOHD. ASHRAF HUSAIN

Some of the inscriptions in the Agra Fort have already been noticed by scholars, none of whom, however, could find time to deal exhaustively with all of them. Moreover, they seem to have worked at them rather in a hurry which rendered their readings in most cases faulty and consequently misleading. Hence it has fallen to my lot not only to correct their omissions but also to publish in a lot all the epigraphs in the Fort, properly illustrated by facsimiles, together with a brief history, based on original records, of the monuments on which they appear. But before taking up the inscriptions which I propose to deal with in this paper in chronological sequence, it seems desirable to say a word about the general history of the Agra Fort wherein they are situated.

The fort stands on the right bank of the river Yamuna and marks the site of the old castle of Badalgarh, possibly an old Tomara or Chauhan stronghold which, according to Emperor Jahangir\(^1\), was levelled to the ground by his imperial father, Emperor Akbar, to make room for his own magnificent fort of red sandstone. Akbar built it under the superintendence of Muhammed Qasim Khan Mir-i-Bahr (Harbour-master), but the cost and date of its construction are disputed. The Ain-i-Akbari gives the cost as 7 crores of Akbari tankas equivalent to 35 lakhs of rupees and Khafi Khan\(^2\) erroneously estimates the expenditure at 20 lakhs of rupees, but the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (Persian text, p. 2) and the Bada hadnama (Persian text, Vol. I, p. 155) are decidedly correct, for they give the same figure as is given by Abu'l-Fazl in his A'in-i-Akbari. Similarly, various dates are traditionally assigned to the erection of the fort ranging from 1567 to 1571, but Abu'l-Fazl\(^3\) and Mulli Abdu'l- Hamid Lohori\(^4\) are at one in their statement that it was completed in 8 years' time i.e. 972-980 A.H. (1565-1573 A.D.). Ever since the construction of the fort by Akbar, the buildings in it have undergone considerable change: some of them were subsequently adapted to their tastes and requirements by his successors, while others completely pulled down to make room for their own. Roughly speaking, the present position is that Akbar is responsible for the erection of its walls and gates, Aurangzeb for the sher-i-hajji or ramparts, five gate-ways and the fosse outside, while most of the principal buildings in it were set up by Shah Jahann.

INSCRIPTION NO. I

Almost all the inscriptions in the Agra Fort are of the Mughul period, dating as far back as the 16th century, except the one on the Ghazni Gate of the 11th century. The latter is important

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not only on account of its antiquarian age and historical association but also because of its being a fine specimen of the ornamental Kufic script of those times. The Mughul inscriptions are all in elegant Persian, prose or verse, which, as is probably known to students of Muslim epigraphy, has been steadily replacing the Arabic language in historical epigraphs in India ever since the last decades of the thirteenth century. The style of writing is Nasta’līq, exquisitely executed. This script made its appearance in India about the middle of the 16th century in the reign of Emperor Humayan and gradually replaced the Naskh script which was eventually reserved only for religious inscriptions on tombs and mosques. Unlike these, the Ghazni Gate inscription is in Arabic prose, artistically executed in ornamental Kufic, which shows the custom and taste of the Ghaznavids to whom the gate owes its origin.

The Ghazni Gate stands in the northern verandah of the Shāhjahānī Maḥal in the westernmost multifoil arch which is closed by a glass screen. The gate, about 12 ft. high by 9 ft. wide, is an interesting relic of the Afghan Expedition of 1842 and was brought by General Nott as the spoils of war by order of Lord Ellenborough, then Viceroy of India. It was wrongly identified with the sandalwood gate of the great Hindu temple at Somnath, in Gujarāt, supposed to have been wrested by Sulṭan Muḥammad of Ghazna in 415 A.H. (1024-25 A.D.). Unlike the Somnāth Gate, it is made of deodār wood and, being purely Saracenic in design and details, the absurdity of the identification is apparent. It was, however, brought to the Agra Fort in a triumphal car and kept in the Diwan-i-Ām, then walled up and used as a British armoury, for many years until 1870 when it was removed to its present position to be exhibited in the Museum of the Archaeological Society of Agra. At the top of the Gate is an Arabic inscription in prose in ornamental Kufic characters incised in wood. It invokes blessings on Sulṭan Maḥmūd, son of Suhaylī, and runs as follows:

**TEXT (Plate Ia)**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم غفران من اس للابن لابن نعم الملك الموتود

امير الدولة و امير العلة في القاسم محمود بن سكبتني رحمة الله عليه و لوه نجمه ن

**TRANSLATION**

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Forgiveness be from God for the most glorious Amīr, born Chief of the kings, Lord of the State and Lord of the Faith, Abī’l-Qāsim Maḥmūd, son of Suhaylī, may the mercy of Allāh be on him! And if He shows him mercy, it will be (good) for him.

**INSCRIPTION NO. II**

The Delhi Gate, also known as Hāthi Pol (Elephant Gate), faces the Agra Fort railway station and is reached by crossing the wooden draw-bridge and passing through the outer gate along a paved ascent. It gives access to the military area of the Fort and has a modern Guard Room on the south bearing two inscriptions one of which, in Persian prose, is at a height of 9’2” from the floor and refers to Emperor Akbar’s march, probably to the Deccan in 1599-1600 A.D. and his return to Agra in 1610 A.H. (1601-02 A.D.) but never to the construction of the Delhī Gate as is erroneously supposed by Carleyle and others. The other one, dated 1014 A.H. (1605 A.D.), is in Persian verse set up by Emperor Jāhāngīr underneath his father’s epigraph.\(^1\)

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\(^{1}\) Vide Inscription No. IV infra.
The former is now almost entirely worn out owing to the peeling off of the stone and the fragmantly epigraph in situ (Plate IIa), measuring 1½' x 7', consists of only faint traces of the words "[نژول ا[ جلال فرود]" (i.e., gloriously alighted) which evidently make little sense. The readings given by Carleye1, Laṭīf2 and Lāla Bahal Rāi are at much variance with one another and it is difficult to vouch for their correctness. However, Bahal Rāi's reading, published in the Transactions of the Archaeological Society of Agra3 in 1874, appears to be fairly plausible and the same is quoted below:

حضرت شهنشاه جم جه ماته خلافت پناه تنگ ایت جلال الدين محمد أكبر باشاده در سنه 1008
توجه لزوم و در سنه 1008 نجول اجلال فرود س تمام کر که او جون بغلزار آگه جلی گرفت

TRANSLATION

His Majesty, the Emperor, a Jamāḥid in dignity, the protection of the realm, the shadow of God, King Jaftūr-Din Muḥammad Akbar, set out in the year 1008 (A.H. or 1599-1600 A.D.) and in the year 1010 (A.H. or 1601-02 A.D.) alighted gloriously. that he

when he took his seat in the garden of Agra.

INSCRIPTION NO. III

On the Throne Terrace, in front of the Diwān-i-Khāṣ, are two thrones, one of white marble on the west over-looking the Machchhi Bhawan and the other of Sang-ī-Maḥak or touchstone on the east over-looking the river Yamuna. The latter, which is erroneously supposed to be of black marble, is carved out entire with its four legs of a single block of touchstone. It bears three inscriptions which lead one to conclude that it was used by Prince Salīm (afterwards Emperor Jahāngir) during the time he rebelled against his father, Akbar, and held his court at Allahabad from where it was subsequently brought to Agra and placed in its present position. It has now a crack which is supposed to have been caused by a cannon ball possibly during the siege of the fort by Monsieur Perron, Commandar of Scindia's regular troops, or later by Lord Lake in 1803. All the four facets of this throne are inscribed and the inscriptions on it, five in number, are in Persian prose or verse, eulogizing Jahāngir both as Prince Salīm when he had rebelled against his father in 1011 A.H. (1602-03 A.D.) and as Emperor after the death of Akbar. They read as follows (Plates IIb and III):

Along the four sides of the Throne, in embossed Nastaʿlīq letters:

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<td>ماهی ممکن و سیم را در بر نمی‌نگری</td>
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<td>مسند بیا خواه زوج و نیا</td>
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<td>تاریخ او به فکری نمی‌رود</td>
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2 Agra, Historical and Descriptive (published in 1896), p. 75.
3 Transactions of the Archaeological Society of Agra (January to June 1874), p. xx.
(5) تا فلک تخته شاه سلام
(6) پادشاه که تخت او سازد
(5) May this fortunate throne be the resting-place of munificent sovereigns! O Preserver!
(6) O Guardian!
(2) (May it be) the touchstone of monarchs and the pivot of the Kingdom (and) the test of
the gold of the sun and the silver of the moon!
(3) (May it be) an elegant seat on account of its brilliance and splendour, (and) invaluable
like the only pearl in the oyster!
(4) For its date I reflected and sought help from the Omniscient God,
(5) Who said, "As long as the sky is the throne of the Sun, may the throne of Шåh Salîm
last!" (1011 A.H. = 1602-03 A.D.)
(6) (That is) the king whose sword cuts the enemy's head into two halves like the constella-
tion of Castor and Pollux star.

On the western facet of the Throne, last line in incised Nasta’liq characters:

(1) چون شاه سلام وارد تاج و نگین
(2) شد اسم مبارکش جهانگیر چو ذات و نور عدالت لقبش نور الدین

TRANSLATION

(1) When Шåh Salîm, the heir to the crown and seal, ascended the throne and ruled over
the world,

(2) his auspicious name, like his person, became Jahângîr (conqueror of the world), and on
account of the light of (his) justice, he was entitled Nûrû’d-Dîn (Light of the Faith).

In the centre of the north and south facets of the Throne, one hemistich in each respectively, in
raised Nasta’liq letters:

TEXT (Plates IIb, l.1 and III, l.1)
همه شاه ملی آقای پور مهربان
سریت حضرت سلاطین سلام اکبر شاه

TRANSLATION

May the throne of حادش شاه Salîm, son of Akbar Шåh, ever shine under the glow of God's
mercy!

On either side of the 1st hemistich are inscribed the words (O Preserver) and (O Guardian) respectively.

Underneath the inscription on the east facet of the Throne at the north end, in Persian prose
in Nasta’liq characters in relief:

TEXT (Plate IIb, l.2)
اسم نامی پیش از جلوس شاه سلام و بعد آن نور الدین محمد جهانگیر پادشاه غازی

1 The lines are not clear in the text (see Plate III, l.2 and 3).
ARABIC AND PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE AGRA FORT

TRANSLATION

His dignified name, before accession, (was) Shāh Salīm and afterwards Nūru’d-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī.

On the same east facet of the Throne, last line at the south end, in Persian verse in embossed Nastāligāh letters:

TEXT (Plate IIb, l.3)

بلند مرتبه باد از فلک چو حکم اله / سریر شاه جهانگیر این اکثر شاه

TRANSLATION

Like the will of God, may the throne of Shāh Jahāngīr, son of Akbar Shāh, be exalted!

INSCRIPTION NO. IV

Underneath the inscription No. II on the Delhi Gate described above is a Persian inscription in verse in embossed Nastāligāh characters. The chronogram is in the last couplet. It is interesting and enigmatic. Ordinarily, people call it defective inasmuch as the numerical value of the words ‘Bad Jahān Bādshāh Shāh-i-Jahāngīr-i-mā ’, according to the Abjad calculation, yields 1015 A.H. (1606 A.D.), whereas the correct date of the inscription is 1014 A.H. (1605 A.D.). But a careful study shows that the first hemistich of the verse provides us with a key to the enigma, saying, “An alif (from his pen) rushed at the two (evil) eyes of the jealous”. This means deducing from 1015, the numerical value of alif, i.e., 1 and so we get 1014 A.H. (1605 A.D.), the year of Jahāngīr’s accession.

The composer of the chronogram was Muḥammad Māsūm of Bhakkar whose poetical appellation was Nāmī as given in the epigraph. According to Ṣanṣāmū’d-Daula1 and others,2 he was a Tirmizi sayyid born at Bhakkar. Sultān Maḥmūd, Governor of Bhakkar, was a great patron of his father, Mīr Sayyid Ṣafāī, after whose death he distinguished himself by his learning. Akbar, in the 40th year of his reign, made him a commander of 250 and subsequently of 1000. Emperor Akbar was very fond of him and so was Jahāngīr. He was very pious and generous. He is well known as poet and historian and has composed many valuable works. He was also a skilled composer and tracer of inscriptions and was generally accompanied by his sculptors on his travels. When he happened to go from India to Iṣfahān and Tabriz as an ambassador to Irān, he adorned with inscriptions numerous mosques and public buildings on the way, and the Mo’addhir’ul-Umarā says that the inscriptions over the gate of the Agra Fort, on the Jāmī’ Masjid at Fatehpūr Sikrī and in the Māndū Fort are all by him. The one on the Agra Fort runs as follows:

TEXT (Plate IIb)

۴ نامت که باد؛ گرفت جالس می، رخت شرف ۱ دست دعا بکش نک از نشاط ۳ میل دو جشن حسوس یک لالش کرد وگاهت ۵ باد جهان پادشاه شاه جهانگیر ما

TRANSLATION

(1) When the king of the world took his seat on the glorious throne, the throne, through pride, put its feet on the top of the heaven.

(2) The age-old sky, being rejoiced, stretched forth its hands in prayer and said, 'May thy order be ever supreme!'

(3) When Nāmī wished to write the year of his accession, his lips were at that moment full of praise (and prayer) ;'

(4) an alif (from his pen) rushed at the two (evil) eyes of the jealous, and said, 'May our king Jahāngīr be the king of the world!'

Composed and written by Muhammad Ma'sūm of Bakkar.

INSCRIPTION NO. V

The Ha'uz-i-Jahāngīr, or Cistern of Jahāngīr, is placed in front of the western gate of the Jahāngīr Maqāl. It is cup-shaped, cut out of a single block of light-coloured porphyry with steps inside and outside. It is 5 ft. high and 4 ft. deep with the edge about 6 inches thick. The external diameter measures 8 ft. and the circumference about 25 ft. There are several legends about it: some call it Khāmī Rāja-ki-Kiżfī (the Bhang Bowl of Rāja Khāmī) while others assign its construction to Akbar for the bath of his infant son, Prince Salim. But a mutilated embossed Persian inscription on it, recording the name of Emperor Jahāngīr and the date 1019 A.H. (1611 A.D.)¹, leads one to suppose that the bowl has some association with the Emperor's marriage to Nur Jahān in 1019 A.H. (1611 A.D.) and might have served as a curious present from or to the imperial bridegroom. The inscription is now much mutilated, but it had not so badly peeled off in 1919 when I happened to notice it first.² Out of 5 couplets originally inscribed, only two hemistiches were then decipherable, but these also are now much damaged (Plate IV). However, my old reading of the fragmentary epigraph is as follows:

On the outer face of the Ha'uz-i-Jahāngīr, along the edge, in embossed Nasta'liq characters:

(1) پناه ملک و دین شاه جهانگیر این شاه أكبر

(2) "شہنشاہ کہ از تدیر او" (i.e., 94) from that of حوض جهانگیری (i.e., 1113).

(3) وصف حوض...

² But see, T. W. Beale, Miftāḥu't Tawārikh, p. 220—Ed.
³ The letters in this panel have totally peeled off; hence no facsimile given.
On the outer surface, along the edge, of the Ḥauṣ-i-Jahāṅgiri, Agra Fort
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(5) طلب کردند جوان از خضر [سال] او خور رو گفت

نهان شد از خجالت ز[مز] [مژ] از [جو] از [چن] [چنانگی]ی

TRANSLATION

(1) The defender of the state and religion, king Jahāngīr, son of the king Akbar, an Emperor of whose wisdom...

(2-4) ........................................... praise of the cistern...........................................

(5) When Khizr\textsuperscript{1} was enquired of (the date of) its construction, Wisdom said,

' (The Zamzam)\textsuperscript{2} being put to shame by the cistern of Jahāngīr concealed (itself) '.

INSCRIPTION NO. VI

The Diwān-i-Khāş, or Hall of Private Audience, was built by Shāh Jahān in 1046 A.H. (1636-37 A.D.). It is mentioned in contemporary or other Persian histories as the Ghushl-Khāna or Bath. It stands over the Shāhsh Mahal and comprises two halls, the outer one connected with the inner one by three archways. The Diwān-i-Khāş, unlike the Diwān-i-Ām (or Hall of Public Audience), was used by the Emperors exclusively for the reception of kings, ambassadors and nobles in private audience, and for the transaction of the most important affairs of the state with the help of their councils. The Umārās were compulsorily required to present themselves here every morning and evening or something of their pay was retrenched. In the reign of Shāh Jahān, the hall contained a beautiful small throne studded with jewels, which was replaced in Aurangzeb’s time by the throne presented by Ali Mardān Khān which, according to the Alamgirnāma\textsuperscript{3}, could not be finished before the internment of the former for whom it was originally designed.

Along the frieze of the outer hall, at a height of about 20 ft. from the floor, is a long Persian epigraph composed in verse by Mirzā Tālib Kālim, the poet-laureate of Shāh Jahān. It assigns the erection of the Diwān-i-Khāş to Emperor Shāh Jahān in 1046 A.H. (1636-37 A.D.) and is of considerable historical interest inasmuch as it refers to a chain of justice, not otherwise known to history, used by Shāh Jahān as well. Jahāngīr mentions in his Memoirs\textsuperscript{4} a gold chain hung in his palace in such a way that at the other end of it was hanging outside the Fort on the river-side and this the oppressed could pull unobstructed. The Emperor was thus enabled to call them to his presence and redress their grievances. Hence, it is not unlikely that his son might also have followed suit and continued the use of the chain of justice referred to in the 5th and 6th couplets of the inscription. The epigraph is in Nasta’liq letters inlaid with black marble and runs as follows:—

\textbf{Along the frieze of the outer hall:}

\begin{center}
\textbf{TEXT (Plate Va)}
\end{center}

(1) ازین دکترها قدر عالمی گزا

(2) سر آذر آباد قد عرش سا

(3) بود کنگسر از جنید سهیر

(4) نمایند جوان دنیا سیم سیه

(5) سجود در او این سر شور

(6) کند سر لویشت به از جهود دور

\textsuperscript{1} Khizr is the prophet who is supposed to guide travellers when they lose their way and go astray, particularly in deserts.

\textsuperscript{2} Also known as Hagar’s well, it is a well at Mecca held sacred by the Muslims.

\textsuperscript{3} Alamgirnāma, Persian text, p. 129.

\textsuperscript{4} Tūsuk-i-Jahāngīrī, Persian text (Allygurgh edition, 1894), pp. 3-4.
(1) On account of this delightful and magnificent palace, the head of Akbarābād has come to touch the heavens.

(2) Its parapets against the forehead of the sky look like the teeth of _DENotes the letter_señ_Denis sharp projections.

(3) Touching with forehead the gateway of this delightful mansion removes the inscription of misfortune from the forehead.

(4) Nobility is (but) a word in his praise (and) prosperity abounds in the skirts of his palace.

(5) The path of tyranny is absolutely closed,^ and by his Chain of Justice oppression is stopped.

(6) I am proud of the chain insmuch as, by the king's justice, it is ever ready to do justice to those who seek it.

(7) He is so well aware of the condition of his subjects that he comes to know what they see in their dreams at night.

(8) May he, in his royal palace, live for ever with a hundred splendours like the sun in the sky!

(9) When his palace decorated the world, the head of the earth, on account of it, touched the heavens.

(10) The Emperor of the world, Shāh Jahān (is the monarch) of whom the soul of Şāhib Qirān^ is proud.

(11) A building so graceful, beautiful and decorated, the sky has never seen on the earth's surface.

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^ The words _پیش و کم_ (lit., more or less) here mean that oppression, whether more or less, was entirely stopped.

^ Şāhib Qirān (lit., Lord of happy conjunction) was the title borne by Amīr Tīmūr, better known as Tamerlane.
(a) Along the frieze of the outer hall, Dwānī-i-Khān, Agra Fort

(b) Over the south arcade of the Manūrī Ḍalā, Agra, Fort.
On the entablature over the front row of arches of the prayer-chamber, Moti Masjid, Agra Fort.
(12) The courtyard of its upper storey is like the forehead of the sun, (and) below it lies the sky like a shadow.

(13) (To inform me) of its date Reason appeared, the gates of munificence opened on all sides.

(14) So said the truth-loving mind: (It is an) asylum of prosperity and an auspicious mansion.


INSCRIPTION NO. VII

The Motī Masjid (Pearl Mosque) is a chaste structure of white marble situated on a high ground and commanding a good view of the imperial buildings. Its main entrance is on the east reached by two flights of steps, but the north and south walls also are pierced by a doorway connected by stone steps with the archway opening into the marble court. It is a good specimen of fine Saracenic art and, besides its severe simplicity, the graceful and well proportioned domes and intersections of engrailed arches and groined vaults are its particularly pleasant features. The entablature over the front row of arches of the prayer chamber bears a long inscription in choice Persian prose in Nasta’īq letters, inlaid with black marble, praising the structure and assigning its erection to Emperor Shāh Jahān in seven years’ time (1648-55) at a cost of three lakhs of rupees. It was used as a hospital during the Mutiny of 1857. A reading of the above epigraph along the frieze is given below:

TEXT (Plates VI and VII)

این کعبه نورانی و بیت المعمور ثانی که صبح در جنب صفی آن شامیست تیره و خورشید
از فرط طلیه آن چشمیست خیره کری دیاده‌ی با ساق عرس همدش و گندم فرش بازی با رواق
فرودس هم آمغوش بیانی عالی شاش تیبان لمسجد اسح از علنی و ذروه سهیار انرایش ترجمان
فاشتوئی و هو بالاقل الاعلی هر گلدسته اش دسته نوری بالوار کوا کرب بسته یا فواره فیضی از
پ Haram آتاق جسته هر کلی زیتون شعر فروغ بهشی فنادیل آسانی هر مجزاب نور آتیه‌ی هلال
لودان بر اس اعادتی بر افراش تله لال قام مستقر الخلافة آخر آیاد که با زبردن حصاد سبیل
شداد پیونت کنی هنه ایست در بدر ملود که بر لیوان سحاب رحتم بر هرایست میان یا دایره
است گرد مهر آلود که عیب ترین ایتام کرامت نشانی است متن همانا بهشتی گرسنیت و الا ازیک
لوالله لا گل عصور آز و عصور معاصر معاصر ایتام از سلسج مرمر مصبا عادی سا آین برویت کتاب
یحیی و از بوده هبوی عالم میبین ابتعلی حضرام کهره افروز سندکی باین میلان جهانیان شبنده عرس بلاغ
سیلیمی و ایتام ایتام و سلطان خلیل احتراز کهره افروز سندکی باین میلان جهانیان شبنده عرس بلاغ
ثلث البت خلیلی پهنا موسر ایتام و ریوانه عرس بیان عدل و رانی ریوان قدسی زمین دو بر آسان
هزاران ناز و از وفور نفص آسان دا ای و زنی کرواو تیاز نیش و دوای را از عشق خدمتی دواو
This resplendent Ka’ba and the heavenly prototype of the temple of Mecca (i.e., Ka’ba) is (so brilliant) that, in respect of its purity the dawn of morning is (like) the dusk of evening, and the sun on account of its profuse brightness is (like) an eye dazzled by brilliancy. Its firm plinth is as high as the foot of the sky, and its bounty-showering domes are embracing the roof of Paradise. Its magnificent foundation shows that it is a ‘mosque founded on piety’, and its heaven-touching pinnacles look as if seated on the highest sky. Every guldasta of it is like a bunch of light from the bright stars or like a fountain of beneficence emanating from the stream of the sun. Every golden pinnacle of it is like a lamp imparting light to the heavenly luminaries; every luminous arch of it is the new moon announcing the good news of the eternal ‘Id. Around it is the red fort of the metropolis of Akbarabad, which, with its emerald-like walls, resembles the seven firmaments, and looks like a halo round the bright full moon, which is a clear proof of the advent of the clouds of Divine mercy (on the mosque); or it is a circle round the resplendent sun which is a sure sign of the coming fall of beneficent rain. Verily, it is a palatial building of Paradise made (as it appears) of a single invaluable pearl, for, since the beginning of this inhabited world, a parallel of this mosque, built entirely of chaste white marble, has never been produced, and since the creation of the world, no place of worship, like it, resplendent and brilliant from top to bottom, has ever appeared.
ener (i.e., strength) of the pillars of State and the mansion of justice and benignity; being graced
by whose footsteps, the earth claims superiority over the heavens in a thousand ways, and on account
of the profusion of whose gifts, the heavens acknowledge their utmost inferiority to the earth;
prosperity and wealth, through love of service to whom, always keep awake; the country and reli-
gion on account of the (blessed) beauty of whose countenance, are flourishing; the breeze of Para-
dise is a beggar to the dust of whose heaven-like court; the fire of hell solicits a stipend from the
temper (lit. آب: water) of whose sword which annihilates the enemies; (verse):—

(1) Through whom the foundation of State is stable, (and) the basis of justice durable;
(2) always from the stream of whose victorious sword the infidels' goblets (of life)
are filled (i.e., whose sword cuts down the infidels);
(3) to whose orders the sky is obedient (like a slave), (and) for whose face the dawn of
morning is a mirror-holder (i.e., servant);

the pole-star of the sky which supports Faith and Divine Law; the centre of the circle of justice
and administration; Abūl-Muzaffar Shihābū'd-Dīn Muḥammad, the second lord of the (happy)
conjunction (of planets), Shāh Jahān Bādshāh, Champion of the Faith; and in a course of 7 years,
at a cost of three lakh of rupees, towards the end of the 26th year of the auspicious accession,
corresponding to 1063 Hijri, it put on its body the garment of ūnīsh and on its head the crown of
completion (i.e., it was completed). Through the blessings of the righteous intentions of this king,
defender of the Faith, may God without compeer inculcate in the people the ever-increasing
desire of performing devotions and doing virtuous deeds! And for their devotion and guidance may
God award the truth-knowing and truth-loving king in his fortunate life! Amen, O Lord of the
Universe.

INSCRIPTION NO. VIII

East of the Approach Road to the Machchhi Bhawan and accessible from it, stands the Mandir
Rāja Ratan (Temple of Rāja Ratan) in a quadrangle surrounded by Saracenic arcades. Traditionally
so called, it was probably the residence of Rāja Ratan, the faujdār (general) of Mahārāja
Prithi Indra, built in 1768 during the Jāts occupation of the Agra Fort. The building, Saracenic
in design, seems to have been adapted to his requirements by Rāja Ratan whose name appears
in the inscription over the south arcade.

Rāja Ratan was a son of Sūraj Mal Jāt of Bharatpur. He succeeded his elder brother, Mahārāja
Jawāhir Singh, when the latter was murdered in May 1768, but after a short reign he was himself
stabbed in April 1769 by a beggar, named Rūpānanda. The assassin is related to have pretended
to teach alchemy (الكيمياء), or the art of transmuting copper into gold, to Rāja Ratan who
was suspected of having been accessory to Jawāhir Singh's murder.

The name of Rāja Prithi Indra referred to in the inscription is rather puzzling. Apparently
he was the ruler of the Jāts who occupied the Agra Fort during the years 1761-74. But the fact
that this name is not mentioned in any history, leads one to think that it was probably an
honorable title (Lord of the World) rather than the name.

In the annals of the Jāts, we read of certain titles of Rāja Jawāhir Singh, son of Sūrajmal,
viz., "Braj-Indra" and "Bhārat-Indra," but not "Prithi-Indra." Now since the noble mansion
was built in 1183 A.H. (1768 A.D.), or in the reign of Jawāhir Singh, the title of Prithi-Indra appears
to refer to him, and the inscription is therefore of particular interest, as it speaks of a title
of Jawāhir Singh not known to history. It may, however, be argued that 'Prithi-Indra Shajā'
was perhaps the title assumed by Sūrajmal himself, in imitation of which his son Jawāhir Singh adopted the two titles cited above, for Kavi Sūdan, the poetical biographer of the former, calls him ‘Sujān’ and ‘Sujā’, which may perhaps have been corrupt forms of ‘Shajā’ used in the epigraph. But since Sūrajmal fell in battle with the Rohella chief Najību’d-Daula in 1763, or full five years before the erection of the monument in question, its assignment to Rāja Jawāhir Singh is evidently plausible.

Over the central arch, between the sandstone brackets, are three stone tablets bearing five Persian couplets inscribed in Nasta’līg letters. From calligraphical point of view the inscription does not compare favourably with the Mughul epigraphs in general and those of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān in particular and tends to serve as a good specimen of the decadent style of writing which became more marked about the end of the Mughul period. It reads as follows:

**TEXT (Plate Vb)**

**Tablet No. 1**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

کشت این قلعه روشن و زیبا

**Tablet No. 2**

عادل و اعضا‌داد را و اهل سخا

خانه بهتر سرلی حسب الحکم

**Tablet No. 3**

باد ملکوب دشمن بای

دولت انگیز سبینه بار و صفا

با مبان خجسته داد نشان

1182

**TRANSLATION**

**Tablet No. 1**

He is Sufficient.

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

(1) When by the (presence of the) brave Mahārāja, the lord of the world, this Fort became resplendent and decorated,

**Tablet No. 2**

(2) the just and noble Rāja Ratan Nainsukh, the generous Faujdār,

(3) built, under the (Rāja’s) orders, this felicitous house as a beautiful ever-lasting memorial.

**Tablet No. 3**

(4) May the enemy of the builder be ever cursed and the well-wisher happy and gay!

(5) Last night the heavenly voice spoke of this second paradise as the auspicious house. 1182 A.H. (1768-69 A.D.).

The words ‘Bā Makān-i Khujista’ yield the date 1182 A.H. (1768-69 A.D.).
INSCRIPTIONS FROM MANER

BY SAYYID YUSUF KAMAL BUKHARI

The Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions, in the course of his tour in the Province of Bihar in 1950, had collected from Maner, a small town in the District of Patna, inked rubbings of a number of inscriptions which he kindly made over to me for decipherment and publication in the Epigraphia Indica (Arabic and Persian Supplement). Of them four are from the mausoleum of Hazrat Makhdum Shah Daunt of Maner, known as the Khoti Dargah, one from the Bayi Dargah or the tomb of Hazrat Makhdum Shah Yahyak Maneri, two from the Jame' Masjid in the Muallaah Qasim Tola and one from the grave of Tangur Quli Khan nearby. One epigraph which has been recently collected by me is from a certain wall to the north of the tombs of Hazrat Haji Nizamuddin and Haji Safiuddin and I chose to include it in the above collection.

Maner, a village about twenty miles west of Patna, is a place of sufficient antiquity and historical eminence. It is situated at 25° 38'N and 84° 53'E on the bank of the river Son which used to flow just beneath it in ancient times but is now about two miles away from it. It is a beautiful health resort and attracts people from far off places. It is really well worth a visit because of the saints' tombs which are of sufficient historical and architectural importance.

Although almost in ruins now, Maner must have once been a large and well populated town. Its ancient monuments speak of its former glory. With the fall of the Mughul Empire, it declined gradually so much so that today it is the headquarters of a Pargannah with a Police Station, a Post Office, and a Dispensary. Old Persian documents, still traceable, bear testimony to its being a Baldeh or a town and refer to its Adilatu'l-'Aliyah or supreme court, and this tends to show that Maner must have been an important administrative centre during the Muslim rule.

Local tradition avers that in ancient times it was an important centre of political, religious, commercial and cultural activities of the Buddhist scholars and saints for a considerable period and an image of lion known as 'Sadaul' bears testimony to this.

According to Firigha, Maner was founded by Firuz Rai, son of Keshob Rai, who was a direct descendant of Noah in the eighth degree, but the authenticity of his statement is rightly questioned as he has neither quoted an authority in support of his assertion nor traced the genealogy of Firuz Rai accurately. A careful exploration of its ruins and mounds, however, reveals that Maner is of considerable antiquity dating as far back as the pre-Christian era.

The early history of Maner is obscure. Hafiz Shamsuddin Ahmad in his article on "Maner and its historical remains", observes that its earliest mention is found in a copper-plate, dated 1126 A.D., in the possession of a Brahmin, in connection with a grant made to a Brahmin by King Govinda Chandra of Quannah. The plate contains the Raja's instructions to the Brahmin to pay a number of duties including the 'Turk's duty' which tends to hint that the Turks had reached the soil of Maner and settled long before Bakhtiyar Khalji's conquest of Bihar in 1197 A.D. Its earliest reference in the Turikh-i-Firigha is found in connection with the conquest of Bihar and Bengal by Bakhtiyar Khalji.

Another tradition has it that one Hazrat Momin Arif came from Yamen and settled there. The Raja of Maner grew jealous of him for some reason or other and persecuted him severely. Consequently, Hazrat Momin Arif had to leave Maner. Eventually, he decided to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca and in the course of his travels through the Muslim countries, on the way he narrated the

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2 Proceedings of the Sixth All India Oriental Conference, Patna, 1930, p. 124.
cruelties perpetrated on him by the Raja, with the result that Imām Muḥammad, known as Tāj Faqīḥ (not Taj Patih as given in the District Gazetteer), a resident of Jerusalem, joined him with a party of his followers. They came to India, invaded the kingdom of Maner, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Rajah. The chronogram of this defeat yields the date 576 A.H. (1180 A.D.) and runs as follows:

Since then Maner came to be called the seat of great theologians and eminent mystics of Islam.

According to Mr. Quraishi, the Imām "is believed to have handed over the country to Ḥaḍirīyār Khalji after the latter's conquest of Bihar and to have returned to Arabia leaving three sons behind to work as Islamic missionaries in this part of the country". But Maulavi Muḥammad Murādi'llāh and Ḥāfiz Shamsu'd-Dīn Aḥmad give a different account of Ḥaḍrat Tāj Faqīḥ's departure from India. They say that after a short rule, Imām Faqīḥ returned to Arabia making over the government of Maner to his sons and not to Bakhtiyār Khalji and that subsequently, the country was made over to Bakhtiyār by Ḥaḍrat Maḥdūm Shāh Yahyā of Maner, the grandson of Imām Tāj Faqīḥ when he chose to devote himself completely to meditation and mystical austerities. Still it is controversial whether Ḥaḍrat Yahyā Maneri or Ḥaḍrat Maḥdūm Isrā'īl (the eldest son of Imām Tāj Faqīḥ) made over the kingdom to Bakhtiyār. It is said that the country was made over to Bakhtiyār by the latter in 589 A.H. (1193 A.D.) as he was alive at the time of Bakhtiyar's conquest of Bihar and died in 593 A.H. (1196 A.D.). It is reasonably presumed by the local people that Ḥaḍrat Maḥdūm Isrā'īl being the eldest son of the Imām and thus entrusted with the administration of Maner by his father, was the right person to rule over the country and that it must be Maḥdūm Isrā'īl who, on Bakhtiyār's arrival, had chosen to devote himself to mystical contemplations after entrusting the reins of the government to Bakhtiyār. Moreover, it is hardly practicable for a boy of 16 or 17 years to rule over the country and also to take a keen interest in sufistic meditations as is supposed by Maulavi Murādi'llāh and Ḥāfiz Shamsu'd-Dīn Aḥmad. Hence, in all probability, the kingdom of Maner seems to have been made over to Bakhtiyār by Ḥaḍrat Maḥdūm Isrā'īl and not by Ḥaḍrat Yahyā Maneri. Almost all saints and old sayyid families of Maner are descendants of Imām Muḥammad Faqīḥ.

The nine epigraphs dealt with in this article in chronological sequence, range from 1396 A.D. to 1866 A.D., and cover a period of 470 years. Their importance lies in their shedding light on social, religious and spiritual condition of Maner in those days. Of them, two record the construction of mosques, three, repairs of mosques, two erection of a gate, one the death of a great saint of the age, and one, the demise of an engineer. The epigraphs bear the names of rulers, governors, mystics, and poets. They shed light on the religious zeal of high officers and their attachment to great saints of that period.

These inscriptions are also of great calligraphical interest. The period from the 15th to the 19th centuries is important for the introduction and evolution of the Thulth and Nasta'liq styles of writing in India. Naskh reached its perfection in Persia from where it came to India and numerous varieties of it, including Thulth, which was prized most in the Mughal period, are seen gracing the ancient monuments. The Nasta'liq style, evolved from Naskh and Ta'liq, came in vogue in India.

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2 Old documents in the possession of the present Sayyida Naqīfa at Maner.
3 List of Bihar and Oriya Monuments by M. H. Kuraishi, p. 63.
4 Aḥrār-i-Maner, pp. 3-5.
5 Proceedings of the Sixth All India Oriental Conference, Patna, 1930, p. 127.
in the early 16th century, as the oldest Nasta’liq inscription so far discovered in India dates back to 928 A.H. (1521 A.D.). It became so popular under the patronage of the Mughuls that it soon replaced Naskh which met with the fate of Kufic in having been reserved for religious purposes only. This script reached its perfection in the reign of the Emperor Shāh Jahān and this is borne out by six of these inscriptions (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9). One of these epigraphs (No. 1) belonging to the Tughlaq period, executed in Naskh letters, marks the transition period of Naskh and Thulth. As stated, Naskh was then reserved for religious texts, but Thulth was used for historical purposes. Later on, Naskh and Thulth scripts both came to be used for religious purposes, leaving the secular and non-religious subjects to be written in Nasta’liq characters.

The language of these inscriptions is mostly Persian, except of one which is Arabic. Seven inscriptions are in Persian verse, one in Arabic verse and the remaining six is an admixture of Arabic and Persian. Persian came to be regularly adopted for epigraphical records at the close of the 13th century since the reign of Khalji. A critical study of the epigraphs of Khalji, Tughlaq, Sayyid and Lodí periods reveals how steadily Persian was gaining ground against Arabic in the domain of epigraphy and how under the Mughuls, Arabic was reserved for religious texts only.

INSCRIPTION NO. I

In a dwarf wall to the north of the graves of the saints Hājī Nizāmū’d-Din and Hājī Ṣafī’u’d-Din, under the lamp niches, is built an inscription tablet of black marble (2'2"×8") at a height of 2'8" from the ground. The epigraph is in Persian verse, consisting of two lines, divided into eight equal panels each bearing a hemistic, executed in Naskh style in relief. It assigns the original construction of a mosque to Jalilu’l Ḥaq, a celebrated saint of his age, and its rebuilding to Ḥammād Ḥaṭṣir Būzubair during the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh in 798 A.H. (1396 A.D.). Thus evidently, the inscription slab originally belonging to a mosque which has ceased to exist, has been fixed in its present position subsequently and has nothing to do with the tombs of Hājī Ṣafī’u’d-Din and Hājī Nizāmū’d-Din.

Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh referred to in the epigraph is probably Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh Tughlaq who reigned from 1333 A.D. to 1398 A.D. The saint Jalilu’l Ḥaq was the son of Ḥaṣrat Shaikh Yaḥyā, the patron saint of Maner and lies buried near the grave of his father in Maner.

Unfortunately, nothing is traceable about Ḥaṭṣir Būzubair in the records available in this office, but he seems to be a devout Muslim who considered his sacred duty to build or repair a mosque which is regarded as the House of God.

TEXT (Plate VIII a)

١ِبِحَدَاللهِ كَّمَدَ عَبِيدُ شَهِةِ رَحْبَٰٰحُ
٢ِبِهِشَهِ مَسْجِدٌ كَّمَد بَانِيٌّ أَوِلِّ
٣ِحِمَادَ خَطِيرُ بَوْ زِيرُ عَسِت
٤ِزَجِّرَتُ هِفْصَدُ وَهُشْتُ وَنُودُ بُودُ
٥ِبَعِسَتُ دَارُ بِنِانِشُ تَوْ لَعُ رَبُ

TRANSLATION

(1) Praise be to Allāh, that in the reign of the noblest king, Maḥmūd Shāh, the cultured Sultān,

(2) this magnificent mosque whose first founder was Jalilu’l Ḥaq, one of the favourite Qudsi.

*It may perhaps be correctly read as بِحَدَاللهِ كَّمَدَ عَبِيدُ شَهِةِ رَحْبَٰٰحُ*—Ed.
(3) was constructed anew by Ḥammād Khaṭīr Būzubair.
(4) It was the year 798 of the migration (of the Holy Prophet) (1396 A.D.); O Lord, keep its foundation chaste.

INSCRIPTION NO. II

This inscription belongs to the grave of Tangur Quli Khān near the mausoleum of Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm Shāh Yahyā Manerī. It is carved in embossed letters on the headstone of the grave and measures 4'6½" x 1'9". The upper portion of the tablet is arch-shaped, inscribed with the Kalima preceded by the words يا حي (O Everliving!), while the lower portion, rectangular in design, is divided horizontally into seven equal panels, each containing a line. The language is Persian, the first four lines being in verse (two couplets from Sa'ūdī, a well-known Persian poet) while the rest are in prose. It is executed in Nasta'īq style and records the death of Tangur Quli Khān, the occupant of the grave in A. H. 983 (A.D. 1575).

Tangur Quli Khān of Badakhshān1 was the reputed engineer entrusted with the construction of the tank and certain other projects by Ibrāhīm Khān Kākar, but he did not live long to complete the projects.

My reading of the epigraph is given below:

TEXT (Plate VIII b)

(1) يا حي
(2) لا إله إلا الله
(3) محمد رسول الله
(4) دونها كيه ما بيس زورگار
(5) برويدگل و بسکنده نو بی‌پهار
(6) کسکانه كه از ما بیپی اندند
(7) پاپنا و پر خاک ما پکزندن
(8) فویئ نوراب مرحمی مفروری
(9) تتنگر قلی خان ابن می (sic.) شیخ
(10) ادختانی سلی نهصد وجشناد و سه

TRANSLATION

(1) O Everliving.
(2) There is no god but Allāh.
(3) Muhammad is the apostle of Allāh.
(4-5) 'Alas, for a long time in our absence, the rose will be blossoming and the new spring will be blooming.
(6-7) Those who are not with us, will come and visit our remains.'

(a) On a dwarf wall near the tomb of Ḥājī Ṣaffīn-šīr-šīr, Ḥājī Ṣaffīn-šīr-šīr, and ʿAbd al-Razzāq, Maner

Scale: 23

(b) On the headstone of the grave of Tangur Quli Khan, Maner

Scale: 11

(c) Above the central gateway of the Khāji Dargāh, Maner

Scale: 17
(8-10) Nawāb Tangur Quli Khān, the favoured and pardoned son of Shaikh... of Badakhshān, died (in the) year nine hundred eighty three (A. H. = 1575 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. III

This epigraph is reported to have been originally fixed to the central gateway, at a height of nearly 16' from the floor of the courtyard, in the façade of the Bağh Dargāh mosque. It is 2' x 1'6" and assigns the construction of a mosque near the grave of Ḥaḍrat Shāh Yahyā to Ibrāhīm Khān Kākār, governor of Gujarat. The composer of the verses was ‘Āṣī. The language of the epigraph is Persian verse carved in Nasta’i’īg characters in relief. The chronogram yields the date 1014 A. H. (1605-6 A. D.).

The personages mentioned in the inscription deserve special notice inasmuch as they were important historical figures of their age. Ḥaḍrat Shaikh Yahyā1 belonged to Maner, and is known as Ḥaḍrat Sultānul Makhdūm Shāh Yahyā Maneri. He was the grandson of Ḥaḍrat Imām Muḥammad Faqih, the conqueror of Maner and was himself a great saint, esteemed most by the high and low alike. Men of repute and some of the Sultāns of Northern India were either his disciples or admirers. He died in 690 A. H. (1291 A.D.), at the ripe age of about 110 years2 and lies buried in the Bağh Dargāh. Even his tomb has been attracting people from far and near, and there is historical evidence to show that Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq, Sultān Sikandar Lodi, Bābur3 and the famous musician Tān Sain visited it, as Tāzuk-i-Bāburi and the farmāns preserved in the library of the Kānqāh at Maner bear testimony to this. The mosque attached to the Bağh Dargāh wherein Ḥaḍrat Yahyā Maneri lies buried was built by Ibrāhīm Khān Kākār4 who was a disciple of Ḥaḍrat Daulāt Shāh of Maner. It is related that, although born in a humble condition, Ibrāhīm Khān Kākār rose to a great position and eminence through the recommendation of his spiritual leader and also through his own merits and honesty of purpose. ‘Abdu’r-Rahīm Khān, Khān-i-Khānān posted him in the province of Gujarat. Ibrāhīm Khān proved his worth and valour and in Emperor Jahāngīr’s time, the title of Dilawar Khān was conferred on him. He died a natural death in 1028 A.H. (1619 A.D.). Most of the monuments at Maner were built by him. Mr. Quraishi has confused Ibrāhīm Khān Kākār with Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang. They are not identical.

‘Āṣī, the composer of the verses, was the nom-de-plume of Amānu’llāh, who was a resident of the town of Sandilah in the suburb of Lucknow, and a disciple of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm Shāh Daulāt Maneri. The text of the inscription is cited below:

TEXT (Plate VIII c)

(1) ِّبسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(2) لِخَوَش آلِکَس کَانَدِرِن دار فَنا تَخُم اِحَاسَ کَانَدِ شَتْ دَر کُشْت یَقا

2 Scholars are at variance regarding Shaikh Yahyā’s date and place of birth. Maulavi Murādullāh thinks that he was born in 572 A. H. (1176 A.D.) at the village of Qadas Khalifūr’s Rābahān and that he accompanied his grandfather, Ḥaḍrat Tāj Faqih to India in 576 A.H. (1180 A.D.) at the age of 4 years (Aṭhār-i-Maner, p. 9), while according to Ḥāfiz Shamsu’d Din Ahmad, the date of his birth is 576 A.H. (1180 A.D.). The District Gazetteer of Patna mentions Maner as his place of birth and the same view is held by local people.
5 Aṭhār-i-Maner, p. 30.
(1) In the name of Allāh, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate.

(2) O, happy in this perishable world is he who has sown the seed of beneficence in the field of eternity;

(3) especially he, who has founded a mosque like the Kāba, the house of precepts.

(4) Consequently, at the tomb of Shaikh Yāhiyā, the king of the Faith (and) the head of saints,

(5) Ibrāhīm Khān Kākar erected, with all his heart, a magnificent mosque for the sake of God.

(6) When the slave 'Āṣī made endeavours for its chronogram,

(7-8) suddenly the Angel, in respect of this abode of peace in both the worlds, whispered into the ear of his wisdom this hemistich, by way of inspiration: Ibrāhīm built the house of God (1014 A.H. = 1605-6 A.D.).

(9) The composer of this, as detailed by God, is known as Amānu'llāh with his nom-de-plume 'Āṣī.

**INSCRIPTION NO. IV**

This inscription is dated 1017 A. H. (1608 A.D.), and records the death of Ḥaḍrat Makhūdūm Shāh Daulat Manerī who lies buried in the Chhotī Dargāh built in 1025 A. H. (1616 A.D.). The inscription slab is of black basalt, fixed over the entrance of the mortuary at a height of 9'6" from the floor of the verandah. The epigraph is in Persian verse, consisting of five lines, divided into ten horizontal panels, each bearing a hemistich, executed in raised Nasta’īq letters. The composer of these verses also is (Amānu’llāh) 'Āṣī, whose name occurred in the previous epigraph (No. III).

Ḥaḍrat Shāh Daulat referred to in the inscription was a direct descendant of Ḥaḍrat Shāh Yāhiyā Manerī mentioned above. His real name was Ḥaḍrat Makhūdūm ‘Abdār Yazīd, but was called by his Pir as Diwān Shāh Daulat. He was an eminent mystic of his age, known for his austerities far and wide. Most of the Sultāns of Northern India and noblemen were either his disciples or admirers, ‘Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān being one of them. He attained the age of about 125 years and his tomb is an object of great reverence even to-day.

It will not be out of place to narrate here an interesting anecdote about him. According to the Ṣādhu-i-Maner, a Sādhu came to Ḥaḍrat Makhūdūm Daulat Manerī, and presented a diamond to him. Not attaching any importance to it, he threw it into a tank nearby. The Sādhu got
annoyed at this and asked him to return the precious stone. Since he had failed to appreciate its worth, Makhādūm Shāh Daulat calmly asked him to pick it out of the tank lying therein. He dived and finding several diamonds, much more valuable than his own, already lying there, he wondered which one to pick up.

The inscription reads as follows:

TEXT (Plate IX a)

(1) قطب أقطاب زمان قدوة دين
(2) شاه دولت كه سوى عالم قدن
(3) مال هجرش خرد عاصي يافت

* * *

(1) إز بهر تدار اين بلئه آباد
(2) از دیر دلم دو در تاريخ قتاد
(3) مانتد بهشت جاودان اين پاد

TRANSLATION

(1) The Qub of the Qubs of the world, the leader of the Faith, brighter than the sun and the moon;

(2) (was) Shāh Daulat. When he departed from this world to the world of purity,

(3) "Agha's wisdom found the year of his migration (in the words): He had been, of his age, the heir of the Prophet (1017 A. H. = 1608 A.D.)."

* * *

(1) As a gift to this prosperous building, two pearls of chronograms fell from the casket of my heart.

(2) Read the first one as the Friends’ tomb and the second as May it ever be the abode of peace like the Heaven (1025 A. H. = 1616 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. V

The epigraph is fixed over the main gate of the Chhoti Dargah or the tomb of Hārrat Makhādūm Shāh Daulat Maneri, at a height of 197" from the platform. Measuring 3’8” x 1’5”, it is in Arabic verse executed in elegant Nasha characters in relief. It consists of three lines, recording the construction of the main gate of the said Dargah in 1022 A. H. (1613 A.D.). My reading of the epigraph is as follows:

TEXT (Plate IX b)

(1) اهم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(2) كان تلى بحوله ساكن
(3) قال عدنى على طريق الامر

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Apostle of Allāh.
(3) I was in search of a chronogram for this gate; my heart was at rest by His benevolence,
(3) My mind said as a command (to me): Say, Whoever enters it shall be safe.

The chronogram is contained in the words قل من دخلك كان آمنا. The date according to the calculation of the chronogram comes to 1022 A.H., but Mr. Hamid Quraishi gives 982 A.H., Maulavi Muradullah calculates 1028 A.H., while Hafiz Shamsu-din Ahmad writes 1032 A.H. All the three different dates given above are evidently erroneous. Maulavi Muradullah wrongly reads the letter "و" between the words قل and is but there is no trace of "و" in the inscription.

INSCRIPTION NO. VI

It is carved on a stone slab, 10'3"×1'3", fixed over the main gate of the small mosque to the west of the tomb in the Chhoti Dargah, at a height of 17'3" from ground floor. The inscription consists of three lines, of which the first two comprise religious texts executed in Thulth script. The historical epigraph is composed by (Ammanulah) Aghi. It is in Persian verse carved in Nasta'liche letters in relief and records the erection of a mosque by Ibrâhîm Khân in 1028 A.H. (1618 A.D.). The text of the inscription is cited below:

TEXT (Plate IX c)

(1) اسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله - اللهم صل على محمد و على آل محمد و بارك و سلم - اشهد أن لا إله إلا الله و وحده لا شريك له و اشهد أن محمدا أنت و رسله قال الله [تعالى]

(2) [ان اول] بيت وضع الناس للذى بركة مباركا و هدى للعالمين فيه آيات [بينات

مقام إبراهيم و من دخله كان آمنا و الله على الناس حج البيت من استطاع إليه سبيلا و من كفر فان

اللهم غلى من العالمين]

(3) [جو [ان علاني با]ة] [بكمى] كعبه خان آزا

[بيه صالح قائد تماما أطضا كرده

دلك عاصمي هدى جست [از خرد س]ال قتلى او

خرد كفتان] جو إبراهيم بيت [الله با كردم]

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1 List of Ancient monuments, Bihar and Orissa, p. 63.
2 Alhuri-Maner, p. 50.
4 Obviously the same post mentioned in epigraphs nos. 4 and 5.
5 Ibrâhîm Khân is the same person who is mentioned in the inscription no. 4.
6 Mr. Quraishi reads the word سرل for بناء in the third line of the inscription. The epigraph records the construction of a mosque and so the word بناء suits more than سرل for its foundation. (List of Bihar and Orissa monuments, p. 65).
(a) Over the entrance of the mortuary of the Chhoti Dargah, Maner

(b) Over the main gate (in the centre) of the Chhoti Dargah, Maner

(c) Over the main gate of a small mosque in the Chhoti Dargah, Maner
TRANSLATION

(1-2) In the name of Allâh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. There is no god but Allâh, Muhammad is the Prophet of Allâh. O God, bestow peace on Muhammad and on the descendants of Muhammad, and bless them (all). I testify that there is no god but Allâh. He is alone and has no compeer; and I testify that Muhammad is His slave and Apostle. The Most High Allâh has said: Verily, the first house built for the people (for the worship of one God) is that at Bekka (Mecca); it is a blessing and a guidance for all the universe. In it are clear signs, for example, Maqâm-i-Ibrâhîm. And whosoever enters it is safe. And men have a duty towards God—that of performing the Hajj at this house—only such of the men as can afford to go there. And he who does not believe, well, Allâh is independent of all the universe¹.

(3-4) When this lofty Ka‘ba-like, world-adorning edifice was completely finished through the benevolence of the powerful Maker, the heart of ‘Âṣî was consulting the mind for the year of its construction. The mind said: Like Ibrâhîm he erected the House of Allâh (1028 A.H.—1618 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. VII

This inscription, dated 1032 A.H. (1622 A.D.) is fixed to the left side of the inscription No. 5 at a height of 19’7” from the plinth, over the lofty gateway on the north, which is the main entrance to the enclosure of the Chhoti Dârgâh. The inscription slab measures 2’7” X 1’3” and contains three Persian verses, executed in ordinary Nasta’îq letters in relief. This epigraph also records the construction of the same main gate of the Dârgâh, as referred to in the inscription No. 5.

The inscription is much obliterated and indistinct. Hâfiz Shamsu’d-Din ‘Âhmad⁴ and Maulavi Murâdu’llâh⁵ have read the first line as but Mr. Quraishi⁴ gives the reading as Since in the first hemistich only the letters are readable and the remaining portion of the verse has completely peeled off, it is not possible to say definitely whose reading is correct. But as this epigraph in situ is fixed over the main entrance of the Dârgâh, it must naturally record the construction of this gate and so in the first hemistich the word seems to be preferable to and in the second hemistich appears to be more appropriate than . Again the last word of the last line is also obliterated. Maulavi Murâdu’llâh and Hâfiz Shamsu’d-Din ‘Âhmad decipher it as but Mr. Quraishi calls it . As the word or forms part of the chronogram, it deserves careful scrutiny. If the word is read as , the chronogram yields 1032 A. H. whereas with the word suggested by Mr. Quraishi it yields 1066 A. H. There are reasons to support the local tradition that the gate under notice was started in 1022 A. H. because the central inscription (No. 5) recording the erection of the gate is dated 1022 A. H. and the same was completed 10 years after in 1032 A. H.

¹ Qur’ân, III, 98-99.
³ ‘Âthâr-i-Maner, p. 50.
⁴ List of Bihar and Orissa monuments, p. 64.
My reading of the inscription is given below:—

TEXT (Plate Xa)

(1) جهان در [روزه مفسق شاه] زواله وقت نهاده ب١ اتام
(2) سال تاریخ من [ازد] جسم
(3) بدعاه پا کشوده و گفتا

TRANSLATION

(1) When the gate of the mausoleum of the Shâh raised its head towards completion,

(2) I asked for its chronogram. In blessing this auspicious place,

(3) Wisdom opened its lips and said: May the gateway of Daulat[1] ever remain open (to the needy)

(1032 A.H. = 1622 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. VIII

This epigraph is in Persian verse, carved on a stone slab, 2' x 1' 4½", fixed to the central mihrab of the screen wall of the Jâmi' Masjid (to which a mihrab is attached), at a height of sixteen feet from the ground floor. The script is Nasta'liq of a plain type, executed in relief letters. The inscription consists of seven lines, the first containing the Bismillah and the last, the date 1103 A.H. (1691-92 A.D.) in figures and words both. Each of the remaining lines contains three hemistiches, but the couplets have their hemistiches arranged vertically, excepting the first one which is carved horizontally. The record assigns the construction of a mosque to Maulâvî 'Abdu'ah Shâkûr in the auspicious reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb 'Alamgîr, and subsequently to Ibrâhîm Khân, who built it afresh. The chronogram yields the same data as is given in figures (i.e., 1691 A.D.).

The last word in the second hemistich of the first verse is inscribed as کام but the ignorance of the sculptor is responsible for this mistake; it should be کلام not کام as the latter word does not scan correctly.

The following is the reading of the inscription:

TEXT (Plate Xb)

(1) اسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(2) شکر ايزد گو که از چون و چرا بیرون نام
(3) مولوی امام رضا کش و اصلان حق بکر
(4) مسجدی آن مولوی اشتهار بود و کهنی جام
(5) کردر اشکام خان از نور پناش انظمام

1 There is a pun on the word Daulat which refers to Hazrat Makhîlam Shâh Daulâh Maneri.
(b) Over the central mihrab of the screen wall of the Jami' Masjid, Mauzer.
INScriptions from Maner

(5) "In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Clement.

(6) Offer thanks to God Whose existence does not admit of any 'How' or 'Why', and Whose praise fills the heart with delight and renders the tongue sweet.

(3) Say that Maulavi 'Abdu'l-sh-Shakur was one of those nearest to God, a pioneer of the faith and an Imam of the cult of mysticism.

(4) On the old site of that Maulavi's mosque, which had collapsed, Ibrâhim Khan made arrangements for the construction of a new one.

(5) He (Ibrâhim Khan) was a Quraishi and a descendant of 'Ali and descended from Khân-i-Khanân, son of Kabir; the fort was glorified in the world by his birth.

(6) During the reign of Emperor 'Alamgir IIjâzî, the protector of the faith, the just, the conqueror of the country, the master of Rum and Syria,

(7) he founded an elegant mosque through (his) sincerity and belief (in God) for the worship of (lit. prostration to) the Holy God.

(8) When completed, I asked for its date from my heart which said regarding its date شد مسجد بيت الحرام (or the mosque of Ka'ba has been built).

Year 1103 One thousand, one hundred and three Hijri (1691-92 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. IX

It is fixed over the central mîhrâb of the screen wall of the Jami' Mosque underneath the former inscription (No. 8). Carved on a marble slab measuring 2'1" x 1'2", the epigraph is in Persian verse, executed in plain Nastaliq in relief. The first line comprises Bismillâh and the next four divided into eight equal panels, arranged horizontally, assign the erection of a mosque first to Maulavi 'Abdu'l-sh-Shakur and its subsequent extensive repairs, to Ibrâhim Khan and Khâdim 'Ali. The composer of the verses was certain Bahîrî. It is dated 1283 A.H. (1866 A.D.). The inscription slab was carved at Madina and transported to Maner.

1 By Hisâr is in all probability meant the town Hisâr—Ed.
I read the text as follows:—

TEXT (Plate Xc)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) عبد الشكور ساخته بناد اولين

(3) باب ذكر نود براهيم خان بنا

(4) إس خادم عل که رئیس است در منیر

(5) از آل مصلت و ز اولاد مرتش

(6) تعمیر کرد بار سیو مسجد که

(7) شد قبله بیه گلستان با صفا

(8) بنمود فکر در سین تاریخ او بشیر

(9) هفته بیده گل دو زه خانه خدا

(10) این سنگ از مذینه طیبه گلستان کنالدیه آورده شد یک هزار و دو صد و هشتاد و سه

۹۱۲۸۳

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allâh, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

(2) It was originally built by ‘Abdu’l-Shāh Khān and subsequently rebuilt by Ibrâhîm Khān.

(3) Then, Khâdîm ‘Ali, a nobleman of Maner, descending from Mustafâ (i.e., the Holy Prophet) and Murtâzâ (or the Holy Prophet’s son-in-law, Ḥâṣrât ‘Ali),

(4) erected a third time the old mosque which became the Qibla for the pious devotees of the Ka’ba.

(5) Baghâl thought for its chronogram; the invisible angel said at once: Excellent house of God.

(6) Having been carved at Holy Madīna, this stone was brought (here), one thousand two hundred and eighty three, 1283 A.H. (1866 A.D.).

TWO UNPUBLISHED ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF NUJRAT SHAH FROM SANTOSHPUR, DISTRICT HOOGHLI, BENGAL

By A. K. Bhattacharya, New Delhi

On an information from the Headmaster of the Bajua H.E. School at Santoshpur, Dist. Hooghly, Bengal, I was deputied in December 1950, to inspect an inscribed slab found in the vicinity of the said school. The slab, on examination, was found to contain an Arabic inscription in two lines cut in clear relief as Bengal basalt would admit of. The slab was lying loose on the ground a few yards away from a mosque, now partly in ruins, which, on inspection, was found to have another inscribed slab, fixed above the central arch at the entrance. The loose slab has since been presented to the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The two inscriptions belong to the same Sultan of Bengal, viz., Nasiru’d-Din Nu’r Shah and are dated in the same year viz., 988 A.H. (1530-31 A.D.). But, while the loose slab records the erection of the gateway of a mosque, the slab in situ, mentions the construction of a mosque. The mosque referred to in the latter inscription can obviously be no other than the mosque which contains the inscribed tablet. There is a very low mound in front of the mosque, which may have been the site of the gateway mentioned in the other inscription.
The mosque is situated on a plot of land a few yards to the north of the present District Board Road, which is better known as the Hooghly-Goghat Road. It has a fairly large tank to its east which is still known as Molla-pukur. The site is about four miles due north, on the other side of the river Dwârakeśvar, from a place known as Naisāraī on the Bus route, from Mulkāṭī on the Damodar to Ārāmbāgh in Dist. Hooghly. The place Naisāraī, as its name implies, must have been an important place of encampment during this period or subsequently, and owing to the importance of the Muslim colony here, the location of the royal encampment was thought suitable at this place. Only a few years later, we know, Sher Shāh established the road communications of his Sultanate on a firm basis. There was thus a network of Khângâhs and Sarâis where the traveller, Hindu or Muslim, could find free food and shelter. This zealous builder of sarâis had one sarâi at every kroh of his famous roads and each sarâi had a mosque and a well, wherefrom food and drinking water for Hindus as well as Muslims were supplied. The situation of Naisāraī at so close a range from two big rivers, Damodar and Dwârakeśvar must have facilitated easy communication so necessary for both military and civil purposes. The fact that the mosque came into existence during the time of Nuṣrat Shāh, the son of Ḥusain Shāh, proves that the place being connected by the water-way of Dwârakeśvar with Damodar was already a centre of great importance in the early Sulṭān period.

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

As regards the orthography of this inscription which states the construction of the mosque in 938 A. H., we may note the following points. The two dots for the ن are sometimes above the letter e.g. في خدود and sometimes beside it (e.g. في خدود). The taghîd mark is also sometimes absent, as in the second occurrence of the word السلطان and also in علّم, صلّى, اللذي etc. Sometimes also the dot for the ن is put at the right corner above instead of at the centre, as in the two occurrences of the word السلطان in the 2nd line of the inscription. Apart from the above noted peculiarities, the inscription is moderately correct in its orthographical arrangements and marks. The word المُدّد is apparently left out after خلد in the inscription probably through inadvertence of the scribe. Further, by an artistic ingenuity, only one ن has been made to serve for two in the last two occurrences of the word السلطان in line 1.

The inscription records the erection of a congregational mosque, which is apparently the structure on which it was found. It mentions that the sanctuary was constructed in the time of the Sulṭān Nasiru’d-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh, the son of Sulṭān Ḥusain Shāh in the year nine hundred and thirty-eight (of the Hijra era) and that its builder was one Ḥasan Khân. The record opens with a saying of the Prophet that he who builds mosques for God, God builds for him a similar structure in Paradise.

The identity of the builder of the mosque is very difficult to establish. He is not mentioned in any of the contemporary histories. The reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Nasrul Shiah is believed to have extended from 926 A.H. to 938 A.H. and he has inscriptive records almost for every year of his reign from 926 A.H. to 938 A.H. The present tablet apparently belongs to the last year of the Sultan’s reign and it is the second inscription of the mural records so far discovered bearing the date 938 H.

I have read the inscription as follows:

**TEXT (Plate XIa)**

قَالَ الْحَنِيَّ الْحَنِيَّ إِلَيْهِ الْعَلِيُّ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ بَنِي مَسِيحُ أَنَّ اللَّهَ يَعْلَمُ هُدَى الْهَدَى يَبْتَغُهُ بِهِ بِيْنَ مَلَائِكَةِ الْجَنَّةِ

(1) بنى هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان بن السلطان السلاطين شاه [الله]

الذين و الذين أبو المعظفر نصرت شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلاطين خلد [الله]

ملكه و بانيه خس خان دام علوه في سنة ثمان و ثلاثين و تسعينه

**TRANSLATION**

The Prophet, blessings and peace of God be upon him, has said, ‘He who builds a mosque for Allah, Allah builds for him a similar abode in Paradise’. This congregational mosque was built in the reign of the Sultan, son of a Sultan, Sultan Nasiruddin Danyar wa’d-Din Muqaffar Nasrat Shiah, the Sultan, son of Husain Shiah, the Sultan, may (Allah) perpetuate his kingdom and the builder thereof is Hasun Khan, may his high rank remain for ever, in the year eight and thirty and nine hundred (i.e. 938 A.H. = 1530-31 A.D.).

**INSCRIPTION NO. II**

The second inscription records the construction of a gateway to a mosque which apparently is the one whose erection is mentioned in the inscription No. 1. This record is also dated 938 A.H. and gives the name of the reigning Sultan as Nasrul Shiah. The small mound near the mosque, as mentioned before, probably represents the ruins of this gateway. Although the gateway and the mosque were both constructed in the same year, the donors to the two structures were different persons as is clear from the two records. The gateway, according to the inscription, was built by Majlis Jawad (lit., Benevolent Majlis).

The orthography of the present inscription although almost similar to that of inscription No. 1, has certain peculiarities which merit mention here. The three dots for ـث are sometimes altogether absent and sometimes represented by one dot only, as in سنن and نمأن respectively. The dot for ن is omitted only in one case, as in سنة and is shifted to the extreme right in another viz., نقية. The part of the word in the end of the first line is left out by the scribe apparently through oversight. The shorter sign ژ is usually put for the three dots above ـش while the letter ـس has the sign ژ above it almost invariably. The dot for the ـج in مسجد is put above the letter.

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2. The other inscription of the date 938 H in the reign of this Sultan is the Malka record of the building of a well by one Bona Malti, *J. A. S. B.* XLIII, 1874, p. 308.
3. The reading of this word is doubtful.
4. We have such names as Majlis Sirk, etc., in inscriptions of the time of Nasrul Shiah.
(a) On a loose stone found lying near a mosque at Santoshpur, Dist. Hooghly (now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta)

(b) Above the central arch at the entrance of the same mosque at Santoshpur

(c) Over the central prayer-niche of the Shaikhonwali Masjid, Agra

Scale 1:13
Inscription in the Shaikhonwali Masjid at Agra

The style of writing here also is Naskh as in inscription No. 1, with a Ṭuḥrā flourish.
I have read the inscription as follows:

TEXT (Plate XIb)

(1) قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسن فله عشر إمتلاها بما هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدين ودد

(2) [ب] ابن المظفر نصرت نان السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد أشرف الوفي خالد الله ملكه وسلطانه وباباه مجلس جواح (؟) في سنة ثمان وزن وثلاثين وستمائة

TRANSLATION

Allāh, the most High, has said, 'He who does any good shall have tenfold like it.' The gateway of this congregational mosque was built in the reign of the Sultan, Sultan son of Sultan, Nāṣir-ru'd-Din Abūl Muẓaffar Naṣrat Shāh, the Sultan, son of Husain Shāh, the Sultan, son of Sayyid Aḥraf al-Ḥusainī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, and the builder was Majlis Jawād (؟) (lit. Benevolent Majlis) in the year eight and thirty and nine hundred (i.e., 933 Hijra = 1530-31 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION IN THE SHAIKHONWALI MASJID AT AGRA

By Sayyid Yusuf Kamāl Bughārī

In Muḥalla Dehghu Begum or old Qāṣipāra at Agra, there stands a small mosque, called Shaikhonwali Masjid, which has been recently repaired and renovated by the local Muslims. It is entered on the east by a doorway surmounted by five guldastas. The courtyard paved with sandstone slabs measures 21' × 11'6" and the prayer chamber, one bay deep, is covered with a flat roof carried on two square pillars and two pilasters. In the western wall there are three miḥrābs, the spandrels of which are embellished with circular discs inscribed with the word Allāh in Naskh letters. Above the miḥrābs to north and south of the principal miḥrāb is inscribed the آية الكرسي (or Throne Verse)1 while over the central miḥrāb, at a height of 4' 6" from the ground, is fixed a stone tablet, 4'10" × 10", bearing a Persian inscription in verse in two lines, executed in raised Thulth-o-Naskh characters. The inscription, as the muḥalla people say, was so thickly covered with lime and whitewash that it admitted of no decipherment and so, in the course of extensive repairs to the mosque, they undertook to get the foreign element chiselled clean out of the stone slab by a sculptor. This probably accounts for the damage done to the epigraph through the ignorance of the sculptor (vide footnote 1 page 25). The inscription reads as follows:

TEXT (Plate XIc)

(1) مسجد كفر مسجد أقصى نشأَناه مي دهد

داخِرِان خويش را زأاش إماَي مي دهد

---

1 Qur'ān, Chapter II, Verse 255.
The mosque, which (in sanctity) is like the Temple of Jerusalem, offers immunity from (Hell) fire to those who enter it.

At the door of the spiritual leader of the world (named) Shaikh Munawwar Shar'i, the giver of Divine light, effulgence of Divine worship illumines the world.

Since the efforts of Sultān Bābā Dost are directed towards the construction (of the mosque), may God elevate his dignity for this.

The chronogram of its original erection was 'Farrukh 'ajib' (965 A.H. or 1557-58 A.D.), (while the words) 'Shaikh-i-bāni' happily yield the present date (of its reconstruction i.e., 973 A.H. or 1565-66 A.D.).

The 4th verse contains two chronograms—one yielding 965 A. H. (1557-58 A. D.) as the date of its original construction, and the other yielding 973 A. H. (1565-66 A. D.) presumably as the year of its subsequent reconstruction or extension.

The saint referred to in the 2nd verse is Shaikh Munawwar Shar'i Chishti who lies buried in a domed tomb to the south of the mosque. The other uninscription grave nearby is assigned to his son, Zainu'd-Din, who was also a reputed dervish of his age. Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, author of the Tabaqāt-i-Akbāri and a contemporary of 'Allāmī Abu'l-Faṣl, calls the saint a majisūb who never demanded anything from anyone although a number of noblemen of Akbar's court had been his disciples². Muhammad Ghauṭhi³ and Sa'īd Ahmad⁴ mention him in some detail in their works. According to them, he was a son of Shaikh Nūru'llah, son of Qāṣī Mu'izzu'd-Dīn, son of Qāṣī Allāhādād, son of Qāṣī Muhammad Shar'i.

The unusual title of "Shar'i" has a history behind it. According to the said authors, his great-great grandfather, Qāṣī Muhammad was a native of Tūrān from where he migrated to India and settled at Jhamrāwat in the surkār of Mewat. Being a very learned and pious man, he was offered the responsible post of Qāṣī, or Judge, which he first refused but eventually accepted at the instance of the Holy Prophet who appeared to him in a dream and conferring on him the unique title of "Shar'i" (or just) wanted him to accept the Qāṣī's office. This title was borne by his descendants including the saint Shaikh Munawwar.

¹ The sculptor's ignorance seems to be responsible for the disfigurement of the words "تعمير؟ " in the 2nd line of the 3rd couplet.
In regard to the Saint's second epithet "Chishti", the said authors narrate an interesting story. They say that Shaikh Munawwar being a man of saintly qualities even from his early childhood, visited in a dream the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chishti, the famous patron-saint of Ajmer, and respectfully shook hands with him as a disciple would. Shortly afterwards he became a disciple of Khwaja Khānūn of Gwalior who, of his own accord, reminded him of his once shaking hands with the Khwaja of Ajmer who had already accepted him as his disciple among the Chishti sect of Sufis. Khwaja Khānūn, however, brought him to Agra and seated him at the place where, according to the Būstān-i-Akhbār, he expired on the 26th Zīqa'da, 970 A. H. (17th July, 1563 A. D.) and according to the Azkār-i-Abrār, on the 27th Zīqa'da, 990 A. H. (23rd December, 1582 A. D.). It is difficult to reconcile the two dates quoted above, since the epigraph is of little definite help on this point, but in the event of the latter date being true, it is surmised that the reconstruction of the mosque in 1565 must also have been done before the saint's own eyes and probably at his own instance.

The Būstān-i-Akhbār and the Azkār-i-Abrār are at one with the Tabaqāt-i-Akbari in that the saint wielded sufficient influence on the nobles of Akbar's court and mention an interesting anecdote relating to Akbar's foster-brother Adham Khan's visit to the saint who neither accepted his offering nor blessed him. On the disciples' enquiry as to why Adham Khan was so coldly treated, the saint replied, "His head is full of vain ambitions but I found him headless." According to the prophecy, only a few days after, Adham Khan was thrown down the palace by Akbar for his murdering Atgah Khan, another foster-brother of the Emperor.

In regard to the other figure, Sulṭān Bābā Dost in the epigraph, both history and tradition are silent, but the third verse tends to suggest that he was a man of position for whose elevation in rank, the composer of the chronogram offers fervent prayers and that he was interested in the construction probably as a disciple or admirer of the saint or possibly as a mere devout Muslim.

SOME NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM SOUTH INDIA

BY SAYYID YUSUF KAMĀL BUKHĀRĪ

Estampages of certain Persian and Arabic inscriptions collected by the Government Epigraphist were transferred to the office of the Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions sometime back and it has fallen to my lot to decipher them for publication in the Epigraphia for Arabic and Persian inscriptions.

Of them, two (Inscription nos. 1 and 2) from Kāyapattanam are the epitaphs on the grave-stones of Arab traders who had settled in India, two (Inscription nos. 3 & 4) from Ichapuram, District Ganjam, assign the construction of a mosque and an inn to one Mustafā Khan in 1102 A. H. (1690 A. D.) and the last one (Inscription no. 5) from Jammalamadugu, District Cuddapah, records the erection of a mosque in 1209 A. H. (1794-95 A. D.). They are dealt with in seriatim below.

Kāysapattanam is a small port in the Tinnevelly District, Madras, situated in 8°34'N and 78°8'7'E., a few miles to the south of Tuticorin, not to be confounded with Kāyal. Its seaborne trade, which is chiefly in rice and cocoanuts with Ceylon, and timber and areca nuts with Travancore, is carried on by the Muslim tribe of Labbaish.

Tinnevelly District occupies the eastern half of the extreme southern end of the Indian Peninsula. Until the 18th century, the history of Tinnevelly is almost identical with that of Madura.
District. The capital of the first rulers of Madura, the Pandyas, is reputed to have been at one time within Tinnevelly District. Tirumala Nāik, the most famous of the Nāik dynasty of Madura, built himself a small palace at Srivilliputtur in the north-west corner of the district. In 1743, when the Nizāmu'll Mulk, the Šābedār of Deccan, expelled the Marathas from most of southern India, Tinnevelly passed under the nominal rule of the Nawabs of Acreot. All actual authority, however, lay in the hands of a number of independent military chiefs called poligars, originally feudal barons appointed by the Nāik deputies who, on the fall of that dynasty, had assumed wider powers.

The British, however, were at that time too busy with the wars with Haidar Āli to be able to pacify the country thoroughly and the poligars continued to be troublesome. In 1799, Seringapatam fell and the East India Company’s troops were at last free to move. The Poligar wars ensued and a crushing defeat was inflicted on them by the British forces. In 1801, Company assumed the government of the whole of the Carnatic under a treaty with the Nawab, making him a pecuniary allowance. Tinnevelly thus came absolutely into British hands. Now it forms part of the Republic of India.

As the reputed seat of the earliest Dravidian civilization, the district possesses much antiquarian interest. The most noteworthy archaeological remains are the sepulchral urns found buried in the sides of the gravel hills which abound in different parts of the district. Among the many temples in the district, those at Tiruchendur, Ālvār and Tinnevelly deserve special mention. Ancient Roman coins are not uncommon in Tinnevelly, and those of the old Pandyan Kings are numerous.

**INSCRIPTION NO. I**

At Kāyalpatnam, Tiruchendur Taluqa, Tinnevelly District, there is an inscribed gravestone near the pathway at Sirupalli. The epigraph is in Arabic prose and verse, carved in eleven lines in Naskhī letters, and assigns the grave to one Shaikh Āli, son of Jamālūd-Dīn, son of Sayyid Ahmad, about whom nothing is traceable in history. He seems to have been an Arab trader who had settled in India. History tells us that in the 9th and 10th centuries A. H. the Arabs traded with India and settled both on the Malabar and Coromandal coasts and it is reasonably presumed that the above-mentioned Shaikh Āli was one of these Arab traders. He died in the morning on Monday, the 28th Jamādī II, 901 A. H. (14th March, 1496 A. D.). Some of the words in the epigraph are badly damaged. I read the text as follows:—

**TEXT (Plate XIIa)**

(1) هذا ضريح الرئيـس الأجل رفع القدر و المجل
(2) الشيخ على بن انواري المحترم جمال الدين بن سيد (9) الحكيم
(3) سلالة الصدر الأجل سيدى أحمد مسجل الأمير العادل
(5) السيد الكبير البازل جمال الدين نور لإهل الدين
(6) ولد الوليد الأمير (9) سيدى أحمد فرع الحاصل على المغري
(7) الكني عبد الدين الممجرى الفنف تي شمر

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1 The tablet measures 2’9” by 2’2”.
SOME NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM SOUTH INDIA

(6) رحموا كما رحموا لاهل بلادهم
(8) وسعوا لاجتماع بكأس الكوثر
(9) قد توق صاحب هذا الضرح وقت البحي يوم
(10) الاثنين الثامن والعشرين من شهر جمادى الأولى سنة
(11) الإحدى و تسعماية التبوية (?)

TRANSLATION

(1) This is the grave of the great Ra‘is, dignified in rank and position,
(2) Shaikh, Ali, son of the venerable master Jamâlu’d-Din, son of the benign Sayyid,
(3) a descendent of the most glorious Ṣadr Sayyidī Aḥmad, a devoted servant of the just Amīr,
(4) the great and generous master (named) Jamâlu’d-Din, the (guiding) light to the followers of the Faith,
(5 & 6) son of the master Sayyidī Aḥmad a descendant of the Malāṣalī al-ma’barī, righteous Sa’du’d-Din Ma’barī of pious habits. Verse:
(7) May mercy be shown (to them) as they showed mercy to their countrymen,
(8) and may the thirst of all of them be quenched with the cup of (water from the)
Kauthar1!
(9-11) The occupant of this tomb died in the morning on Monday, the 28th of the month of Jamādī II, year 901 of (the exodus of) the Prophet (14th March, 1496 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. II

On another tombstone to north of Periyapatam, at Kāyalapatnam, Tiruchendur Taluqa, Tinnevelly District, is an epigraph dated Sunday, the 17th of Rabī’ II, 989 A. H. (21st of May, 1581 A.D.). The occupant of the grave is one Maulānā Abdu’l Qhaffār, son of Sayyid Aḥmad, son of Jamâlu’d-Din, son of Yūsuf, son of Ḥasanu’d-Din, who also seems to be an Arab trader and who settled and died in India. Nothing is found in historical records in this office about him. The inscription slab measures 2'8" by 2'3" and bears an incised Arabic epigraph in prose in nine lines executed in Naskhī letters and I have deciphered it as follows:

TEXT (Plate XIIB)

(1) هذا ضريح الرئيس الأجل الرفيع اللد
(2) و المخل معين الضعفاء و المساكين ملجأ
(3) الغرإاء و الصالحين مولانا عبد النفاذ ابن
(4) السيد أحمد بن المهد (sic. ) عبد الله بن السيد أحمد بن
(5) بالأدين بن يوسف بن حسن الدین

1 Kauthar and Tarnim are believed to be two streams of invigorating fresh water in Paradise.

* This word seems to be broken; it is probably "الشيخ".
(a) From a mosque at Lalapet, Ichchapuram

(b) Built into a mosque at Lalapet, Ichchapuram

(c) On the Jami' Masjid, Jammalamadugu
SOME NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM SOUTH INDIA

INSCRIPTION NO. III

This inscription belongs to the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb. The stone slab, measuring 2'3" × 10", was originally fixed to a mosque at Lalapet, District Ganjam. It is in Persian verse in three lines, carved in Nashā style in relief. The epigraph records the construction of a mosque by Muṣṭafā Khān at Ichhāpūr. The chronogram yields the date 1102 A. H. corresponding to 1690 A. D. I read the inscription as follows:

TEXT (Plate XIIIa)

(1) سهی جوود و همت مصفای خان
(2) در ایچه د پور تیکر مسجدی ساخت
(3) فلک تارتؤخ این مسجد طلب کرد

(1) Muṣṭafā Khān, the firmament of generosity and courage, whose hand added a dignity to bounty,
(2) built an elegant mosque like the benign Qibla at Ichhāpūr.
(3) Heaven asked for a chronogram of this mosque, (and) the angel said: چه مسجد کبه

(what a mosque, the benevolent Ka'ba).

TRANSLATION

INSCRIPTION NO. IV

The fourth inscription is also in Persian verse consisting of three couplets, executed in Nashā characters in relief. It is in three lines on a stone slab measuring 2'3" × 10" built into a mosque at Lalapet, District Ganjam. The epigraph assigns the construction of a sarāī (inn) to Muṣṭafā Khān at Ichhāpūr. The chronogram 'آسانی خلقت' (or Public comfort) gives the date 1102 A. H. (1690A. D.). My reading of the inscription is as follows:

TEXT (Plate XIIIb)

(1) فرزنده رسول مصفای خان که بود
(2) از بہر خدا نه ایز یه پوی ریا
(3) آسانی خلقت کشت تاریخ سرا

(1) Muṣṭafā Khān, a descendant of the Prophet, pride of the rich, and asylum of the poor,
(2) founded a sarāī (inn), not for ostentation but merely for the sake of God at Ichhāpūr.
(3) (Since) the object of the construction of the sarāī (inn) was public comfort², the chronogram of the sarāī was found in 'آسانی خلقت' (comfort of the public).

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² It may also be translated as under: "What was (his) object in constructing the sarāī (inn)? (It was) public comfort."
The last inscription, dealt with in chronological order in this article, was found in the District of Cuddapah or Kurpa. Politically, Cuddapah was not an important town in ancient days. It formed part of the Chola kingdom of Tanjore from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries A.D., and was ceded to the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar in the 14th century on whose disruption, the Qutb Shāhī rulers of Golconda overran it. Shivaji devastated the town in 1678 A. D. and eventually Emperor Aurangzeb seized it. In the 18th century, it was held first by the Marathas and afterwards by Ḥaidar ‘Ali, on whose death, it passed to the Nizām of Hyderabad who ceded it in 1800 to the British to meet the cost of a subsidiary British force in his dominion. It is now a religious centre of the Hindus and attracts pilgrims in large numbers.

The epigraph is on a stone slab measuring 1'5" × 1'2" originally fixed to the Jāmi’ Masjid at Jammalamadugu. It is in Persian verse written in crude Nasta’līq in embossed letters in two lines and records the erection of a mosque in 1209 A. H. (1794-95 A. D.), but the name of its builder is not mentioned in the inscription. There seems an orthographical mistake in the second line, as it reads ‘ائف و دو صد و و هیزده نیم’ but one ‘ائف و دو صد و و هیزده نیم’ is redundant and carries no meaning.

TEXT (Plate XIII c)

(1) شد پنا مسجد بناام رحم
(2) اalf و دو صد و و هیزده نیم

TRANSLATION

(1) The mosque was built in the name of the Merciful
(2) (in) the year one thousand and two hundred and nine (1209 A. H. = 1794-95 A. D.)

TWO PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS CARVED ON THE GATE OF BIBI KA MAQBARA, AURANGABAD-DN.

By M. Idrisullah, Aurangabad

The Maqbara, as it is popularly called, is situated in the suburb of Begumpura near Aurangabad, and was built by Prince A’ẓam Shāh in memory of his beloved mother Begum Rābi’a Daurānī, the wife of the Mughul Emperor Aurangzeb. The mausoleum is a replica of the world-renowned Tāj Maḥal of Agra, and although in regard to architectural beauty, it suffers by comparison with its earlier prototype, yet it is the finest Mughul building in South India.

The Maqbara stands in the midst of a large garden, interspersed with paved walks and channels of running water. The mausoleum itself is built on a high platform with four minarets at its corners, which add dignity to the building. The minarets, however, are not so graceful in outline as those of the Tāj, nor the central dome is so imposing as that of the latter. The lower part of the building is faced with marble and decorated with carvings executed in typical Mughul style. The decorative work is continued in the upper parts of the walls, but there it is done in stucco. The interior of the building is arranged into a gallery which overlooks the sarcophagus, built on the ground level, and enclosed by a marble screen of exquisite design.
(a) On the gate of the Bibi Ka Maqbara, Aurangabad Dn.

(b) On a stone lying loose in the Lila Masjid, Kurnool

(c) Over the outer face of the main gate to the compound of Abdul Washab's Tomb, Kurnool
On the main gate of the mausoleum, facing the south, two Persian inscriptions are carved in fine Nastaʿlīq characters which mention the name of one Abūʾl Qāsim, under whose superintendence the Maqbara was built, and also the names of the architect ʿAtṣāʿilāh, who designed the building, and the engineer Haspāt Rāi, who carried out the work. The date 1071 A. H. (1660-61 A.D.) given in one of the inscriptions, probably records the year of the completion of the building. It may be interesting to note here how the Hindu master-masons were associated with Muslim architects in their big architectural works, and it was evidently the result of this happy co-operation that the Indo-Muslim architecture of India evolved such pleasing features in regard to the beauty of outline and the grace of decorative detail.

The two inscriptions have been read by me as follows:

\[(\text{Plate XIVa})\]

**INSCRIPTION NO. I**

**TEXT**

این دروازه به اهتمام وفنیت پنار آتا اپو القاسم یکک دارویه طیار شده -

**TRANSLATION**

This gate was built under the supervision of the exalted Āqā Abūʾl Qāsim Beg, the Superintendent.

**INSCRIPTION NO. II**

**TEXT**

در این روضه منویه در معماری عظام [اه] بعمل هیئت را یلیار شد ین ۱۵

**TRANSLATION**

The gateway of this illuminated mausoleum was built by ʿAtṣāʿilāh, the architect, and Haspāt Rāi, the engineer. 1071 A.H (1660-61 A.D.).

The guard-rooms, on either side of the passage of this gateway, have beautiful mosaic-tiles, representing rose-flowers. The tiles are fixed into the dados of guard-rooms. The mosaic-tiles of this pattern have not been noticed in any-other part of India up to now, and are therefore a special feature of the architectural decoration of the Maqbara.

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**SOME UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS FROM KURNOOL**

By Z. A. Desai

Kurnool is situated at the confluence of the rivers Tungabhadra and Hindri, amidst beautiful surroundings. The name Kurnool is said to have been a corrupt form of Kandenvolu (the town of grease) or Kannōdu (the hilly tract). The town is called Qamarnagar in Persian chronicles. How it came to be so called is difficult to say, since the chronicles are silent on this point. For the statement that Ḥāzīʾu’d-Dīn Khān Fīriz Jāng reduced Kurnool and named it as Qamarnagar (probably after his son Mīr Qamaru’d-Dīn Khān who later on became Niẓāmu’d-Mulk Aṣafjāh I), we have no authority except that of the Kurnool Manual.

1 For details see *Kurnool Manual*, 1 and *Journal of Indian History*, December, 1922, p. 310.
2 *Maʿāṣir-i-ʿAlamgīrī* (Bib. Ind.), 404, 502, 517, etc.; *Maʿāṣiru’s-Imārāt* (Bib. Ind.), I, 255; II, 67; III, 872 etc.
The *Bāsāţīn*’s *Salāţīn*, the history of Bijapur kings, does not mention the town by this name. On the contrary, it generally names the city as Muḥammadnūr or Muḥammadnagar\(^1\). A trilingual inscription from Siruguppa in Bellary District mentions a town, Muḥammadnūr, along with Adhoni and Raichur\(^2\). There is also one Nagar Kurnul in the present Hyderabad State.

The history of Kurnool, whose strategic importance was not inconsiderable in the past, is, like that of its name, shrouded in confusion. The compiler of the *Kurnool Manual* has tried to give from various sources, a brief account of Kurnool. Looking to the importance Kurnool enjoys to-day, it would not be out of place to make a passing reference to its history under the Muslim rule, especially to its first occupation by the Bijapur kings. Before the battle of Raksasatangadi (generally spoken of as that of Talikota), Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān of Bijapur had tried in vain to acquire this part of Vijayanagar empire\(^3\). After this battle also, this territory does not seem to have been wrested from the Vijayanagar kings. Likewise, it is not certain whether Kurnool was annexed to Bijapur kingdom, when ʿAli ʿĀdil Shāh conquered in 1576 A.D. the territory to the north of Penukonda\(^4\).

Cumbum, now in Kurnool District, was one of the forts that were reduced by ‘Imādū’d-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī, a general of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh in 1579 A.D.\(^5\). Two or three years later, ‘Amīr Zayn, another general of the Qutb Shāh took possession of the towns of Kakny, Nakany and Kurnool, where he left garrisons\(^6\). Again, Nandyal and Kurnool are stated as having been taken from the generals of the Vijayanagar king, while Nunducototta and certain other parts were induced to become tributaries of the Golconda king\(^7\). Muḥammad Quli Qutb Shāh is also reported to have carried on successful wars in this territory, capturing Kurnool, Nandyal etc\(^8\). All this tends to show that the Kurnool territories were not under one rule at one time, but changed hands as often as was possible, being a bone of contention between the armies of Golconda, Vijayanagar and the petty lordlings who were ruling over different parts on behalf of the either.

The question therefore arises as to when Kurnool was brought under Muslim rule. It is generally believed that ʿAbdūl Wahhāb attacked and occupied Kurnool on behalf of the Bijapur king, towards the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century. He is said to have died in 1618, after a rule of sixteen years. He was succeeded by his brother Muḥammad and the country continued to be governed by the deputies from Bijapur till the downfall of that kingdom\(^9\). According to another account, the Muslim attack of Kurnool, led by ʿAbdūl Wahhāb and (his brother) ʿAbdūl Muḥammad took place in 1541 Siddharti corresponding to 1623 A.D.\(^10\) while the Kandanolarājula-Vanākavali gives the year 1504 Vikrama, corresponding to 1881 A.D. for the same\(^11\).

The epigraphical records found in Kurnool District mention Venkatapati I as reigning in 1601, 1603 and 1609, Śri Rama II in 1624 and Śri Ranga III in 1643\(^12\). The *Bāsāţīn*’s *Salāţīn* does not mention any conquest of Kurnool by ʿAbdūl Wahhāb or his brother at this period; in fact,

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1. *Bāsāţīn*, 371, 386, 399, 524, etc.
2. 675 of 1922.
7. Ibid, 453, also 454-55.
11. A summary of its contents was kindly supplied to me by Shri Soma Sekhar Sharma, compiler of the Teṅga Encyclopaedia, for which my earnest thanks are due to him.
it does not directly mention these two brothers at all. It refers to the capture of Kurnool fort by ‘Ādil Shāhī troops in 1621 A.D.

The first reference to ‘Abdu’l Wahhāb in the Basātīn is in connection with Sidi Jauhar, who had, at least by 1660, established himself in the government of Kurnool, after removing Malik Rāihān, a son and successor of his master ‘Abdu’l Wahhāb. Three years later, ‘Ali ‘Ādil Shāh II marched in person to chastise Jauhar then entitled Ṣalābat Khān, who had repeatedly offended that monarch by his frequent acts of disloyalty. Jauhar suffered a crushing defeat near the fort of Bhantu and fled to Raichur. Being hotly chased, he took to Kurnool. His son-in-law Mas‘ūd, who later on held Adhoni in his fief, attacked the ‘Ādil Shāhī troops that were marching towards Kurnool but barely escaped death. On receiving the news, Jauhar died of physical and mental wounds. He was succeeded by his son ‘Abdu’l ‘Azīz. The Basātīn does not mention ‘Abdu’l Wahhāb in any other connection which is really surprising. The inscriptions (vide No. III infra) on the tomb known popularly as ‘Abdu’l Wahhāb’s tomb, do not help us much in this respect. Two of these give 1048 A.H. (1638-39 A.D.) and 1052 A.H. (1642-43 A.D.) as the dates of death of two persons whose names have not been mentioned. One giving 1048 as the date of the death of ‘the supporter of religion, the essence of ministers’, may refer to ‘Abdu’l Wahhāb. However, an inscription from Raichur, now stored in the Hyderabad State Museum, mentions him as having constructed a bastion there. The date given in the inscription which mentions ‘Abdu’l Wahhāb as having died when it was inscribed, is in all probability, the date of the completion of the bastion and not the date of the inscription itself. In the light of the above information, it is difficult to say with certainty as to when ‘Abdu’l Wahhāb came to occupy Kurnool. The statement of the Mr. in the Mackenzie collection, however, appears nearer to truth.

After Jauhar’s death, Kurnool was ruled over as a part of Bijapur territories by ‘Abdu’l ‘Azīz until at least 1075 A.H. (1664-65 A.D.), when he was present in the ‘Ādil Shāhī army that was fighting Raja Jaysingh. ‘Abdu’l ‘Azīz is probably Hajee Sahib of the Kandanaorajulavahāvāla. An inscription from Uyyalwada in Kurnool District records that in 1084 A.H. (1673 A.D.) Sayyid Amir Sadullah appointed one Papareddi for his father’s situation. By 1678, Sarfarāz Khān had replaced some one in the government of Kurnool. The last mentioned and his son appear to have governed Kurnool until the annexation of Bijapur Kingdom to the Muḥul empire.

The Persian chronicles do not give any date of Aurangzeb’s capture of Kurnool which was a separate province of Bijapur kingdom like Adhoni. However, Aurangzeb’s sovereignty in this part in 1697 is acknowledged in two Telugu inscriptions discovered at Bollavaram in Nandikotkur taluk. In 1099, we find Yūsuf Khān governing Kurnool on behalf of Aurangzeb. Except for a short period when he was transferred to Adhoni in 1706 A.D. (Rabi‘ I 1118 A.H.), Yūsuf Khān held Kurnool until he was appointed Subedar of Hyderabad. Aḥmū Khān Deccani succeeded him as the faujdar of Kurnool. When Farrukh Siyar ascended the throne, Ibrāhīm Khān Panni was made the faujdar. Ibrāhīm Khān and his successors became semi-independent assuming the

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1 Basātīn, 273.
2 Ibid., 371, 373, 384-87, 399-90, 524 etc.
3 Epigraphia Indo-Moemenica, 1939-40, Plate No. IX.
4 Basātīn, 408.
5 V. Rangacharya, A Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, II, Kur., 194. There it is mentioned that Amir Sadullah was Karnatuk Nawab Sadatsullah Khān. However, this statement requires close scrutiny.
6 Kandanaorajulavahāvāla makes Janghir Bolli (?) succeed Sarfarāz Khān in 1091 Fasīl.
7 Nos. 426, 427 of 1923.
8 Ma‘āshir-i-‘Alamgīrī, 404, 502, 517; Ma‘āshirul Umārī, I, 255, 256; Muntahābuddī Lubbā, II, 534, 571 etc.
9 Ma‘āshirul Umārī, II, 67 et seq., III, 561.
title of Nawāb. The last of them, Gḥulām Rasūl Khān was accused in 1838 of having been carrying on treasonable activities against the British. He was deposed in the following year and sent to Trichinopoly where he died after sometime. The charge against him was never proved.

The inscriptions included in this study cover a period of two centuries; the earliest is of 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.) and the latest of 1252 A.H. (1836-37 A.D.). Of these, eight belong to the period of Bijapur sovereignty while one to the Mughul period. The remaining belong to the period of the Nawabs' rule. Of these last, eight are from the buildings constructed during the period of the last Nawāb. He seems to have been a man of some attainments. He is credited with a mind inclined towards literary pursuits and love for literary men and scholars. Popular belief ascribes the composition of the chronogram contained in the inscription on the Atfār Mosque to him (see page 59 infra). Dhakhira-i-Rasūl Khānī, a work on history named after him was compiled at his instance and dedicated to him by one Faiḍu'llah Qādirī of Hyderabad.

Some of these inscriptions are interesting from the calligraphical point of view. They represent fairly good specimens of Nasāḥ and Thulāh styles of writing while those inscribed in Nasta’līq are, with few exceptions, remarkable for their elegant execution. The first two inscriptions serve a good example of the Nasāḥ style that was prevalent in Deccan during the Ṭādhilaḥsī and Qustbāḥsī rules. A noteworthy feature of the later inscriptions is the use of Thulāh, at a period when Nasta’līq was much in vogue.

I—INCRIPTIONS FROM THE PIR ŚĀHEB KĀ GUMBAD

The earliest inscriptions of Kurnool belong to the tomb of one Pir Śāheb whose full name is not known. The tomb is situated on the right bank of the Hindri and contains two inscribed slabs of darkish green granite. The first of these (3'7" × 1'6"), fixed into the inner side of the north wall bears two epigraphs in Persian verse, which probably refer to two different persons. The one on the right side records the death of the Pir Śāheb after whom the tomb is so called, which took place in 1046 A.H. (1636-37 A.D.), while the other carved on the left refers to the death of some one who seems to have died young in the following year. The slab is cut into eight rectangular panels, each containing a hemistich. The epigraphs are inscribed in relief in Nasāḥ of a fairly high type, which bears a striking resemblance to the style of writing employed in some inscriptions of the Ṭādhilaḥsī and Qustbāḥsī periods. They read as follows:

TEXT (Plate XVa)

1) بیر صاحب کرده رحلت در جهان شد شور و غم
2) از فراش نالها کردن دل عالم دم پدم
3) خوشتمن من تا یگویم پیر او تاریخ را
4) هاتمی از سوز جان کفتن یگویی آه غم

TRANSLATION

1) Pir Śāhib departed from this world: clamour and grief overwhelmed the whole world.

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1 For a detailed account of these, see Kurnool Manual, 29 et seq.; Ma‘āṣiruʿl Umarā, II, 63 et seq.; Ṣabāḥ Aḥṣā (Hyd.) etc.
3 Plates XV a and b.
4 Plate XXIII.
(a) On the north wall, inner side, of the Pir Şâheb Kâ Gumbad, Kurnool

(b) Over the doorway of the above, Kurnool

(c) Over the door in the east wall of the smaller tomb in 'Abdu'l Wahhâb's Tomb, Kurnool
(2) On account of his departure, (people of) the world were constantly weeping and wailing.
(3) I wanted to compose a chronogram for him, (when)

On the left:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
(1) & \text{آن گل نو خواسته (sic. (چون رفت ازین باغ} \\
(2) & \text{بر بلبل دلخشته جهان شد چو بر زاغ} \\
(3) & \text{تاریخ وی از هاتف لا ریب جو لانه} \\
(4) & \text{با نائل جان گفت بگو آدم بدل داغ} \\
(5) & \text{یک هزار و چهل و هفت} \\
\end{array}\]

**TRANSLATION**

(1) When that newly-grown rose departed from this garden (of the world),
(2) the world became (as dark) as the wing of the crow in the eyes of the heart-rent nightingale.
(3) O Lāleh! Seek the date of his (death) from the doubtless Hātīf.
(4) (He) said, with woes of heart, 'Say: Alas! (he has left us) a brand on the heart'.
(5) (Year) one thousand and forty-seven.

The other slab bearing the following inscription measures $4'6'' \times 1'3''$ and is fixed over the doorway in the south wall of the tomb. The slab has two vertical panels one on each end, containing artistic designs of arches, the words 'O Opener of gates' and 'O Buddāh' in Tughrā and the date in chronogram and figures. The middle portion containing the epigraph is cut into six horizontal panels. The record mentions the construction of the tomb in 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.). The style of writing is the same as in above, in a bolder hand in this case.

**TEXT (Plate XVb)**

(a) **Right Panel**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Text</th>
<th>Roman Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ٍيا مفتح الأبواب</td>
<td>Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جفت الثالث ١٠٤٧</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) **Left Panel**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Text</th>
<th>Roman Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ٍيا بدوح</td>
<td>Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جفت الثالث ١٠٤٧</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\text{Lāleh meaning tulip is probably the nom-de-plume of the composer.}\)
TRANSLATION


(1) O Opener of gates!

(2) O Buddhūh!

(3) Same as in (a).

(1) When the foundation of this edifice was laid, they sought help from God thus (saying):

(2) (O God), bring this to completion through Your grace and open a door of Your mercy on it.

(3) When this (edifice) was ready through the grace of the Eternal Lord, its date (was found in the words): The tomb of the friend of the One.

The chronogram contained in the second hemistich of the last line, yields 1046 which falls short of the date given in figures by one year, while جنّت الثاني yields the numerical value 1045 only.

II—INSCRIPTION ON A LOOSE STONE NOW LYING IN THE HUJRA OF THE LĀL MASJID

The next inscription is engraved in relief, on an arch-shaped slab of black granite (measuring 11" from apex to bottom and 7½" wide), now kept in the hujra of the Lāl Masjid. The slab is reported to have been brought from the compound of ‘Abdu’l Wahhāb’s tomb, obviously to save it from possible destruction or disappearance. It is an epitaph recording the death in 1049 A.H. (1639-40 A.D.) of one ‘Abdu’n Nabi. The inscription is remarkable for its penmanship, which has found expression in a beautiful example of calligraphic art. The stone is divided into four panels cut horizontally, each containing a hemistich in Persian, and one more panel at the top which contains the words الله كاف in Tughra.

My reading of it is as follows:

TEXT (Plate XIVb)

(1) الله كاف

(2) شد بسوى حق روان عبد الله زين خا كدان

(3) شد يبان خادمان خاندان و أصلان

(4) فكر كردم تا نفد زين در جهان تاريخ او

(5) كنت هاتف خادم إبرار تاريخي كان
SOME UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS FROM KURNOOL

TRANSLATION

(1) God sufficeth.
(2) ‘Abdu’n Nabi moved away from this dust-house towards the Truth,
(3) (and) joined the servants of those select who have attained Union.
(4) I pondered over as to what would be the date of his (departure) in the world, (when)
(5) Hātif said: Know his date (from the words ‘he was) a servant of the holy’.

The chronogram contained in the words خادم الإبرار yields 1049 A.H. (1639-40 A.D.). I have
not been able to gather any information regarding ‘Abdu’n Nabi, who might have been a man
of consequence, celebrated for his love and respect of saints.

III—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE TOMB OF ‘ABDUL WAHHĀB

The next four inscriptions are to be found on a building known popularly as the tomb of
‘Abdu’l Wahhāb, which is situated on the left bank of the river Hindri, adjoining the Osmania
College. The building is of considerable architectural interest, having served as a pattern for
some of the buildings constructed at a later period, and is being maintained by the Archaeological
Department of the Government of India.

Strictly speaking, there are three tombs in the compound, of which one seems to have remained
unfinished. The other two, one of a bigger size than the other, are adjacent to each other, joined
into one by a covered passage forming a large hall. This passage or large hall has entrances leading
to both the tombs and a main entrance, now closed, leading outside. Both these tombs are more
or less built in the same pattern, the only difference being as already related, that of size. The
domes are placed on raised bases on the roof, which has small minarets at each corner. The walls
of the building are surrounded on three sides by a verandah, with arches, supporting the roof.
To the east of these tombs lies the unfinished tomb, with closed walls, having an entrance in the
west wall and a flat roof. This tomb, the completion of whose construction seems to have been
interrupted by some reason unknown to us, is attributed by local tradition to a teacher or spiritual
guide of Nawāb ‘Abdu’l Wahhāb. It bears no inscription.

As regards the two tombs, popular tradition speaks of the smaller one as the resting place of
‘Abdu’l Wahhāb himself, while his brother called Muḥammad1 is believed to have occupied the
larger one. We have unfortunately no evidence at our disposal to ascertain the validity of this
popular belief.

Over the outer face of the gateway (now closed) leading into the passage hall, there is an
inscription recording the date of the construction of the gate in 1052 A.H. (1642-43 A.D.). It
comprises one line in Persian prose executed in relief in elegant Nasta’liq on a black basalt (1’10”
by 9”).

TEXT (Plate XIVa)

تاريخ بنای دروازه روته غمد

سنة 1052

TRANSLATION

The date of the construction of the gate : grief-dispelling. Year 1052 (A.H.-1642-
43 A.D.).

1 The correct name of his brother is ‘Abdu’l Muḥammad as is recorded in some inscriptions at Raichur and
Sirugoppa.
The numerical value of the word غمدرا comes to 1052 A.H., the year in which the gate was constructed.

Another slab (2'2½" by 1'2") fixed over the outer face of the door in the east wall of the smaller tomb contains a Persian inscription of two lines in verse, executed partly in Nasta’liq and partly in Thulṭh of very high order. It records the demise of some one whose name is not given but who is spoken of as 'the servant of the devout'. It is not unlikely that it may refer to 'Abdu'l Wahhāb himself, as has been suggested in the introductory lines. The text of the chronogram, which occurs in the second line is also inscribed in a small panel in between the two wider panels. It works out to 1048 A.H. (1633-39 A.D.), which is corroborated by the figure also.

TEXT (Plate XVc)

(1) دخت چون بست ازیمی خرابه سرا (2) سال تاريخ جستم از کردون گفت کو بوذ خامی فترا

In the middle panel:

سنّه ١٠٤٨

بوذم خامی فترا

TRANSLATION

(1) When the defender of Faith (and) the essence of ministers packed off his baggage from this desolate place,

(2) I inquired of the sky about the chronogram; it said: He was a servant of the devout.

In the middle panel:

Year 1048. He was a servant of the devout. Year 1048.

Over the Jāli in the east wall of the larger tomb, in the inner face, is another inscription carved in relief on a stone measuring 2' by 1'6". It probably refers to the death of some one, whose name is not mentioned, in 1052 A.H. (1642-43 A.D.). The style of writing is Thulṭh of an elegant type.

My reading of it is as under:

TEXT (Plate XVIa)

(1) از عطارد خواستم تاريخ آن عنبر سرخت (2) گفت نظم هدیه سلطان ساکن مر بهشت

Middle panel:

هدیه سلطان ساکن مر بهشت

١٠٥٢

TRANSLATION

(1) I sought from the Mercury (i.e. the heavenly scribe) the date of that ambergris-natured one.

(2) He replied in verse: the gift of Sultan (has become) a dweller in Paradise.

Middle panel:

The gift of Sultan (has become) a dweller in Paradise.

(a) Over the lintel in the east wall of the larger tomb in the same place, Kurnool.

(b) Over the southern entrance of the smaller tomb in the same place, Kurnool.

(c) Over the entrance of the Kake Akram Qiljis at Mughal, Kurnool.
The numerical value of the chronogram, given also in the middle panel, comes to 1252, which is 200 more than the actual date; there is no indication of any *takhrir* or *ta'miya* in the calculation.¹

The last inscription on the tomb is on a slab (2'1" by 1'4") built into the outer face of the wall, over the southern entrance. It merely bears a Quranic verse and pious ejaculations in Arabic, invoking blessings on the occupants of the tomb. They are executed in *Thulūh* letters, artistically executed in relief and read as follows:—

**TEXT (Plate XVI b)**

(1) وَقِلْ رَبِّ اغْفِرْ وَارْحَمْ وَأَنتَ خَيْرُ الراَحِمِينَ
(2) اللّهُ کَا قَدْ أَفْغَرَهُم بِحَرِّمِ مَعْدُودٍ

**TRANSLATION**

(1) And say: O my Lord, forgive and show mercy and Thou art the best of the merciful!
(2) Allāh sufficeth. O God, forgive them for the sake of the sanctity of Muḥammad.

**IV—INSCRIPTION ON THE IDRĪS ŠĀHEB KĪ MASJID**

The following inscription, of two verses in Persian, is found on two slabs which are fixed at different places in the mosque known to-day as Idrīs Šāheb kī Masjid. One of them is fixed into the left side of the southern wall of the middle room, facing the courtyard of the mosque, while the other is fixed into the wall of the tank of ablution, to the east of the courtyard. These two slabs are said to have been lying formerly in the building known as Collector ka bungalow, and were later transferred by some one to the mosque and fixed into their present position. The mosque also bears another inscribed slab (see No. XIX). On inquiry it was found that all the three slabs originally belonged to the Muravkonda fort. Muravkonda, a town on Kistna river at about 14 miles east by south of Nandikotkur, is said to have possessed a fine fort at the ford of Kistna. It was repaired and improved by the late Nabob Rasul Khan Bahadur and was dismantled during the mutiny by Colonel Whillock’s movable Column².

The inscription given below records the erection of a bastion by Jauhar in the year 1067 A. H. (1656-57 A. D.). The style of writing is elegant *Thulūh*. One of the slabs measures 2'1½" by 1'5" while the other 1'10½" by 1'10½".

**TEXT (Plate XVII a)**

(1) بروجی همچو کویا الوند نشتر
(2) ندیده کس چنین در جای دیگر
(3) تواریخیست بجستم از خرد کفت
(4) ز جوهر شد به نا این برج آگر
(5) سنه ۱۰۶۷

¹ I am told by an expert chronogrammist of Delhi, Maulvi M. Idris that the word علی‌ورد has the numerical value of 2 (ra) i.e. 200, which is to be subtracted from the total value, thus giving 1082. However, there is no indication in the text about subtracting the numerical value of any word.

TRANSLATION

(1) A bastion most pleasing like the Mt. Alwand,¹

(2) whose like none has seen anywhere—

(3) I sought its date from Wisdom, (who) replied:

(4) This great bastion was constructed by Jauhar. Year 1067 (A. H. = 1656-57 A.D.).

The last hemistich affords the chronogram, which when worked out, yields 1067 A. H. also given in figures.

Jauhar of the inscription is obviously Sidi Jauhar Salabat Khan², about whom reference has already been made in the preceding lines.

V—INSCRIPTION ON A GRAVE IN THE COMPOUND OF THE JAMI' MOSQUE

In the courtyard of the Jami' mosque of the city, there are a number of graves. In the north-west corner, there is one, having at its head, an arch-shaped stone (3'8" from apex to bottom, 2'3½" wide and 5" thick) fixed up into the ground. The inscription on it comprises three Arabic and two Persian verses, of which four hemistiches contain chronograms. The Arabic portion is executed in beautiful Thuluth while the Persian in good Nasta'liq. It records the demise of one Muḥammad 'Adil who died in Rajab 1104 A.H. (1693 A.D.).

My reading of the same is as follows:

TEXT (Plate XVII b)

(1) يا غفور يأ رحيم • الموت جسر يوصل الحبيب إلى الحبيب
(2) إن لم بعثت الفروس مقام
(3) جعل الجنة مثوى حفظ
(4) إذا وصل محمد عادل رحمة
(5) إلى بسي فهم الغيب بغنة
(6) تاريخه عاماً و يدخل جنة
(7) هكذا دارم جنت آدم مورش
(8) نبى بلع بدلاً حقاً نيز كفت
(9) آنجا كفت بل هو الحق آدمش

1104

TRANSLATION

(1) O Forgiver, O Merciful! Death is a bridge uniting the friend with the Friend.

(2) The death of Muḥammad 'Adil took place in Rajab in the year (afforded by the chronogram): Verily, he has his sojourn in the garden of Paradise. 1104.

(3) When Muḥammad 'Adil joined the mercy (of God) i.e., died, Paradise was made his dwelling place.

¹ It is a high mountain in Hamadan.
² For a full account of Jauhar's career, see Basdis, pp. 373, 374, 375, 377-86, 388 etc.
(c) On a grave in Qal'eh-Bahlol's graveyard, Kurnool.

(b) From Bahar-i Hamb, Wall's Dargah, Kurnool.

(d) On a loose slab lying in the Ramanji-Ki-Halwa (step-well), Kallur, Kurnool.
(4) The year of his (death) was, all of a sudden cast into my mind from the Invisible world: And he entered Paradise. 1104.

(5) I inquired about the sojourn of 'Ādil, (when) the Invisible Angel said: Paradise has perpetually been his residence. 1104.

(6) He further said: Veryly (he was) the new-spring among people. 1104; whatever he said has certainly been true for him.

VI—INSRIPTION ON A STONE LYING IN A STEP-WELL AT KALLUR, A SUBURB OF KURNool

Kallur, a small village and a suburb of Kurnool is situated between Hindri and another rivulet called Wakiri. Towards west in the village is an ordinary step-well known to-day as Râmâji ki bâ’in. Inside the step-well in the yard between the steps and the well, there lies a big heap of stones beneath which the slab bearing the following inscription is buried. The inscription mentions the construction of a garden in 1139 A. H. (1726-27 A.D.) by Bahâdur Khân. The stone obviously belonged to some place other than the step-well where it seems to have been deposited after the Bâgh mentioned in the inscription was brought into cultivation. It is likely that the site of the said garden might have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of the well. The garden, when extant, must have been called, as the epigraph mentions, Bâgh-i-Muhammad.

It is an arch-shaped stone measuring 3’8” from apex to bottom, and is 2’9” wide and 8½” thick. The arched portion is cut into two parts containing the Bismillâh, while the rest is divided into four lines each cut into two panels. A border depicting foliage design surrounds the text of the inscription. The style of writing is bold Nasta’liq of a fairly good type.

My reading of the inscription is as follows:—

TEXT (Plate XVIII a)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(2) كرد باغي بناء بفضل خدا ماعز اسمه وما اعل
(3) ابر جود و كرم بهادر خان
(4) شجر نام او تازه
(5) نمر تازه و لازه
(6) بال باغ محمدى طويلى
(7) سنة 1139

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Benificent, the Merciful.

(2-3) By the grace of God—He whose name is Glorified and Who is Most High, the cloud of liberality and generosity, Bahâdur Khân, through whom the garden of munificence has come to flourish, constructed a garden.

1 The last chronogram falls short of the date by one year. Maulvi Bashirudd-Din Ahmad has published the text of this inscription without its facsimile, in his Wâqî‘-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijâpûr, III, 418-19. My reading differs from him in three places. Moreover he has not been able to copy the last line, since it was buried under the rising level of the ground. The epigraph from which the plate is made was prepared after some difficulty.

2 For Kallur, see p. 300, Journal of Indian History, December, 1952.
(4) May the fruit of his desire (remain) always fresh and flourishing; may the tree of his reputation be decked the world.

(5) I composed, the chronogram in the form of a prayer: May the Bāgh-i-Muḥammadī remain most excellent. 1139.

The chronogram contained in the last hemistich yields 1139 A. H. (1726-27 A.D.).

VII.—INSCRIPTION ON KĀLE KARĪM ŠAḤEB’S MOSQUE

An inscription on a slab of stone about 13” by 11” fixed over the gateway of Kāle Karīm Šaḥeb’s mosque in Kurnool, merely gives Quranic verses, the praise of the four companions and a date. The style of writing is Thulūth of an ordinary type.

TEXT (Plate XVI c)

(1) الله
(2) محمد
(3) و ان المسجد
(4) فلا تدعوا مع
(5) احدا نصر من الله و فتح
(6) قريب چراغ مسجد محراب ممنیر (sic.)
(7) أبو بكر عمر عثمان حيدر
(8) سنة 1135

TRANSLATION

(1-2) Allāh, Muḥammad.
(3) And verily, the mosques are for Allāh.
(4) hence invoke not with Him.
(5) anyone (else in it). Help is from Allāh and victory
(8) 1145 A. H. (1732-33 A.D.).

VIII.—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE LĀL MASJID

The Lāl Masjid, not far from the tomb of ‘Abdu’l Wahhāb bears an inscription dated 1151 A.H. (1738-39 A.D.). The inscribed slab (3’6” by 11”) fixed over its main entrance is divided into three

1 Thūbūt (Lote-tree) is also the name of a tree in Paradise. There is a pun on the word ثوب . Lote-tree is supposed to grow by the mansion of the Prophet Muhammad in Paradise.

But for Prof. S. ‘Abdu’l Karīm, M.A., of B. T. College and Prof. S. Faqīr Bādelāh, M.A., of Osmania College, I could not have secured the copies of this as well as some other inscriptions. They accompanied me to distant places and gave their co-operation for which my cordial thanks are due to them.
parts, the middle one of which contains the main epigraph of four verses in Persian, recording
the erection of the mosque by Sayyid Ḥusain the great Shaykh, in the year 1151 A. H. The style of writing is ordinary Nasta'liq, while the side panels are inscribed in Ṭughrā.

TEXT (Plate XIX a)

(a) Left side:

1. Allah bāqī
2. ʿAllāma Tawfīqī ala bātsa
3. Ya Dīyān Ya Bāhrān

(b) Right side:

1. Allāh kafta
2. Ya Miftah al-ʿAbwāb
3. Ya Ḥanān Ya Mānān

(c) Middle portion:

1. Kard Masjid bana nām khadā mā aẓzāmā wa mā āmūn
2. Inākhe Sīd Ḥasīn Shīrḵ ājil
3. An Čālān Shōsh Nāhād Biyadāsh
4. Kft xōsh Masjīd zīkī ʿula

1151

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) God is Eternal.
(2) And my welfare is only in Allāh’s hands.
(3) O Requiter of good and evil, O Proof!

(b) (1) God sufficeth.
(2) O Opener of gates!
(3) O Most Compassionate, O Benificent!

(c) (1) (He) constructed the mosque in the name of God—Whose name, is Exalted and Who is Most High—
(2) namely, Sayyid Ḥusain, the great Shaykh, endeavoured through the support of the believers.
(3) He laid its foundation in such a nice way that (it became) a model of the garden of Paradise.
(4) I sought its date from Wisdom, (who) said: a nice mosque, holy and lofty.


The chronogram is contained in the words ‘a nice mosque, holy and lofty’.

The reparation of the above mosque by one Khīḍr Khān Khānūzai, who is also the composer of the fragment containing the chronogram, is mentioned in an inscription raised in mortar. It runs over the inner arch in the west wall of the prayer chamber. It was not possible to obtain an estampage and moreover the inscription is very recent. It will, however, not be out of place to give its reading:—
(1) In the bygone days, this holy house of God, the Loving, had been constructed.

(2) Sayyid Husain, through great efforts, had built a place for prostration, out of his own pocket.

(3) From eleven hundred and fifty one, till this day, it had become antiquated and repair-deserving.

(4) Its roof was in a ruined condition: hence repaired; whoever saw it was full of praise.

(5) The Hātif thus conveyed its date to Khidr: *What a splendour has been added by the reconstruction of the mosque!* (1295 A.H. = 1878 A.D.).

Over the outer arch:

The fragment is composed by the undertaker of the work Khidr Khan Khānūzai, Jama‘dār.

IX—INSCRIPTION ON BABAR JHANDE WALI’S DURGĀH

Near the Kallur Darwaza, inside a lane on the College Road, not far from the Police Station, is a small domed durgāh, which is now called the Babar Jhande Wali’s durgāh. An inscribed slab (1½" by 1½" by 3") is fixed in a vertical position by the right side of the grave facing the door. The correct name of the saint seems to have been Shāh Amin who was probably mentioned in his days with the honorific appellation ‘wali’ (i.e., saint). The date of his death, as recorded in the inscription is 1157 A.H. while the erection of his tomb took place in the following year. Both the dates are given in figures as well as chronograms.

The style of writing is Nasta’īlq.
(1) He is the All Powerful.
(2) The date of Shāh Amin’s death is:
(3) Alas ! O revealer of the hidden as well as the manifest ! 1157 A. H. (1744-45 A.D.).
(4) And if they ask you regarding (the date of) this select building,
(5) speak out : (It is) the tomb of Amin, the saint. 1158 A. H. (1745-46 A.D.).

X—INSCRIPTION ON SHAH ASADULLAH HUSAINI’S TOMB

The building to which the following inscription belongs is situated in Budharpet in Kurnool, on the right bank of the Hindri, between the said river and the road leading to Zuhrapur. It is not very far from the tomb of Pir Shaheb already referred to. An open enclosure of four walls, it contains among those of others, the grave of Shāh Asadullah Husaini, who is claimed by the present Qadi family of Kurnool as their ancestor. The slab (3’7” by 1’) fixed over the entrance of the enclosure, contains an epigraph giving 1039 A.H. as the date of the demise of the said divine and 1158 A.H. as the year in which the construction of the dargah was carried out. The stone has been divided into three parts; those at ends are artistically designed and contain the two dates in chronograms and figures. The main portion, that is to say, the middle one, is executed in raised letters of Nasta’liq.

TEXT (Plate XIX b)

(a) Middle Portion :

(1) چو شاہ اسد الله کرد جنت مقام
(2) روان شرتم از دیده حیدر و عام
(3) ازان هافی غیب تاربخ اور
(4) پانوس کنیت آه شیخ الاثام
1039

(5) بتعمر روضہ چو سید حسین
(6) نمودہ بسی شیخ احتمام
(7) جرد سال تاربخ آن جای پاک
(8) یکنے آمادہ ہی نیا با نظام
1108

(b) Right Portion :

(1) Under the arch :

الله کافی
(2) Inside the circle:

(3) Around the circle:

(4) At the bottom:

(c) Left Portion:

(a) (1) When Shāh Asadu'llāh took his abode in Paradise,
(2) tears began to flow from the eyes of the high and the low.
(3) (Moved) at this, the Angel of the Invisible gave the date of his death,
(4) saying with sorrow: Alas! the Shaykh of mankind (is no more). 1039 (A.H.=1629-30 A.D.).
(5-6) When Sayyid Husain, with every possible effort, undertook (the construction of the tomb),
(7-8) Wisdom gave the date of (the construction of) that holy place in the words: This edifice has reached completion. 1158 (A.H.=1745-46 A.D.).

(b) (1) Allāh sufficeth.
(2) O Opener of gates!
(3) O Most Compassionate, O Beneficent, O Réquiter of good and evil, O Proof!
(4) O Generous! The grave of the favourite of God. 1039. O Merciful!

(c) (1) Allāh is Eternal.
(2) And my welfare lies only with Allāh.
(3) Same as in (b).
(4) O Generous! The holy precincts of the Shaykh. 1158. O Merciful!

XI—INSCRIPTION ON A GRAVE IN QĀDIR BĀDŠĀH’S GRAVEYARD

On a grave in Qādir Bādšāh’s graveyard in the Nai Peth, there is an inscription in two parts. The upper one, comprising the first five lines is carved in relief in Naskh on stone, while the lower one comprising two lines appears to have been incised in relief in Nasta’liq.  

1 This Sayyid Husain is in all probability the same who constructed the Lāl Masjid; he seems to be a scion of Shāh Asadu’llāh. The present Khāqāb of the Lāl Masjid claims him as his ancestor but is unable to provide any details regarding the life of either Sayyid Husain or Shāh Asadu’llāh. This as well as the inscription on the Lāl Masjid (plate XIX a) confirms the identity.
The inscription records the demise of one Ḥusain who seems to have been a Ḥāfiz of the Qurʾān. The language is Persian verse running into six hemistiches.

I read it as under:

TEXT (Plate XVIII c)

(1) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
(2) لعد حافظ حسين را ينغر
(3) 1159
(4) يازده خرف مطلص بشم
(5) سال تاريخ رحلش در ياب
(6) از حساب جمل بفكر صواب
(7) هفت كمن ازان عدد سنوات
(8) ... ش درد سنين وفات

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is the Prophet of God.
(2) Look at the grave of Ḥāfiz Ḥusain. 1159 (A.H.=1746 A.D.).
(3) Reckon the eleven letters of its opening line, (and)
(4) get the year of his death,
(5) by the numerical reckoning of Abjad system, through upright thinking.
(6) Deduct seven years from this number (thus obtained)
(7) so that it may yield the date of his death.

The numerical value of the eleven letters of the phrase لعد حافظ حسين comes to 1159, the year of the construction of the grave; taking out seven from this number, we get 1152 which is the date of his death.

XII—INSCRIPTION ON SHĀH YĀHŪ’S TOMB

The inscription over the main entrance to the compound of Shāh Yāhū’s tomb, is in Arabic mixed with Persian verse. In the compound, by the side of the tomb, stands a small mosque with no claims to architectural beauty or characteristics, which is probably the same as referred to in the inscription. The epigraph mentions the passing away of Shāh Yāhū, a local saint, the erection of the mosque by Ḥusain, son of ‘Ali, the gnostic, and also the date of latter’s death. No mention of the construction of the tomb itself is made. The whole epigraph is carved in relief on four pieces of stones built up together so as to present an appearance of one whole. The upper slab thus measures 1'5½" x 8", while the lower (three pieces) measure 9½" by 11", 2'3" by 11½" and 9½ " by 11½".
Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement

Text (Plate XX a)

Upper Portion:

يا الله - بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - يا الله
تاد علما مظهر العباد تجده عونا لك في اللوأت (ف اللوائب) كل هم و غم سيجلب بنين ويك
يا محمد و بولتاك يا علي - لا تقت الناس لا يعنفون ولا يسيء إلا ذو النقار

Lower Portion, middle part:

(1) كنت ديران وفات شه ياهو
(2) حسين بن علي عارف و مقتدى
(3) يسلا وفاته بكثرة سروش

Right part:

(a) Corners

الله

ميالي عليه السلام

اله

يا منح الابواب

المه

اسراريل عليه السلام

طيب

الله

جبريل عليه السلام

قاسم

الله

عزاليل عليه السلام

طاهر

(b) In the innermost circle, with decorative motif of the circular arrangement of the word هم

لا الله إلا الله محمد رسول الله - طه

(c) Around (b) decorated likewise:

ايا بكر صديق رضي الله عنه عمر ابن خطاب رضي الله عنه عثمان ابن عفان رضي الله عنه

على ابن ابطالب رضي الله عنه

(d) Around (c) decorated as above:

لا الله إلا الله محمد رسول الله لا الله إلا الله أدم صفي الله لا الله إلا الله ابراهيم خليل الله

لا الله إلا الله عيسى روح الله لا الله إلا الله نوح بنى الله في الله إلا الله موسى كليل الله

Left Side:

Same as in right side except that the name of the arch-angels begin with حضرت...
TRANSLATION

Upper Portion:
(1) O God! In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful, O God!

(2) Nād-i-'Ali. There is no youth save 'Ali, and there is no sword save Dhu'l Faqār.

Lower Portion, middle part:
(1) Diwān has found the chronogram for Shāh Yābū’s death in the words: (O Saint), your repetition was ‘there is no god except Him.’ 1090 (A. H.—1679-80 A.D.).

(2) Husain, son of ‘Ali, the gnostic and the chief, constructed this mosque in the name of God. 1151 (A. H.—1738-39 A. D.).

(3) The Invisible Angel said for the date of his death: God granted him abode in Paradise. 1188 (A.H.—1774-75 A.D.).

The rest of the inscription does not need any translation as it merely gives the names of the four angels, that of the Prophet, his sons and companions, and the text of declarations of faith in the Oneness of God and the six major prophets.

Over the doorway of the tomb itself, there is an inscription of three verses in Persian, written in Nasta’liq and composed by one A’zam. It merely mentions the reparation of the dome, etc., in 1219 A.H. (1804-5 A.D.) by Qāim Khān Mandūzai, who is mentioned in a number of inscriptions belonging to this period.

XIII—INSCRIPTION ON THE MASJID-I-ÂŞTÂBAL

This mosque, so called after its location near the royal stable, is situated in the Fort area alongside the road to the Municipal office, a little north to the cross of this road with the Bastion Road. An inscription in Persian verse, over its gateway, records the reparation of the mosque and the gateway by one Sayyid Yūsuf at the instance of Nawāb Alī Khān in the year 1219 A.H. (1804-5 A.D.).

The style of writing is Nasta’liq, the inscriptive tablet measuring 2’ 2" by 1’.

TEXT (Plate XX b)

(1) زارشاد الف خان سید يوسف منت كرم هم مسجد و هم باب
(2) سال اختتامیه کنفر هائئن زهی تعیبر مسجد شد ز نواب

1219

TRANSLATION

(1) At the command of Alī Khān, Sayyid Yūsuf repaired the mosque as well as (its) gate.

(2) Ḥātif, (by way of giving) the date of its completion, said: What a nice reconstruction of the mosque was carried out by the Nawāb. 1219 (A.H.—1804-5 A.D.).

XIV—INSCRIPTION ON THE BUDHDHA BUDHHĪ KĪ MASJID

Another inscription mentioning the construction of a mosque by Sayyid Yūsuf, same as above under the orders of the same Nawāb, is carved in raised letters in Nasta’liq characters, on a slab
(1' 3½" by 10") fixed over the middle of the three arches, in the east wall of the prayer-chamber of the above mosque. It is a small mosque, of quite an ordinary type, thus refuting itself the claim of a wonderful building preferred in its favour by the composer of the chronogram, one Asfiyya.

TEXT (Plate XXII a)

1. غمّير ضات الف خان بالصرام ريدة
2. بنت سيد يوسف چو این بنى عجيب
3. لوشت اصفا سال سعادت تعمير
4. حسينى مسجد كرتنول بيت رب عجيب

1220

TRANSLATION

(1-2) When through the grace of the person of Alif Khán, this wonderful edifice was constructed by Sayyid Yusuf.

(3) Asfiyya composed the chronogram of its happy construction.

(4) (thus): Husaini mosque of Kurnool, the house of the Responding Lord. 1220 (A. H. = 1805-6 A.D.).

This inscription gives the original name of the mosque as Husaini masjid, which has been turned into a ridiculous name of Bodhābā Bodhābi ki masjid. In the month of Muharram, the guises of an old man and a woman representing some popular episode, were enacted in the open space nearby, which stirred popular fancy and imagination resulting in the name by which the mosque is called to day.

XV—INSCRIPTION ON A STEP-WELL ON THE WAY TO GARDI MURUD

On the road to Gardi Murud, at about 5 miles from Kurnool, there is a step-well by the roadside, in the proximity of which there is also a fast-falling four wall enclosure, representing the durgāh of one Sayyid Jalil. The step-well, the inscription on it tells us, was constructed by Qāím Khán Mandūzat, but it is very likely that it was rebuilt or reconstructed in its entirety. The inscription which is of three lines in Persian verse, is important insomuch as it helps us to identify, if only by name, the person lying buried in the adjoining durgāh, viz. Sayyid Jalil.

The style of writing is Nasta'īlig. The stone measures 2' 4" by 10".

The inscription reads as follows:

TEXT (Plate XXII b)

1. بترون درکه سید جریل
2. بجوئ و عطا نیست آنا نظیر
3. کزان چا شاه مثل آن سلیبل

1319
(a) On the grave of Nawab Munawwar Khan, Znrapur, Kurnool

Scale 25

(b) From the Idris Shahb ki Masjid, Kurnool

Scale 15
(1) When in the close vicinity of the durgah of Sayyid Jalil, Qaim Khán Manduzai, a gracious servant

(2) who has no equal in gift and liberality—constructed a step-well by the roadside,

(3) Diwan composed the chronogram illustrating the date of the well (in these words): A well, its like is to be found in Salsabil. 1 1219 A.H. (1804-5 A.D.).

The chronogram is contained in the last hemistich. It yields the date given in figures when the first word is read as گز این.

XVI—INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ENCLOSURE OF THE TOMB OF MUNAWWAR KHÁN

The tomb of Nawabh Munawwar Khán is situated in the compound of Sayyid Qâdir Bukhâri’s durgah. The tomb of Nawab Munawwar Khán is situated to the south of the Sayyid’s tomb; but unlike the latter, which arrests immediate attention of the visitor both from its position and its building, it is a simple tomb, enclosed by four walls and open from above. There are five graves inside, all of solid dark stone, in a single row from east to west. The middle one has the following inscription, carved in letters in relief on a dark green granite (2’ 3½” by 1’ 3½”) fixed up at its head. The stone is cut into four panels in two lines, each panel being arched at its both ends and separated from the other and surrounded on all sides by an artistic border of foliage design. The inscription records Munawwar Khán’s death which took place in 1239 A.H. (1823 A.D.). The lower border contains one more verse, giving the name of the builder of the dome and also mentioning the construction of a mosque which is obviously a small structure, practically in ruins, in the same compound.

The style of writing is Nasta’liq.

The inscription reads as follows:

TEXT (Plate XXI a)

۱) سال تاريخ آن منور خان
۲) گفت کر گهی ای منور خان
۳) ۱۲۳۹

مسجد و گنبد عظیم افشان
کرد تعمیر عبد الرحمن خان

TRANSLATION

(1) I sought from Reason the chronogram for (the death of) Munawwar Khán, saying, ‘He has fared his way (to the other world)’.

1 Salsabil is the name of a stream in Paradise.

2 The composition of this chronogram betrays lack of poetical talent or proper knowledge of the Persian language; for example, see the last hemistich which contains the chronogram.
(2) Since tears poured down in his assembly, Reason replied: Kurnool has become derelict of Munawwar (Kurnool became lightless). 1239 (A.H.).

(3) 'Abdu'r Rahman Khan has constructed (this) magnificent dome and mosque.

Another inscription fixed over the main entrance of the compound, gives a chronogram in Urdu for his death, the text of which is as follows:

$$
\text{آفتاہ بز زماکا آج گلیا}
\text{جب بنا دلے یو ن کیا تاریخ}
\text{گفت هاتج چراغ آج گلیا}
\text{1239}
$$

The following inscriptions belonging to the middle of the 13th century have been included in this article only because they are related to the last Nawab of Kurnool, Ghulam Rasul Khan and throw some light on the activities of this much criticised chief. Moreover, some of these inscriptions, unlike the trend of their age, are executed in Nasli or Thulth characters which are of a considerably fair type.

Of these, one is from the Seh Rawaqi mosque; one mentions the construction (or more correctly reparation) of a fort; one records the name of a garden built by the Nawab, which is also a chronogram, while the remaining five are from the mosque known as Athar Ki Masjid.

**XVII—INSCRIPTION ON THE SEH RAWAQI MOSQUE**

Opposite the Jama Mosque, near the gate of Gopal Raja, is a mosque known as Seh Rawaqi Masjid. It is said to have been constructed by Mazhar Ali, a diwan of the nawabs of Kurnool. There is an inscription on it recording the erection of the masjid (called Masjid-i-Mazhar there), in the year 1240 A.H. during the reign of the last Nawab.

The inscription is carved in relief in good Nasta’liq and the stone measures 1’ 10” by 9”.

**TEXT (Plate XXII c)**

(1) جو ذر زمان غلام رسول خان نواب بنای مسجد مظهر شده يه بسم الله
(2) زهیست مسجد اطیب نمونه بیت الله
1240

**TRANSLATION**

(1) When during the reign of Ghulam Rasul Khan the Nawab, the construction of the Masjid-i-Mazhar took place with (the recitation of) Bismillah.

(2) the Angel of the Unseen, for the date of its construction said: *How nice! the most elegant mosque (has become) a replica of the house of God.* 1240 (A.H.=1824-25 A.D.).

**XVIII—INSCRIPTION ON A LOOSE STONE**

About two and a half miles west of Kurnool, there is a baagh (fruit-garden-cum-field) belonging to Janab 'Abdu'l Halim Khan Khalil. A huge slab of dark green granite, measuring about 4’ 6” by 2’ 5” is lying loose there. It is said to have been brought to the present place from the Athar.

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1 The text of this inscription has been given in the *Waqi'at-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijapur*, III, opp. cit., 418.
(b) From a step-well on the way to Garhi Murad, Kurnool

(c) From the Budhabahadri ki Masjid, Kurnool

(d) On a stone lying loose in a field, Kurnool

(e) From the Sri Ravan Masjid, Kurnool
Building. It is originally said to have been set up on the bāgh constructed by the last Nawāb Ghulām Rasūl Khān at a place called Panehlingal. The inscription on it, comprising the words باغ ادم (which seems to have been the name given to the garden) and the date 1244 A.H., is executed in Thulūh. A border of foliage design covers the inscription.

TEXT (Plate XXII d)

يجس الله الرحمن
بامر نواب غلام رسول
يا تايم
يا ناب عال جناب
يا كرم
الله
هو الحاكم
مالك الملك
 الأكثر
يكي مصير تاريخ انتحاب
في البرج
امحمد
و
کانيا
ابن متم
عهد
آدم
آتاق
1244

TRANSLATION

Bāgh-i-Iram1, 1244 (A.H.=1828-29 A.D.).

XIX—ANOTHER INSCRIPTION ON THE IDRĪS ŚĀHEB KI MASJID

The slab bearing this inscription is fixed into the southern wall of the rooms of the mosque facing the courtyard. This slab which measures 3' 11" by 1' 11" is reported to have been brought to the mosque by one Khaliq Šāhīb, probably along with the two other slabs (see No. IV) from the collector's bungalow. As has been already observed, all these slabs belonged in all probability to the fort at Muravkonda.

The slab is cut into eight horizontal panels in four lines, each panel being arched at its ends. It is surrounded by a border of the same type of foliage design as is to be seen on most of the bordered inscriptions at this place. Each panel contains a hemistich in Persian while the arched portions of the same contain Bismillāh, invocations of God by His Attributes, and the names of the composer and the engraver. The Persian verses are executed in relief in letters of Nasta‘īq, while the portion in Arabic is inscribed in Thulūh.

My reading of the inscription is as follows:—

TEXT (Plate XXI b)

1 Bāgh-i-Iram, the garden said to have been constructed on earth, as a replica of paradise, by Shaddād.
In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. He is the High, the Most Exalted. O Subaissing, O Upright! He is the Judge, the Lord of the Dominion, Master of Glory and Greatness. The author and composer of the chronogram is Shâh Kamâl Karîmî; its writer and engraver is Abu'l Hasan Muhammad.

At the orders of Nawab Gholâm Rasûl, Ashraf Khân constructed the fort on the river. Then, the Nawab of lofty threshold came up to the bastion for sight-seeing. At that time, Kamâl recited on the spur of the moment, one hemistich containing the date, by way of selection (that is to say),

Having taken out the word enemy, he said: The sun has come to the House (bastion) of honour. 1245 (A.H. = 1829-30 A.D.).

The date is obtained by taking out the numerical value of the word 'enemy' (i.e. 76) from that of the last hemistich (i.e. 1321).

It may be pointed out that the inscription mentions the construction and not reparation of a fort by Ashraf Khân at the instance of Gholâm Rasûl Khân.

XX—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MASJID-I-ĀTHAR

The mosque is so called because it is located in the compound of the building known as Āthâr Sharîf, where the āthâr-i-mubârak or the sacred relics were displayed every year on particular days. These relics, I am told, included the Mû-i-Mubârak (the holy hair of the Prophet), the footwear of the great divine 'Abdu'l Qâdir Jilâni, popularly known as Pirânpîr Dastgîr, the portraits of 'Ali and the Prophet etc., that of the last-mentioned portraying his miracle known as Shâqqu'l Qamar or splitting of the moon.

The mosque was begun by the last Nawab. Its construction appears to have been held up for some reason or the other, and the mosque as it stands today remains incomplete. There are five inscriptions on it, each on a slab of darkish green granite, fixed over the arches supporting the roof. The mosque, as revealed from the inscriptions, was probably meant to be called Madîna masjid and was intended to serve as a congregational mosque.

Of these five inscriptions, two on ends are executed in four panels with arched ends and surrounded by a border. The other two are cut into four rectangular panels, each, with a border. A marked feature of these inscriptions which distinguishes them from other inscriptions of this period (which are executed in Nastâ'îlig) is their style of writing. The style is Fâlûth of a fairly high type and shows the taste of the Nawâb. However, the poetry of the inscriptions is not of an equal order. It is composed by three different poets Jauhar, Hamrâz and Kamâl.

Three of them mention the date 1248 A.H. (1832-33 A.D.) and the rest 1252 A.H. (1836-37 A.D.), the former probably marking the commencement of the building and the latter giving the year in which it was nearing completion. However, all the slabs show the same calligraphic hand. The language of the inscriptions, except the middle one which is in Arabic, is Persian verse. They read, from right to left, as follows:

\[1\] The inscriptional stones in (a), (b) & (d) measure 4' 7" by 2' 2" while that in (c) measures 4' 3" by 2' 2"

(a) 

\[1\] "Baha'ir Billah Ki Rast Par Margar Shad A'Ghan Khatir Khorashad" 

\[2\] "Jawab Masjid Aqmi Pehla Shad Taj" 

1 1258
On the Atilla Mosque, Kurnool.
(1) Gbulām Rasūl Khān, the Nawwāb, through Divine Grace, constructed this mosque in the audience-hall of Prophethood.¹

(2) When Kamāl sought the year of its construction, Hūtif replied: Another masjid-i-Aqsa has been constructed. 1248 (A.H.-1832-33 A.D.).

TRANSLATION

(1) Nawwāb Rasūl Khān Bahādur, the possessor of the secret of He who knew², constructed a new mosque.

(2) Hamrāz sought the year of its (erection) from the Invisible Angel who said: (The chronogram is) the Jāmī’s mosque, the house of honour. 1248 (A.H.-1832-33 A.D.).

TRANSLATION

(1-3) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. And Verily, the mosques are for Allāh; hence, worship Him only, while you are inside.³ 1248 (A.H.-1832-33 A.D.).

TRANSLATION

(1) The Nawwāb of lofty station, that is to say, Rasūl Khān, has erected this mosque with a hundred cares;

(2) O Jauhar, a heart-attracting voice has come from the curtain of the Unseen saying: If you have not seen Mecca, have a look at the Madīna mosque (here). 1252 (A.H.-1836-37 A.D.).

¹ This probably has a reference to the Ākhār Buildings.
² The whole saying is: ‘He who knows himself knows God’.
³ This whole sentence gives the chronogram whose composition is popularly attributed to the Nawwāb himself.
(1) Ḥaḵḵām Kᵛᵛeḵヌl ʿGlam Ṣrōl ḵᵛant ḵᵛin ḵᵛin bīn ḵᵛīn bīt-e ḡarām
(2) Gwēhr- raḵwār bīn bīt-e ḡarām
1252

TRANSLATION

(1) Ghulām Rasūl, the ruler of Kurnool, constructed this new mosque, worthy of reverence;
(2) Jauhar, an admirer, for its chronogram said to me: (It is) next to the Holy House (Kaʿba). 1252 (A.H.-1836-37 A.D.).
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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1953 and 1954

EDITED BY

Z. A. DESAI

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SOME ARABIC AND PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE EAST PUNJAB

BY DR M. WAHID MIRZA, LUCKNOW

The decipherment of old coins and epigraphs is one of the most fascinating studies which is pregnant with rich possibilities, sometimes providing us with the only means of reconstructing the ancient history of a country. Very often again, these coins and inscriptions help us in supplementing our knowledge even about those periods of history on which standard works have been written by patient and painstaking historians. Thus an insignificant stone tablet or a piece of plaster which has withstood the merciless ravages of time and escaped the thoughtless hand of the vandal, becomes an important historical link, a valuable record in the annals of history. Apart from this, they often faithfully illustrate the different changes which a particular script has undergone during the various stages of its development. Many of them, for sheer elegance of style and delicacy of touch rival, nay, even surpass the finest specimens of calligraphy preserved for us on paper. What could, indeed, be more interesting and edifying aesthetically than to decipher an intricate piece of such writing, letter by letter, and to discover at last the secret it holds, even though it is, no doubt, a difficult task requiring patience and concentration especially in the case of damaged epigraphs? I, therefore, readily agreed to study in an article some of the inscriptions from various places in the East Punjab when approached by the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy who supplied me with their etchstamps.

Among the various parts of India rich in old inscriptions, the East Punjab holds a prominent position, for it was here that most of the battles for the possession of the Delhi throne were fought and consequently, it was here that the Delhi Kings built a number of strongholds and fortresses for the defence of the Capital against the invaders from the north-west. Several towns of the East Punjab, such as Panipat, Thaneswar, Sirs and Deopalpur, figure prominently in the medieval history of India, and some of them have a long and chequered history going back far beyond the middle ages. Numerous inscriptions lie strewn all over the country, and although, thanks mainly to the care and industry of the Archaeological Department employees, many of them have been successfully deciphered, there are many others which still await decipherment by those interested in Arabic and Persian studies and the history of Medieval India.

Out of the ten inscriptions that have been studied in the following lines, five are from Hansi, the earliest being dated 767 A.H. and the latest 1093 A.H. All of them are executed in the Nasta’liq character of various types except one written in Nasta’liq. Three of these mention the construction of mosques, one the construction of a gate alongwith the repairs of a fort, while the third seems to mention the construction of a well; the portion, in this inscription containing the purpose of the record is badly damaged. The two following records coming from Kangra, belong to the later Mughal period and are executed in Nasta’liq script, recording the demies of certain persons
of at least local importance. The next two epigraphs belong to Kaithal and record the construction of a fortress and a mosque; one of these belongs to the Khaliṣ period while the other is dated 1155 A.H. The last inscription of the group is reported to have been collected from Batala. It is in Arabic, carved in Naskh of a beautiful type, recording the construction of a tank, a mosque and a garden. Thus, these inscriptions ranging from 797 A.H. to 1161 A.H. cover a period of about four centuries, shedding light on the different stages of calligraphic styles, the titles in use, the zeal for constructing various monuments displayed by the kings and their subjects, etc.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM HANSI

One of the old towns prominent in the annals of Indian history is Hansi,1 lying in the Hisar District, only 15 miles from the town of Hisar, originally Ḩiṣār-i-Firūza, built by Firūz Shāh Tughlaq in 757 A.H.2 Hansi according to a popular legend, was built by Anangpal of the Tomar dynasty, but there are strong reasons to believe that it was a flourishing town as early as the Kughān period. It was captured from Anangpal by Sulṭān Mas'ūd of Ghazna in 1036 A.D., but was probably retaken by the Rajah in 1043 A.D. Later on it fell into the hands of Muḥammad Ghūrī and since then, it remained the headquarters of the district till its place was taken by Hisar. In the succeeding centuries, the town was the scene of several bloody contests between rival states, and the Marathas, the Sikhs and the British fought for its possession, while for a short period it remained in the hands of an English adventurer who had carved out for himself a more or less independent principality in Hariana territory. It suffered also from a severe famine and earthquake, became depopulated and deserted, till finally it was reduced to its present state—a small unimportant town with hardly any commercial or industrial activity. The political upheavals to which the town has been subjected from time to time are, to a great extent, responsible for the destruction and disappearance of most of its historical monuments but some of them have survived and bear interesting inscriptions—mute witnesses to the past glory of this ancient city.

The following inscription executed in the Naskh script, appears on the central maqāb of the Ādīna masjid in the Bāzār Muḥalla, Hansi. It measures nearly 2½ by 1¾, and is complete and easily decipherable. Consisting of three lines, it runs as follows:

TEXT

Plate I (a)

(1) بِتُوفِيق خدای عالِم و بَرکت مصِفَّي علیِه السلام در عِمید میمون [و] دولت همايون

(2) خداونان پناه بادشان اسلام راى الاتم فیروز نشانی سلطان خان الله ملكه

(3) و سلطانه بندید درگاه شاهین سلطانی بنازیخ غرة ذی القعده سنه سبع و سیصد و سیصد و این

مسجد بنا کرد

TRANSLATION

(1) With the guidance of God, the Omniscient, and the blessing of the Prophet Muṣṭafā, peace be upon him, in the auspicious reign and benign regime of

(2) the great Master, the Shelter of the World, the King of Islām, the Guardian of the creatures, Firūz Shāh the king, may God perpetuate his kingship

---

1 For a short history of this town, see the Imperial Gazetteer of India (a.v.).
2 Ṯūṭḥā-i- Firūṣta (Nawal Kiśore Ed.), I, p. 146.
(a) On the central mihrab of the Atia Mosque, Bazir Muhalla, Hanafi

(b) In the centre of the first arch on the right, Jimri Mosque, Chak Qat, Hanafi

Scale: 1:5

Scale: 1:8
(3) and suzerainty, the slave of the (royal) threshold, Shâhín Sultânî, on the first day of Dhu'l Qa'da in the year seven hundred and sixty-seven (10 July 1366 A.D.) laid the foundation of this mosque.

It is evident from the inscription that the mosque 1 on which it appears was built during the reign of Sultan Firûz Tughlaq, who succeeded Muhammad Tughlaq in the year 752 A.H., by one of his amirs, probably attached to the royal court, named Shâhín Sultânî. An amir of this name Malik Shâhín Bek, son of Malik Maḥmûd Bek is mentioned in the Târikh-i-Mubârik Shâhî, who, along with his brother, Malik Abû Muslim, came from Delhi to pay homage to Firûz Shâh while he was encamping at Hansi preparatory to his entry into the capital, and was honoured and rewarded by him. 2

A slab of yellow stone fixed in the centre of the first arch from the right hand side in the Jâmi' masjid in the Châr Qutb, 3 Hansi, bears another interesting inscription in Persian, giving the date of the building and the names of the founder, the composer of the inscription, and the stone-carver. It belongs to the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lûdî, son of Sultan Bahâlî, which was one of the most brilliant periods of the pre-Mughul era of Indian history. The inscription, again in Naskh, measures 2' by 1' and runs thus:

<table>
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<td><strong>Plate I (b)</strong></td>
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(1) الملك شٰھٰن سلطان خِلد الله ملکه و سلطانه

(2) بتولیف الله تعالى بندر کریم سیتان ایا بکر پام جلون قه ۶ کی

(3) از میزان پیام بسط پنجان ابوبکر توحید الرب بر این جمله

(4) در همین معتوق عالم شیخ جمال الحق و الشرع و الین طاب ثراء و جعل

(5) از نمونه و نور الله موفات (کذا) در وقت جلوس سجاده ندگان سلطان المشایخ

(6) شیخ فرید مدع الحمیم این مسجد رست کاتاندیده بر به سنگ نز دین بکدی

(7) إیمان یاد کمک حروف رشنی قطب نابی فامی یاسی و کار فرامی شجاعه دمین

(8) الفاظ و العقیده من ماء رجب قدیم سه ست و تسین و غناهی آسکربا لدیده

(9) عید للملک الابید

(10) الخلیل تاغوری

---

1 As ʿĀdîna is the Persian equivalent of Jumʿa it is also obvious that the mosque was meant to be a con-

gregational one for specially the Friday prayers.


3 The area containing the tombs of Shaikh Jamâluʾd Din Häsnwî, and three of his successors, for whom, see

Akhbâr Shâhî, etc.
(3) of the disciples of the hand-grasping Preceptor, the Sultan of the Shaikhs, Shaikh Abū’l Fath,¹ may God bless his precious soul.

(4) at the foot of the grave of the Qub of all the qubts of the world, Shaikh Jamālu’l Haq wa’sh Shar’ wa’d Din, may his dust be of pleasant odour and may

(5) Paradise be his abode, and may God illumine his tomb, at the time of accession to the saintly carpet² of our master, the Sultan of the Shaikhs.

(6) Shaikh Farid, may God prolong his life, had this mosque erected. Let him who prays in this mosque remember him

(7) by praying for his faith. The writer of these words is Rādi Qutb,³ deputy qādī of Hansi and the agent of the prefect of the Eternal Monarch.

(8) The 25th of the month of Rajab of exalted rank, in the year eight hundred and ninety-six (3 June 1491 A.D.). The stone-carver (is) Ladhan (?), son of Jalāl of Nāgaur.

It may be interesting to note that Jilvānī was the name of an Afghan tribe several members of which, such as ‘Alā’ud Din and Babbān Jilvānī, figure prominently in the history of the Lālī kings of Delhi. Firaqta, as a matter of fact, mentions one Abā Bakr who was a relation of Muhammad Khān Nāgori, the governor of Chanderi under Sultan Sikander Lūdī, who along with his brother ‘All Khān, fled to the royal court and was appointed governor of Meopur in the year 922 A.H., just a year before the Sultan’s death. The surname Jilvānī, however, is not added to his name by Firaqta.⁴ Another noteworthy fact which emerges from this inscription is that the stone-carver was not always the scribe of an inscription, but it was usually composed by some scholar, written calligraphically by a scribe, and finally carved by a mason. In many cases, however, the last two functions were combined by the same person.

The next inscription from Hansi belonging to the reign of Sultan Ibrāhīm Lūdī has been found on the north-west corner inside the Barsi gate. It commemorates the building of a gate along-with repairs to the ‘Alā’i khan (fortress or rampart) and is in a beautiful Nasḵ-cum-Kūfī script. It is dated 928 A.H., and measures 20’ × 15”, containing altogether five lines.

TEXT

Plate II (a)

1. بناء عمارت این دروازه متنین علمی با مرت حسن حسن علی‌نی
2. که مؤرخت سنہ انی و سعیمیه در عهد سلطان السلاطین ابو المظفر
3. ابراهیم شاه سلطان خلد اﷲ ملکه و سلطانه و در عمل سنیه علی حیدر خان بن
4. مهابختان کمال و در شرکاری خواجہ فتح محمد و حرمی شیخ نصرت ابی بن نصرت
5. یعیتار فی الخاص من شهر ذی التّعمد سنہ ثمان [ع] باینس و سعیمیه کاتب خلیل الله

نصیر متنی هایسی

¹ Probably Abū’l Fath Jaunpūrī, d. 858 A.H.
² سعیمیه (prayer-carpet) which together with the khera (mantle) was an emblem of saintly authority inherited by a disciple from his master.
³ He would appear from his name to be a descendent of Shaikh Jamālu’d Din Hānawī.
⁴ The name here reads like Dhareṣṭān or Dahrmān, but the reading is doubtful.
⁵ Opp. cit., p. 183.
(0) On the western wall of the tomb of Shah Muhammad Jamali Shahi, Hauz

(o) From the n.w. corner inside Barfi Gate, Hauz
(1) The foundation of the building of this strong and lofty gate (was laid) together with repairs to the well-protected 'Alā’ī fortress,

(2) which is dated 702 A.H., during the reign of the Sultān of Sultāns, the victorious King

(3) Ibrāhīm Shāh Sultān, may God perpetuate his kingdom and suzerainty! and during the governorship of Masnad-ī-‘Āli Ḥamīd Khān,1 son of

(4) Mahābat Khān Kamāl and in the shiqdāri2 of Khwāja Fatḥ Muḥammad at the instance of Āsaf, son of Kamāl

(5) Bakhtiyyār, on the 5th of Dhu’l-Qa’dā in the year nine hundred and twenty-eight (26 Sept. 1522 A.D.). The writer of these words (is) Khalilu’llāh Naṣîr Mufti Ḥānswī.

The next inscription in order, from Hansi, found on the western wall of the tomb of Shāh Muḥammad Jamīl Shahīd situated in Muḥalla Mughalpūra is in Persian and belongs to the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān. Measuring about 18" by 24", it consists of nine lines written in a characterless Naṣīḥ script, and judging from the estampage at my disposal, several letters have lost their sharpness of outline and are not easily legible, due probably to the corrosive action of the weather. It runs as follows:

TEXT

Plate II (b)

(1) بعثات الهم
(2) در دولت خدا داد سلطان السلافین
(3) ابو المظفر شهاب الدين محمد صاحب
(4) قران ثانی شاه جهان باشان غازی
(5) خلک ای ملکه و سلطانه
(6) و باین این چام(4)
(7)
(8) بتاريخ هفتم شعبان المعظم
(9) سنة ثمان و خمسین و ألف

TRANSLATION

(1) By the grace of God ........................

(2) In the benign reign of the Sultān of Sultāns,

(3) Abū‘l Muẓaffar Shāhībū’d Din Muḥammad, Shāhīb-i-

(4) Qirān the Second,3 Shāh Jahān Bādshāh-i-Ḡāzī.

1 Masnad-ī-‘Āli was a common title for ministers and other high state officials in the Lōīf period. Ḥamīd Khān was still in charge of the Hūsar District when Bābur invaded India, for he was sent out to meet the latter and was defeated by Humāyūn. Fīrūz, opp. cit., p. 204.

2 A shiqdār was a petty administrator in charge of a purgoa.

3 He of the Auspicious Conjunction'. The first Shāhīb-i-qirān was Amīr Tūmūr.
(5) may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,
(6) and the builder of this well (1) ..................
(7) ........................................
(8) On the 7th day of the exalted month of Sha'ban
(9) in the year 1059 A.H. (6 Aug. 1649 A.D.).

It is unfortunate that the lines Nos. 6 and 7, are too indistinct to be properly deciphered, and so it difficult to ascertain the name of the builder of the well. It is clear that the inscription in the case of the inscription from Batala (see page 10), actually commemorates some other construction and was later on affixed to the tomb. Its calligraphy is in marked contrast with that of the inscription mentioned above and indicates a general decline of the art as far as the Naskh script is concerned.

The last inscription from Hansi is in Persian verse and belongs to the Mughul period. It is found over the central mihrab of the Jülāhon ki masjid and measures 1' by 1'\(^2\). It is in Nasta'liq script and runs as follows:

[text in Persian]

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of God the Merciful, the Beneficent.
(2) With a sincere heart, Shaikh Manjhu laid
(3) the foundation of a mosque in a beautiful and finely decorative style.
(4) When I sought the date of its building,
(5) Wisdom said: veritably, (it is) the House of God.

(6) In the reign of Abūl Muṣṭafar Muḥyiu'd Din Muḥammad Aurangzīb \(^2\)Ālamgīr Bādshāh Ghāzī in the year 1098, one thousand and ninety and eight. The writer of this is 'Abdu'l Rasūl, son of.............

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1 The rubbing has only ız; the name has been completed by conjecture.
2 The name is missing in the estampage.
SOME ARABIC AND PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE EAST PUNJAB

INSCRIPTION FROM KANGRA

This inscription, in an elegant *Nasta’liq* hand, found on the tomb of Raḥmat ʿAli Shāh in Kangra town, measures 2’ by 1½’ and comprises three Persian couplets. It is dated 1131 A.H., and is as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate III (b)*

(1) موشد و رازدار شاه و گدا ساخت این طرفه منزل زیبا

(2) تا بنای به بروی صفحه دهید گدا چونه نام اهل سخا

(3) سال تاریخ این عمارت نه شد بنای خجزه سال بننا

سته 131

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The companion and close associate of the king and the beggar built this novel and beautiful abode,

(2) so that it may endure on the surface of the earth as a memorial even like the name of a generous person.

(3) The date of the erection of this new building was found to be: The year of foundation is *Bīnā-i-Khujista* (auspicious building). Year 1131 A.H. (1718-19 A.D.).

The words بنای خجزه supply the chronogram which, on calculation, yields the date 1131 A.H. (1718-19 A.D.).

**INSCRIPTION FROM KOTLA, DISTRICT KANGRA**

The following inscription consists of four Persian couplets written in crude *Nasta’liq* script, and was found near the police *thāna* in Kotla. It was apparently affixed to some tomb and commemorates the year of a certain person’s death who is mentioned only as “that Safir” (envoy).¹

As in the previous case the date is contained in a chronogram. The inscripional slab measures about 1’ 3” by 2’ 10”.

**TEXT**

*Plate III (c)*

(1) هو الحق

(2) عزيم خوید آن سنیر تا که بدارالقرار

(3) توشش عصیان بکف مفرط امیدوار

(4) نامه ی اعمال راز کرد و دست سه از کنگه

(5) خواسته اه از فضل عام رخت پروردگار

(6) سید سرور نیاپرداز کن سیات

¹ This of course is the usual sense of the word safir but it might have been used in the inscription in the sense of musafir (traveller).
(1) God is the Truth.

(2) Since that envoy (or traveller) has resolved to betake himself to the Eternal Abode,

(3) the provision of disobedience in his hand, hoping for forgiveness,

(4) having blackened the scroll of his deeds by his sins,

(5) (and) seeking from common bounty the mercy of God,

(6) may the noble Prophet, the redeemer of sins,

(7) be his intercessor on the day of Resurrection with the help of the Eight and Four.¹

(8) The year of his death, Wisdom, wailing with grief,

(9) calculated to be: *Aṣas! my heart burns!* 1161 (A.H. = 1747-48 A.D.).

The numerical values of the letters in های دلم سوخته when added up give the date 1161.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM KAITHAL

The first of these, found on a tablet of grey stone fixed on the left side of the central *mibrāb* of Shāh Wilāyat’s mosque at Kaithal,² is in Persian verse and commemorates the building of an important fortress by Sulṭān ’Alā’ud Din Khaljī in the last part of the month of Sha‘bān. The inscription, unfortunately is not complete and the line containing the date has completely disappeared, while a portion of the fourth line is also missing. It consists altogether of four lines and measures 3½ by 1¼. The script used is an elegant form of the *Naṣīḥa* similar to that employed in this period, and each of the four lines contains four hemistiches.

It runs as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate IV (a)*

\[sic.\]

(1) بعهد دولت شاه معظم

(2) علاء الدين و دنيا تاجدار

(3) محمد شاه سلطان السلطین

(4) همای دولت شیر پاز پادا

¹ The Eight and Four are the twelve Imāms. The tomb apparently was that of a Shi’a Muslim.

² The inscription evidently must have been removed from its original place and fixed in the mosque in later times as the mosque could not have been built by ’Alā’ud Din Khaljī nor can the word *Naṣīḥa* be properly applied to a mosque.
SOME ARABIC AND PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE EAST PUNJAB

(3) (زگاو هرکس که) خواهد تاج و افسر
که تا این حصار ازِلَّج شعبان
بتل خویشتن از تیغ کفار

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the exalted king, the Emperor of the sons and daughters of Adam, ‘Alā-u’d Din wa’d Dunyā, a crowned monarch, the like of whom there is none in the whole world.

(2) Muḥammad Shāh the Sultan of Sulṭans, who may remain king till the end of time, Amen! May the phoenix of his kingdom soar high (and) may good fortune ever be his close companion!

(3) Besides him whoever aspires to seize the throne and the crown, may that one’s head be severed from his body. This fortress was built on the last day of Sha’bān, so that the believers might rest in safety.

(4) ............................ O God! Guard its dwellers from destroying themselves by the sword of the infidels.

The other inscription from Kaithal, in Persian verse, belongs to the reign of the Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. It measures approximately 24” by 15” and consists of three couplets separated from each other by two thick, dividing lines while a third line running at right angles to these two separates the lines (mīṣrā’u) of the three couplets. The whole inscription is thus divided into six sections, each containing one line. It appears on a mosque at Kaithal, known as Miyan Taiyib’s mosque.

It runs as follows:

TEXT

Plate IV (b)

(1) میان طبیع چیت مسجدی ساخت
که [؟]اید کار گیر از غیر طبیع
برمیش گفت و اما خیر طبیع

(2) رازی سال تعمیرس چو یپریز

(3) نام طبیع سه حرف دان چون گفت
هیرکی در حساب پنجه و پنجم

TRANSLATION

(1) Miyan Taiyib constructed a mosque at Kaithal, for, a virtuous act cannot come from one who is not taiyib (pure).

(2) When (some one) asked in confidence about the date of its construction, the virtuous Taiyib said to him by way of allegory and allusion:

(3) Consider the name Taiyib to be of three letters like the word ganj (treasure), each one of which has to be counted fifty-five (times).

1 Mostly illegible except for a few words.
2 The letter before ز is indistinct. It may possibly be د instead of ز and دزاری in that case may be the pen-name of the poet who composed the chronogram. If so, the translation, of course, will be: when Darkat wanted to know the year, etc.
Now the three letters of the name ٰي (b) have the total numerical value 21, which when multiplied by 55, gives the date of the construction of the building, i.e., 1155 A.H. (1742-43 A.D.). It will be noticed that the first two couplets have the same metre and rhyme, while the third has an altogether different metre. The writing, as in the case of the inscription of Shāh Jahān from Hansi, is in a crude Nastāḥ style.

INSCRIPTION FROM BATALA

This inscription, the last of the group, appears on the tomb of Shamshīr Khān at Batala, a well-known town in the district of Gurdaspur. Batala lies in 30°49' N and 75°12' E, on the Ambritsar-Pathankot railway line, 20 miles from Gurdaspur, and was founded during the reign of Sulṭān Bahlūl Lūṭī by a Bhattī Rajput, Rāī Rām Deo, whence the name Batala (Bhattī-āla or Bhatti-wāla). The inscription, which is in Arabic, consists of three lines and measures about 24" by 15". It belongs to the reign of Akbar and runs thus:

TEXT

Plate V (a)

(1) ﷺ لsemester الرحمن الرحيم محمد ﷺ الذي وفق على بناء الوعود و السجد والروض حسبه ﷺ ﷽ ﷺ ۲۵ شهر صفر سنة ۹۹۶

(2) ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ 

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise be to God who made possible the construction of this tank and mosque and garden for the sake of Divine pleasure. It was commenced on the 25th of the month of Safar in the year 997 A.H. (3 Jan. 1589 A.D.)

(2) and completed on the 10th of Ramadān in the year 998 of the migration of the Prophet (3rd July 1590) during the caliphate of the Imam of Islam and the Muslims, Ābu’l Fath Jalālū’d Din Muḥammad Akbar Bādghāh-i-Ghāzi.

(3) The builder thereof (is) one who hopes for the mercy of God, the Benevolent, the weakest of (His) creatures Shamshīr Khān, son of Dastagīr Khān Rājput, living in the pargana............. of sarkār Mānīkūr, may God forgive him and cover up his sins.

This inscription is remarkable in several respects. It has been written in a beautifully elegant Nastāḥ script and the scribe has tried to fill up the entire space at his disposal as closely as possible, so that it has become difficult to follow the right sequence of the words in the epigraph. In the second and the third lines especially, the words have been written so close together and woven into such intricate patterns that the whole inscription has become a sort of puzzle which it is not so

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1 A form of the khaṣṣ.
2 A form of the khaṣṣī.
3 Imp. Gaz. of India, 1908, VII, p.133.
4 There is a word placed just above this which is not legible.
5 The reading is doubtful.
(a) From the tomb of Shamahir Khan, Batala

(b) From the Pirastan, Etamda

(c) From the same place, Etamda
easy to solve. That is why, inspite of repeated attempts, I have not been able to decipher successfully a portion of the third line,\(^1\) (which contains the name of the *parjana*), \(^2\) and have left out the portion in the transcription given above. The more important part, however, of the inscription has been satisfactorily read, and it points to a very interesting fact, namely that the inscription was not written originally for the tomb on which it appears now. It commemorates on the other hand the construction of a tank, a mosque, and a garden by *Shamshir Khan* who lies buried in the tomb bearing the inscription. Where was it originally fixed? Perhaps on the mosque itself beside which was dug the tank, or possibly on one of the gates of the garden which surrounded the mosque and which has now disappeared along with it.\(^3\) Then, long after the death of *Shamshir Khan* some loving and thoughtful hand must have removed it from its original place among the ruins of the mosque and the garden, and placed it on the tomb which was erected on his mortal remains, so that the memory of his life’s work might live in his death.

Another interesting question raised up by the inscription is: who was *Shamshir Khan*? According to the *Imperial Gazetteer*, he was a foster-brother of Akbar and was granted the fief of Batala by the Emperor. He is further said to have improved and beautified the town and to have constructed outside it a magnificent tank still in perfect condition. But strangely enough *Shamshir Khan*’s name is not mentioned in the *A’in-i-Akbari*, and the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, either in the list of Akbar’s *maanhabdars* or among the children of his two well known foster-mothers, *Mahan Anaga* and *Jiji*, although presumably he must have held a *maanab*. The name also is not mentioned by *Firighi* or *Azaï* in his *Durbâr-i-Akbari* and I have not been able to find the authority for the statement in the *Imperial Gazetteer*. It is, nevertheless, clear from the inscription that *Shamshir Khan* must have been a person of some consequence in Akbar’s time, which is further proved by the building of a tomb for him which is described in the *Gazetteer* as ‘massive’\(^4\) and which together with the tank, has survived the ravages of time, and forms one of the three historical monuments\(^5\) of Batala. Akbar is said to have had several foster-mothers and it is quite likely that *Shamshir Khan* was the son of one of them, not so well known as the two mentioned above. The inscription, of course, does not give us the date of *Shamshir Khan*’s death, but it proves conclusively that he was the builder of the tank which still keeps his memory alive and bears eloquent testimony to his able administration of the fief held by him.\(^6\)

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**INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TUGHLUQ PERIOD FROM THE VILLAGE OF ETAMDA IN BHARATPUR DISTRICT**

**BY Y. K. BUKHARI**

A few years back the curator, State Museum, Bharatpur, furnished information to me about the existence of five inscriptions in Persian and Arabic in the village of Etamda, taluk Vair, District Bharatpur, Rajasthan. I brought the same to the notice of the then Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions, who desired me to visit the place and prepare estampages of the aforesaid epigraphs. I, accordingly, complied with his instructions and collected inked rubbings of five epigraphs from the village out of which four are being studied in this paper.

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\(^1\) This has been partially due to the rubbing at my disposal having become faint and indistinct in this particular portion.

\(^2\) No mention is made in the *Imperial Gaz.* of *India* of any mosque near the tank.

\(^3\) *Imp. Gaz.* , loc. cit.

\(^4\) I.e., the tomb and tank of *Shamshir Khan*, and *Anâr Khali*, a building erected by *Shir Singh*, the son of *Mâhârîxa Ranjit Singh* who held the fief of *Batala* under his father (*Imp. Gaz.* , loc. cit.).

\(^5\) *Nâhâwândi* in his *Mothîr-i-Ruhîm*, I, p. 681 mentions one *Shamshir Khan* Khoja Sarâ who was placed in charge of the *Khâliq* lands in Bihar in the year 986 A.H., but apparently he was a different man.
The village of Etamda lies at a distance of two miles north from the Police station, Bhusawar. On a mound, called Pirastān by the local residents, in the village, are two tombs of unpretentious nature in dilapidated condition. The enclosures of the tombs have reduced to the level ground but traces of the walls are still visible. The local people assign the occupation of the tombs to certain pirs (or saints) who flourished in the mediaeval times and hence call the place as Pirastān (seat of saints). The occupants of the tombs are held in great reverence by the inhabitants of the village consisting of Faqirs, Gujars, Dhakars, Banyas, Telis and other communities. Both Hindus and Muslims alike perform certain ceremonies and dance around the tombs on the occasions of marriage and birth.

There are two inscribed slabs of red sandstone fixed side by side in the ground (not in their original positions), standing vertically a few yards away from the ruined tombs. I had to unearth the covered portion of the inscriptions nearly two feet deep. The third slab of red sandstone nearly of the same size is lying loose just beside the above epigraphs. It is in Persian interspersed with the traditions and verses from the Holy Quran. The epigraph is much worn out and exposed to the inclemency of weather. There are two more epitaphs carved on tombstones about fifteen yards away southward from the tombs, recording the death of their respective occupants. The tombstones were lying half buried in the ground detached from their right place. I removed and washed the dust and lime of the stone slab to render the epigraphs intelligible.

The first three inscriptions refer to the sad demise of Shaikh Mas‘ūd ‘Isā Afghān while the fourth one records the death of Shaikh Dā‘ūd Thābit Afghān.

A unique style has been adopted in these inscriptions. Ordinarily they do not give Persian translation of the Quranic verses or traditions of the Prophet, but here they have supplied it and the same has helped me decipher the blurred portions of the Arabic text. The traditions quoted in the inscriptions are very unusual as only one could be traced in two authoritative books of the traditions referred to infra. Names of rulers and builders of the tombs are not mentioned in the epigraphs.

The personages referred to in the epigraphs are not traceable in the historical works and hagiographies. It appears that the saints might have come from Afghānistān and settled there as is clear from the word Afghān suffixed to their names. Probably, they were learned theologians and saints, flourishing during the Tughluq period.

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

The inscriptive slab is fixed in the ground, a few yards away from the ruined tomb, on a terrace. The stone slab is in a vertical position and measures 1'9'' x 4'8''. It consists of twenty inscribed lines of Persian prose interspersed with religious texts. At the foot of the inscription there are two uninscribed medallions on either side and an arch-shaped inscribed panel in the middle, containing the name and the date of the death of one Shaikh Mas‘ūd ‘Isā in the year 733 A.H. (1331 A.D.). It appears that the slab was originally fixed to the grave and it was subsequently removed to its present position. The script is Nashk of inartistic merit carved in relief. It is too much damaged but I have tried to read the inscription on the stone which bears faint traces of some of the words that have peeled off.

The religious text given in the inscription sheds light on the instability of the world and enjoins on us to refrain from indulging in worldly pleasures as life is but a passing phase and one has to account for one’s actions overt and covert before the Omniscient.
(a) Fixed in the ground, near a ruined tomb, Pirastan, Etamda

(b) Beside (a)

Scale: 1.55

Scale: 1.25
The historical portion of the epigraph occurs in the arched panel below the religious text. It mentions neither the name of the ruler nor that of the builder of the tomb. The occupant of the tomb was probably a ṣūfī of his age and seems to have held important social status in the Tughrulq period. I read the inscription as follows:

**TEXT**

_Plate VI (a)_

1. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الذي خلق الموت
2. و الحبوب عليل است آن خداوند كه پیانند مروک و زندگان
3. را چه حکمت بود که مروک را مقدم باان کرد حکمت این بود
4. منضغ گردید بر تنگان این ایشان دوست دارند
5. قوله تعالى إما الحبوب إلیها لمه و له معنی آیت
6. زندگانی دلیا باریست چون پاژی کودکان که کودکان از
7. خانه بیرون آیدن بر اسپین چوب قوس و سوانش خانها
8. از خاک کنند سعی در خوانشی مشغول شوند چون
9. سعیت بهگردید ترک آن خانها شادیها گیرند [و پاراگنه شوند
10. قال النبي عليه السلام سد السنينة فان البحر عميق
11. عميق و احمال الزاد فان الطريق بعيد بعید
12. فاغلص العمل فان الناقد بصير بصير بادر عیر[لوا]
13. فان [العمرا] قصير قصير معنی سخت بنید کشته
14. را که دریا غرقابت غرقاب و توشه بر
15. دارید که راه دور ست دور و کردارها
16. نیکو کنید که سره کنید اینست بینا و بسیابید
17. به سوی توانه که عمر کوتاه است کوتاه [ حدیث]
18. بترجیم بعد گفت صلوات الله عليه مکان صحت با هرکه
19. خواهی آخرى زوی چاوی شوی
20. که خواهی آخر بیرون

---

1 The word 'العمر' is omitted in the epigraph.
In the arch-shaped panel at the base.

يادگار
بناء امیدوار
شیخ مسعود عیسی
شهر سنگ تلک و ثمانین
و سبماهی

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate Who has created death
(2) and life. Sublime is the Master Who has created death and life.
(3-4) The philosophy in mentioning ‘Death’ before ‘Life’ was to imbibe in His servants
an aversion to everything they hold dear to them.

(5) The Most High Allāh says: The worldly life is a game full of attraction. The meaning
of the verse (is):

(6) The worldly life is a game, like the game of children. Children come out
(7) of their homes, ride on the horses of staffs, make
(8) toy-houses of clay and enjoy the fun for a while.
(9) As the period of their enjoyment comes to an end, they demolish the fabrics and pick up
handfuls of dust and disperse.

(10) The Prophet, peace be on him, has said: Hold your boats firmly as the sea is very very
depth;

(11) and carry with you (sufficient) provisions as the journey is very very long,
(12) make your actions righteous as the tester is omniscient; be quick
(13) in your repentence as [life is] very very short.
(14-17) (Translation of the tradition into Persian). 1  [The tradition]
(18) has been translated: (The Prophet), peace be on him, has said: Do not associate with
every one
(19) dear to thee as eventually thou art to pass away and . . . . . .
(20) which thou wantest, at last thou shalt die.

In the arch-shaped panel at the base.

Memorial of the hopeful slave Shaikh Mas‘ūd ‘Īsā, Shahūr San seven hundred and eighty-three
(783 A.H. = 1381 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

Carved on a slab of red sandstone, this epigraph is placed vertically beside the above inscription.
It is purely of religious nature and consists of thirty four lines altogether. Of them, the first fifteen
are in Arabic and Persian prose, the next sixteen in Persian verse and the last three again in Persian

1 These lines constitute Persian translation of the Tradition, which has been already translated in II. 10-13.
prose. They teach us that the world and its charms are all transitory and that one must not look upon the world as his home. The composition of Persian verse is defective inasmuch as most of the couplets do not rhyme properly. The inscription is undated, but the name of the occupant of the grave Mas'ūd (Isa) is given, who is the same person as referred to in the above inscription (No. 1), and this shows that this epigraph ending in the word تكتم (or completed) supplements the above beginning with بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. The script is نسخة of an ordinary type and reads as follows:

**TEXT**

**Plate VI (b)**

(1) قال النبي عليه السلام ان عبد الله يوضع في القبر
(2) و افعل قال يقول: اهله وا سيداه وا شريفاه و كامره
(3) قال يقول له الملك اسمه[ما] يقلوون: انت كنت سيدها و
(4) انت كنت امراه و انت شريفاه قال يقلوون: يا ليتهم
(5) لم يكونو منفي حديث جوه بنهد مديرد و او را در دور
(6) لهند پس زن و فرزند و دستان برل و او نوحه مکند
(7) گوئید که تو (؟) امیر و عزیز و معروف ما بودی پس فرسته با
(8) مرده گوئید که تو در دنا بزگ و امیر و معروف[ن] بودی مرده
(9) گوئید که تو من هنگ نبود[م] در دنا زیرا که برری شعب
(10) و قلت قال النبي عليه السلام کن وی الدنیا (کانکه) غربی او کعابر
(11) سبيل و عد نفست من اصحاب القبور پیشنگت در دنیا
(12) بود همچون غرب و راه گذاری و پنداشت نفس خود را
(13) ازجمله یاران گورستان و این حديث میان انت قسمت است
(14) اهل شریعت خود را از غربان داند و اهل طریقت خود را
(15) از داه گذاری داند و اهل حقیقت خود را از مردان شمرد
(16) باتویت آشنایی یا من مکانی
(17) از کرم خود خداوند فریادرس الها
(18) دل نکسته دام زان که گنگ گرم
(19) برحشید امید دام فریادرس الها
(20) حمذق ترا خوانم بسی آب دیده را نم
(21) غبار ترا دالم فریادرس الها
(27) دارکر که ندایم نیست مرا نزارد
(28) بنو امید دارم فریادرس الها
(29) [اینجا که لیلاید مرا رحمت تو باید]
(30) بیقرار تو شاید فریادرس الها
(31) مسکین بمعضد وند [است بپارکی گور خفته است]
(32) توکل بر تو خرده است فریادرس الها
(33) ای پاک سنجان جاوید ملل کرذ
(34) برهمت مرا پیغاوی فریادرس الها
(35) سری که دارم با تو کس ندایند چی تو
(36) یاری ست مرا با تو فریادرس الها
(37) خواجه امام گفت علیه الرحمه بهشت شناس بتطاعت
(38) کلیه تکنید و دوزخ شناس بگناه دلیری تکنید و خدا
(39) شناس بکنی طمع تکنید و مرک شناس پدیدا گهر نشورت

TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, peace be on him, has said: When a servant dies and is laid in a grave,
(2) his wife laments over him and says, ‘Thou hadst been a noble and great man well known to us’;
(3) thereupon the angel says to the dead, ‘Hear what they say. Thou hadst been a man, great,
(4) noble and well known (in the world)’. The deadman says, ‘Would that
(5) I were nothing’. Meaning of the tradition: When a servant dies and he is interred in a grave,
(6) his wife, sons and friends weep over him
(7) saying, ‘Thou hadst been a nobleman and greatman well known to us’. Thereupon the angel
(8) says to the dead man, ‘Thou hadst been a great and noble man well known in the world’. The deadman
(9) replies, ‘Would that I were nothing in the world’, because he has a difficult
(10) time. The Prophet, peace be on him, has said: Be in the world like a stranger or wayfarer
(11) and firmly believe that you are one of the occupants of the graves. The Prophet said:
(12) I had been in the world like a stranger and a wayfarer and considered myself to be

1 This tradition of the Prophet is in Arabic. Its translation in Persian as given in the epigraph follows it.
2 This is another tradition of the Prophet. Its translation in Persian as given in the epigraph follows immediately (cf. Jami‘u’l Buhārī, Kitābu’r Rīgāq, chap. 3; Tirmidhī Sharīf, chap. on ‘piety’.

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(13) one of the occupants of the graves. This tradition has been variously interpreted by the followers (of the Prophet):

(14) The followers of Islamic code consider themselves to be strangers, the gnostics,

(15) wayfarers and the realists, dead bodies.

(16) With Thee I am closely associated; do not forsake me.

(17) By Thy grace, respond to (my) entreaties, O God!

(18) I have a broken heart because I am a sinner;

(19) (but) I am hopeful of Thy mercy; respond to (my) entreaties, O God!

(20) I sing praises to Thee, shed tears profusely;

(21) I look upon Thee as the Forgiver, (so) respond to my entreaties, O God!

(22) I have no friend, no peace of mind;

(23) to Thee I look up, respond to my entreaties, O God!

(24) Here nobody comes (to help), I need Thy mercy;

(25) it behoves Thy Forgiving self to respond to (my) entreaties, O God!

(26) Poor Mas'ūd is dead, asleep in his dark grave;

(27) he has confided in Thee, (so) respond to (his) entreaties, O God!

(28) O Thou Holy (and) Praiseworthy, Thy sovereignty is eternal;

(29) call me in mercifully (and) respond to (my) entreaties, O God!

(30) The secrets which I have, are not known to any one but Thee;

(31) I look up to Thee (alone), (so) respond to (my) entreaties, O God!

(32) Khwāja Imām, mercy be on him, said: He who is convinced of Paradise is not slack in his devotion;

(33) and he who is convinced of Hell is not bold to commit sins;

(34) and he who is convinced of God never desires any thing; and he who is convinced of Death is not deceived by (the charms of) the world.

**INSCRIPTION NO. 3**

This epigraph is inscribed on one side of the tombstone which is lying half buried in slanting position away from the tomb-terrace at a distance of about 14 yards to the south. The inscribed portion is above the ground carved on either side of the cenotaph. On the southern facet is inscribed the first Muslim creed followed by the words اللہل اغفر لی بعد الموت (O Allah! forgive me after death). The chronological portion of the epigraph facing north is in one line only, executed in *Naskh* style, recording the death of Shaikh Mas'ūd 'Isā Afghān on the first of Shawwāl in the year 783 A.H. (19th December 1381 A.D.). The inscription reads as under:—

**TEXT**

Plate V (b)

وفات شيخ مصمو Errors, إفنان عليه السلام يُتزانيا غهد شوال سنه ثلاث وثمانين و سبعاً

**TRANSLATION**

Death of Shaikh Mas'ūd 'Isā Afghān, mercy be upon him, took place on the 1st of Shawwāl, year 783 (A.H.=19th December 1381 A.D.).
FOUR UNPUBLISHED ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF SULTAN BARBAK

SHAH OF BENGAL

BY Y. K. BUKHARI

The Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions advised me to write an article on some pre-sixteenth century epigraphs of historical interest for publication in the Epigraphia Indica (Arabic and Persian Supplement); accordingly, I selected some rubbings of the inscriptions from the province of Bengal, stored in our office, to comply with his suggestion. The estampages were prepared and collected long ago.

The inscriptions deal with chronologically in this article ranging from the year 860 A.H. to 871 A.H. (1456 A.D. to 1466 A.D.), pertain to the time of Sultan Barbak Shah of Bengal and cover a period of about eleven years of his reign, first in the capacity of a governor, and then as an independent king. Written in Arabic prose, they are four in number belonging to Tribeni, District Hooghly, Bara, District Birbhum, Peril, District Dacca, and Gurai, District Mymensingh respectively. The style of writing is Naskh of various types, excepting one executed in Thuluth form in embossed letters. The text of the inscriptions begin with the usual verses from the Holy Quran and the traditions of the Holy Prophet in respect of construction of mosques as was the style in vogue in other Islamic countries. They assign construction of certain mosques to some high and elevated dignitaries and governors of the time.

It has been justly remarked that Barbak Shah’s succession to his father’s kingdom was undisputed and he had served with distinction as the viceroy of Satgaon.¹ Histories call him a sagacious and law-abiding sovereign.² The soldiers and civilians enjoyed happiness and safety of life in his reign. Firighs says that he had collected a large number of Abyssinian slaves and employed them in the army and in the palace. The king took them into confidence and consulted

¹ J. N. Sarkar, History of Bengal vol. II, p. 132.
² Riga’da’s Salatin, p. 118; Tabaqat-i-Akhbari, III, p. 267.
them for important and significant matters of the state. He probably hoped thereby to create a special class of officers on whom the crown could rely for untinted support. He is said to have possessed about eight thousand of such slaves and allowed them gradually to monopolise most of the key positions in the state.\footnote{\textit{Târtîb-i-Firâsh	extasciiacute;}, II, p. 580.}

The military activities of Bârbak Shâh’s reign are casually recorded in a treatise named \textit{Risâlatu’\textasciitilde; Shuhadâ} (Treatise of Martyrs), a biographical sketch of Shâh Ismâ’îl Ghâzi—a saint of North Bengal, written by one Pir Mu\textasciitilde;ammad Sha\textasciitilde;t	extasciitilde; in 1042 A.H. (1633 A.D.).\footnote{\textit{J. A. S. B.}, vol. XLII pt. I, 1873, p. 271; J. N. Sarkar, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 132.}

Bârbak Shâh evinced keen interest in Bengali literature. He conferred the title of Gunaraj Khân on Maladhar Basu, a poet of eminence in Bengali literature who commenced his Sri Krishna Bijai in 1396 (1473 A.D.). The poet’s son also received the title of Satyaraj Khân. The poet was a resident of Kulingram, District Burdwan, which might have been an integral part of the kingdom of Bârbak Shâh.\footnote{\textit{Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum}, Calcutta, vol. II, p. 167, coin nos. 132 & 148.}

Bârbak Shâh spent his life in comfort and ease. He is said to have died in 879 A.H. (1474 A.D.) and his reign lasted for seventeen or sixteen years.\footnote{\textit{C. Stewart, History of Bengal} (London, 1813), p. 101; \textit{Tabaqat-i-\textasciitilde;Akhb	extasciiacute;}, (Eng. trans.), p. 435.} The author of the \textit{Riyâd	extasciiacute;u’s Salâ\textasciitilde;f\textasciitilde;} quotes no authority about the authenticity of the period of Bârbak Shâh’s reign. According to his statement, Bârbak Shâh died in 879 A.H. after a rule of seventeen or sixteen years and thus after calculation 862 A.H. or 863 A.H. falls as the first year of his reign. The same statement of the \textit{Riyâd	extasciiacute;u’s Salâ\textasciitilde;f\textasciitilde;} regarding the period of Bârbak Shâh’s reign is accepted by C. Stewart who chiefly bases his information on the \textit{Riyâd\textasciiacute;} and inserts the same in his History.\footnote{\textit{C. Stewart, \textit{op. cit.}}, pp. 100-101.}

The statements of both the authors regarding the commencement of Bârbak’s reign are erroneous and are contradicted by the epigraphical and numismatical evidences (vide, inscription of Ma\textasciitilde;mud Shâh’s reign dated 28th Dhl’l-Hajjah, 863 A.H. or 26th October 1459 A.D.).\footnote{\textit{Riyâd	extasciiacute;u’s Salâ\textasciitilde;f\textasciitilde;}, Eng. trans. by M. Abdus Salam (Calcutta), p. 120; C. Stewart, \textit{History of Bengal} (London, 1813), p. 101; \textit{Tabaqat-i-\textasciitilde;Akhb	extasciiacute;}, (Eng. trans.), p. 435.} Ma\textasciitilde;mud Shâh, the father of Bârbak Shâh was alive, thus, on the 28th Dhl’l-Hajjah, 863 A.H. one or two days before the commencement of the next year i.e., 864 A.H., as supported by the inscription and leaves no doubt that Bârbak Shâh might have succeeded his father in 864 A.H. as is indicated by an earliest inscription of his reign (inscription no. 2). Also the earliest coins of Bârbak Shâh’s reign discovered so far bear the date 864 A.H.\footnote{\textit{J. A. S. B.}, vol. XXXIX part I, 1870, p. 290; vol. XLII part I, 1873, p. 271, 309; vol. XLIII part I, 1874, pp. 299, 296; vol. XLIV, 1875, p. 291; \textit{J. A. S. B.}, 1910, N. S. VI, p. 29; \textit{E. I. M.} for 1935-36, p.} The execution of Shâh Ismâ’îl Ghâzi on Friday, 14th Sh\textasciiacute;b\textasciitilde;ban 878 A.H. (4th Jan. 1473 A.D.) affords a clear proof of Bârbak’s survival in that year and it draws one to the conclusion that he might have died next year in 879 A.H., as supposed by the \textit{Riyâd\textasciiacute;}\footnote{\textit{J. A. S. B.}, vol. XXXIX part I, 1870, p. 290; vol. XLII part I, 1873, p. 271, 309; vol. XLIII part I, 1874, pp. 299, 296; vol. XLIV, 1875, p. 291; \textit{J. A. S. B.}, 1910, N. S. VI, p. 29; \textit{E. I. M.} for 1935-36, p.}

Eight inscriptions of the time of Bârbak Shâh were published by Blochmann in the issues of the \textit{Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal}, and one by Maulavi Shamsud Din Ahmad in the \textit{Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica}. The earliest of them is dated 860 A.H., belonging to the period of Bârbak Shâh’s governorship, while the subsequent ones are dated A.H. 865, 865, 863, 871, 876 (and one undated) in chronological sequence ascertaining a period of eleven years of his reign.\footnote{\textit{J. A. S. B.}, vol. XXXIX part I, 1870, p. 290; vol. XLII part I, 1873, p. 271, 309; vol. XLIII part I, 1874, pp. 299, 296; vol. XLIV, 1875, p. 291; \textit{J. A. S. B.}, 1910, N. S. VI, p. 29; \textit{E. I. M.} for 1935-36, p.}
The inscription from Tribeni dated 860 A.H., published by Blochmann records the title of ‘Malik’ prefixed to the name of Bārbak Shāh, but in his later epigraphs he is styled both as ‘Malik’ and ‘Sultān’. Blochmann thinks that the inscription from Tribeni belongs to the period when, as prince, Bārbak Shāh was governor of South Western Bengal in 860 A.H., and styles him as ‘Malik’ (prince) and not ‘Sultān’ (king). His view is also supported by Professor van Berochem as he thinks that the title of ‘Malik’ does not mean ‘King’ as it is used to be translated from Arabic poets and historians, but ‘prince, feudatory’ and even, in some cases, ‘high officer’.¹ I agree with Blochmann partially that the epigraph from Tribeni (if the reading of the date is correct) belongs to the pre-kingship period of Bārbak Shāh, but the use of the titles of ‘Malik’ for a prince and ‘Sultān’ for a king was not strictly followed as the later epigraphs of Bārbak Shāh bear both the titles while he was de facto ruler of Bengal.

Another noticeable feature of two of these inscriptions is the use of kunyah ‘Abū’l Muṣaffar’ instead of the usual ‘Abū’l Mujaḥid’². Blochmann supposes that the engraver is responsible for carving ‘Abū’l Muṣaffar’ in place of ‘Abū’l Mujaḥid’ and further he refers to the old Persian dictionary known as Shāraf Nāmah-i-Ibrāhimi which assigns the title of ‘Abū’l Muṣaffar’ to Bārbak Shāh. Blochmann argues that the title ‘Abū’l Muṣaffar’ mentioned in the Dictionary was meant for Bārbak Shāh of Jaunpur who ruled from 879 A.H. (the year when Bārbak Shāh of Bengal is said to have died) to 881 A.H.³ This supposition is baseless. The engraver of the inscription does not appear to be responsible for inserting the word ‘Abū’l Muṣaffar’ for ‘Abū’l Mujaḥid’, for the fact that both the titles were used for Bārbak Shāh, is supported by epigraphical evidence (vide inscription nos. 2 and 4).

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

On a stone slab measuring 2’2”×1’6” lying near the grave of Zafar Khān Ghāzi at Tribeni, District Hooghly (Bengal), is an inscription in Arabic prose, executed in Naskhi letters in relief. The text of the epigraph consists of four lines, of which the first line comprises a tradition of the Holy Prophet in respect of mosque construction and the rest record the erection of a mosque by the great Khān Ulugh Ajmal Khān during the governorship of Prince Bārbak Shāh of Bengal. The inscription is dated 860 A.H. (1455 A.D.). I have read the text as follows⁴:

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Plate VII (a)

١) بَلَّاءِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى أَنَّ السَّاجِدَاتَ لَقَالَ تَدُعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا لَيِّنِي الْمَسْجِدِ خَانَ الْأَعْظَم

٢) وَخَافَانَ الْمَعْلُومَ لَغَ إِلَّا خَانَ سُلَّمَهُ اللَّهُ أَعْلَى فِي الْداَرِينَ سُرْخِيَلَ خَانَ مَعْلَمٌ أَفْرَاد

خَانَ جَامِعَةِ غَيْرِ مَحْرِل

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¹ E. I. M., 1913-14, p. 46.
² Except one all the inscriptions of Bārbak Shāh published so far contain ‘Abū’l Mujaḥid’.
⁴ This inscription has already been published without facsimile in the J. A. S. B. vol. XXXIX part I, 1870, p. 290, but I am including the same in this study with a view to publish its facsimile so that the readers may compare the text with facsimile. The date is not clear in the inscription. Blochmann’s reading of the date as 860 A.H. is very much doubtful. I also agree with Horovitz who is doubtful about Blochmann’s decipherment of the date (vide E. I. M., 1909-10, p. 130, no. 1237).
(e) Lying near the grave of Zakar Khan Ghazi, Tribeni, De Hooghly

Scale: 2
FOUR UNPUBLISHED ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF BĀRBAK SHĀH

(3) و سر لشكر و وزير عرشه ساجلا منبهناد و شهر لاوليلا دامت معاوية في العهد الملك

العادل ياذل.

(4) التاسف الكامل بارتك شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان في الحادي من المحرم [ستين

و ثلاثا]ياء.

TRANSLATION

(1) God, the Exalted, has said: Verily, the mosques are set apart unto God; therefore, invoke no one else with God.¹ This mosque was erected by the exalted Khan,

(2) the elevated noble, Ulugh Ajmal Khan, may God keep him safe in this world and hereafter—the commander of the army of the high nobleman Iqrar Khan, guard of the royal harem,

(3) commander and minister of the District of Sahilla Mankhabad and the town of Loba—may his high qualities last for ever—in the governorship of the just, the liberal,

(4) the learned and the perfect king Barbak Shāh, son of Māhmūd Shāh, the Sultan. Dated the first Muḥarram [860] or 11th Dec. 1455 A.D.

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

This inscription comes from Bara, District Birbhum and is written in Arabic prose, executed in Nasīḥ characters in relief. The record consists of two lines badly abraded in several places, assigning the construction of a mosque to certain Ulugh Ajlakā Khan, son of Bakhshish Khan during the reign of Bārbak Shāh and is dated 1st Jumādī I, 864 A.H. (23rd February 1460 A.D.). The inscriptive tablet is 3' 6" × 11". The text is given below²:

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

(1) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من يبني مسجدًا في الدنيا بني الله تعالى في الجنة قصرا

بكل ذراع من المسجد بني في عهد السلطان العادل ركن الدنيا و الديان أبو المظفر بارتكشام ابن

محمود شاه سلطان

(2) باي هذا المسجد خان أعظم و خانان معظم الغ املكا (؟) خان ابن بخشخاش

سر كاشته قصبه دهاخا (؟) خالص لأمام موليتنا المشهور 2 بقاضي ابن قاضى احمد ابن شيخ

علاول في التاريخ الحادي من شهر جمادى الاول سنة اربع و ستين و ثمانيه

TRANSLATION

The Prophet, peace and blessings of God be on him, has said: He who builds a mosque the earth, will have a palace built for him by God in Paradise for every cubit of the mosque.

¹ Qurʾān, LXXII, 18.
² This inscription is important as it represents the first regnal year of Sultan Bārbak Shāh and confirms the date 864 A.H. as the commencing year of his reign. The earliest epigraphs of Bārbak Shāh’s independent rule noticed so far ere this are dated 865 A.H.
This mosque was built during the reign of the just Sultan Ruknud-Dunya wa’d Din Abu’l Musaffar Barbak Shāh, son of Maḥmud Shāh Sultan

(2) by the great Khan and exalted Khāqān Ulugh Ajlakā (?), Khan, son of Bakbaksh ī Khan, superintendent of the town of Dakhāh, specially for Imām Maulānā, known as Qādi, son of Qādi Aḥmad, son of Shaikh Ālāwal on the Ist Jumāda I, year 864 A. H. (23rd February 1460 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

An inscribed stone slab measuring 2'x11" is fixed on a tomb at Peril, Distt. Dacca in East Bengal, and contains one line mainly, written in Arabic prose, executed in āliqā style of an intricate type. The record is in good state of preservation and every word of it is clear though difficult in reading. A tradition of the Holy Prophet regarding the erection of mosque occurs in the beginning as usual and the rest of the record mentions the building of a mosque in 869 A.H. (1465 A.D.) by one Majlis Khurshid during the reign of Barbak Shāh, son of Maḥmud Shāh, the Sultan of Bengal. The inscription of Barbak Shāh from Hatkola in the District of Sylhet published by Maulavi Shamsud Din Ahmaid4 is very much similar with the one under notice in many respects such as style, text and calligraphy. Both record the same Ḥadīth, the same titles of Barbak Shāh and Majlis Khurshid the builder of mosques, executed in āliqā characters in relief. The only difference lies in date as the former published ere this bears 868 A. H., while the present one is dated 869 A. H. Another inscription of Khurshid, dated 850 A. H., assigning the construction of a mosque in the reign of Maḥmud Shāh resembles this in text but differs in calligraphy, being executed in āliqā style.5 The name Ulugh Khurshid is also recorded in another inscription of the reign of Musaffar Shāh of Bengal, indicating the erection of a mosque in 898 A. H.6 This mosque epigraph also bears a close similarity with the aforesaid ones. Nothing is traceable about Majlis-i Khurshid in the historical records. I have made out the text as under:\n
TEXT

Plate VIII (b)

قال النبي عليه السلام من يبنى مسجدًا في الدنيا يلقي قشرًا في الجنة في نائم الملك العادل. بدارك شاه سلطان بن محمود شاه سلطان بن كرمه مجلسي حياسة سموت غير ملحان في الخامس شهر شوال سنة ثمان و ستين و ثمانيةه

TRANSLATION

The Prophet, peace be upon him, has said: He who builds a mosque in the world, will have a castle-built for him by God in Paradise. (The mosque) was constructed in the time of the just Sultan Barbak Shāh, son of Sultan Maḥmud Shāh by Majlis Khurshid, chief of the guards of the royal harem on the 5th of Shawwāl, 869 (A. H.) 31st May, 1465 A. D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 4

On a mosque at Gurai, District Mymensingh in East Bengal, is a slab (2'9"x1'5"), inscribed in Arabic prose, executed in Naskhī characters of a crude type in relief. The inscription consists of three lines comprising a Quranic verse and a tradition of the Holy Prophet in the first line, the

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last two assigning the erection of a mosque to Khân-i-Majlis ‘Ali during the reign of Bârbak Shâh on 29th of the month of Ramadân 871 A. H. (4th May 1467 A. D.). The epigraph reads as follows:

**TEXT**

Plate VIII (c)

(1) قال الله تعالى إنما يعمر المساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر و قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدًا يبني الله له بنات في الجنة في نويب سلطان

(2) المهد والزمان زكى الدنيا و الدين أبو المعطى باريكتشائر سلطان إبن محمود شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و أعل أمه و شائه بنى هذا المسجد العالى المخصص بعناية الله

(3) انعلان المخطوب بخطاب مجلس على جعل الله دولته ثابتة الأركان راشقة البلدان ثم ألبتنا مع التجصيب والتميز في الناس و الاعيدين من شهر المبارك رمضان سنة إحدى سعين ورماواده

**TRANSLATION**

(1) Allâh has said: Surely he builds the mosques for God who believes in Allâh and the Last Day. The Prophet, be peace and the blessing of God on him, has said: He who builds a mosque for Allâh, will have a house built for him by God in Paradise. During the reign of the King

(2) of the age and time, Ruknu’d Dunyâ wa’d Din Abûl Mu’azzar Sulțân Bârbak Shâh, son of Sulțân Mahmûd Shâh—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule and elevate his position and status, this lofty mosque was built by one who is chosen for the kindness of God

(3) the Exalted, (and) who is entitled Majlis-i-‘Ali, may God make his governorship firm of pillars and steady in foundation. The building was completed along with plaster and gilding on the 29th of the auspicious month of Ramadân year 871 (A. H. = 4th May 1467 A. D.).

**QUTB SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANDHRA STATE**

BY Z. A. DESAI

I.-II.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM KONDAPALLI

These two records were collected by the Government Epigraphist some time back, and were recently transferred to the office of the Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions. A summary of their contents was published in the annual reports¹ which also give the summary of the Telugu versions of the epigraphs found on the respective stones.

The first of these is inscribed on a stone which is reported as lying by the side of the Malkapuram Road at Kondapalli, near Bezwada in Krishna District. On the same stone is inscribed the Telugu epigraph whose translation will follow. The Persian record mentions the establishment of a langar set up in the name of the Prophet Khîdr and the endowment of two villages viz.,

¹ 153 of 1913 ; 850 of 1925 ; 548 of 1925. The texts of the Telugu epigraphs have been published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. X, pp. 387, 388-89.
Kavrūr and Khijrābād, and some income for the maintenance of the said langar. It comprises twenty lines of Persian prose, preceded by three lines in Arabic. The style of writing is Naḵš of a crude type and the writing has suffered owing to its exposure to the elements of nature. The language of the epigraph, like the style in which it is executed, is of an inferior order. It may be read as follows:

TEXT

Plate IX (a)

(1) لعنّة الله علّ [ \( \) ]
(2) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(3) ن را از مال و ملك
(4) خود جدا کرد و از
(5) جهت قراره باب الله تعیین کرد و دها
(6) تجاوز نماید و جاری دارد اگر خلاف کنند
(7) لعنت خدا بر ایشان باشد و از شفاعت پیشامبر صل الله علیه
(8) "مجري مايند تمام شت لعنّة نامه جهت لکر بخط عهد
(9) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(10) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(11) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(12) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(13) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(14) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(15) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(16) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(17) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(18) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(19) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(20) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(21) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(22) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(23) [ \( \) \( \) ]
(1) [May the curse of God alight upon]
(2) those who deviate! In the name of God who has no beginning
(3) and no end.
(4) The object (of writing this) is that, in the year one
(5) (and) thirty (and) nine hundred (i.e., 931 A. H.-1524-25A.D.), His Highness
(6) Masnad-i-‘Ali Malik Quṭbu’l Mulk,
(7-8) may his lofty shadow remain for ever, having gained victory over the infidels, (and)
got possession of the District of Kondapalli

(9-14) endowed the villages of Kavrūr and Khidrābād in the vicinity (?) for the maintenance
of the langar run in the name of the Prophet Khidr on whom be peace and blessings of God, and
fixed, from the territories, the proceeds of Devdum and Brahmtūri (?),

(15-19) and has set these apart from his personal estate, and these have been allotted and
caused to be handed over for the benefit of the poor, for God’s sake. It is necessary that neither
the Muslims nor the non-Muslims should deviate from this order, and (they) should continue to
(observe) it. If they disobey it,

(20-23) the curse of God will be on them and they will be deprived of (the favour of) the
intercession of the Prophet (on their behalf), may God’s blessing and salutation be on him. Finished
ed is this curse-proclamation, as given above, issued in favour of the langar (and) written by the

The translation of the Telugu record is as under:—

“Hail! Prosperity!

In Śaka 145[2] corresponding to Khara, on the day of Chaitra śu.2, Monday, Masanada-
Eli-Kutumana-Malka-Oḍayalunūru, a friend of Mahammadusāhā-Sulutānū, after having conquered
by his prowess, Kondapalli and other fortresses, established a langar (feeding house) called Kidar-
bājāgadi (?) for the poor, the blind, the lame, the destitute and the dervishes, to the south of
Kondapalli in the vicinity of Peryaḷugalu (?), and granted for the maintenance of the choultry
(dharmma-sattra) two villages, (namely) Kavurūru and Kidarabad. (He also granted) some income
inclusive of incomes from Brahmā and temple lands from the six sthalas under the jurisdiction of
Kondapalli. (May this gift) be maintained till the sun and moon endure. (Imprecation). This
(inscribed) order (is conveyed to) the sthala-karanam Gōvindarāju-Gōparāju-Mahāpātra. The
inscribed pillar (is written by) Śrīvattana (?)."

The other Persian inscription which is engraved on a stone set up near the Erukula house,
consists of seventeen lines of Persian prose preceded by one more in Arabic. It is also executed
in Nasāh of a crude type and the language is also of an inferior order. The inscriptional stone
has been badly damaged. It seems to record that Malik Quṭbu’l Mulk had remitted the tax known
as Andi Santa Sunkam after he had obtained possession of Kondapalli; the order was not carried
out, whereupon he re-ordered the remission with strict instructions that the tax should be deemed
remitted till the day of Resurrection. It was written on 29th Rabi’ I 945 A. H. or 1538 A. D.
It may be pointed out that the Telugu epigraph on the same stone which was re-set up on

1 Qur’an, VII, 44.
2 The translation of this as well as the other Telugu record was supplied to me, on request, by Shri N. Laxmi-
arayan Rao, M.A., Government Epigraphist, to whom I am greatly indebted.
(1) He is Independent.
(2) On the day
(3) 29th (of) Rabii’ I of the year 945 (A. H. = Sunday, 25th Aug. 1538 A. D.) it was inscribed
(4) that His Highness Masnad-i-‘Ali, Mansab Ma’ali, the great Ulugh
(5-14) Malik Quṭbu’l Mulk, may the days of his government last for ever and may his glory ever increase, led an expedition into Telangana for the sake of Islam. God the Glorified and Most Exalted having granted (him) victory, he took possession of the District of Kondapalli and for the prosperity of the country remitted the (tax known as) Andisgāntamsūnkhām. In the days that followed the sthālādārs deviated from this order which matter was represented to the Master
QUTB SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANDHRA STATE

(sāhīb) by ‘Aṭā Miyan and Jidarāomanhar,1 nāib thānadār. The Master having shown kindness
remitted it. (It is therefore notified that) henceforth they should deem it remitted till the day
of Resurrection. If any deviation is made, the oath of God, the Prophet and ‘Alī be on the Muslims
and he (they) will be subjected to the curse of God; if they be non-Muslims, they will be considered
as having committed the sin of killing a cow and a Brahmin in the middle of the river Krishna.

(15) Written by the weak slave
(16) ‘Alī, son of Saʿid Malik, inhabitant of Apargī,
(17) Fārisānīs to the above mentioned ‘Aṭā (I).

The Telugu epigraph has been translated as follows:—

“Lines 1-52. Hail! Prosperity! In the year Śaka 14[5]2, corresponding to Vikṛiti, on the
day of Vaisākha 30, Wednesday, when Masanada-Eli-Kudupana-Malka-Oḍayaluṅgāru
took possession of the Koṇḍapalli-rājya in the course of his subjugation of the Hindu kings, on
a request being made to him by Goparāju-Mahāpātra, the sthalakaraṇam of this (Koṇḍapalli)-rāja
and the people to remit the tax called Andi-santa-suṅkam, he was pleased to remit the tax
and order the setting up of a pillar recording it. And when the pillar was (later) damaged and
the writing obliterated, Goparāju-Mahāpātra, the sthalakaraṇam of Koṇḍapalli and the people
of the town and the sima of Koṇḍapalli represented to Atāmīyayaṅgāru and Adirajālāgāru, the
Tāṇḍar and the Nalī-Tāṇḍar of Koṇḍapalli respectively that a new inscribed pillar recording
the remission of the Āndi-santa-suṅkam be set up, the latter despatched a requisition (aradāsu) to
that effect to Malka Oḍayaluṅgāru, who was pleased to order the remission of the tax and to issue
written instructions (kurachakhattu) to that effect for the setting up of a new inscribed pillar in
the name of the thyāṅdar of Koṇḍapalli. (In pursuance whereof) in the year Śobhakṛtī, Āśāṅka ba.
30, Sunday, the tax was remitted also on the Paṇḍāṇam-community and this inscribed pillar
set up.

Lines 52-70. Imprecatory.

Lines 70-77. This pillar inscription was, on the orders of Kudupana-Malka-Voḍayaluṅgāru
and on the strength of the written document (kurachakhattu) (caused to be) engraved by the
sthalakaraṇam Goparāju-Mahāpātra, the son of Viv ᾱdāramāṇi-Govindarāju-Mahāpātra.

Lines 77-80. Beneficent gift.”

Great confusion seems to prevail regarding Sulṭān Quli’s conquest and possession of Koṇḍa-
palli. Mr. Sewell, while commentating upon the earlier epigraph says: It is a question how the
Sulṭān had the power to deal with these villages.2 The account of Sulṭān Quli’s conquests in
Telangana as given by the author of the Tārīkh-i-Qutb Shāhī or the anonymous historian of the
Qutb Shahs as he is popularly called is, despite facts, rather too confused chronologically. It may
be remembered that from 1513 to 1519-20, Krishnadevaraya was engaged in his campaigns into
the Gajapati territories and had not only reconquered the districts south of the river Krishna
then in possession of the Gajapati, but also the districts north of it. He had conquered Koṇḍapalli
and other places up to Guțtack. The Gajapati who was defeated in every battle and lost almost the
whole of his kingdom had to sue for peace. He gave his daughter to Krishnadevaraya in marriage,
and obtained in return all the territory to the north of the Krishna which the Raya had taken from
him during the war.3 Now Quṭb-ul-Mulk who is generally believed to have assumed sovereignty
by this time, was anxious to reconquer the fortresses that had been lost to him and were in possession
of the Gajapati. The wars with Krishnadevaraya had left the Gajapati a weaker monarch, while

1 Probably Adirajālāgaru of the Telugu version.
2 Sewell and Aiyangar, Hist. Inc. of South India, p. 243.
3 Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, pp.
304-211.
Krishnadevaraya was engaged for some time from 1520 onwards on the north-western borders of his kingdom. An inscription from Undavalli dated in 1525-26 A.D., refers to Gajapati Prataparudra's stay on the banks of the river Krishna and his construction of a temple at Mangalir. The presence of Prataparudra in this region, far from the find-spots of inscriptions under notice, suggests that Prataparudra had come to fight Sultan Quli or his forces. This would presuppose the presence of Golconda forces in this region at sometime between 1520 and 1525-26, following which Prataparudra had come down to recover the territories on the Krishna which were occupied by the Golconda forces. In other words, Sultan Quli might have taken possession of Kondapalli in 1524-25 A.D., as suggested by the earlier Persian epigraph. Also Qutbul Mulk might have issued orders for the establishment of the langar and endowment of villages but before these could be carried out, Prataparudra might have, if only for a short period, got an upper hand and regained possession of Kondapalli region. However, the death of Krishnadevaraya in 1529 seems to have changed the situation. Sultan Quli again found an opportunity to realise his ambition and renewed his attacks against the Gajapati dominions in the south and despite the best efforts of the Gajapati officers, Kondapalli was lost to Golconda. This was probably in about March 1531, the date of the first Telugu epigraph.

Now, the other Telugu epigraph which probably refers to the same conquest as the first Telugu one, is dated 1542, while its Persian counterpart bears the date 945 A.H., or 1538 A.D. as the date of writing. It may be that the renewal of the remission of taxes which forms the subject of this epigraph was ordered in 945 A.H., but could only be transferred on the pillar bearing the Telugu version four years later when the new pillar was set up. The extension of the remission to the Panchanamavara as mentioned in the Telugu epigraph may have been ordered out at this later date. Otherwise, it is difficult to account for the difference of four years between the dates of these two versions.

An interesting feature of these inscriptions is that they mention Sultan Quli only with the titles, Masnad-i-'All, Manzab Ma'ali etc., that were conferred upon him by his Bahmani sovereign; not a single title suggesting royalty is to be found therein. The evidence of these inscriptions bearing on the controversy as to when, if at all, Qutbul Mulk had proclaimed his sovereignty has not been taken any notice of. It was generally believed that Qutbul Mulk did not declare his independence until 918 A.H. or 1512 A.D., when the imbecility of Mahmud Shh Bahmani's government was apparent to the whole world and the ascendency of his ambitious ministers completely established. Dr. Yazdani tried to prove that this date was earlier by six years and that Qutbul Mulk assumed sovereignty in 924 A.H. or 1518 A.D. That Qutbul Mulk had not declared his independence until 924 A.H., cannot be challenged but it yet remains to be conclusively proved that he did so in or after that year; there is no epigraphical evidence to prove that. On the contrary, the available epigraphical evidence points to the contrary. Prof. H. K. Sherwani in a paper read before the seventh session of the Indian History Congress, has tried to show that not one of the great sifis-holders declared his independence while the last rightful Bahmani Sultan was alive. As we have stated, the epigraphical evidence does not at all warrant the declaration of independence by Sultan Quli. The epitaph on Sultan Quli's grave records his name and titles as Malik Sultan Quli entitled Qutbul Mulk known as Bare Malik (the Great Prince) which can hardly be construed to connote regal titles. The epithets

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1 47A of 1909. This inscription is dated 8 1448 Parthiva. The cycle year referred to is expired year and not the current year (vyaya). For this and other references, I am indebted to my friend Dr. R. Subramaniam, Assistant Archaeological Superintendent, in charge of Nagarjunkunda excavations, Guntur.

2 Briggs 'Firizia', III, p. 323.


5 Epig. Indo-Mosul., 1915-16, p. 27.
preceding the name in the same epitaph are not at all exclusive for kings and cannot be used in themselves as connoting royalty. As it is, the epitaph clearly shows that he is not mentioned with any royal title at all. The inscriptions under notice also point to the same fact. As late as 931 A. H. and 945 A. H., Sultan Quli was formally a great nobleman who, though a virtual ruler of Telangana, was only a great noble in charge of the government of that country and not a king in the strict sense of the term.

A few more points may be noted as regards these two records. The later record mentions a few more titles of Qutb-ulk Mulk than the earlier one. Secondly, the later epigraph includes the oath of Murtađa (i.e., ‘Ali) along with that of God and the Prophet, while the earlier one simply proclaims the curse of God and the Prophet. If it is not too much to infer, we may say that the Shiite influence had gathered momentum by 945 A. H., the date of the later record.

III.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE JAMI’ MOSQUE, VINUKONDA

Vinukonda, situated in 16°35’ N and 79°44’ E, is the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in Guntur District and is approached by rail. It lies close under the hill after which it is named. With Bellamkonda and Kondavidu, Vinukonda seems to have formed a triangle of fortresses which were the scenes of severe fighting in the 16th century. Krisnadevaraya of Vijayanagara captured this fort in 1515 A.D., before he stormed Kondavidu. Two records from Perur near Gudivada of 1515 and 1520, mention that Nadendla Appana, son of Timmayya and nephew of Saluva Timma, the king’s minister, was made governor of Vinukonda, Gutti and Amravati by that king. In a record dated 1562 it is stated that Vinukonda province (śīna) was given to Kondaraia by Rama Raja Tirumal. It finally passed into the hands of the Golconda Sultans in about 1580 A.D., when ‘Imād-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Shīrāzī, entitled Ḥaidarul’ Mulk, reduced this fort along with those of Kacheriakota and Cumbum, and left garrison there before marching against Kondavidu. This fort was regarded as of much importance even after the English took Masulipatam.

The Jami’ Mosque at Vinukonda is in good state of preservation and is similar in its construction to mosques of this period in this part of the country. It was constructed in the year 1060 A. H. (1640-41 A. D.) by ‘All Raḍā Khān, entitled ‘Ainu’l Mulk, who was deputed by the king to suppress the menace of robbers on the highways to sea-ports. Into the middle of the five arches that constitute its half-pentagonal central mihrāb, there is fitted a full arch-shaped slab bearing the following inscription. It measures from apex to bottom 4’6” and is 2’2” wide. Above the arch are fixed three separate panels in a horizontal row which have been termed in this article as the upper part of the inscription. Of these panels, those on sides are surrounded by an arched circle and contain the words Allāh, Muḥammad and ‘All written round and round four times so as to present a floral and geometrical decoration, while the central one is surrounded by a multifoil arch and contains a well-known verse from the Quran. The piece, if considered separate from the inscription on the arch (or say lower part of the inscription), measures 2’ by 9’.

The lower epigraph is surrounded by two arch-shaped lines running parallel, the inner one fixing the limits of the flourishes of the letters. There is another boundary line round another small arch inside, forming with the above line the margin of the inscription in the shape of an arch: it contains the Shiite durūḍ. The smaller arch is divided into three panels, one upon another

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1 History speaks of Qutb-ulk Mulk as a staunch Šī’a.
3 Sewell and Alyangar, opp. cit., p. 240.
4 Ibid., p. 226.
5 Ibid., p. 438. Also see Government Epigraphist’s Reports, 1909-10, Madras, pp. 119-20.
6 Imperial Gazetteer of India, opp. cit.
7 831 of 1913.
containing the *Ayatus Kursi*, the *Nād-i-Aʿlā* and the date of construction. The bottom panel is divided from the second one by a broken straight line formed by the horizontal strokes of the letter ʿ.

The whole of the epigraph is inscribed in relief in *Thuluth* characters in *Tughrā* style with the exception of the three Persian lines in the bottom panel which are written in *Nastaʿlīq*.

**TEXT**

*Plate IX (b)*

(a) on sides

الله، محمد، علي

نُصِر من الله وفتح قريب

(b) centre

(1) الله محمد على بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذ سلة

(3) ولا نوم له ما في السماوات وما في الأرض من ذي الذي

(4) يشع عنده الا بآذانه و (sic.) (sic.) يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما خلفهم

(5) ولا يجيبون بشىء من علمه الا بما شاء وعيس كرسيه

(6) السماوات والأرض ولا يوجد خفهما (sic.) (sic.) وهو العل [لعظيم

(c) inside the inner mihrāb, top panel

(1) ناد عليا مظهر [لụجايب

(2) كل هم و غم سينجلى

(3) (sic.) (sic.) يأ يا يأ على ياعلى

(d) in the margin

اللههم صل على المصطفى محمد و المرتضى علي و البتول فاطمة (و) السبطين الحسن (و)

الحسين و صلى على زين العابد علي و الباقر محمد و الصادق جعفر (و) الكامل موسى و الرضا علي

و النبي محمد و النبي علي و الزي العسكري [لحسن

و صل الله على 매ح الحج الفاطم الصالح الامام [لهم المنظور المظفر و المرضي محمد

این [لحسن صاحب الزمان و قاشع البرهان و خليفة الرحمن و مظهر الأئمة سيد الأئم و [لجان

صلوة الله وسلامه عليه [و] عليهم اجمعين
Upper piece.

(a) God, Muḥammad, 'Ali (four times).
(b) Help is from God and victory near.

Lower piece.

(a) God, Muḥammad, 'Ali. In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. **Ayatul Kursi**. ¹

(b) **Nūd-i-‘Āli**.

(c) (1) During the reign of a Jalālud-dīn, Sultan Ābdūllah Qūṭb  Shāh, may God perpetuate his kingdom, the slave,

(2) ‘Āli Raḍā Khān  Aīnūl Mulk, having brought to book the robbers on the highways to sea-ports and (having managed) the expedition of Tāngtā (†),

(3) erected a mosque for the promulgation of Faith when it was one thousand and fifty of the Hijra year (i.e., 1050 A.H.–1640-41 A.D.).

(d) Shi‘ite durūd.

The epigraph, which is remarkable for its beautiful execution and style suffers, however, from the calligraphical mistakes that have crept in. The **Nūd-i-‘Āli**, for example, is carelessly written as far as its orthography is concerned; thus we have عولتک instead of عواچک or أوولیبع instead of عواچک. In many places the words have lost their  or . These mistakes can only be ascribed either to the ignorance of the engraver, who appears to have been less conversant with Arabic or to the complicated arrangement of the text prepared by the scribe, whose writing the engraver copied out in extenso on the stone.

Apart from the palaeographic value of the epigraph, its Persian portion is important from historical point of view and speaks of the menace of robbers waylaying the traffic on the roads to ports. Telanganā had been in those days notorious for its robbers whose 'dexterity and boldness' are particularly taken note of by the anonymous author of the **Tārikh-i-Qūṭb Shāhī**, but Ibrāhīm Qūṭb Shāh's excellent police administration suppressed the menace and restored complete peace and security.² However, the same state of security does not seem to have lasted longer and here, in the present inscription, we have evidence showing that the menace of robbers affecting the trade and traffic to ports had already existed in the days of Ābdūllah Qūṭb Shāh.

As regards ‘Āli Raḍā Khān of the inscription, we do not possess any information. The sources for the history of the Qutb Shahi rulers are not many and whatever there be, are in manuscripts and hence not easily accessible. But it would not be too much to assume that ‘Āli Raḍā Khān must have been one of the important personages of the kingdom as his title ‘Aīnūl Mulk suggests. Likewise, the name of the town or district whose campaign has been referred to is not clear, since in the inscription the word is inscribed without proper diacritical marks. Though it reads like ـبـ، it is not unlikely that the correct name may be ـبـ which reading can be easily obtained by transposition of the dots. Can it be Tāngtā, a fort with dependencies mentioned alongwith Vinukonda, the findspot of the inscription under notice, in connection with the reduction of several forts by Ibrāhīm Qūṭb Shāh’s forces in about 1580?³

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¹ Qur‘ān, II, 255.
² Brigg, *op. cit.*, p. 446.
³ Sewell and Aliyanga, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
Cumbum town in Kurnool District, situated in 15°35’N and 79°6’E, was considered an important place in medieval period. In 1579 or 1580 A.D., Ḥaidaru’l Mulk, a general of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, after reducing the forts of Vinnukonda and Kacharalakota, took Cumbum and left a garrison there.¹ Since then, it formed a part of Golconda territories and on the final overthrow of that empire, passed on to the Mughuls. Later on, ‘Abdu’r Nabi Khān Miyāna was made faujdār of Kudpa district which, with the growing weakness of the Mughul authority, became a semi-independent state tributary to Hyderabad like Kurnool and Savnur.² During the rule of his greatgrandson ‘Abdu’l Ḥalīm Khān, Ḥaidar ‘Ali of Mysore overran this country and after capturing the former, bestowed it including Cumbum on his brother-in-law Mir ‘Ali Rādā Khān.³ The latter was succeeded by his son Mir Qamaru’d Din Khān in 1780-81 A.D. The Niẓām of Hyderabad acquired this and other districts from Mysore by virtue of the Treaties of 1792 and 1799 which closed the second and the third Mysore Wars and finally ceded them in 1800 to the British.

The Jāmi’ mosque at Cumbum, situated near the main bazar of the town, bears two Persian inscriptions, both being almost identical in their text with the only difference that the one which is incised on the stone contains some more titles of the king and the minister which are omitted in the other. One of them is incised on a slab of black basalt which is built into the southern wall near the base of the minaret. The epigraph contains two versions of the same record, one in prose and the other in poetry. It records the erection of the mosque by one Sayyid Husain, the bāvālādār of Cumbum, during the reign of Sulṭān ‘Abdu’llah Qutb Shāh when Mir Muḥammad Sa’īd was the Mir Jumla of the empire. We do not possess any information regarding Sayyid Husain the builder, who is spoken of in the epigraph as originally belonging to Māzandarān.

The inscriptive tablet measures 1’11” by 1’. The language is Persian and is executed in Nasḵ of a fair type. The inscription has suffered a good deal from effects of weather and passage of time, and the letters have become slightly indistinct.

It has been read as under:

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Plate X (a)

(1) در عمد پادشاه فلکه قدر تطوف شاه
(2) کلمه زلفات حق عبد الله آمله
(3) ازین لطف میر محمد سعید آلکه
(4) پشت و پایه خلق و مرید شه آمله
(5) سید حسین کردر بنا مسجدی زیبادی
(6) گز و میه آن زیان خرد کرده آمله
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¹ For Mir Muḥammad Sa’īd, see E.I.M., 1937-38, p. 52; ² Maʿṣūmī Umarā, II, p. 58; ³ Niẓām-i-Ḥaidarī tr. by W. Miles under the title The History of Hydur Naik, pp. 351-365; ⁴ Maʿṣūmī Umarā, II, p. 59.
Near the base of the northern minaret, same place.

Near the base of the southern minaret, Jani
Mosque, Cundhum.
During the reign of the king of heaven-like dignity, Qutb Shah whose name, through the kindness of God, is 'Abdu'llah, through the blessings of the kindness of Mir Muhammad Sa'id, who has been the mainstay of the people and a devoted servant of the king, Sayyid Husain, out of truthfulness (of intention) constructed a mosque, of whose description, (even) the tongue of Wisdom has fallen short. I sought the chronogram from the old Man of Reason; he replied, 'Say: (it is) second to the House of God'.
SOME INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALPI AND JATARA

By Y. K. Bukhari

Estampages of the four out of six epigraphs included in this article were collected by Maulavi Ashraf Hussain, the ex-Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions about two years back, of which two are from Kalpi, District Jalaun (U. P.) and two from Jatara in Vindhyas Pradesh. Impressions of the remaining two inscriptions from Kalpi (nos. 3 and 4) were taken long ago by Maulavi Muhammad Shuaib of the Department of Archaeology and preserved in our office.

These inscriptions are dated A.H. 839, 853, 906, 935, 961 and 961, and represent the periods of Sayyids, Lodis, Mughuls and Sûras. Of them, five are in Nasîkh style of an ordinary type and the remaining one is executed in Thuluth characters in relief. Out of the six inscriptions, one is bilingual written in Persian and Sanskrit. Thus dating from A.H. 839 to A.H. 961 (A.D. 1436 to A.D. 1554), they cover a period of nearly one hundred and twenty years which may be treated as a transitional age in the domain of calligraphy. Nasîkh paved the way for Nastâ'lîq which developed in the Mughul period and reached its zenith in the reign of Shâh Jahân (1627-1657). The script of these epigraphs may help one to mark the gradual development in the art of writing.

I have arranged the inscriptions in chronological order but place-wise. The first two epigraphs from Kalpi indicate the erection of two domed tombs of Shaikh Abûl Fath and Bâbû Hâji Šamad respectively. Shaikh Abûl Fath, the occupant of the first tomb was a great saint of his age. He was a disciple and kalîfâ of Hâjrat Banda Nawâz Gaisû Daraz of Gulharga. About the next occupant unfortunately nothing is known so far. The third and fourth inscriptions are identical and record the construction of a Jâmi‘ Mosque during the reign of Sulîn Muhammad ‘Âdid of the Sûr dynasty by Mubârak Khân, son of Iqbal Khân. The last two stone-records, from Jatara, assign the construction of two step-wells during the governorships of Ismâ’il Khân, son of Nişām Khân and Tâtâr Khân, a favourite of Sikandar Shâh Lodî respectively.

Kalpi

The town of Kalpi lies in latitude 26°8’N and longitude 79°45’ E on the banks of the Jamuna river, 22 miles far from the district headquarters. It was a great centre of trade and business chiefly for cotton and ghi at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is a prominent place of historical significance. The foundation of the town was laid down, as Firâhshâ thinks, by Basdeo or Vasudev, the ruler of Qannauj and the contemporary of the Sassanian king Bahram Gor in Persia1 but another view assigns its foundation to a Dev, known as Khalîb Deva.2 Râja Birbal, one of the illustrious nine gems of the court of Emperor Akbar was born at Kalpi. Also the holy saint Shaikh Burhân is known to have resided there. It is said that the fort of the town was one of the eight great forts of the Chandela Rajputs. It formed part of the kingdoms of the Delhi Sultâns, Hoshang Shâh of Mâlwa, the Jaunpur chiefs, Bâtbr and Humâyûn. The earliest reference to the town is found in historical records in connection with its capture by Qutb-ud-Dîn Aibak in 593 A.H. (1196 A.D.).

1 Târih-i-Firâhshâ quoted in the Gazetteer and Târih-i-Kalpi.
2 Târih-i-Kalpi by Shaikh Khudâ Baksh (manuscript preserved in the library of the Department of Archaeology, Northern Circle, Agra).
still traceable there. Affording a clear evidence of the antiquity of the town, they shed light on the art and architecture of that period and form the bulwark of the cultural side of the town.  

I.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE TOMB OF SHĀḤ ABŪ'L FATH
IN MAḤALLA HARI' GANJ

The tomb is square in plan with a low doorway in each of its sides. These doorways are all arched except the one on the south, over which at a height of 5' 3" from the ground is a Persian inscription in verse assigning the commencement of the tomb of Shaikh Abūl Fath, a famous saint of Kalpi and a khalifa of Shāh Gaiṣī Darāz of Gulbarga (whose another khalifa Bhola Sālār lies buried to the east of the Station Road near Sirhi Darwāza). The aforesaid tomb is built of stones and bricks in lime and mortar covered over with lime plaster. The dome is bulbous. It is carved on an octagonal drum and crowned by a crested finial. The tomb is in good repair.

The inscription is divided into three panels, the upper portion being a triangle in shape bearing the words 'He is Ever-living, Segment), while the lower panels are squares of equal size containing the first hemistiches of verses on the right hand side and the second ones on the left hand. The construction of the tomb was commenced in Sha'bān 853 A.H. (September 1449 A.D.) and completed after seven months in Safar 854 A.H. (March 1450 A.D.). The inscription slab is 1'7" x 1'5", executed in Naskhī characters in relief.

The occupant of the tomb, mentioned in the inscription, was Shaikh Abūl Fath 'Alā'ī Quraishī, a celebrated saint of the 15th century as mentioned above. Shaikh Abūl Fath was well versed in worldly sciences and possessed spiritual faculties as well. He also visited Mecca and Madina and was called Zāhir al-ḥarrimin (the visitor of the two harems), thereafter. He was the author of a great number of books, 'Awārif al-Maʿārif being one of the best among the lot. He had also written twenty other books on mysticism. According to Khasinatu'l Āṣfiyā he died in 862 A.H., and lies buried at Kalpi. The chronogram of his death is given in the book in the following verses:

\[
\text{چون رفت از عالم فانی بجنت} \\
\text{چو سال الاقالیم جسم از دل} \\
\text{پکتا میر دینی ابی الفتح} \\
\text{ده اهل یقین هادی ابی الفتح}
\]

This date is in contravention of the epigraphical evidence which gives 853 A.H. as the date of the foundation of his tomb. In all probability, the tomb might have been built during the life-time of the saint (as was the practice in those days) who, on his death, was interred therein. The inscription does not record the date of his death but only assigns the commencement and completion of the tomb. The text is cited below:

**TEXT**

**Plate XI (a)**

هو الیباق

قهـّعـه

(1) کتبـد شیخ زایر الْحَرْمین
شیخ ابی الفتح قطب اهل زمان
(2) در بلنسیه بیست رشک فلک
در لطافه بیست رشک چنان

---

1 For a detailed history of and information about Kalpi, please see (a) District Gazetteer of the United Provinces, vol. XXV, Jalaun, pp. 159-163, (b) Archaeological Survey of India Reports, vol. XXI, pp. 131-133, and (c) A. Fuhrer, The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh, pp. 112, 113.

2 Khasinatu'l Āṣfiyā, p. 379.
EPGRAPHIA INDICA—ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(3) بود پیاد و گز به تصمیما و سه [ه] د پنجه گز درهم شعبان
(3) شد از این پس به قطع ماه تمام در صفر از عینایت یزدان

TRANSLATION

He is the Ever-living

Segment

(1) The tomb of the Shaikh, the visitor of the two ḥarams, Shaikh Abū'l Ḥath, the Quṭb (or the pole star) of the people of the world

(2) is an object of envy for the sphere on account of its loftiness, and emulated by Paradise on account of its elegance.

(3) Its foundation took place in the month of Shab‘ān 803 after adding 50 (to it) (i.e., 853 A.H.—September 1449 A.D.).

(4) After that it was completed by the grace of God in seven months in the month of Shafar (of the following year).

II.—FROM THE TOMB OF SHAIKH ḤĀJĪ ŞAMAD, ADALSAĀRĀĪ MAHALLA

Near the Thāthere nā Kūčān is a domed structure, square in plan, provided with a doorway on each of its four sides. It is made of bricks in lime covered over with lime plaster. The drum of the dome is octagonal. There are ominous cracks in all the four arched entrances and if not immediately repaired, the tomb is in imminent danger of collapse without notice any moment. There being so few monuments assignable to Bābur’s period, the tomb amply deserves protection.

Over the east entrance of the tomb is an epigraph in Persian prose consisting of five lines, each line having been inscribed in a horizontal panel. It mentions the name of the occupant of the tomb as Shaikh Bābū Ḥāji Şamad and assigns the construction during the governorship of Sulṭān ʿĀlam Lodī in the reign of the Mughul Emperor Bābur on the 15th of Rajab 935 A.H. (26th March 1529 A.D.). The style of writing is Nasīḥ of an inartistic nature, carved in embossed letters. The inscription slab measures 10" x 7½" and reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XII (a)

این گنبد شیخ بابو حاجی صمد [د]
عمد باب باقی ماند مغل
عمل سلطان عالم لودی
بتاریخ بانوی ماما رجب
سنہ خمسائی تی و تسعائی م_network [د]

TRANSLATION

(1) This tomb of Shaikh Bābū Ḥāji Şamad
(2) during the reign of the Mughul King Bābur,
(3) (and during) the governorship of Sulṭān ʿĀlam Lodī
(4) on the 15th of the month of Rajab
(5) year 936 (A.H.—26th March 1529 A.D.) was constructed.
III-IV.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE DEORHI MOSQUE IN THE UDHAMPURA MAHALLA

The mosque is built of mortar and brick; it measures about 30' by 15', consists of 3 bays and is surmounted by 3 domes. Of the two inscriptions noticed here, one (plate XI b) is fixed on the right corner of the central arch and comprises six lines, while the other (plate XI c), fixed over the entrance of the mosque, contains seven lines of record and in addition a few words on the left border. Both are carved on the slabs of red sandstone, executed in Naskh characters of an indifferent type in relief. They are in Persian prose and identical in their text (excepting two words) which runs to the effect that the mosque was constructed on Sunday, the 8th of the month of Dhu'l Ḥajjah 961 A.H. (4th November 1554 A.D.) during the reign of Sultan Muhammad 'Adil of the Suri dynasty by Mubarak Khan, (son of) Iqbal Khan.

The word جامع occurring near the end of the third line under the words این مسجد in the former inscription (plate XI b) is absent in the other inscription (plate XI c). This word should properly be read after the word جامع and thus it reads as این مسجد جامع (this Jami' mosque). It appears that the mosque referred to in the epigraphs is not an ordinary type but a congregational one as clarified by the word جامع in the former inscription. Moreover, since the word جامع is carved beneath the words این مسجد and is absent in the other, one may draw the conclusion that the word in question might have been left out through oversight by the engraver in both of the epigraphs at first, but later on it was carved in the former inscription under the words این مسجد as there was no space for its insertion in the proper line between the aforesaid words.

The next point which is to be noted here is one day’s difference in the date, the day recorded (viz., Sunday) being the same. The former inscription mentions the date as Sunday, the 7th of the month of Dhu'l Ḥajjah, while in the other the date is recorded as Sunday, the 8th of the month of Dhu'l Ḥajjah. Thus the difference of one day lies in the epigraphs, but on scrutiny the date in the second inscription is found correct and exact because the day پنجشنبه (Sunday) was the 8th and not the 7th of the month of Dhu'l Ḥajjah 961 A.H. (vide von Eduard Mahler, vergleichungstablen, p. 25).

The second inscription ends in the word هرکه and runs on to the left border but the words do not admit of decipherment as they are completely peeled off. I think with all probability that since both the inscriptions are identical, the abraded words in the border must be پیروانه به فاتحه ياد اورد. They may be read as follows:

TEXT

Plate XI (b)

(1) باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(2) لاه الا الله محمد رسول الله
(3) دار عهد السلطان محمد عادلا این مسجد جامع بنانا کرد
(4) مبارک خان اقبال خان سراوانی پرچمیل قرون میش نواچه
(6) محمد خواجه محمود ابتدأ ماه ذو الحجة بتاريخ هفتتم روز يکشنه
سته احده ستين و تسعمایه هر که بیخواند [به] ناتحه یاد آرد

Plate XI (c)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
(2) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
(3) در عهد سلطان محمد عادل
این مسجد بنا کرد مبارکخان اقبالخان
سروای پرچمیل فراموش خواجه محمد
(4) خواجه محمود ابتدأ ماه ذو الحجة تاریخ
هشتتم روز يکشنه سته احده ستین تسعمایه هر که

On the left border.

[بیخواند به ناتحه یاد آرد]

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
(2) There is no god but God; Muhammad is the Prophet of God.
(3) In the reign of Sultan Muhammad ‘Adil, this Jami’ mosque was constructed by
(4) Mubārak Khān, (son of) Iqbāl Khān, Shirwānī (of) Paraj Khail (tribe) at the instance of Khwāja
(5) Muhammad, (son of) Khwaja Maḥmūd, dated Sunday, the 8th of the month of Dhulajjah
(6) (in) the year nine hundred and sixty-one (4th November 1554 A.D.). Whoever reads
(this) should recite the fātiḥa (Opening chapter of the Quran).

As may be easily seen, the language of the records and their styles of writing are of an ordinary type, being most probably the work of a local scribe. These are two of the few known records indicating the name of Muhammad ‘Adil Sūr, better known in history as ‘Adil or Andhī as the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī states.¹ His original name was Mubāriz Khān. He was a cousin of Islām Shāh who had married his sister. When Islām Shāh died, Mubāriz Khān ascended the throne after putting to death Fīrūz, his own nephew, and assumed the title of Muhammad ‘Adil. From an account given in the Tabaqāt, it appears that Islām Shāh had no faith in him. He used to tell his wife, Bībī Bā’l by name, that if she loved her son Fīrūz Khān, she should allow him to kill her brother Mubāriz Khān, who was a hindrance in the path of her son, and if she loved her brother, she should wash her hands off the life of her son, for he was afraid, he said, that Fīrūz stood in constant danger from his uncle. The wife did not agree saying that her brother did not cherish any desire for kingship, being given to errament and pursuit of music.²

¹ Nawal Kishore Ed., pp. 238, 239.
² Ibid., p. 118. Ḥājjī Dābīr, the author of the celebrated Arabic History of Gujarat, gives more or less the same story which he had heard from Mīyān ‘Abdu’r Razzāq who was in the prime of his youth during the reign of Ṣer Shāh and who had come to Gujarat in the reign of Islām Shāh (Zafar-ul Wālih, II, p.1104).
(c) On the right corner of the central mihrab, Doshik Mosque, Kajpi

(d) From the tomb of Shah Ali Raza, Mehalla Harangunj, Kajpi

(5) Over the entrance of the same mosque, Kajpi

Scale: 33

Scale: 20
As regards Mubarak Khan, he may be identical with the official under that name, who along-
with Bahadur Khan, was despatched at the head of artillery forces to Panipat by Himm when
Akbar proceeded against the latter.\textsuperscript{1} We have no information regarding Khwaja Muhammadi
at whose instance the mosque was constructed.

Jatara

Jatara or Jathra\textsuperscript{2} is a place of considerable historical interest. It lies in 25°1’ N and 79°6’ E,
situated below the level of a lake in the Tikamgarh District of Vindhya Pradesh. Jatara is rich
in respect of ancient and mediæval monuments of architectural devices. Some of them bear
inscriptions in Persian belonging to the style of the later Mughula. Abü’l Faql mentions the
town as the head-quarters of a mahal in the Irich sarkar of the subah of Agra. It is said that
Islam Shâh of the Sûr dynasty named it as Islâmabad after his own name but ‘on the defeat of
Salim Shâh Sûrî, Bharti Chand restored the old name of Jatara to the town’.

The monuments and epigraphs at Jatara may be of considerable help to a student of Indian
architecture and history. One can study the specimens of ancient architecture, its gradual
development, fusion of Hindu and Islamic styles and the characteristics of the Mughul buildings.
But most of the monuments excepting a few, are in dilapidated condition.

The village contains a number of buildings, tombs and step-wells, one of which known as
Laulangar kî Bâoli bears an inscription in Persian included in this paper.

V.—INSCRIPTION FROM LAULANGAR KI BÂOLI

The bâoli is rectangular, 93′ × 28′ × 13′, situated at a distance of half a mile from the village.
There is a circular well behind it with a diameter of 26′ 5′. There is a roofed passage between
the well and the bâoli, bearing two inscriptions on each side of the passage. One of them, on the
right hand side, is in Persian, while the other one on the left hand side is in Sanskrit.

The Persian epigraph consists of nine lines, one in verse and the rest in prose, executed in
Thulth characters of an ordinary type in raised letters. It assigns the construction of the bâ’în
(step-well) to one Bhoj Mahârij, a liquor-seller, resident of the town of Jatara, during the
governorship of Ismâ’îl Khan, son of Nisâm Khan, on Thursday, the 6th of the month of
Sha’bân 839 A.H. (24th February 1436 A.D.). The text is cited below:

\begin{center}
\textbf{Plate XII (b)}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline
(1) \\
پاتام ریز پانه بائیک و بنی بناء مذکور \\
(2) \\
پہولا مهرج خمار ساکن قصیدہ جنھر دی \\
(3) \\
عدید دولت خان[ن] اعظم و خاقان معظم \\
(4) \\
شمس الدنیا و الدین اساعیل خان بن \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{1} N. B. Roy, \textit{The Successors of Sher Shah}, p. 82.

\textsuperscript{2} Blochmann, \textit{A’s}, II, p. 188.

\textsuperscript{3} This is unhistorical, being only a legend recorded in the verses in \textit{Brij Bhasha}. (For the text of the story, see \textit{Central India State Gazetteer Series, Eastern States}, vol. VIA, Bundelkhand, p. 75).
(1) O Opener!

(2) The foundation of the stepped-well reached its completion, and the founder of the said fabric (is)

(3) Bholā Mahrāj, the liquor-seller, resident of the town of Jatahra, during

(4) the governorship of the exalted Khān and the great Khāqān

(5) Shamsu’d Dunyā wa’d Din, Ismā’īl Khān, son of

(6) Niẓām Khān, may God perpetuate the shadow of his glory.

(7) A kingdom so firmly established and a rule so universally obeyed have not been given sign of in any body by Time since ages.

(8) On Thursday, the 6th of Sha’bān year 839 (A. H. = 24th February 1436 A. D.).

(9) .............. Bholā Mahrāj.

Ismā’īl Khān referred to in the record seems to be a governor owing allegiance to the Sultan of Kalpi, where a minor dynasty was reigning at the time when Kalpi was a buffer state between Jaunpur and Malwa. Nothing can be traced about him in the contemporary records. Hajji Dābir in his Arabic History of Gujarat, however, mentions one Majlis-i-Sāmī Ismā’īl Khān, ruler of Kalpi, who arrived in 841 A.H. to Chanderi enroute to Gujarat from where he intended to proceed for pilgrimage. It is not definite if he is identical with the same Ismā’īl Khān of the present epigraph.

VI.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE SHAikhONWĀLĪ BĀOLĪ, DAULATPURA

It is reported that the bāolī is situated nearly one mile to the south-west of the village. It is a circular big well having stairs to reach the water. Its diameter is 19’ 6”. There is an inscription in the well embedded in the wall inside measuring 1’ 5” × 1’. It is bilingual, the upper half being in Persian prose in six lines executed in Nāgarī letters of an inartistic nature in relief and the lower portion in Sanskrit consisting of eight lines carved in Nāgarī script incised on stone. The Persian version records the construction of a step-well by one Shyām Kunwar Kalāwāntī (musician), resident of the town of Jatahra, during the governorship of Tāṭār Khān, son of Muḥammad on Wednesday, in the month of Rajab 906 A.H. (January 1501 A.D.).

The inscription in the Persian version does not mention the name of the ruler or the dynasty but only refers to the name of the governor appointed there. Tāṭār Khān was made governor of Jatahra by Buhālī Lodi, and was later on confirmed by Sikandar Lodi when the latter visited Jatahra after ascending the throne. About another person referred to in the epigraph, namely,

1 Zafarā’ī Wālī, pp. 197-98.
A PERSIAN INSCRIPTION OF ADIL SHAHI PERIOD FROM SIRUGUPPA

Shyām Kunwar Kalāwanti (the builder of the well), nothing is traceable in historical records. The epigraph reads as under:

TEXT

Plate XII (c)

(1) باتام ريبد بناء بالين و بانی
(2) [شیام کنور کلاواتی ساکن قصبه
(3) چترگه دار عید دولت ۱ مان] اعظم و خاقان
(4) معظم تاثار خان بن محمد ادام الله
(5) نلال جلاله روز جهاد شنه ماء رجب
(6) رجب قدروه سله ست وسعایه

TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of the bā'īn was finished and the builder (is)
(2) Shyām Kunwar Kalāwanti (musician or artist), resident of the town
(3) of Jatāhara, during the governorship of the great (Khān)
(4) and exalted Khāqān, Tātār Khān, son of Muḥammad, may God perpetuate
(5) the shadows of His glory, on Wednesday, the month of Rajab,
(6) may its dignity increase, year 906 A.H. (January 1501 A.D.).

The inscription in Sanskrit cannot be fully deciphered owing to the indistinct nature of the inscription. The date is Vikrama Samvat 1557, Phalgunashti 3. This seems to have fallen a few days later than “Wednesday, Rajab 906 A.H.”, recorded in the Persian portion of the epigraph. Mention is made of the rājya or reign of one Tātār Khān, possibly called Mahākhanā, and to the subordinate ruler of Jatahara nagarah, whose name is doubtful but ended in udana. Line 5 refers to the vāpi or step-well and line 3 to Kalāwanta. But the details known from the Persian part in this connection cannot be clearly made out.

A PERSIAN INSCRIPTION OF ADIL SHAHI PERIOD FROM SIRUGUPPA

By Z. A. Desai

The following inscription which comes from Siruguppa in Bellary District was noticed by the Government Epigraphist some three decades back and a summary of its contents was published in the Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for the year 1922-23 where no attempt was made to identify ‘Abdu’l Muḥammad, son of Malik Rahīm. It is stated there that ‘Amadatulla Ayyāna malika Abdulla Mahammadah Rahan Sāheba and his chief Havalār at Ādavāni (Adoni) and

1 Probably the word خان is left out between the words اعظم and دولت.

2 I am grateful to Dr. D. C. Sirca M.A., Ph.D., Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacamund, for sending a note on the Sanskrit version of the epigraph. He kindly examined the text and furnished the information about its contents.

2 Pp. 46, 125.
Rayachūr (Raichur) are mentioned in a record from Siruguppa (i.e., the present record). It may be observed that the chief Ḥawīlādār at Adoni and Raichur is none other than ‘Abdu’l Muḥammad, though this statement wants us to believe otherwise. As the inscription is not without historical interest, it is being published here along with its facsimile.

Siruguppa stands on a narrow branch of the Tungabhadra. The name Siruguppa means ‘pilgrimage’ and is well earned by the striking contrast which its rich wet land watered by two branches of an anicut channel from the Tungabhadra affords to the parched dry land around it. There is an old fort, on a bastion of which stands the temple of Sambhu Linga, the oldest in the village. Within its enclosure are two inscribed stones, but one is broken into two and the other is chipped.¹

The present inscribed tablet which measures about 3’ by 1’ 4” is reported to have been built into the wall of the bastion near the Śambhulingasvāmin temple. The epigraph has been inscribed in three languages, namely, Persian, Marathi and Kannada. The Persian version records the erection of a bastion in the midst of the river, while the Marathi and Kannada versions mention the erection of a well as well. It is further to be noted that the Kannada version is dated in Śaka Era, while the Persian and Marathi records bear the date in Shukur San. The Marathi record which is almost a translation of the Persian record otherwise, adds, as already stated, the words Śambhudeva bāhi (a well of god Śambhu) before Ḥussainī Burj as also the benedictory words dāma daulataḥ after the name of the nobleman. The bastion is not mentioned by any name in the Persian record.

The Persian record is pretty weather-beaten and is inscribed in Nasīḥ of a crude type with the result that a word or two could not be deciphered. It comprises three lines in prose. It begins with a religious text about the Omnience of God instead of the usual Bismillāḥ. There is no reference to the ruling king. At this period the Adil Shahi ruler was Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II.

It has been read as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(1) } & \text{و الله قادر علي ما يشاء} \\
\text{(2) } & \text{ديسال شهير سنه منى عشر} \\
\text{(3) } & \text{و شهير محمد نورا زهت مها ضهار سرگوهي} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ملك عالیشان سعادت نشان عهد الإعیان ملك عبد المحمد ابن ملك رهبان سرخالدار قلعة إدوني} \\
\text{و معاملت راجور} \\
\text{برج بنا كرده بود با نايخ و هفت ماه رمضان المبارک روز الفتح} \\
\text{مستعد كرده شده است باهي} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{خير خوبي نصيب باد آمين} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\------------

\text{TRANSLATION}

(1) God is Powerful over whatever He wills.

(2-3) In the Shukur San 1018, on behalf (1) of the intrepid master, Malik of high dignity, having signet of happiness, the best of grandees, Malik ‘Abdu’l Muḥammad, son of Malik Raiḥān, Sarḥadalādār of the fort of Adawni, the District of Raichūr and the city of Muḥammad Nūr for (1) the muqāṣā of Sirguppa fort, and during the thānaḍāri of Dalpat Rāo, a bastion was constructed in the middle of the river, (which) has been completed on... 27th Ramaḍānul Mubārak. As for the rest, may (all) be blessed with goodness and excellence! Amen.

¹ \text{Gazeteer of Bellary District, p. 234.}

² This phrase, the reading of which is doubtful, occurs in the next line also.
Marathi Version

"This Marathi version is identical in the main with its Kannada version which has been translated. The following changes may be noted:—

1. The date in line 1 is given in Suḫuru San. The expression त्रान त्राळी श्यन is an addition before ब्रम्हततुष्ट.

2. In line 4 द्रुपतीराध is mentioned as ताणदार which is not so in Kannada. The Marathi word बाहे evidently stands for the Kannada भाव meaning a ‘well’. The benediction at the end in Kannada is absent in Marathi."

Kannada Version

"Hail! Let there be victory and prosperity. In the Śālivāhana Śaka year 1549 and Prabhava, on Jyēṣṭha bahuja 30, Sunday, Rājēśrī Dalapatriāya constructed a well of god Śambhu and a bastion called Huseni Burju when Amadatulla Ayyāna mallika Abdulla Mahamada Rehana Sāhēba was holding charge of the Adavānī Fort as Sar Havālīdar and of Mamale Rāyichērū, Śahar Mahamadanūru, Mokhēśa-hisārā Sirgunpā. May this have the strength of the moon, the sun and the stars. May auspiciousness and splendour attend this."

Before we proceed to refer to the personages mentioned in the inscription, we may compare the three versions in their dates and contents. The Persian version records the date as 1018 Shuhār San, while the Marathi clearly mentions 1028 Suḫuru San in words (Samân Asharīn). The latter date tallies with the year Śaka 1549 given in the Kannada version which corresponds to 1028 Shuhār San or 1036 Hijra or 1627 A. D. It is very likely that the engraver of the Persian inscription may have inadvertently inscribed سیمین عشر instead of the correct date ١٠٢٨.

As regards the contents, the Persian record mentions only the construction of the bastion in the middle of the river (the bastion is not called by any name), while both the Marathi and Kannada versions mention the construction of the bastion called Huseni Burj as well as that of a well of god Śambhu.

The epigraph is important from historical point of view. ‘Abdu'l Muḥammad, son of Malik Raiḥān of the inscription seems to have been one of the foremost grandees of the Adilshahi kings. It is really surprising to find the Persian chronicles completely silent regarding him. We do not find a mention of him even by name or otherwise, direct or indirect, in any work including the Basāţinu’s Salāţin. Malik ‘Abdu'l Muḥammad seems to have governed Raichur and its surrounding parts for a number of years, as may be gathered from a number of inscriptions at Raichur in which he appears as the builder of some monuments at that place. For example, the Jāmi Mosque inside the fort of Raichur has two inscriptions mentioning its erection by him in 1032 A.H. (1622-23 A.D.) during the reign of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh, while the inscription on Mr Ḥusain Shāhib’s dargāh speaks of a granary constructed by him in the same year. Another inscription dated in the same year, found near the Kati gate of Raichur speaks of him as Amir ‘Āmil who constructed nine arches, and yet another on the gate itself records his having constructed the arch of the gate

1 These two versions have been deciphered, translated and annotated for me by Shri P. B. Desai of the Government Epigraphist's Office, Octacamund, through the good offices of Shri N. Laxminarayana Rao, Government Epigraphist, to both of whom my cordial thanks are due.

2 Bā‘i is used in a number of Persian Inscriptions in the sense of a step-well. Also cf. wād in Gujarati.
in the same year. An inscription from the Jāmi' Mosque of the town speaks of his having constructed the mosque, which was completed in 1038 A. H. ¹

Apart from these epigraphs, 'Abdu'l Muḥammad finds mention in a Telugu manuscript in Mackenzie collection, as having led, along with his brother 'Abdu'l Wahhāb, an attack on Kurnool in 1504 Siddharti. ² Tradition ascribes to him as his resting place the larger of the tombs in Kurnool, known locally as 'Abdu'l Wahhāb kā Gumbad. ³ As regards Dalapattrāo during whose thānadāri the bastion was constructed, I have not been able to gather any information. However, the Basātin mentions one Dalapattāro, a nāikwāri at Dharwar who was imprisoned by Murāri in about 1045 A.H., when the latter fled to Dharwar. Murāri, it is said, could not get access to the fort at first, but later on, Dalapattāro and other nāikwāris came out of the fort and received him when he got them arrested. ⁴ But it is difficult to say whether he is the same person as mentioned in the present record. Both the Marathi and Kannada versions call him Rājeśri.

It has not been possible to identify Muḥammadnūr, which seems to have some sort of association with the name of 'Abdu'l Muḥammad. The Basātin gives various names of Kurnool, viz., Muḥammadnagar, Muhammad Nūr etc., ⁵ but whether Kurnool is meant here, it is difficult to say, due not only to the absence of any other evidence but also to the fact that the Hyderabad edition of the Basātin is very corrupt.

TWO PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REIGN OF SHAH JAHAN FROM SARAI EKDIL, DISTRICT ETAWA

BY Y. K. BUKHARI

Some time back, I brought to the notice of the ex-Assistant Superintendent of Epigraphy two unpublished Persian inscriptions at Ekdil, a village in the District of Etawah in U.P. He wanted me to collect their estampages and write notes on them for publication in this Journal. My observations are as follows:

Ekdil, a small town in the District of Etawah, lies in 26°46'N and 79°5'E, five miles east of Etawah on the road to Auraiya. The village is said to have been founded by Saksena Kayasthas and called Sarai Rupa after the name of the founder. The railway station Ekdil is situated about a mile and a half to the north of the town on the Northern Railway. About a mile to the east of the town is a bāoli or stepped-well, said to have been built by a Banjara. ⁶

In the reign of the Mughul Emperor, Shāh Jahān, a eunuch named Yakdil Khān constructed an inn (sarāi) and a small unpretentious mosque in the years 1039 A.H. and 1042 A.H. (1629 A.D. & 1632 A.D.) respectively and thenceforth the town came to be called Ekdil (or Yakdil) after him. A metalled road, lined up with shops on one side leads to the main gate built of red sandstone, bearing a Persian inscription above the arch. The other inscription appears on the mosque of Yakdil Khān nearby. Although of no particular importance today and the Imperial Gazetteer and the District Gazetteer, Etawah, are almost silent about it, the inscriptions under notice lead one to infer that it was a pretty important place in the mediaeval period and travellers used to stay there comfortably.

TWO PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REIGN OF SHĀH JAHĀN

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

It is in Persian verse carved on the slab of red-sandstone measuring 6' 11" x 11", fixed over the main gate of the town. The script is Nasta’liq carved in relief. The epigraph consists of two lines, arranged in ten horizontal panels containing one hemistic h each and assigns the foundation of the town of Yakhilābād to Yakīl Khān. The chronogram is contained in the last line and yields the year 1039 A.H. (1629 A.D.). I read the text as follows:

TEXT

Plate XIII (b)

(۲) خلد ثانی است فی[-] سفل ب[هجان]
(۳) یشود [آر[غ]] [یز] [ز[م]] [م[ن]]
(۴) [آمد] آ و [ا] [سراه یکدلخان]
(۵) جسم .......................... [سال] تعمیرش

TRANSLATION

(1–2) During the reign of the Emperor of the world (Shāh Jahān), (Yakīl) founded for the [comfort] of the public a charming place Yakhilābād, which is the [envy [of Baghād and the rival of Isfahan].

(3) [On account of its flourishing gardens and blooming cypress-trees and orchards] it is proverbially the second paradise on earth.

(4) Whosoever rests [therein] for a while feels immune from the terrors of the world.

(5) I sought………………[the year] of its construction; the voice [came]: the inn of Yakīl Khān.

The last line which is badly worn out, contains the chronogram. The reading of the date is doubtful. The first word of the last hemistic has completely peeled off leaving a faint trace of it on the stone. After that only the letters “و او” are distinct and at the end the words سرا[ی] آ[و] [سراه یکدلخان] are clearly readable. Thus the phrase reads as Sarāi Yakīl Khān should be the chronogram of the monument, their numerical value according to Abjad calculations comes only to 986 A.H. or about 50 years before the commencement of Emperor Shāh Jahān’s reign during which the sarāi was actually set up. But if we add to this the numerical value of the words آ[مد] آ[و] [سراه یکدلخان] as well, we get the year 1039 A.H. (1629–30 A.D.), which falls in the reign of Shāh Jahān.

Fuhrer, as a passing remark, states that the gate of the town and the mosque were constructed in 1042 A.H., but he quotes no authority and so his version is also doubtful.\footnote{1}

\footnote{1} I had an opportunity to visit Sarāi Ekedil and read the inscription in situ. Most of the words in relief have either peeled off or are badly damaged. However, I tried my best to trace the effaced text on the inscription slab and the words so supplied have been given in the brackets.

\footnote{2} The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, p. 92.
Inscription No. 2

The other Persian inscription is on an ordinary stone slab, measuring 2' 7½" × 4' 3", fixed above the main door of the mosque of Yakdil Khan near the Ekdil Sarai noticed above. The inscripional slab is arch-shaped. On the top there are two circular medallions inscribed with the words یا کافی (O sufficient) and یا فتاح (O opener). Beneath them appears the Throne Verse preceded by Bismillah executed in Nasliq characters in relief. The historical portion of the epigraph is contained in the last line, carved in Nastaliq script in relief.

Unfortunately there is nothing traceable in the historical records about the personages referred to in the epigraph, but it appears that, as a man of note, Bhikan Khan was entrusted with the construction of the mosque of Yakdil Khan, the founder of the town of Yakdilabad and the Ekdil Sarai, in the reign of Emperor Shahn Jahann and that the mosque was completed in 1042 A.H. (1032 A.D.). The name of the scribe Muhammad 'Ali, occurs at the end and the historical portion of the epigraph reads as follows:

**TEXT**

Plate XIII (c)

(1) بدورة شاه جهان بادشاه کون مکان
(2) بکرم ایرند سیاسه جو امزشاء سید
کتاب محمد عل

**TRANSLATION**

(1) During the time of Shah Jahann, king of the universe, the slave Yakdil Khan founded his own mosque.

(2) (It was) completed by the grace of God under the supervision of the brave Bhikan Khan. Written by Muhammad 'Ali. Year 1042 (A.H.=1632 A.D.).

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**AN INSCRIPTION OF SHAH JAHAN FROM HAJO IN ASSAM**

By Z. A. Desai

In 1953, the then Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions had secured an inked rubbing of an inscription from the mosque known today as Poo Mecca Mosque, situated on the summit of a hill near Hajo, a village on the left bank of the river Brahmaputra, about 15 miles by road from Gauhati. Hajo which seems to have been an important town in the days of old, is even today celebrated for its temple, dedicated to Siva, which stands in a picturesque situation on the top of a low hill.¹

The Director General of Archaeology in India had visited the place in February 1952, and the following brief account of the mosque is derived from his notes: The Poo Mecca mosque in mauza Hajo stands on the Garudchal hill. Its importance is derived from a grave, ascribed to Sultan Ghiyath-ud-Din Balban, a Muslim saint² which lies some 20 feet to the west of the mosque. The

¹ Imp. Gaz. of India, XIII, p. 8. For an interesting account of Hajo hill or rather group of hills, see J.A.S.B. LXI, 1892, part I, pp. 35 ff. An incomplete reading of the present inscription along with its translation is given there, but it is not without mistakes.

² The name of the saint is somewhat peculiar.
(e) From the bastion near the Samhautingawamin temple, Sirnguppa

SCALE: 1:2

(f) Over the main gate of the town, Ekkil

SCALE: 1:2

(g) Over the main door of the mosque near Ekkil Sarai, Ekkil

SCALE: 1:2
AN INSCRIPTION OF SHĀH JAHĀN FROM HĀJO IN ASSAM

terrace round the grave and the mosque which are constructed on a high plinth, has a parapet around, with pillars connected to each other by horizontal iron-track fencing. The mosque, as it stands today, was entirely rebuilt some ten years ago, but instead of trying to restore the facing and the fallen parts of the terrace, and preserve such features of the mosque as existed originally, it was pulled down and thoroughly reconstructed. The mosque and the grave are being maintained by a committee of 15 members, out of the revenue realised from the lands endowed for the purpose by Shah Shuja and the Emperor Aurangzeb.

The slab bearing the following inscription measures 4' 10" by 1' 8", and is fixed above the right panel over the northern door in the east wall. The historical portion of the epigraph is inscribed in Persian. The stone is divided into five horizontal panels. The first two of these contain the religious texts; the third panel is again cut into eight parts each containing a hemistic; the fourth panel was obviously to be divided into eight parts to contain eight more hemistiches but only three small panels were made while the remaining five hemistiches are inscribed in the undivided portion of this panel. The last panel contains a line in prose. The epigraph records the construction of the mosque by Lutfu'llah Shīrāzī during the reign of Shāh Jāhān in 1087 A.H. (1677 A.D.). The script employed in the epigraph is Nasta'liq of a high order. The inscription has suffered considerably owing to inclemency of weather and passage of time.

TEXT

Plate XIV (a)

1. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - unthinkable the Holy evangelists and the prophets of Allah.
2. and the last part of the verses on Allah, his Manifestations, and his Measures. And may Allaah quicken.
3. in this, and your Excellency, the Sultans of the two Ghurkhas. And may Allah give you his favor and bless you.
4. in the presence of the Lord of the Universe, and the Head of the Messengers of Allah.
5. may your Excellency and your Excellency, the Great ladies and the ladies of your house, and the ladies and the ladies of your house, be happy and prosperous.

* See note 2 on the next page.
(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. All praise is due to God, the Lord of the worlds; and blessings and peace be upon His Apostle, Muḥammad, and his descendents and his pious companions. God, the Most High says: The mosques of God shall be visited and maintained by such as believe in God.

(2) and the Last Day, establish regular prayers, and practise regular charity, and fear none (at all) except God. It is they who are expected to be on true guidance.¹ And the Prophet, may God’s blessings and peace be upon him, has said: He who builds a mosque in (this) world, God builds for him seventy mosques in the hereafter.

(3) During the reign of the just king, the emperor of the world and the chief of Faith, Abūl Ghāzi Shujaʿu’ud Din Muḥammad, the auspicious ruler and prince, when Luṭfuʾllah Shīràzī founded (this) august mosque as beautiful as Paradise, at the ‘abode of peace’ celebrated throughout the countries viz., Shujaʿ-ābād, may God preserve it! Amen!

(4) (It was) at a time when the standards of (royal) intention were in the province of Bengal with glory and grandeur.

May this abode of Faith for ever prosper and flourish out of regard for and the sanctity of seven⁵ paradieses!

May this magnificent stone-edifice remain for ever strong through the grace of Niʿmatu’llah.

When Wisdom sought the year of its construction, a (heavenly) voice said: The House of Faith has become manifest.

(5) Let it not remain hidden from the minds of the seekers of news that the construction of this grand mosque was completed in the reign of His Majesty, the second Šahīb Qirān, Šahāb Jahān Bādshāh, by Luṭfuʾllah, the humblest of the servants of the state, and a disciple and admirer of Šah Niʿmatuʾllah, in the month of Ramaḍān, 1067 (A.H.–Jun.–Jul. 1657 A.D.).

The date is also afforded by the chronogram contained in the words, ‘The House of Faith has become manifest.’

Mir Luṭfuʾllah Shīràzī, mentioned in the epigraph as the builder of the mosque, held the rank of 500, 300 horse, under Šahāb Jahān,⁶ and was the fawżdār of Kamrup during the governorship of Shāh Shujaʿ of Bengal. Towards the close of the year 1067 A.H., when the news of Šahāb Jahān’s protracted illness spread in the distant parts and far off places of the realm, Shujaʿ also proclaimed himself king and in his bid for the throne marched towards Patna and Bihar and thence to Banaras. In the chaos thus caused, the province of Kamrup was invaded by the Rāja of Kuch Bihar, while at the same time, the Rāja of Assam also sent a large force by land as well as water towards Kamrup. Luṭfuʾllah, finding himself surrounded by two enemies and despairing of any help, managed to rescue himself and reached Decca. The army of Kuch Bihar found itself challenged by the Assamese and beat a safe retreat, leaving Kamrup in the sole possession of the Assamese.⁴ The country was reconquered by Mir Jumla Muʿayyam Khān, the celebrated general of Aurangzeb a few years later.

Šah Niʿmatuʾllah whose disciple and admirer Mir Luṭfuʾllah was, is none other than Šah Niʿmatuʾllah Fīrūzpurī so called from his association with Fīrūzpur near Gaur where he died in

¹ Qurʾān, IX, 18.
² بعید
³ as written here cannot be seventy, but in all probability it is سبع.
⁴ Almāqīr Nāma, pp. 878–79; Rīḍāqī’s Salāfīn, pp. 218–19.
1080 A.H. (1669 A.D.). He is reputed as a saint for whom Prince Shujā' had great respect. Besides being a saint, he seems to have been something of a poet as well. It is said that on the day the order of transfer of the governorship of Bengal from Khanzād Khan to Nawwāb Mukarram Khan was being drawn up at Delhi, Shāh Ni'matu'llah sent to Khanzād Khan, a qasida which he had composed in his praise and in this qasida there was one verse which gave Khanzād Khan an indication of his coming transfer. The transfer orders were received about a month after. He lies buried in a fine domed building adjacent to a small plain mosque on the bank of a large tank in Mahipur, near Gaur.

It appears from the epigraph that the town was named Shujā'-ābād, probably after the name of Prince Shujā', though we do not find mention of it by this name in contemporary historical works.

**INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SULTANS OF GUJARAT FROM SAURASHTRA**

By Z. A. Desai

Saurashtra, the peninsular part of Gujarat, which had been for some time past called Kathiawar lies on the west coast of India between 20° 40' and 23° 25' north latitude and 69° 20' east longitude. Formerly divided into a number of native states, and now a Part B state under the Indian Republic, it contains architectural antiquities and monuments including a number of inscriptions and epigraphs spread over the whole state. Though isolated in its geographical position, Saurashtra has not remained free in the mediaval ages from the attacks without; the power that held away on the mainland has generally always experienced suzerainty over the group of Hindu Princes, many of them of ancient lineage, who held sway in Kathiawar. Junagarh, the most important capital city of the peninsula for over a thousand years, was the seat of the Fauzdlars or Governors who administered it on behalf first of the Gujarat Sultans and later of the Mughal Viceroys at Ahmadābād. This long association of the state with Muslim rule has resulted in the existence of a large number of buildings and monuments bearing Persian and Arabic inscriptions, some of which, collected from several places in the state during my recent tour are studied here.

Most of these inscriptions have suffered much on account of weather and sea-climate, though their present damaged state is not less due to neglect and lack of care. It is surprising that these inscriptions should have escaped the notice of scholars as well as archaeological authorities in the past. Even today, the state of these epigraphs is far from being satisfactory, and the Archaeological Department of Saurashtra should take necessary steps to arrest their further deterioration by protecting them.

An earlier attempt to copy and study these inscriptions when they were in a better state might have proved very useful insomuch as portions which do not admit of decipherment now could have been read then. The former state of Bhavnagar had, no doubt, taken a lead in this matter by publishing the texts, without facsimiles, of some inscriptions from Saurashtra and a few more from Gujarat as early as in 1886 in the form of a small book entitled Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavāgarī.

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Though it was a singular service done to the cause of Arabic and Persian Epigraphy, for which students of Gujarat History in general and epigraphy in particular must ever remain indebted, it must be said that the work lacks that scientific and proper study of inscriptions which should mark a work of this nature, not to speak of a number of mistakes of print and otherwise, that have crept in. After that date, however, nobody gave any thought to these inscriptions and many others that might exist unknown to us, with the result that not only their condition has deteriorated but in some cases, inscriptions have totally disappeared. Thus, for example, the inscription from Panch Bibi’s Kotha, at Somnath Patan, and another from Hasan Pir’s Dargah at Talaja, the latter belonging to the reign of the last Sultan of Gujarat, could not be traced.

The Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagarci, as already remarked, is too full of mistakes and misreadings, especially of dates, to be relied upon as a source of historical research, and in fact, it has mislead some scholars. It was therefore felt that these inscriptions should be re-edited along with a few hitherto unpublished inscriptions that have been only recently found.

I have divided them into three groups: First of inscriptions that belong to pre-Sultanate period, second, of those belonging to the Sultanate period, and the third of those dealing with the post-Sultanate period. The second group has been dealt with in this article, the other two being reserved for the subsequent numbers of this journal. All the Gujarat Sultans except Muhammad I, Dā’ūd, Sikandar, Maḥmūd II and Muẓaffar III are represented by the inscriptions studied below. The reigns of Muḥammad I, Dā’ūd, Sikandar and Maḥmūd II were too short-lived to possess any such records, while Muẓaffar III had, from the very beginning of his reign, to experience quite a vicissitude of fortune until his tragic death in 1000 A.H. An inscription mentioning him is reported to have existed in Talaja but is now no more traceable.

A study of the following inscriptions will show that four of them bear their respective dates preceded by the words Shuhūr San. This confronts us with a problem as to whether Shuhūr era is meant by this expression, or simply the scribe inadvertently inscribed these words without knowing anything about Shuhūr San. The dates preceded by the words Shuhūr San in these epigraphs are 860, 938, 962, and 946 (the reading of this last date is doubtful). In all these cases, the months are also given; so, on the face of it, it would appear that the Shuhūr era and not the Hijra one is meant. Now, if the Shuhūr era is meant, it would obviously have to be identical with the one in vogue in Deccan, since we do not have any specific information regarding its reckoning in Gujarat. The first of these inscriptions bear the names of the ruling monarchs. These dates, if taken as of Shuhūr era, would fall out of the reigns of the respective kings. To be clear, 860 is the date of Qutbu’d Din Ahmād’s inscription. Shuhūr 860 would mean 864 A.H., but Maḥmūd I, who had succeeded Ahmād II in 862 A.H., was the ruling king then; likewise, 938 is the date of the inscription of Bahādur Shāh who died in 943 A.H., while the corresponding Hijra year of 938 Shuhūr era would be 944; similarly, 962 is the date of the inscription of Sulṭān Ahmād III. The Shuhūr 962 would correspond to 969 A.H., while that monarch was killed in 968 A.H. In view of this, the mention of the word Shuhūr seems more due to conventional mode of writing than otherwise.

Muzaffar Shah

I.—INSRIPTION FROM VERAVAL

This bilingual record is incised on a slab of stone measuring 2’6” by 1’6” which is fixed into the inner face of the west wall of the mortuary of a small unpretentious tomb of Maḥrībī Shāh, situated near the Customs house at Veraval. The Persian version is composed of four lines in Persian prose, while the Sanskrit one, incised below, consists of three lines. The Persian record mentions the construction of the city-wall and a guard-room which was started in 810 A.H. during the reign of Žafar Khān Shamsu’d Dunyā wa’d Din Muẓaffar Shāh, the second Sultan of Gujarat and was brought to completion in the following year. The Sultan is mentioned with his pre-kingship
as well as his royal titles, the latter without his kunyat which was, according to the Tabaqāt-i-Akkari, Abū’l Muḥājir. The inscription is apparently not in situ. It appears to have been removed from its original place which may have been a guard-room in the city-wall of the town. The builder is Faḍlu’llāh Aḥmad Abū Rajā, who is also mentioned in an inscription of Sultan Aḥmad I.

TEXT

Plate XV (a)

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ - بِتَابِعٍ جَهَادٍ هُمْ ملَأ شَرَّ شَوَالِ سَنَةُ عَشَرٍ وَ ثَنَائِيَةُ بِنَا أَيْنَ

(2) حِصَاردُ وَخِانَهُ

(3) دُرَّ عِبَادَ خَانَ أَعْظَمُ فَلْحَمْ خان وَجَهَادُ الملكُ شَمِيْدَنَى وَ شَهَرَ الْمَلِكِينَ وَ شَهَرَ الْمَلِكِينَ

(4) بَعْضُ قُصُورِهِ [وْ] فَرْمَاتُ مَلِكِ فَلْحَمْ خَانِ اِبْنِ ابي ردَأ وَ دُرَّ عِبَادَ خَانَ أَعْظَمُ فَلْحَمْ خان وَ جَهَادُ

(5) اِبْنِ ابي ردَأ وَ ثَنَائِيَةُ بِنَا أَيْنَ

(6) ﴿هوُ رَكْبُ إِبْرَاهِيمٍ سَلَّمُ أَيْمَانَ آيْنَ شُفَّفْ رَأَيْ كَنْدَ وَ فَاتِحَةُ الْكِتَابَ يَخْوَانَدُ﴾

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. On the 14th of the month of Shawwāl (of the) year 810 (A.H. or 13th March 1408 A.D.), the building of this city-wall and house (2-3) was commenced during the reign of Khān-i-ʿAzam Zafar Khān, son of Wajihū’l Mulq, Shamsu’d Dunyā wa’d Din Muṣaffar Shāh, the King, under the supervision and order of Malik Faḍlu’llāh Aḥmad Abū Rajā, and was completed on the 27th of Rabiʿ I, year 811 (A.H. or 20th Aug. 1408 A.D.).

(4) Let whoever visits this, remember this weak (slave) with the prayers for the safety of his Faith, and recite the Fāṭiha (opening chapter) of the Book (i.e., the Qurān).

Sanskrit version

TEXT

1. Saṅvat 1464 varāhē Chaitra vadi 2. . . . . . Śrī-Śrī Dapharashā (khā) na. . . . . . Sāha
2. Mudāpharasaṇatana-vijayarājyaḥ mahāmalikā-Śrī-Phajjarala-Ahamada a . . . . . . kārā-
3. pitam Śrāvaṇa vadi 13 nishpana (nna) h || Śubham bhavatu maṅgalam-asti||

Note

Damaged. Refers to the Saṅvat year 1464, chaitra vadi 2 and the victorious reign of Dapharashā (khā) na. . . . . . Mudāphara Śuratana, when something was caused to be made by Phajjarala Ahamada. The work was completed on Śrāvaṇa vadi 13.

1 Tabaqāt-i-Akkari (Bibl. Ind.), vol. III, p. 93.
2 Abū Rajā is a kunyat. We are told by Sāyid Ḥāshim bin Kamālu’d Din Muḥammad, the author of Saḥājīyya’s Sādīq that Abū Rajā is the kunyat of ‘Abdu’r Rāhān, son of Amrī’l Mu’mīn Abī Bakr, and that Khudawand Khān Sidjāṭ, a son of Zafar Khān was known as Abū Rajā’t (Nasī’-i-Ādāb, Bombay, vol. V, no. 3, pp. 57-58). Shamsu’d Sirāj ‘Aff‘ says: Abūrajajān are a group of people from up-country (Ṭūbīq-i- Frūz Shāhī, Bibl. Ind., p. 454). It appears that Faḍlu’llāh Aḥmad was known as Abū Rajā because he claimed descent from the above mentioned ‘Abdu’r Rāhān, and very possibly the term Abū Rajā had passed on into something of a family name. Shamsu’d Din Abū Rajā, far more celebrated than Faḍlu’llāh was a notable grandee of Frūz and was also for sometime the nāṣīn of Gujarat.
3 Corpus Insc. Bhamagari, p. 20. This inscription, originally from Somnath Patan, is now preserved in the State Museum, Junagadh.
4 The transcript of this version along with a note on it was kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist, Octacanum, to whom I am grateful.
The inscriptions of Zafar Khan so far published do not represent him as a king. Hence this inscription which bears his name and royal titles possesses a special importance and furnishes us with a firsthand evidence for the fact that Zafar Khan was already an independent king in the second half of the year 810 A.H. This raises an interesting question as to when did Zafar Khan assume independence? The Mir‘at-i-Sikandari, Firishta and the Tabaqat-i-Akbari give 810 A.H. as the year in which Zafar Khan declared his independence and assumed the title of a king.\(^1\) The Cambridge History of India, however, puts the date a few years earlier. According to it, 'the kingdom of Gujarat was established in 1396 A.D.\ldots\ldots.' In 1396, the strife between two rival kings Mahmud Shah and Nusrat Shah and the impossibility of determining to whom the allegiance was due, furnished him (i.e., Zafar Khan) with the pretext for declaring himself independent.\(^2\) This statement appears hardly to be correct. For, apart from the statements of the Mir‘at, Firishta and the Tabaqat, there is sufficient epigraphical evidence to show that Zafar Khan did not declare his independence in 1396 nor was there any impossibility of determining to whom the allegiance was due—to Mahmud Shah or Nusrat Shah. An epigraph from Mangrol, dated 797 A.H., mentions N. șrat Shah as the ruling king and Zafar Khan as the governor of Gujarat.\(^3\) Another record, from Ghogha near Bhavnagar, dated in the same year, also mentions Nusrat Shah as the ruling monarch and Zafar Khan as the governor.\(^4\) Fortunately, we have another inscription of Zafar Khan mentioning him as muqti\(^{3}\) of the province of Gujarat, as late as in 807 A.H.\(^5\) which goes to corroborate the statements of the Mir‘at etc. that even after the death of Tâtâr Khan (or Muḥammad Shah I) who was the first to enjoy kingship of Gujarat, though only for a period of two months from Jumâdâ II to Sha'ban 806 A.H. (December 1403 to March 1404 A.D.), Zafar Khan did not assume royalty. It was only in 810 that urged by the nobles of Gujarat, he assumed kingship.\(^6\)

Ahmad Shah I

Muẓaffar I was succeeded by his grandson Aḥmad Shah, the celebrated founder of the city of Ahmadabad. He is supposed to have ascended the throne of Gujarat on the 14th Ramadân 813 A.H. or 10th Janu. y 1411 A.D.\(^7\) The gap of some six to seven months between the dates of the death of Muẓaffar Shah as given in the Mir‘at and of the accession of Sultan Ahmad has not been taken due notice of, and is not referred to by Professor Commissariat in his monumental work on the history of Gujarat, a latest work on the subject; the learned professor accepts the date of death of Muẓaffar given in the Mir‘at-i-Sikandari, viz., Šafar 813 A.H. or June-July 1410 A.D. The Tabaqat-i-Akbari and Firishta give the date of his death as Šafar 814 A.H. The question therefore arises as to which of these two dates is correct. If the earlier date is accepted, the gap of seven months as already mentioned cannot be accounted for. The throne of Gujarat could not have remained unoccupied for about seven months, since Sultan Aḥmad, the legal heir, is not reported in any history to have been away at that time from the capital. The Tabaqat, however, states that Muẓaffar invested his grandson with kingship during his life-time and lived for five months and sixteen days after the accession of Sultan Aḥmad. Under the circumstances, the account of the Tabaqat appears to be correct.

\(^1\) Dr Chunghai, in his Mubāmin Monumenta of Ahmadabad (Poona, 1942), p. 11 writes on the authority of the Mir‘at that 'after ruling for a period of three years and seven months Zafarkhan died on the 10th of Dhu‘l-Qa‘dah, 813 A.H. (M.S. 19) which is wrong. What Mir‘at says is that he assumed kingship in 810 A.H., three years and seven months after the date of the death of his son.

\(^2\) Corp. Inde. Br. , p. 16.

\(^3\) Ibid., p. 7, where the date is incorrectly read as 777 A.H.


\(^5\) M.S. , p. 19; T.A., III, p. 92.

\(^6\) M.S., p. 22; T.A., III, p. 95; Commissariat, opp. cit., p. 79.
Four of the following five inscriptions of Sultan Ahmad have been noticed in the Corpus
Inscriptionum Bhavnagari. Their texts as given there are full of mistakes and misreadings, some
of which are of a serious character. To quote only one instance, the inscription no. VI below
is stated to have been 'written soon after the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb when Prince Azam,
his second son held the sway for a short time', despite the clear mention, in the text quoted, of
Nāṣiru’d Dunyā wa’d Din Aḥmad Shāh who is none other than Sultan Aḥmad I. It
may also be pointed out that the words ʿhamān miʿyu (eight hundred) are distinct in the epigraph
(Plate XVII a).

II.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE ʿIDGĀH, MAHUVA

Mahuva, about sixty five miles to the south-west of Bhavnagar, is the headquarter of the
taluq of the same name in Gohilwad District. The ʿIdgāh is situated to the north-west of the
town on the road to Talgājarda, and bears an inscriptive slab measuring 2'10" by 10½" fixed over
its central mīhrāb. The epigraph consists of two lines in mixed Arabic and Persian, incised in
Naskh characters in ʿTughrā fashion. It appears to have been the work of an unskilled engraver,
since not only the sentences are left incomplete but, even the tradition of the Prophet, so commonly
found in inscriptions on mosques, is not fully and properly written. It records the erection of the
ʿIdgāh on 27th of Shaʿbān 821 A.H. by Malik Jauhar Sulṭānī in the reign of Aḥmad Shāh I.

It is rendered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIV (b)

(1) ʾism Allāh al-rahmān al-rāḥim waʾn masājid Allāh qāla tanwawwā muʾ Allāh āhada min balaq fī al-dinā
balaq Allāh fī al-әnarē

(2) Qasr al-ʿākhir bayāʾ aḥān nuṣūgāh dr ʿaḥid Sulṭān aḥmad ḥalād Allāh mīlbāh āhā aḥān ḥilār
mīlbāh al-šarq mīlbāh jūhr Sulṭānī bātīrxi bīst ḥaṣmā mā, ṣabīʿān wāḥē sīhā āhādī ʿahāṣān wīn māhā māyē

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. And verily, the mosques are for
God; hence, invoke not anyone else with God. He who builds (a mosque) in the world, God builds
for him in the hereafter

(2) a palace of rubies. The construction of this ʿNamāzgāh (was executed) during the reign of
Sulṭān Aḥmad, may God perpetuate his kingdom. Now this good work (was done by) Malik ʿalā
Sharq Malik Jauhar Sulṭānī on the 27th of Shaʿbān in the year 821 (A.H.—29th September 1418
A.D.).

1 Corp. Ins. Bhav., p. 56.
2 For Mahuva and its history, see Bomb. Gaz., VIII, pp. 536-37.
3 The style of writing has been mainly responsible for the incorrect and corrupt reading in Corp. Ins. Bhav.,
p. 22, which makes no sense.
4 The word namazgah generally denotes an ʿidgah.
5 The Corp. Ins. Bhav., p. 22, gives the date as 6th Shaban 828 A.H., and the name of the builder as Malik
Asar-Mulk or/and Javehr. It also reads the last words as ʿthe Sultan of the time and the dignity of the two
communities (Mahomedans and Hindus ʿ).
Thus, though there is no mention in historical works regarding the reduction of this part of Saurashtra by Sultan Aḥmad, it appears from this inscription that within the first few years of his reign, the eastern Saurashtra was included within the Sultan’s territories. Historical works are likewise silent regarding Malik Jauhar, who as his very title suggests, must have been a noble of first rank. Professor Commissariat who follows the Bombay Gazetteer speaks of the inscription thus: An old mosque... contains an inscription in Arabic dated Sur San 826 (A.D. 1425) in the region of Sultan Ahmad stating that the mosque was built by one Malik Asarul Mulk bin Malik Jauhar. It will be seen that the epigraph is not dated Sur San, the date is not 826 and lastly, the name of the builder is not Malik Asarul Mulk, son of Malik Jauhar.

III.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE RECORD OFFICE, MANGROL

The second inscription of Sultan Aḥmad is stored in the Record Office, Mangrol. Mangrol, formerly the seat of the Mangrol State and now a sub-divisional headquarter in Sorath District is situated on the shore of the Arabian sea in about 70° 10’ east longitude and 21° 7’ north latitude. A city of antiquity, it is supposed by some to be the Monoglossum of Ptolemy. It contains a number of Persian and Arabic inscriptions mostly belonging to the Tughluq period and earlier period of the Gujarat Sultanate. Most of these inscriptions were removed by the former State authorities to the Record Office which is housed in a portion of the patialal Durbargah. The present epigraph is one of them. It is reported to have been ‘raised on the chotra in the graveyard near the Gādā gate at Mangrol’. The slab of sandstone measuring 1’10” by 1’ is subjected to much damage caused by sea-climate and also by wear and tear of time. Its letters were found almost broken when it was noticed in the Corpus; they are much more effaced now. The epigraph comprises four lines in Persian executed in relief in Nasḵh with a Tūḥrā flourish. It records the construction of a mosque and Jamāʿat Khāna during the reign of Sultan Aḥmad I. The name of the builder is Khūnd Shāh Shams, son of Dā’ūd, son of Shams. The date is most probably 828 A.H. The name of the superintendent is Amīr Qūṭb, son of ‘Ālam.

TEXT

Plate XV (b)

(1) عمارت این مسجد و جماعت خانه در عهد دولت بلغی شاه عالی، پناه ناصر الدنیا و الین.

ابو: الفتح احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

(2) و بانی خانه؟ مذکوره بنده ملک الشریک بن بلغی فتح خان الراجی؟ الی

رحمة الله تعالى

(3) خاوند شه شکی بن داود بن شمس است از ماجه محرم شهر سنه ثمانی عشیرین و

مالیه ای ازین فرض؟....

(4) تکرار قرآن امیر قطب بن عالی........ لوالدیه و نه؟

TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of this mosque and Jamāʿat Khāna (took place) in the reign of His Majesty the King, Refuge of the world, Nāṣir’ud Dunyā wa’d Din Abū’l Fāṭḥ Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muḥaffar Shāh, the King.

1 Opp. cit., p. 123.
3 Corp. Inc. Bhav., p. 21 where a very imperfect reading is given.
(a) From the tomb of Maghríbi Sháh, Veraval

Scale: 4/3

(61) From the Record Office, Mongrol

Scale: 4/3
(2) And the builder of the said house is the servant of the great Malik Maliku'sh Sharq, the exalted Malik, Fat'h Khan, (viz.) hopeful of the mercy of God,

(3) Khund Shah Shams, son of Daud, son of Shams. In the month of Muharram, eight hundred and twenty-eight (?)(1424 A.D.).

(4) ............under the superintendence of Amir Qu'yet, son of Alam.

IV.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE BAZAR MOSQUE, PATAN

The third inscription of Ahmad Shah is found engraved on a slab of marble put up over the central mihrab of a small unpretentious mosque in Patan. The Bazar Mosque, as it is called these days, is an old structure having no pretence to any architectural distinction. The Corp. Ins. Bha., speaks of an inscription which was placed in the mosque near the residence of the police officer of Veraval in or before 1886, the year in which that work was published. Extensive search for the recovery of this inscription in the course of my visit to Veraval yielding no result, I thought that the inscription had disappeared. When I came across this inscription in its present place, which is hardly at a distance of two miles from Veraval, it struck me that the text of this inscription as also the measurements of the slab and the lines into which it was divided bore striking similarity to the inscription from Veraval as given in the Corpus. After a careful comparison, I have come to the conclusion that the present epigraph is the same as the one from Veraval, where it was probably lying loose and was later shifted to and fixed on the present mosque to which it may have originally belonged.

The epigraph is greatly damaged; many of the letters have either peeled off or become indistinct, especially in the last line which contains the name of the builder. The date portion is too damaged to admit of any final reading. It records the erection of a mosque in the reign of Sultan Ahmad Shah in 839 (?) A.H.

The style of writing is Naskh of an ordinary type and the language is Persian prose. The tablet measures 3'11" by 7". It has been rendered as follows—

Plate XVI (a)

(1) يس مل الله الرحمن الرحيم و آن المساجد ن صلا تدعا مع الله احدا ... در عبد سلطان

(2) و الذين أي ان الفتح أحمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطانينا كرد مرنار این

(3) عطا طاهر ... الى رحمه ... ابن ......... تم ذلك في الرابع والعشرين 

شهر رمضان تسع و ثلاثين]؟ و تمام ماه

1 For Prince Fat'h Khan, mentioned in an inscription of the same king in the same place, see no. VI below.

2 Patan or Prabhas Patana, where the celebrated temple of Somnath attracts a large number of visitors throughout the year is situated on the Arabian Sea. It is connected by road with Veraval which is the terminus on the Veraval-Viramgam section of the Western Railway. Patan seems to have been for a considerable time the seat of faujdar under the Gujarat Sultans. A number of Persian and Arabic inscriptions from this place have been removed to the State Museum, Junagarh.

3 Corp. Ins. Bha., p. 23.
(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. And verily, the mosques are for God (only); hence, invoke not anyone else along with God. In the reign of the great King, Nāṣiru’d-Dunyā.

(2) wa’d Din Abū’l Fath Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Mużaffar Shāh, the King, the building of this mosque was constructed by the brother of Malik.

(3) ‘Aṭā’, (viz.) Tāhir ............... towards the mercy of ............... son of ............... 

This was completed on the 24th (1) of the month of Ramadān, 839 (1) (A.H.=11th Apr. 1436 A.D.).

The Corpus reads the name of the builder as 'Malik Husain Mużaffar Hussani' and the date as 'Rabi II of the year 834 A.H.'

V.—FROM THE JAMI’ MOSQUE, WADHWAN CITY

The city of Wadhwān, District Jhalawad, is situated on the northern branch of the Bhogavati river and is one of the most ancient places in Saurashtra. It is an intermediate station on the Bhavnagar-Surendranagar branch of the Western Rly.

In the principal mosque of the city—a small building without much architectural beauty—that seems to have undergone considerable repairs from time to time are to be found three inscriptions. The one over the central mihrāb belongs to the reign of Aḥmad Shāh’s son and successor, Muḥammad Shāh, when this mosque was constructed. The other two are fixed into the east wall, to the left of the doorway, immediately above a platform of brick and mortar covered with plaster—a later addition, of course—occupying the southern end of the şahni of the mosque. These two inscriptions were lying loose formerly, but were probably fixed up in their present place when the platform was constructed. Whether these two inscriptions belonged to the same mosque or not is certain, but the better preserved of the two, one that is being studied here, is said to have 'originally belonged to a mosque within the Darbār enclosure but now used for a granary'.

According to the Bombay Gazetteer, it has the date Sursan 840 corresponding to A.D. 1439, and mentions that the builder of the mosque was Malik Muhammad bin Malik Musa. This statement, accepted and quoted by Professor Commissariat, is wrong in two places: firstly, the date of the epigraph is 842 and not Sursan 840; secondly, the name of the builder is Malik Shāikhan.

The present inscriptive slab measures 2'2" by 1'3" and is of black polished stone. The record states that during the reign of Nāṣiru’d-Dunyā wa’d Din Aḥmad Shāh, a mosque was constructed by Malik Shāikhan, son of Malik Musā, on the 20th of Şha’bān 842 A.H. (1439 A.D.). The language of the epigraph, except that of the religious text which is in Arabic, is Persian. It has been rendered as follows:—

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Plate XVI (b)

لا اله الا الله [محمد رسول الله]

(1)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2)

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1 P. 25.
2 For a detailed account of the city and its history, see Bomb. Gaz., VIII, pp. 691-701; Commissariat, opp. cit., pp. 123-25.
3 Bomb. Gaz., VIII, p. 693.
4 Ibid., p. 693. The other inscription, not in situ, is too damaged now to admit of any decipherment.
5 Ibid.
6 Opp. cit., p. 123.
(3) وَلَنَأَمْرَانَسَاء سَاحِدُ قَالُوا تَذَكَّرُوا بِاللهِ اذْهَبُوا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ وَسَلَمُ مَن

بنى مسجد

(4) ﷺ تَعَالَ بِنَى لَهُ فَصْرَا فِي الْجَهَّةِ دِرَعُهُ دُولَةً سُلَيْمَانٍ يَخَادُعُ الأَمْلِسَلَأْنَتَنَ نُصْر

الدنيا والدين

(5) ابْوُ الْقَتَّالِ امْدُدُ شَاهِ بِن مُحَمَّدٍ شَاهِ بِن مُحَمَّدٍ شَاهِ السُّلَّاطِنِ بَنِي مَسْجِدِ مَلِكِ شَعْيْنَ بِن

ملك موسى في العشرين من شعبان سنة إثني واربعين وثمانية

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but God; Muḥammad is the prophet of God.

(2) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

(3) And verily, the mosques are for God (only); hence, invoke not anyone else with God. Say the Prophet, may God’s blessings and peace be on him: He who builds a mosque

(4) for God the Exalted, God builds for him a palace in Paradise. During the reign of Solomon in dignity, the most accomplished of kings, Nāṣiru’d-Dunya wa’d Din

(5) Abū’l Fath Ahmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the King, the builder of this mosque (is) Malik Shaikhan, son of Malik Māsā. On the 20th of Ša’bān, year eight hundred and forty-two (A.H. = 5th Feb. 1439 A.D.).

VI.—INSCRIPTION NOW STORED IN THE RECORD OFFICE, MANGROL

The last inscription of Ahmad Shāh comes from Mangrol. It is said to have been originally built up in the wall near the Gādi gate¹ which no longer exists. It consists of thirteen lines of Persian prose, inscribed on a slab of yellow sandstone (2‘ by 11”) in Nasḵa characters of a pleasing type; small decorative motifs comprising geometrical and foliage designs are embossed in the first five lines. The language of the epigraph is, however, of an inferior type and not very clear. The epigraph is damaged in certain places especially in the last line containing the date. It records an order issued in the reign of Ahmad I, by Prince Fath Khān, prohibiting certain illegal practices enjoined by the local authorities.

It has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVII (a)

¹ Corp. Ins. Bhav., p. 56.
(2) in the reign of the King of the surface of the earth, Nāṣir-
(3) that the innovation of illegal (practices) of the time of the infidels (were) again (prevalent)
in
(4) the town of Manglor, (for example) the levy of removing the carrion of animal was fixed in
the name of certain ..............
(5) When the great Prince Fath Khān, may God grant him a long life,
(6-9) started for the conquest of the fort of Gīrnār, Malik ‘Alā‘-i-Suhrib, Šafī Ṭukn, Hamīr Har Rāj and Jaisā, Seth of the town, with other Mahājana narrated the account of the said innovation. An order
(10) was issued to the effect that in accordance with the request, the officers should issue a
parwāna
(11) so that henceforth they should not observe such an
(12) illegal (practice) and should abide by the order of the parwāna. On
(13) the 14th (?) of the month of Rabi‘ II, year forty-five (?) and eight hundred (1st Sep.
1441 A.D.).

The inscription, as has been already stated, does not belong to the Mughul period as is mentioned in the Corpus, but to the reign of Sultan Aḥmad I. The last line is too much obliterated to admit of a final reading. However, there can be no doubt about the words گانیا at the end. As regards the persons mentioned in the inscription, ‘Alā‘-i-Suhrib is perhaps the same ‘Alā‘, son of Suhrib who some years later figured prominently in the history of Gujarat. He was thānadār of Sultanpur, and when Mahmūd Khaljī of Malwa attacked that town in the course of his expedition to Gujarat, he surrendered after some fight. However, when Mahmūd Khaljī reached Kapadvanj, ‘Alā‘-i-Suhrib fled to Quçu’d Dīn Aḥmad II, the then Gujarat Sultan, who conferred upon him the title of ‘Alā‘-i’ Mulk. Later on, he received the title of Ulugh Khān. About other persons mentioned in the inscription we possess no information.

The epigraph is historically important. It has been referred to in the Bombay Gazetteer,² but Prof. Commissariat who has also utilised the Corpus does not refer to it, having been perhaps misled by the wrong interpretation given in that book. The expedition to Gīrnār led by Prince Fath Khān which none of the extant works on Gujarat history mentions, is referred to in this unique record and as such its importance is considerable despite the fact that no details regard-

1 It is significant that no mention of the name Junagarh is made.
2 M.S., pp. 31, 57, 70; Ḥājī Dabīr, Ṣafar’l Wālid bi Muqaffar wa Ālish, pp. 4, 5, 10.
(a) From the Record Office, Mangrol

Scale: 1/2

(b) From the same place

Scale: 3/3
ing its result or consequence are forthcoming. As regards Prince Fatḥ Khān also, historical works
do not afford us much help. The *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* mentions one Prince Hūshang Fatḥ Khān,
an uncle of Sultan Ahmad I, while the *Tabaqāt* and *Firāshtā* mention Prince Fatḥ Khān, a son
of the Sultan in connection with his marriage with the daughter of the chief of Mahim in about
836 A.H. This latter is perhaps the Prince mentioned in the present epigraph. A very interesting
piece of information that emerges out of this inscription is the mention of the names of Hamir
Har Rāj and Jaisā, the Seth of the town, and also of the mahājan. The mahājan of the towns—a
body of respectable and leading persons mostly belonging to the trading and business community
has been always voicing local grievances on behalf of the public. Even today, the mahājan is a
powerful body in many a town and village of Gujarat including Saurashtra.

**Muhammad Shah II**

Ahmad Shāh was succeeded, on his death in 846 A.H., by his eldest son, who ascended the
throne with the titles Abūl Maḥāmīd Ghīyāthu’d Din Muḥammad Shāh. He died in 855 A.H.

**VII.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE RECORD OFFICE AT MANGROL**

This inscription is carved in relief on a yellow sandstone measuring 1'6" by 1'1" which is now
lying in the Record Office. This inscription is not noticed so far and the Record Office does not
have any record regarding its findspot. The epigraph has greatly suffered from the weather and
sea-climate, which fact is mainly responsible for its letters having been effaced. It consists of
nine lines in Persian prose and is inscribed in *Naskh*. It seems to record the remission of some
levy or tax, but which one is not clear. It does not begin with the usual *Bismillah* nor does it
contain any regal titles of the king; the benedictory phrases are also absent in the epigraph. It
however contains the name of the scribe, a practice not so commonly followed in the inscriptions
of Gujarat. It may be read as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XVII* (b)

1. در عهد سلطان السلاطین محمد شاه
2. ابن احمد شاه سلطان سنه ثان و اربعين
3. و ثامنامیه ... کوتولال
4. قصبة ملک ملک ملک ملک ملک
5. علی اکبر صوفی و قاضی زین [ب] ابن [ب] ابن
6. کوتولال ... دور؟ کرد و گذشت به
7. لیون نسائید و معاف دانید هر گاه
8. سلائد عهد خدا و معه رسول شکیته
9. باشند کائن
10. محمد بن

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1 *M.S.*, p. 64.
2 *Tārīkh-i-Firāshtā* (Nawalkishore), I, p. 189; *Tabaqāt*, III, p. 122. The *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, pp. 516-17 gives a
   popular account of Fatḥ Khān's governorship of Mangrol, his being displeased with his father, his going into out-
   lawry, his coming to Bhadrod with his five wives, etc., but does not quote the source.
TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, Muḥammad Shāh,
(2) son of Aḥmad Shāh, the King, (in) the year forty-eight
(3) and eight hundred (1444-45 A.D.)...Kūtwāl
(4) of the town of Manglor...took...Malik Muʿizzuʾl Mulk
(5) 'Ali Akbar Şūfi and Qādi Zain, son of Ahmad against
(6) the Kūtwāl...removed and remitted. After
(7) this, they should not demand (it) and should deem (it) remitted. If
(8-9) they demand, they will (incur the sin of) having violated the pledge of God and the
pledge of His Prophet. The writer
(10) (is) Muḥammad, son of ........

The persons mentioned in the epigraph, 'Ali Akbar Şūfi and Qādi Zain do not find any
mention in the historical works of Gujarat accessible to us; they appear to have been men of at least
local importance.

VIII.—FROM THE JAMI' MOSQUE, WADHWAN CITY

The other inscription of Muhammad Shāh is fixed over the central miḥrāb of the Jāmi' Mosque,
as has been already referred to. It is executed in fine Naskh characters with a Ṭughrā flourish.
It comprises three lines in Arabic and mentions the construction of the mosque in 851 A.H., during
the reign of Ghiyāthu'd Dunyā wa'd Din Muḥammad Shāh by Malīku'ṣh Sharq Malik Sa'du'l Mulk
Mubārak Hilāl Sulṭānī. We have no information regarding the latter, who must have occupied a
prominent position; it is possible that at this period he might have held this region—Jhalawad—in
his sīf.

The inscriptive slab measures 2'11" by 11".

TEXT

Plate XVIII (a)

(1) ﷺ مسمى الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد فلا تدعوا مع الله احدًا قال
النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من نبا مسجدًا الله تعالى على الله له

(2) قصر في الجنة بناء هذه المصة المسجد الشرفية في زمان السلطان الأعظم المعظم
غباث الدين والدين محمد شاه بن أحمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان
خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ملك الصراع سعد الملك يبارك هلال السلطان طلبا لغرتراته

(3) ولا لزهامت في السنه من الهجرة الحادي و خمسين و ثمانية

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Says God the Exalted: And
verily, the mosques are for God (only); hence, invoke not anyone else with Him. Says the Prophet,
may God's blessings and peace be on him: He who builds a mosque for God the Exalted, God builds
for him

1 See inscription V above.
2 Bomb. Gaz., VIII, p. 693, while referring to this inscription states that it is dated Suraŋ 849 correspond-
ing to A.D. 1448 in the reign of Sultan Muhammad II Ghias-ud-Dunya-wad-din son of Sultan Ahmad I'.
Needless to say, the date is wrong.
(c) Over the central mihrab, Jama' Mosque, Wazwan City

(d) Over the central mihrab, Chhindwara Mosque, Patan (Sornath)

Scale: 0.23
(2) a palace in Paradise. This august mosque was constructed during the reign of the great and magnificent King, Ghiyāthu’d Din Muhāmmadh Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammadh Shāh, son of Muṣaffar Shāh, the King,

(3) may God perpetuate his kindgom and sovereignty, by Maliku’šh Sharq Sa’du’l Mulk Mubārak Hilāl Sultānī, by way of seeking His pardon and obtaining His pleasure in the Hijra year 851.

**Qutbu’d Din Ahmad II**

Prince Jalāl Khān, eldest son of Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne on 11th Muḥarram 855 A.H., under the title of Qutbu’d Dunyā wa’d Din Abū’l Muṣaffar Aḥmad Shāh. He died, after a reign of seven years and a few months, in 862 A.H.

**IX.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE CHĀNDANI MOSQUE, PATAN**

The Chāndānī mosque, situated in the western quarter of Patan, is a low-roofed building of stone, with one prayer-hall consisting of two rows of arches supporting the roof, and a courtyard enclosed on three sides by small cloisters. Over its central prayer niche is fixed a slab of white marble (27" by 9") containing the following inscription of three lines written in Naskh. The slab is small in size as compared with the text of the inscription it had to contain. Moreover, the engraver has devoted the whole of the first line to the famous Quranic verse and tradition, leaving considerable space between their letters, as a result of which the letters in the next two lines had to be made smaller and written one upon another. The perpendicular strokes of the letters in the second and the third lines are prolonged upwards and arranged at equal distance so as to present a picture of railing. The epigraph records the erection of the mosque in 860 A.H., by one Shams bin Șadr al-Quraishī al-Balkhī, during the reign of Qutbu’d Din Aḥmad Shāh.¹

It has been rendered as follows:

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**TEXT**

Plate XVIII (b)

(1) قال الله تعالى و ان الساجد لله فلا تدعو [أ] قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بناء (sic.) مسجدًا بني الله تعالى في الجنة قصرا

(2) عماراً ابن مسجد بعهد همايونُ شاه أعظم المعتمد الواثق بتأييد الرحمن قطب الدنيا

(3) و الذين ابعر المظفر أحمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن أحمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد

اَلله ملكه و سلطانه بنده تفيض التحفيز الرجعي إلى رحمة الله الحنان المنام شمس بن صدر بن

شمس بن ………

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¹ The text given in the Corp. Ins. Bk., p. 23, reads the date as 866; the footnote on the same page says that the reigning Sultan of Gujarat at the time was Mahmud Begra and not Ahmad Shah II.

² The reading of the words after ‘Umar is doubtful.
(1) God says: And verily, the mosques are for God only; hence, invoke not anyone else with
God. The Prophet, may God’s blessings and salutations be upon him says: He who builds a
mosque, God the Exalted builds for him a palace in Paradise.

(2) The construction of this mosque was effected during the auspicious reign of the great and
magnificent King, who is confindent of the help of the Merciful, Qutbu’d Din Abu’l Muṣafar Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muṣafar Shāh, the King, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, by the weak and infirm
slave, hopeful of the mercy of God the Merciful, the Benificent, Shams, son of Ṣadr, son of Shams,
son of...

(3) al-Quraishi al-Balkhi, known as Malik Budh, through the endeavours of the slave, hopeful
of the mercy of God, Muṣafar (?), son of the said Shams, with the hope that whoever offers prayers
in this mosque will recite (prayers) for the good end and steadfastness of the Faith of these two
sinful persons viz., the builder and the endeavouerer, thus becoming the cause of their reward and
recompense in both the worlds. On the 17th day of Rajab, may its dignity increase, of the Shubār
San 860 A.H. (21st June 1456 A.D.). Its writer is the weakest of the creatures of God,
Faḍlullāh, son of Ibrāhīm, son of ‘Umar, the imām of the said mosque.

Nothing is known regarding the builder of the mosque who, as his popular epithet suggests,
seems to have been a man of importance. He may have been one of those foreigners—merchants,
scholars, saints and adventurers who visited and settled in Gujarat during the period of the Sulta-
nate.

Mahmud I

Qutbu’d Din Aḥmad Shāh left no son and was succeeded first by Dā’ud Shāh and later by his
brother Fath Khān who under his royal name Maḥmūd I has gone down in the history of Gujarat
as the most illustrious ruler of his line. He ascended the throne in 862 A.H., at the age of thirteen
and ‘reigned for the next fifty four years in uninterrupted glory and prosperity. Himself a great
patron of architecture, there is hardly a monument of Muslim art in the country which popular
legend does not connote with his name’. The two strongholds of Junagarh and Champaner which
had managed to survive the attacks of Aḥmad Shāh I fell before his arms and were incorporated
with the crown territories. He died in 917 A.H. and was succeeded by his son, Prince
Khāli Khān.

X.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE BORWĀD MOSQUE, JUNAGARH

This inscription of Maḥmūd is from the Borwād mosque, Junagarh. It is inscribed on a slab
of white marble (11 1/2” by 7”) which is fixed over the left of the three prayer niches in the west
wall; the central prayer-niche has another inscription fixed over it, recording the erection of the
Jāmi’ mosque during the reign of Muṣafar II in 920 A.H. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the
present inscription is in situ. We know that Maḥmūd had finally conquered Junagarh in 875 A.H.
or 1470 A.D., after which he invited holly Saiyids and men learned in the doctrines of the faith
from every city in Gujarat and gave them an honourable residence there. He renamed the city as
Muṣafābād. The extensive fortification which encloses both the Uparkot and the city of Juna-
garh constructed by him, remains even today in almost perfect condition. Another monument
belonging to the rule of Maḥmūd I at Junagarh is the large mosque which stands on the crest of the
Uparkot.1 This mosque is now in a deserted condition and bears no epigraph. Can it be that
the inscription under notice originally belonged to the mosque in Uparkot said to have been con-
structed by Maḥmūd ?

(a) Over the left mihrāb, Borwad Mosque, Junagarh

(b) Over the central mihrāb, Nagina Mosque, Veraval
The inscriptions tablet is divided into six lines, each line having been further cut into four panels. Each panel contains a hemistich. The epigraph thus comprises twelve verses in Persian, and records the construction of a Jāmi' mosque during Maḥmūd’s reign. The too limited space for the text of an epigraph of twelve verses necessitated the proportionate smallness of letters; the style of writing is Naskh of an intricate type. These and the slightly damaged nature of the epigraph have rendered its decipherment extremely difficult. It is obvious therefore that the reading given below is not final. Any suggestions likely to improve the reading will be most welcome.

It has been rendered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIX (a)

(1) بهذ همايون شه تامور
(2) بن تا کرد جامع چرب
(3) سَنَهُ خمس و سِتیم ؟ بودت سال
(4) شَدِه... فتح غزنو دریس سنین؟
(5) درین جای جامع بکن اختیار
(6) زِده کرد بی‌یاد جامع چلنین

TRANSLATION

(1) In the blessed reign of the illustrious monarch, before whom the (other) kings gird up their loins
(viz.) the king Nāṣiru’d Din Maḥmūd Shāh with the kunyat Abū’l Fath, shining like moon,
(2) ............constructed a Jāmi' mosque by the orders of ............
It was the year (eight hundred 1) and seventy-five (?) that Shaikh Kamāl ordered (its erection) in dream.
(3) Girnār was conquered after many years; the head of the Khānts was placed under the earth.

In this place a Jāmi' mosque he constructed .............. this country may become pious.

1 The inscriptions of Gujarath Sultans published so far are all in prose. A few inscriptions of Zafar Khan (Muṣaffar I) in verse, most of them of his pre-kingship period, have been found by me after these lines were written; none of them is published so far.

2 For Khānts who dwelt in Girnar hills, see M.S., p. 90; Bayley, Hist. of Guj., pp. 35n, 181.
(4) Bravo! he constructed such a Jami’ mosque; in it the helping Shaikh recited Fatiha.

Bravo for the perfect Shaikh and also for the perfect king from whom... perfect regard.

(5) In this region Islam will prosper and within no time Infidelity will disappear.

Through the grace of the Almighty this was completed; high and low alike will derive benefit from it.

(6) O God! let there be no harm to this abode, (and) may its beauty be two-fold.

The Muslims will for ever derive benefit—such is the good news augured.

XI.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE NAGINA MASJID, VERAVAL

The slab of white marble (3’7” by 1’6”), which bears the following inscription in Arabic, is fixed over the central prayer niche of a mosque in the Port area, near the Bank of India building, at Veraval. The present mosque, a modern structure known as Nagina masjid, is constructed on the site of an old mosque to which this inscription is stated to have originally belonged. It is cut into three horizontal panels, each panel containing a line. The epigraph records the erection of the mosque by Abul Fath Mahmud Shah in 893 A.H. (1488 A.D.).

The inscription is badly damaged; letters have disappeared in several places while in some they have become indistinct. The style of writing is Thuluth with Tughra flourish of a fair type.

TEXT

Plate XIX (b)

(1) ..... آنما يعمر مسجد الله من آنہ نبی و اليوم الآخر و أقام الصلاة و آن الذکوة و لم يعفن الاله نفسی اولیک ان يكونوا من المؤمنین و قال .... صلى الله عیله...

(2) ..... في الجنة ..... اعمل هذا المسجد الشريف بالوضوعة السلطان الأعظم مالك رقاب الأمام ابو الفتح محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن السلطان خلیفه الله ملك و ذلك بنظر ؟ خادم الدروخه العليه محمد بن حاج حماد الكیلانی فرحمة الله تم البناء ؟ في تاريخ عاشیر من شهر ربيع الآخر بنث و تسعین و ثمانیه

TRANSLATION

(1) The mosques of God shall be visited by such as believe in God and the Last Day, establish regular prayers, and practise regular charity, and fear none (at all) except God. It is they who are expected to be on true guidance. And says.....may God’s blessings and salutations be upon him.

(2) in paradise.....This noble mosque was constructed by His Majesty the great King, Lord of the nations, Abul Fath Mahmud Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of
(3) the King, may God perpetuate his kingdom. And this was constructed under the superintendent of the servant of the lofty court, Muhammad, son of Hajj Ali, son of Muhammad al-Gilani, may God have mercy on him. Finished on the 10th day of the month of Rabi' II, year three and ninety and eight hundred (i.e., 893 A.H.-24th March 1488 A.D.).

Muzaffar Shah II

Prince Khalil Khan succeeded his father on 3rd Ramaḍān 917 A.H., with the titles Abūn Naṣr Shamsu'd Din Muzaffar Shāh. He is acknowledged as the most cultured and talented of the Gujarāt Sultans. He died in 932 A.H.

XII.—FROM THE BORWĀD MOSQUE, JUNAGARH

The following inscription is engraved in relief on a slab of white marble, measuring 2' by 1'6", fixed over the central prayer niche—a piece of exquisite design and beautiful workmanship—of the Borwād mosque. It mentions the construction of a Jāmī' mosque during the reign of Muzaffar Shāh, by Bahā, son of Marjān, entitled Khawwās Khān. It bears the date 920 A.H. (1514 A.D.) and is inscribed in Nāṣīḥa. The language is Arabic and, unlike the language generally employed in inscriptions, free from mistakes.

It has been read as under:

Text

Plate XX (a)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - قال الله تعالى و ان المسجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله

(2) إحدا و قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجدا لله بنى الله له سبعين قسرا

(3) في الجنة بني العبد الضعيف - الراجي إلى رحمة الله السبحان بهاء ابن مرجان

(4) المخاطب بخان

(5) الموصوف خواص خان غفر الله له و لجميع المسلمين هذا المسجد الجامع في عمر السلطان

(6) المستنصر بالله الملك- شمس الدين و الختام أي النصر مظفر شاه ابن محمود شاه

(7) السلطان خان ملكه

(8) فو قتله دل هذه بناء بقلعة نار الموسوم بصطلبي اد في التاريخ الهجري

(9) الرابع عشر من شهر ذي القعد- ستون عشر و تسعة

Translation

(1) In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. God the Exalted says: And verily, the mosques are for God (only); hence, invoke not with God

(2) anyone else. And the Prophet, may God's blessings and salutations be upon him, says: He who builds a mosque for God, God builds for him seventy palaces

(3) in Paradise. The weak slave, hopeful of the mercy of God the Glorified, Bahā, son of Marjān, entitled Khān-i-A'īsam

(4) Khawwās Khān, may God pardon him and all the Muslims, constructed this Jāmī' mosque during the reign of the King, who is assisted by the aid of the All Merciful,
seeker of the help of God the Benevolent, Shamsu'd Din Abi'n Na'yir Mu'azzafar Shâh, son of Maḥmûd Shâh, the King, may his kingdom last for ever

and his generosity be showered upon (every one). And this building was constructed at the 'Fort of Gînâr' named as Muṣṭafâbâd in the Hijra date,

(7) viz., 14th of the month of Dhi'l Qa'd, year nine hundred and twenty (31st Dec. 1514 A.D.).

This inscription is the only epigraphical record in Junagarh, which bears the name Muṣṭafâbâd given to it by Maḥmûd I. It is significant to note that the name Junagarh does not occur in this or the other inscriptions at this place and the name قرآن of Persian histories is given instead.

About the builder of the mosque, Bahâ, son of Marjân, entitled Khân-i-A'zam Khawwâs Khân, histories are completely silent. There was one Marjân Sulṭâni, a noble during Qutbuddin Aḥmad's reign, who was in charge of Broach when Maḥmûd Khâljî of Malwa invaded Gujarat.¹ He is mentioned in an inscription from Broach as having held the title of Khawwâs-ul Mulk.² It is not unlikely that Bahâ bin Marjân of our inscription may have been a son of Marjân Sulṭâni: the title Khawwâs Khân held by him also points to this probability. From the inscription, Bahâ bin Marjân would appear to have been connected with Junagarh in some authoritative capacity.³ It may, however, be pointed out that Malik Ayâz, one of the most notable amirs and a great general of his time is mentioned in Persian histories as having held charge of Junagarh and Dîu for a number of years since the days of Maḥmûd I until his death in 928 A.H. It is surprising to find that Malik Ayâz who was held in great esteem by Maḥmûd I and his son Mu'azzafar II and who was celebrated alike for his bravery, skill and hospitality is mentioned in historical works without any title,⁴ when almost every noble of this period is mentioned by these writers with his respective title. Khawwâs Khân Khân-i-A'zam are titles which speak of the great position Bahâ must have held in 920 A.H. Whether he has anything to do with Ayâz is not possible for us to say, but the presence of such a great noble in or about Junagarh, when Malik Ayâz was in charge of that place and Dîu, requires satisfactory explanation.

XIII.—OTHER INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BORWAD MOSQUE

There are two small but very interesting epigraphs incised on each of the upper corners of the central prayer niche referred to above. Though their writing is of a crude type of Nâshâ, quite different from that of the preceding epigraph, they are nevertheless contemporaneous with it. These small epigraphs, supplying us the names of the sculptors who were employed for carving out the niche, have preserved for us a rare, if not unique, record of a couple of the many Hindu sculptor-masters who were, it seems, generally employed to execute, even in religious buildings, the sculptural and carving work requiring elaborate design and perfect workmanship. The epigraphs were probably carved by the sculptors themselves who were naturally anxious to leave their names to posterity and this would explain the crude nature of the style of writing. Another interesting information gleaned out of these inscriptions is that the engraver of the inscription and the composer of it were not the same person. The engraving and composing were sometimes done by two different persons. In this particular case, the sculptor who executed the mitârâb, the one who engraved the main inscription (no. XII) and the one who wrote it for the engraver to copy it out on the stone, are three different persons, the first two being Hindu sculptors and the last being the imâm of the mosque.

¹ M.S., p. 51; H.D., opp. cit., p. 4.
² E.I.M., 1933-34 (Supplement), p. 29.
The first of these epigraphs occupies about 3" by 4½" space while the other 4½" by 4½". They are as under:

(a) دیل کاناید سنگ تاریخ مسجد؟

(b) سلیمان رادی بن

بنتلگ خان اعیم

خواصخان دهانیده

شسر زینعلالی?

کلاب حروف

سید میران نور

امام مسجد جامع

Translation

(a) This tablet bearing the date was executed by the stone-carver, Rādh, son of............. the land in the village of Ṣamarāla has been granted to him by the great Khan Khawwās Khan. The in'āmi land (is allotted to ?), the writer of the text, Sayyid Mirān Nūr, imām of the Jāmi' Mosque.

(b) Sculptor

Narbad Tāhyā?

the executor of

the mihrāb of the

Jāmi' mosque.

XIV.—FROM THE JAMI' MOSQUE AT RANPUR, DISTRICT AHMADABAD

Ranpur, a town in the Dhandhuka sub-division of Ahmadabad District, is situated on the north bank of the river Bhādar at a distance of about 18 miles, by road, to the west of Dhandhuka. As one of the posts on the border land between Gujarat and Saurashtra, it has been in the past a place of considerable historical interest. On the raised strip of land between the south bank of the river Bhādar and the river Guma, lies 'the chief ornament of the town, a fine old fort' now partly in ruins. The fort with the mosque and a bath with a cellars and underground passage inside, and a well to the east of the town with the remains of a garden, bear Persian inscriptions of Shāh Jahān's reign recording their construction by A'gam Khan.1 Two more inscriptions of the Sultanate period, one belonging to Muẓaffar II and the other to his son Sultan Bahādur, are also to be found in this town; they were first noticed by me during my recent visit to that place. The inscription of Muẓaffar Shāh is inscribed in six lines on a slab of white marble (1'10" by 1'5½") which has broken into two pieces now lying loose in the principal mosque of the town. It is reported by local people to have been removed from an old ruined mosque with one minaret. Almost the whole

1 For A'gam Khan's achievements in this part, see Miḥraṯ-i-Ahmādī (Baroda ed.), I, pp. 210-16. The inscriptions have been noticed in Corp. Insc. Bhae., pp. 44-46, and also in the Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency, (Bombay, 1897), pp. 87-88.
of the inscription is worn out and the letters which were originally embossed in relief, are much effaced. It records the erection of a Jāmi’ mosque during the reign of Muṭṭaffar Shāh II in 931 A.H. by Malik Dāwarul Mulk. The style of writing is Nastaʿlīq. It may be rendered as follows:

**TEXT**

Plate XX (c)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - قال الله تعالى: وأن السامد و

(2) فل تدعو معاً أبا أبا - قال عليه السلام من بي: مسجد الله تعالى ين الله حل للناس

(3) في الجنة ابن مسجد جامع إنا كردم حضرت خان قال؟ خطاب؟ ملك الشرق ملك

(4) دوار ملك مديه عمره و دولته الشريعة: در عهد الموت يتألذ الربح، شمس

(5) الدنيا والدين

ابو [النص] مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن أحمد شاه بن محمد شاه،

مظفر شاه السلطان

(6) كار فرماي ... كمال بن داود بن بدر ... في سنة إحدى ثلاثين و تسعماً

اربع عشر شمسية

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. And verily, the mosques are for God (only);

(2) therefore, invoke not anyone else with God. Says (the Prophet), on him be peace: He who builds a mosque for God, God builds for him a palace

(3) in Paradise. This Jāmi’ mosque was constructed by the Khān of lofty title, Maliku’şh Sharq, Malik

(4) Dāwarul Mulk, may God prolong his life and good fortune, during the reign of the one who is supported by God, Shāmsu’ş Dunyā wa’d Din

(5) Abū’n (Naṣr) Muṭṭaffar Shāh, son of Māḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muṭṭaffar Shāh, the King.

(6) The superintendent ... Kamal, son of Dā’ūd, son of Bād r (1) in the year thirty-one and nine hundred, fourteen Shamsiyā i. e., Shamsī year 14 (1524-25 A.D.).

In the list of the Gujarāt nobility, preserved in the pages of the historical works on Gujarāt, we find the title Dāwarul Mulk enjoyed by two persons at two different periods. The first to enjoy this title was Malik ‘Abdu’l ῤaft bin Māḥmūd al-Quraisha who was a great noble, no less a saint, of Māḥmūd I’s reign. He died in 889 A.H.¹ long before the date of the present epigraph. The other noble mentioned with this title is Malik Dāwarul Mulk, regarding whom the information in the Mir’āt is scanty. Among the nobles who joined Bahādur on his arrival in Gujarāt, after deserting ‘Imādu’l Mulk, the murderer of Sultan Sikandar, were Bahānul Mulk and Dāwarul Mulk, who were sworn allies of ‘Imādu’l Mulk and accessories in the murder. Bahādur, for the time being, connived at their offence, but after a short time, ordered Dāwarul Mulk to be beheaded in 932 A.H., along with Ulugh Khān and Qaisar Khān.² Firahfa says that Bahādur was informed that Ulugh Khān and Qaisar Khān who were associated with ‘Imādu’l Mulk in the murder of the

¹ For a detailed account of his career, see M.S., pp. 126-129; Commissariat, opp. cit., pp. 217-19.

² M.S., pp. 328, 334-35.
(a) Over the central mihrab, Borwad Mosque, Junagarh

(b) On the top corners of the central mihrab, same mosque

Scale: ×31

(c) Lying in the Jami' Mosque, Ranpur

Scale: ×25
late Sultan were then plotting against him and carrying on secret correspondence with Lāṭif Khān. When these two nobles came to pay usual homage next day, they were ordered to be put under arrest. During those very days, Dāwarūl Mulk who had left the city on some pretext, was arrested. This Dāwarūl Mulk is likely to be the same as one mentioned in our inscription.

It will be seen that the epigraph bears the words شمس الشهور شمسية at the end. In another inscription of the same king, which is found on Rānī Sabrā’s mosque inside Astodia gate at Ahmadabad, a similar expression viz., ان شهور شمسية precedes the actual date. Dr. Chaghtai who is the latest to re-edit that inscription reads it as ان شهور شمسية translating it as ‘the fourth month of the solar year.’ Blochmann had more correctly translated it as ‘the fourth solar (regnal) year’. Personally I think, the word شمسية does not connote the usual meaning ‘solar’ and it would be more correct to translate it as ‘4th Shamsi (i.e. Shamsu’d Din’s regnal) year’. This innovation of the mention of regnal year in inscriptions, which had become so popular and common under the Mughuls is, to the best of my knowledge, found only in the inscriptions of Muẓaffar Shāh, and of no other Sultan of Gujarat.

Bahadur Shah

Sultan Muẓaffar was succeeded by his son Sikandar who was killed soon after his accession, on 14th Sha‘bān 932 A.H. Bahādur Shāh being away from Gujarat at that time, ‘Imādūl Mulk, who had perpetrated the murder of Sultan Sikandar raised a younger son of Muẓaffar, Naṣīr Khān by name, to the throne under the title of Maḥmūd II. However, on Bahādur’s arrival on the scene, most of the nobles joined him and he ascended the throne on 26th Ramaḍān 932 A.H. A man of great intrepidity and courage, under whom the borders of Gujarat were extended far and wide on all sides, he met with a tragic end at the hands of the Portugese at Diu on 3rd Ramaḍān 943 A.H.

XV.—INSRIPTION ON THE NILAM TOPE IN UPARKOT, JUNAGARH

Immediately after Bahādur’s death, Sulaimān Pāshā had arrived with a large fleet to Diu from Egypt in 945 A.H. (1538 A.D.), with a view to drive out the Portugese who were daily gaining ground and at whose hands Bahādur had suffered death. However, he sailed back within a short time after an unsuccessful siege of the fort of Diu, leaving behind him the heavy Sulaimānī guns. Two magnificent specimens of these guns, which were cast in Egypt during the reign of Sulṭān Sulaimān, the Magnificent, of Turkey, may still be seen within the walls of the Uparkot citadel at Junagarh. One of these, called the Nilam Tope, is placed in front of the mosque near the fortification wall. It is seventeen feet long with a circumference of seven feet and a half at the breach and measures at the muzzle nine and a half inches in diameter. It bears the following inscriptions in Arabic, executed in relief in beautiful Thulḥī characters in Tughrā fashion which affords us an example of the style of writing vogue at this period outside India. One mentions the casting of the cannon in Egypt ordered by Sulṭān Sulaimān bin Salim to fight the Portugese desirous of entering India who have been termed as ‘enemy of state and religion’, and the other gives the name of the caster as ‘Muḥammad bin Ḥamza’.

2 Indian Antiquary, IV, p. 292.
3 Opp. cit., p. 74.
Plate XXI (a)

1. َامر بعمل هذه المكلفة في سبيل الله تعالى سلطان العرب و النجم
2. سلطان سليم بن سليم خان عز نصره لله السادة والديد الكفار
3. الداخلين بلاد الهند إرتفال العلمين في محو ق собран سنة 933

عمل محمد بن حمزة

TRANSLATION

1. This cannon was ordered to be made, in the cause of God, by the king of 'Arab and 'Ajam,
2. Sultan Sulaiman, son of Salim Khan, may he be victorious, in order to subdue the enemy
   of state and religion, the infidels,
3. who wish to enter India, (that is to say) the cursed Portuguese. In the metropolis of
   Egypt, year 937 (A.H.=1530-31 A.D.).

Caés by Muhammad, son of Hamza.

XVI.—INSCRIPTION ON THE KADANAL TOPE IN THE SAME CITADEL

The other gun, called locally as Kadânâl or Chudanâl, is located in the south-east corner of the
caitadel adjoing the water works. It is thirteen feet long and has a muzzle fourteen inches in
size. It bears only the name of the caesar executed in relief in Naskh of a crude type which is
in striking contrast to the one just described above.

Plate XXI (b)

علي بن صرجة

TRANSLATION

Ali, son of Sarja.

XVII.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE BOHRA'S MOSQUE, RANPUR

The Da’udî Bohra’s mosque, which is a modern structure, bears an inscription of the reign of
Bahâdur Shâh. The slab of white marble (1'2” by 10”) on which the epigraph is inscribed in relief
is fixed into the west wall of the mosque, to the right of the pulpit, at a height of 6’6” from the
floor. The inscription is not in situ, since it records the construction of an ‘Id mosque. Râj bin ‘Ali,
a bohra inhabitant of Lathi,1 constructed the mosque during the reign of Sultan Bahâdur in the year
938 A.H. (1531 A.D.). The epigraph does not contain the royal titles or kunyat of Bahâdur Shâh.2

1 Also see Commissariat, opp. cit., p. 406, where it is said, ‘Il bin Hamza, the gunner who cast it,
being, probably, the brother of the man who made the Nilm Tope’. However, according to my reading,
the name of the father is not Hamza and hence the question of the gunner’s relationship with the other is doubtful.

2 Lathi, formerly the chief town of a fourth class native state of the same name, is situated about 13 miles
north-east of Amrei and is a station on the Botad-Jetalsar section of the Western Rly.

3 The inscriptions of Bahâdur, published so far (E.I.M., 1933-34 supp., p. 30; Dr Chaghtai, opp. cit., no.
XXXI) do not contain his royal titles. Hâjî Da’bdr, opp. cit., p.139 calls him Al-Muqaffar Ghâzi Samsama’d
Din, but his colur have Qubl bin Durnâs-wa’d Din Abâl Fadl (Taylor, The coins of the Guj. Sultans, p. 57).
The epigraph is written in Nasṭāh and the language barring the verse of the Quran and the tradition of the Prophet, is Persian.

It has been read as follows:

TEXT

Plate XXIII (a)

(1) قال الله تبارك و تعالى و أن المساجد تما لدعا مع الله

(2) احداً قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من يني المسجد نيا الله تعالى له قصرا في

(3) الجنة يدكر ابن المسجد عبد راج بن على بوهر. ساكن قصبه لاثنى در عهد سلطان

(4) بهادر شاه بن

(5) مظفر شاه السلطان تاريخ غزوة مات ربيع الأول شهر ستة باثنين و

(6) تسعا مورخا

TRANSLATION

(1) God the Blessed and Exalted says: And verily, the mosques are for God (only); therefore, invoke not with God

(2) anyone else. The Prophet, may God’s blessings and salutations be on him, says: He who builds the mosque, God the Exalted builds for him a palace in

(3) Paradise. This ʻAbd mosque was constructed by راج, son of ‘Ali Bohra, inhabitant of the town of Lathi, during the reign of Sultan Bahadur Shāh, son of

(4) Muẓaffar Shāh, the King. Dated 1st of the month of Rabi‘ I Shukhur San 938 (13th Oct. 1531 A.D.).

Mahmud III

Sultan Bahadur did not leave any son. He is said to have nominated Mirān Muḥammad Shāh of Khandesh, his sister’s son, to succeed him to the throne. The latter had been the constant companion of Sultan Bahadur and had for ten years, until the latter’s death, participated in all the great military expeditions conducted by the Sultan. He was at Ujjain in Malwa at the time of Bahadur’s death. He was invited by the nobles to return to Gujarat, but before he could do so, he died. The next heir to the throne was under the custody of Muḥammad Shāh of Burhanpur. He was summoned to Gujarat and was enthroned under the title of Mahmūd Shāh III.

XVIII.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE JAMI’ MOSQUE, KUTIYANA

Kutiyan is situated on the bank of the river Bhadar, about 25 miles east of Porbandar. It is approached by bus from Saradiya, the last station on the Junagarh-Saradiya section of the Western Railway. Kutiyan is said to have been styled as Muẓaffarābād because Sultan Muẓaffar II, who then yet a prince was viceroy of Sorath, was very fond of the place and made it very populous and built the fort. However, Ḥāji Dabīr informs us that Bahāʾu’d Dīn ʻImādū’l Mulk, under Mahmūd I, had constructed the fort of Kutiyan, about 10 farsakhs from Junagarh. Kutiyan, formerly under Junagarh State, is now the headquarters of a mahāl in Sorath District.

1 The Bohra community, to which the builder belonged, is a trading community and is spread over Gujarat and Saurashtra. Rāj usually suffixed with ḫādī is a common name among them even today.


Opp. ci., p. 22.
The following inscription is carved in relief on a marble slab fixed in the south wall of the Jāmi’ mosque of the town. The mosque appears to be a modern structure and it is very doubtful whether the slab belongs to the present mosque, though it was noticed in the same place at least seventy years ago, for, the Bombay Gazetteer gives its purport.\(^1\) However, the date given there is Sur San 940, which is quite wrong. Neither it is Sur San, nor it is 940. The epigraph records the erection of a Jāmi’ mosque by Ibrāhīm Nizām Jahramī during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Laṭīf Shāh in the month of Shā’bān 948 A.H. and also mentions the endowment of a village in the pargana of Kunthiyana for meeting the expenses of the mosque.

It is inscribed in Nasḥī and runs into ten lines in mixed Arabic and Persian prose. The name of the scribe, which is less frequently given in inscriptions on this side, is also given. The slab measures 1'5” by 1'2”.

It has been read as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. God the Exalted says:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>And verily, the mosques are for God (only); hence, invoke not anyone else with God. Says</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>the Prophet, may God’s blessings and peace be upon him: He who builds a mosque for God,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>the Exalted, God builds a palace like it in Paradise. The builder of this Jāmi’ mosque is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>Ibrāhīm Nizām Jahramī, (called) afterwards Shaṭṭārī, during the magnificent reign of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>the King, Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Laṭīf Shāh, brother of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>Bahādur Shāh, son of Muṣaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>Ahmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muṣaffar Shāh,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(And) for the expenditure of the mosque, the village Hétpara (1) of the pargana Kunthiyana (was endowed). In the month of Shā’bān, forty-eight and nine hundred (Nov.-Dec. 1541 A.D.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>The writer of these words is Zubairī.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) *Both, Gaz., VIII, p. 529.*
Though we do not find any mention of the builder in the annals of Gujarat, it appears from the epigraph that he was a man of some consequence and in possession of some authority so as to be able to donate a village for the maintenance of the mosque. It may be pointed out that the royal titles of Maḥmūd III (which are Nāṣiru’d-Dunyā wa’d Din Abū’l Fath) are absent in the present epigraph. The village Ḥetpara could not be located on the map. The mahālikī of Kutiyana who was addressed on the subject writes to me that there is no such village, nor any answering nearest to this pronunciation, in that mahlū.

Ahmad Shah III

Maḥmūd III was assassinated in 961 A.H., leaving behind him no heir. The nobles raised a relation of the late Sultan and a direct descendent of Aḥmad I to the throne under the title of Aḥmad Shāh III. In his coins and inscriptions, he is mentioned as Aḥmad Shāh, Ibn-i-ʿAmm-i-Maḥmūd Shāh. Hájí Dabīr, the author of the celebrated Arabic History of Gujarat, is the only historian to trace his lineage, according to which, he was the son of Lāṭīf Kān, son of Niẓām Kān, son of Shākar Kān, son of Aḥmad Shāh I, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh. According to this lineage, Aḥmad III would be an uncle and not a cousin of Sultan Maḥmūd III. Hence, the word ابن عم is not to be taken to mean strictly a first cousin, but it may be taken to mean a blood relation.\(^3\) Dr Chaghtai considers the way in which Aḥmad III is mentioned in his inscriptions and coins as strange. He says, ‘But . . . . . . . instead of showing his direct connection with Aḥmad I, his relationship with Lāṭīf Shāh, brother of Bahādur Shāh has been shown which is some what strange’.\(^4\) However, there is nothing strange in this. It is not altogether justifiable to interpret the legend on coins and inscriptions as showing his relationship with Lāṭīf Shāh. For more often than not, the geneology thus inscribed indicates as far as possible the succession of actual rulers. And since Maḥmūd was succeeded by Aḥmad III who did not come within the scope of any close relationship with him, he was simply mentioned in these as ابن عم of Maḥmūd III (who was son of Lāṭīf Shāh, the brother of Bahādur Shāh).

XIX.—INSCRIPTION FROM LOLIYANA

Loliyana, about 34 miles north-west of Bhavnagar, is reached from Ningala or Ujalvav stations on the Botad-Bhavnagar section of the Western Railway. A small village of no importance now, it lies on the southern bank of the Ghelo river. ‘It used to be considered in the Mulkgiri times under the Muhammadans that Sorath commenced at Loliyana. Loliyana was an early conquest of the Muhammadans who kept a strong thana there and the Loliyana thanadwar was an important person in the local politics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It has a stone minaret which is 188 feet high and visible for some distance.’\(^5\) In a tomb in the village, locally known as Mādan Shāh’s, there are lying two loose slabs—both greatly damaged, one of which bears the following inscription. The slabs have nothing to do with the tomb where they seem to have been shifted from the mosque in which they are reported to have been placed when the Corp. Insc. Bhav.,\(^6\) was compiled. Both of them pertain to the construction and repair or reconstruction of a mosque. It is just possible that both the slabs had originally belonged to the same mosque.

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3. See B.I.M., 1935-36, pp. 50-51. Also see Journal of the Numis. Soc. of India, vol. I, p. 42, where the word is stated to connote a wider meaning than first cousin.
This epigraph is inscribed in relief in *Nasḵah* letters on a slab of white marble measuring 1'11" by 1'2" by 6". It consists of five lines in mixed Arabic and Persian, the Arabic portion comprising the *Bismillah* and a verse from the Quran. It has been noticed in the *Corpus*, which states that 'the mosque appears to have been built long before the date of the inscription, but it having fallen down, Sultan Mahmud III of Gujarat ordered it to be rebuilt. This inscription refers to the rebuilding of this mosque in 968 A.H.' This reading is quite incorrect. The name of Aḥmad Shāh and the date 962 A.H., can be read despite the indistinct character of the epigraph, and the king was neither the builder nor repairer. Though the names of the original builder and the rebuild could not be deciphered with certainty, the former appears to have held the title of Maliku'ššarq Qiwāmu'l Mulk, while the latter reads like Himmat Khan, son of Haibat Khan Bahlim. It may be added that the royal titles of Aḥmad Shāh are absent in the epigraph. It may be rendered as follows:—

**TEXT**

Plate XXII (a)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) تَّالَ الله [ تعالى ] وَان [المساجد] تَلا تَدْعُوا بِالله اَنَّ يَا مسجد

(3) جامع؟ ملك الشرق قوم الملك بنا كرده بود بعد ... تهابت كهنه شده بود؟

(4) بعد خان اعظم

(5) هم حمطان بن [هيلان] الهيليم در عم سلطان احمد شاه ابن عم محمود شاه از سرینا كرده اجر الله تعالى

(6) في الدارين بانيه؟ في مارد مبارك رضوان الحادى و العشرين شهور سنن اثني و ستين

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

(2) God, the Exalted says: And verily, the mosques are for God (only); hence, invoke not anyone else with Him. This *Jāmi‘* mosque

(3) was constructed by Maliku'sharq Qiwāmu'l Mulk. After.......... it had become dilapidated. Thereafter the great Khān

(4) Himmat (?) Khan, son of Haibat (?) Khan Bahlim, got it reconstructed during the reign of Aḥmad Shāh, a cousin of Maḥmūd Shāh. May God the Exalted reward

(5) its builder (?) in both the worlds. In the month of Ramadān, 21st, *Shu‘uhr* San sixty-two and nine hundred (9th Aug. 1555 A.D.).

Histories mention only two nobles who have borne the title of Qiwāmu’l Mulk. One was Sayyid ‘Aṭā’ūllāh who was responsible in making Prince Jalāl Khan (Qubu’d Din Aḥmad II) succeed his father Muḥammad Shāh II. The other one, far more celebrated than the abovementioned, was Malik Sārang Sultānī, a noble who served Maḥmūd I, Muẓaffar Shāh II and Sultan Bahādur. He is mentioned as having been put in charge of Diu by Sultan Bahādur in 1528.
In the absence of any definite clue from the epigraph, it is difficult to say, as to which of the two, if at all, is meant here. As regards the repairer or rebuilding, the name could not be deciphered with certainty. The word Bahlim in is quite clear in the epigraph, which shows that he belonged to that caste. A number of persons belonging to this caste are mentioned in the histories of Gujarat, e.g., Haibat Khan Bahlim, Nuṣratu'l Mulk Bahlim, Ghaḍanfaru'l Mulk Bahlim, Mujāhid Khan Bahlim and the like.

XX.--INSCRIPTION FROM PATAN

The second inscription of this king, being noticed here for the first time, was found lying in the place called Aḥmad Pir kā Chorā, near the Gujarati school at Patan. It originally belonged to some mosque, as the construction of a mosque is mentioned therein. It seems to have escaped the notice of the former Junagarh State authorities who have removed a number of inscribed tablets from this place to the State Museum, Junagarh. The Saurashtra Government, we hope, will take necessary steps to preserve this and remove it to the newly set up Archaeological Museum at Patan itself.

The slab of yellow sandstone, bearing this inscription, has suffered much from weather and vandalism. It measures 1'6" by 1'6" and is 6" thick. The portion towards the base containing the date is worst affected. The epigraph records the erection of a mosque during the reign of Sultan Aḥmad III by one Iṣḥāq Sulṭānī. The titles of the king given are Al-Muṭāṣim bī'llāh Ghiyāthu'd Din Abū'l Maḥāmid Aḥmad Shāh, which are to be found on his coins and other inscriptions. The style of writing is Nasīḥ.

It has been read as follows:

TEXT

Plate XXII (b)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - قال الله تعالى
(2) و ان المساجدَ ين ألا تدعو مع الله احد
(3) وقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنا مسجد بما أتَي
(4) في الطلا ر في الجنة - در عهد هاميون السلاطان
(5) الأعظم المعتصم بالله غياث الدين
(6) أبي المحامد أحمد بن عم محمد شاه ابن مسجد بن حكر
(7) بلغة كهل كار ٍ[ ] اسحاق سلطانی
(8) التاريخ؟ ماه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. God the Exalted says:
(2) And verily, the mosques are for God (only); hence, do not invoke anyone else along with God.

1 Behlims: converted Rajputs of the Behlim tribe are found in North Gujarat and in Broach. The Behlims seem originally to have been a Turkish tribe. In Gujarat the Behlims have ceased to form a separate class and their tribal name has become little more than a surname. *Bomb. Gaz.*, IX, part II, p. 58.

4 H.D., *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 65, 102, 250, 256, 288, 291, 508 etc. The last mentioned was for some time stationed at Palitana which is not far from Loliyana. *Ibid.*, pp. 298, 292, 324.
(3) And the Prophet, may God’s blessings and peace be upon him, says: He who builds a mosque, God builds
(4) for him a palace in Paradise. During the auspicious reign of the King,
(5) the great, the magnificent, relying on God, Ghiyāthu’d Dīn
(6) Abūl Maḥāmid Aḥmad Shāh, cousin of Maḥmūd Shāh, this mosque was built by
(7) the sinful slave, Ḡaḥīq Sulfānī ............ month
(8) ........................................

The following two inscriptions belong to the Sultanate period but it was not possible to assign them the name of any of the Sultans. One of them is a fragmentary record, containing a part of the genealogy of the Sultans, while the other does not mention any ruling king at all.

XXI.—INSCRIPTION FROM LOLIYANA

This fragmentary epigraph is the other of the two lying in the tomb of Madan Shāh. Its text has been given in the Corp. Insc. Bhav., where it is stated to ‘contain the date 729 A.H. in which the building of the mosque by one Karmallah Shāh took place’. The inscription which has lost its portion on the right is certainly neither dated 729 or 720 nor does it give the name of Karmallah Shāh as the builder. It mentions the construction of a mosque during the reign of one of the Gujarāt Sultans, who ruled after Muḥammad Shāh II, son of Aḥmad I; in all probability, it was Maḥmūd I. The style of writing is Naṣkā and the slab measures in its present state 1′ 1″ by 8″ and is 6″ thick.

It may be rendered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (b)

1. د شاه بن محمد شاه بن أحمد شاه بن محمد شاه
2. بناء امی الدور برحمة پروہندگر
3. غلبهانی الخанс و العشیرین من ذی الفكاه
4. بناء کرد این مسجد

TRANSLATION

(1) . . . . d Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh
(2) ............... the slave, hopeful of the mercy of God,
(3) ............. Ghālib Khānī, on the 25th of Dhil Qa’dā
(4) ............ constructed this mosque

XXII.—INSCRIPTION FROM QĀḌĪ’S MOSQUE, PATAN

This epigraph is carved in relief on a slab of marble measuring 2′ by 5½″ which is fixed over the central mīḥrāb of the said mosque. It comprises three lines in mixed Arabic and Persian. It mentions the erection of a mosque by one Maḥmūd, son of ʿUthmān. The date which is inscribed towards the end in the third line is not perfectly clear; the Corp. Insc. Bhav., reads it as 976 A.H.

1 See inscription no. XVII above.
2 Corp. Insc. Bhav., p. 5. However, in the text given, the date read is 720 A.H. Such instances of giving one date in the text and another in the introductory remarks are common in that work.
3 P. 36.
The style of writing is Naskh. It may be read as under:

TEXT

Plate XXIII (c)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم - قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد فلا تدعو مع الله احدا

(2) و قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من ين اسمدا ين الله له فسرا في الجنة

(3) بلنا كرد ابي مسجد بنده كان لوكا حضرت بوودار الراجی إلى الله محمود بن عثمان

**Translation**

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. God the Exalted says: And verily, the mosques are for God (only); hence, invoke not with God anyone else.

(2) And the Prophet, may God's blessings and peace be upon him, says: He who builds a mosque, God builds for him a palace in Paradise ...

(3) This mosque was constructed by the sinful slave of the nourishing Lord, turning in hope to God, Mahmūd, son of ‘Uthmān, son of Ḥāji ‘Uthmān (†) on the 30th of Rabi‘ I Shuhūr San 946 A.H.² (15th Aug. 1539 A.D.).

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¹ A few words written vertically here could not be read. They probably appear to be in continuation of the last line.
² The reading of the date is doubtful.
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"A book that is shut is but a block"

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