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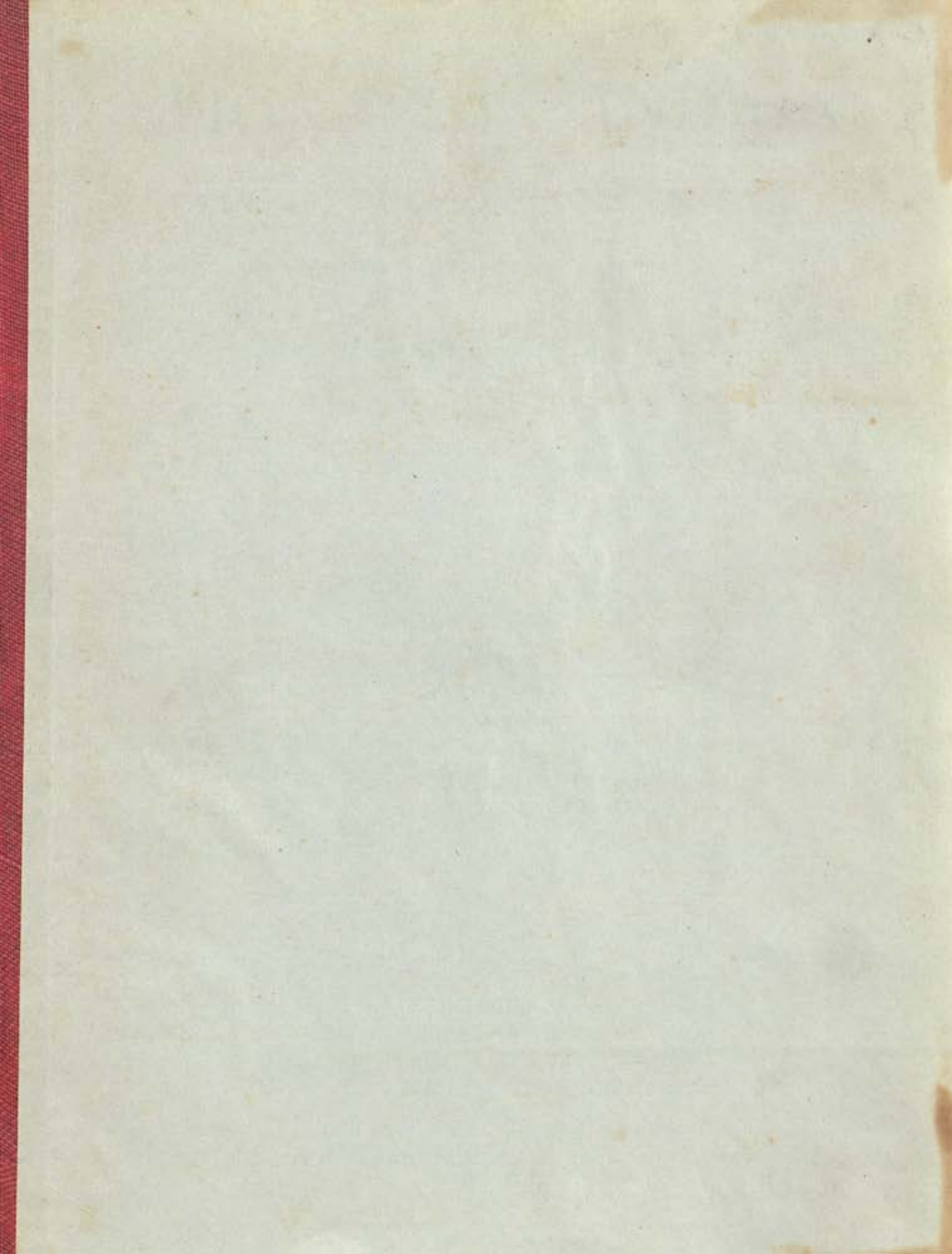
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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC & PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1955-58



PUBLISHED BY  
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,  
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110011

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## PREFACE

The task of making available to the world of scholars the benefits of study and research on Indian inscriptions would have remained incomplete without the reprinting of volumes of *Epigraphia Indica* (Arabic & Persian Supplement). This series, under the title *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, published from 1907 to 1940, was revived in 1949 and since 1951 in its present form. This valuable material is being published in 13 volumes. The present one is 7th in the series and will be followed in quick succession by subsequent ones.

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

K.V. RAMESH  
DIRECTOR (EPIGRAPHY)

MYSORE  
1-09-1987

The first of these is the fact that the  
present system of taxation is not  
designed to encourage the production  
of goods and services which are  
of benefit to the community as a whole.  
It is designed to encourage the  
production of goods and services which  
are of benefit to the individual taxpayer.  
This is a serious defect in the present  
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THE  
END

1914  
1915

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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1955 and 1956

EDITED BY  
DR. Z. A. DESAI



Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi  
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1960

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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

## ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

### 1955 and 1956

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#### ARABIC AND PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

BY Z. A. DESAI

The Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, has a rich collection of Arabic and Persian inscriptions numbering fiftytwo, collected mostly from the areas now included in Bengal and Bihar, of which twentythree have been published with their facsimiles in the previous issues of the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* and *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.<sup>1</sup> Of the remaining twenty-nine inscriptions that are being studied here, readings of seventeen have been published elsewhere during the course of the last one hundred years: majority of them were read by H. Blochmann who published his findings in the various issues of the *Journal or Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. But his readings as well as those of others require careful revision in most cases, containing as they do mistakes of diverse nature ranging from assignment of inscriptions to kings other than those to whose reign they belong, down to mistakes of minor character.

The fact that majority of these seventeen inscriptions were published without their facsimiles has considerably detracted from their unquestioned value as source of history, since in the absence of illustrations, authenticity of their readings cannot be vouchsafed. Consequently, scholars in the field of historical research, not conversant with the language in which these inscriptions are composed are likely to fall into error. On the other hand, even scholars who claim knowledge of these languages would be reluctant to accept, beyond any shadow of doubt, readings not properly illustrated with facsimiles.

It is always essential, therefore, to illustrate texts of inscriptions with their facsimiles, thereby enabling a discriminate and intelligent scholar to utilize them without any feeling of hesitancy. Apart from such control as the facsimiles are intended to serve on the readings of inscriptions, they also provide useful material for systematic study of the development of Arabic palaeography, a branch that has unfortunately not received the proper attention it deserves, in this country.

It was only with these views in mind that it was deemed proper to include in the present study such inscriptions as were noticed before; it is not intended to underrate in any way the enormous

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<sup>1</sup> *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1911-12, pp. 5-7, 25; *ibid.*, 1917-18, p. 34; *ibid.*, 1923-24, p. 26; *ibid.*, 1933-34, pp. 1-9, *Epig. Ind. A. & P. Supp.*, 1951 and 52, p. 27, pl. XI (b); one each was published in *Epig. Ind.*, vol. II (1892), p. 291, *JAS, Letters*, vol. XI, pt. I, p. 256, *JASB*, vol. II (1837), p. 837 and *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, vol. XV, p. 72. R. D. Banerjee had also published some of these inscriptions in about 1918, but his study also suffers from the same shortcomings as pointed out in these lines. A comparison of his readings and notes with mine will make this perfectly clear (*Jour. Bih. Oris. Res. Soc.*, vol. IV (1918), pp. 181-82, 184-85, 186, 190).



work Blochmann has done to further the cause of palaeographic research in India especially at a time when circumstances and conditions under which he worked were not always favourable.

Some of the following inscriptions make an interesting study inasmuch as they come from foreign countries, mostly from East Persia, and hence are likely to prove of some interest to palaeographers in this country for a comparative study of various scripts or different forms of a particular script prevalent in different parts at a particular period, though they may not be found so important from the historical point of view.

Before taking up inscriptions in chronological order, I must express my most cordial thanks to Shri R. C. Kar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section of the Museum for his extreme kindness in offering all kinds of facilities in the study of these inscriptions.

The earliest inscription of the group is engraved in relief on a slab of white limestone measuring 20" by 30", whose exact findspot is not known but which was very likely brought from some foreign country. The slab is slightly damaged and in some places, the letters have lost their prominence of relief, but on the whole the writing is decipherable.

The slab contains on its three sides a margin formed by two thick lines drawn parallel to each other making a rectangle within. This rectangle has within it a full-drawn arch, with the entablature containing the First Creed and spandrels profusely decorated with floral designs. The space between the curves of the arch is likewise woven into floral pattern of the same type as in the spandrels, while the piers on which the arch rests are made after the shape of flower-vases, so to say; one letter each is carved in these piers.

The main text of the epigraph is engraved in the three margins, running anti-clockwise from the bottom of the right margin and continued on the space under the arch. It will be seen that the two letters written in the two piers of the arch, as stated above, comprise the concluding word of the text, namely, "مايه" which should have come immediately after "خمس", the last word of the text inscribed horizontally at the bottom.

The epigraph contains prayer for mercy and pardon for the soul of one Abi Ja'far Muhammad Ahmad, son of Ghilmān al-Ijī (?) who died on Monday, the 29th of the month of Rabi' I, A. H. 578 (2nd August 1182 A. D.).

However, from our point of view the inscription is not so much important for its contents as for its calligraphy. The style of writing is a good specimen of ornamental Kufic, which is so difficult to decipher on account of the ornamental flourishes employed for each letter of the alphabet, though once these decorations are removed, the basic forms of letters become quite intelligible. It may be pointed out that the inscription belongs to a period—sixth century Hijra—remarkable for the evolution of the 'most fantastically ornamental forms, intertwining, interlacing, floral and geometrical'.<sup>1</sup> The fundamental creed and the word "مايه" are inscribed in *Naskh*. Thus, we have in this inscription, specimens of both the styles of writing as current at a particular period.

The inscription has been deciphered by me as follows:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate I(a)

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

<sup>1</sup> M. Ziauddin, *Moslem Calligraphy* (Cal. 1936), p. 17. For various specimens of inscriptions, etc., written in Kufic, ornamental or simple, see *ibid.*, pp. 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, etc.





(a) Epitaph in Kufic, dated A.H. 578, from a foreign country (p. 2)



SCALE : ·18

(b) Epitaph, dated A.H. 606, from outside India (p. 4)



SCALE : ·1

(c) Inscription of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, dated A.H. 732, from Sirsa, Panjab (p.)



SCALE : ·29

(a) *Margins.*

- (١) اللهم اغفر و ارحم لعبدك الضعيف  
 (٢) لابي (؟) جعفر محمد احمد  
 (٣) بن غلمان الایجي (؟) نور الله مضجعه توفى

(b) *Under the arch.*

- (٤) الاثنين التاسع<sup>١</sup>  
 (٥) و الشعرين ربيع  
 (٦) الاول سنة ثمان  
 (٧) و سبعين و خمس

(c) *In the piers.*

- (٨) مايد

## TRANSLATION

There is no god but Allāh ; Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.

- (a) (1) O God, pardon and have mercy on your weak creature  
 (2) Abī (?) Ja'far, Muḥammad Aḥmad,  
 (3) son of Ghilmān Al-Iḥī, may God illuminate his grave ; he died  
 (b) (4) on Monday, the nine  
 (5) and twentieth of Rabi'  
 (6) the First, year eight  
 (7) and seventy and five  
 (c) (8) hundred.

The next inscription, in order of sequence, is also an epitaph in Arabic, mentioning the demise of Maḥdūm Shaikh Mas'ūd, son of Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad al-'Aṭā, whose name is prefixed with the titles, Jamālu'd-Dīn and Shihābu'l-Islām and who is said to have died a martyr on Sunday, 18th of Dhī'l-Ḥajja A.H. 606 (13th June 1210 A.D.).

The record is inscribed in relief on a slab of white limestone measuring about 16" by 19",<sup>2</sup> along the four sides of which runs a border about 3" thick forming a rectangle inside ; the latter contains an arch under which is engraved the *Bismillāh*. The text of the epitaph which begins upwards from the right border, is carried on along the top and left borders and then under the arch, ultimately ending in the lower border. The style of writing is *Naskh* of an earlier period. It will

<sup>1</sup> It may be pointed out that due to lack of space the engraver has written "سبع" of this word vertically going upwards.

<sup>2</sup> The slab is reported to have been presented to the Museum by Col. L. R. Stacey. No information is available regarding its exact findspot, but most probably it was brought from Persia.



be noticed that the diacritical marks are absent throughout the text which has been read as follows:—

## TEXT

Plate I(b)

بسم الله  
 هذا قبر الشيخ الركي السعيد الشهيد المخدم  
 جمال الدين شهاب الاسلام  
 مسعود بن احمد بن محمد العطا  
 رحمه الله توفي يوم الاحد الثامن<sup>1</sup> عشر  
 من ذى الحجة سنة ست و ستمائة

## TRANSLATION

In the name of God.

This is the grave of the holy, the happy, the martyr, Makhdūm Shaikh Jamālu'd-Dīn Shihābu'l-Islām Mas'ūd, son of Ahmad, son of Muhammad al-'Atā,

may God have mercy on him; (he) died on Sunday, 18th of Dhī'l-Hajja, year 606 (A.H. or 13th June 1210 A.D.).

The next four inscriptions belong to the period of Tughluq rule in India. The earliest of them representing the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh, is engraved on a slab of grey sandstone, 1'10" by 10", which is fragmentary, approximately one fourth of the stone on the right side having been lost; the surviving piece is considerably affected by wear and tear of time with the result that the writing on it has become indistinct in some places. It is said to have been originally found in the fort of Sirsa in Panjab.<sup>2</sup>

A reading of this inscription was published by Blochmann with the following comments: 'Though the inscription is incomplete, it is clear that it refers to the erection of a house built by Muhammad Shāh in 732 A.H. in order to please the spirit of Tughluq Shāh, the martyr, whose death, if we trust Ibn Baṭūṭah, he had caused by the breaking down of a state pavilion. That Muhammad Shāh was anxious to appease the manes of his uncle,<sup>3</sup> is also clear from his coins.'<sup>4</sup>

The above statement is misleading in more than one respect. The structure, which has been spoken of as 'a house' in the extant portion of the epigraph, was not constructed by the emperor, but by some other personage who was connected with the royal court. Secondly, there is nothing in the text to warrant the statement that the house was constructed merely in order to please the spirit of Tughluq Shāh. As far as we can judge from the surviving portion of the text, the building was something like a fort or a guard-room, as the words 'for the stability of the kingdom'

<sup>1</sup> This word reads like "الثالث" but it can be also "الثامن" which reading I have preferred, as 18th and not 13th of Dhī'l-Hajja, A.H. 606, was Sunday.

<sup>2</sup> Another inscription from this place, also in this Museum, has been published in *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1911-12, p. 25; it is dated in the reign of Iltutmish.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in the original. Blochmann probably meant 'father'.

<sup>4</sup> H. Blochmann, *PASB*, 1874, p. 72.

tend to suggest. Any step that would strengthen the defence in this part of country, which was of strategic importance from military point of view throughout the past would naturally please the spirit of Tughluq Shāh who had passed greater part of his career in Panjab; it is probably in this perspective that the statement of the epigraph is to be understood.

The name of the builder who was a confidant of the king, cannot be deciphered with certainty: it may be Qutluḡ Khān or Qir'at Khān, or Qur'ān Khwān; I have preferred Qir'at Khān. It is difficult to establish his identity, but Qir'at Khān, if read correctly, may have been the title of the person concerned. The like title Qur'ān Khwān is found in an inscription engraved on a loose slab lying in the Mughal mosque at Cambay in Kaira District of Bombay State. The nobleman, bearing this title—his name is lost, the slab having been damaged in this part—was the *kūtūbāl* of Cambay and had constructed a mosque in the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughluq. The record is dated 1st Rajab A.H. 755 or about 23 years later than the inscription under study. It is not unlikely that Qir'at Khān of the present record is identical with the personage referred to in the Cambay record.<sup>1</sup>

The inscriptional tablet in its present state contains five verses and a half or eleven hemistiches in Persian, which have been written in four lines in *Nasḫ* letters in relief. The record may be read as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate I(c)

سلطان بر و بحر محمد شه شهان	.....	(۱)
میمون مبارکست درین منزل این مقام	بهر ثبات مملکت این خانه شد تمام	
تا خود رود <sup>۲</sup> بشغل ؟ از سمت شهر شاه	.....	(۲)
روح شهید تغلقشه شاد <sup>۴</sup> دان بدین	از صدقه خلیفه <sup>۳</sup> فروکش بود درین	
<sup>۵</sup> اینکار یک ندیم <sup>۶</sup> قراة خان آن فصیح	.....	(۳)
قصر زهرجدیش بجنه دهد خدا	از مال و ملک خویش بکردست این بنا	
<sup>۸</sup> سنة بهقتصد سی و دو <sup>۷</sup> بشد نشان	جمادی اول نهم بدان	(۴)

<sup>1</sup> The Cambay record is being noticed in *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1956-57.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann, *opp. cit.*, reads “بشغلی”.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* reads “نزولش”.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* reads “دل”.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* reads “آشکار را قدر ..... فصیح”.

<sup>6</sup> Another probable reading is “قتلغ خان”.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* reads “تاریخ از جماد الاول”, but the second word looks like “بود”.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* reads “از سنة هفتصد”.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* reads “شد”.



## TRANSLATION

(1) .....lord of land and sea, Muḥammad, the king of kings,  
this house was completed for the stability of the kingdom; this place is blessed and auspicious in this state.

(2) .....so that (when) the king passes by the side of this town on some task,  
he may alight at this (place), through the grace of the Caliph.<sup>1</sup> Know the spirit of Tughluq Shāh, the martyr, to be happy at this.

(3) .....one royal confidant, Qir'at Khān, that eloquent one, has this work (to his credit).

He got this structure constructed through his personal wealth and property.<sup>2</sup> May God bestow on him a palace of emerald in Paradise!

(4) Know that the date is 9th Jumādī I and the year is indicated by (the words) seven hundred and thirtytwo (7th February 1332 A.D.).

The next two inscriptions belonging to the rule of Fīrūz Shāh are important records throwing new light on the list of governors of Bihar under the Tughluqs. The earlier of the two is engraved on a slab of black basalt, measuring 5'8" by 1'5" which was presented to the Museum by the Government of Bengal.<sup>3</sup> The slab originally came from Bihar Sharif in Patna District, where it was fixed above a door in the tomb of Malik Ibrāhīm Bayyū, who is popularly regarded as the ancestor of the martial Malik Muslims of the province of Bihar.<sup>4</sup> The tomb, situated on a hill called *Pirpahāḍī*, bears two more epigraphs.<sup>5</sup>

The record under notice consists of six verses in Persian inscribed in two lines, each of which is cut into six panels covered by a thick border. The poetry of the text which is of an inferior order, is in striking contrast with the high quality of calligraphic style in which it is executed. The calligraphy is a graceful, though complicated, variety of *Nasḥ* that is immensely pleasant to look at. The same style of writing is found employed in a number of inscriptions from Bihar Sharif. The epigraph states that Malik Ibrāhīm Bayyū passed away to the heavenly abode on Sunday, 13th Dhī'l-Ḥajja, A.H. 753 (20th January 1353 A.D.), in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh.

## TEXT

## Plate II(a)

کی بادا در بهار ملک نوروز	(۱) بعهد دولت شاه جهانگیر
کی بر شاهان گیتی گشت فیروز	شهنشاه جهان فیروز سلطان
کی بدردین چو ابراهیم کین توز	ملک سیرت ملک یو ابراهیم
بلست چون سیزده از مه درین سوز	(۲) بماء ذی الحجه یکشنبه از دهر
مسافر شد ملک در جنت این روز	بهجرت هفصد و پنجه سه تاریخ
کنی آسان حساب آخرین روز	خداوندا بفضل خویش بروی

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* takes 'Caliph' to mean Tughluq Shāh which is incorrect. By 'Caliph' is probably meant the then Abbasid Caliph.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* translates: He (i.e., the king) built this edifice from the taxes of his kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> By the Government of Bengal in these lines is meant the then Government of united Bengal and Bihar.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed description of the tomb and its inscriptions, see M. H. Kurāishi, *List of Anc. Mon. in Bih. and Oris.*, Arch. Surv. Ind., New Imp. Series, vol. LI, pp. 57-59.

<sup>5</sup> The texts of these records were also published in *JASB* (1839), p. 352, *ibid.*, vol. XLII (1873), pt. i, p. 301, *Epiq. Ind.*, vol. II (1892), p. 292 and T. W. Beale, *Miftāhu't-Tawārīkh* (Kanpur, 1868), p. 90.



(c) Inscription of Fīrūz Tughlūq, dated A.H. 753, from Bihar Sharif (p. 6)



SCALE : '13

(b) Inscription of the same king from the same place, dated A.H. 757 (p. 9)



SCALE : '11

(c) Inscription of Muhammad Shāh Tughlūq, from the same place, dated A.H. 792 (p. 10)



SCALE : '13





## TRANSLATION

(1) During the period of the rule of the world-conquering monarch, may he be *naurūz* (new year's day) in the spring of the kingdom<sup>1</sup>,

the emperor of the world, Sulṭān Firūz who became victorious over the kings of the world,

Malik Bayyū Ibrāhīm of angelic nature, who, like (his namesake) Abraham, was zealous in (matters of) Faith;

(2) in the month of *Dhi'l-Hajja*, on Sunday, of the time when thirteen (days) of the month had passed in burning,

in the year of the Hijra, seven hundred and fiftythree, the Malik travelled to Paradise on that day.

O Lord, through your kindness, make the reckoning of the last day<sup>2</sup> easy for him!

Very little is known about Malik Ibrāhīm Bayyū or his career except what is mentioned in the strong and persistent local traditions, recorded by Blochmann, and subsequently quoted by Kuraishi.<sup>3</sup> Apart from the three epigraphs on the tomb mentioned above, there is a fourth inscription, in Sanskrit, originally from one of the temples on the Vipula hill at Rajgir,<sup>4</sup> which while referring to the reign of Firūz Shāh mentions Malika Vayū—obviously Malik Bayyū—as the governor of Magadha on behalf of the emperor.<sup>5</sup> The Persian epigraphs mainly restrict themselves to the eulogy of the Malik whose epitaph they form but each of them contains bits of additional information. Pierced together, these purport to the effect that the Malik's full name was Ibrāhīm, son of Abū Bakr, he was known as Malik Bayyū, and he was the *muḥṭi* (governor) of Bihar. From the text of one of the other two inscriptions, one would not be far from truth in inferring that Saifu'd-Daulat (lit., sword of the kingdom) was his honorific title.<sup>6</sup> It may also be stated that the other two Persian records, as in the case of the present one, are vociferous in their praise of the zealous acts of the Malik in the cause of Religion.

Apart from the above epigraphical evidence regarding Malik Bayyū, there is, in print, a very valuable piece of information, which it is surprising to note, has been overlooked by Blochmann and modern writers on the subject. The information, though meagre, is all the more valuable since it throws new light on the reasons that led Firūz Tughluq to wage war against Shamsu'd-Dīn Ilyās Shāh of Bengal. Buchanan, on the authority of the manuscript which he claimed to have procured at Pandua, states that Shamsu'd-Dīn Ilyās Shāh, 'the new monarch built a great palace, and made war on Ibrahim, governor of Bihar, on the part of Firuz'.<sup>7</sup> Now, this governor of Bihar

<sup>1</sup> From the translation given by Blochmann, *JASB*, vol. XLII (1873), p. 301, it appears that he had read the second hemistich as '*ki bāda dar Bihār mulk-i-naurūz*' which does not conform to the metre. Paul Horn, *EI*, II, p. 292, has followed Blochmann.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., the day of Judgment.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann, *opp. cit.*, p. 300; Kuraishi, *opp. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> The two slabs bearing this inscription are preserved in Shanti Bhavan, residence of the late Shri Puran Chand Nahar at Rajgir.

<sup>5</sup> Puran Chand Nahar, 'Rajgir Jain Inscription', *Jour. Bih. Oris. Res. Soc.*, Patna, 1919, pp. 331-343.

<sup>6</sup> "این مقطع بهار ملک سیف دولت است".

<sup>7</sup> Martin, *Eastern India*, vol. II (Lond. 1838), p. 616. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's condemnation of this manuscript as 'a careless and incorrect summary of *Riyaz-us-salatin*' (*Hist. Beng.*, vol. II, p. 123) is rather unjust, since in another instance also, the manuscript is found to be the only noticed source throwing some new light on the identity of Shihābu'd-Dīn Bāyazīd Shāh of Bengal. It is a pity that no efforts were made to trace this manuscript.



under Firūz Shāh Tughluq can be none other than Malik Ibrāhīm Bayyū of our inscription. Though we do not possess any further information regarding the outcome of the war, it is not unlikely that Ilyās Shāh had gained a victory; it is equally possible that Malik Ibrāhīm was killed in this battle. This encroachment on the authority of Delhi over Bihar, on the part of Ilyās Shāh, seems to have been more than anything else responsible for the expedition of Bengal undertaken by Firūz Shāh in person, within a short period of his coming to the throne.

The name Bayyū also finds mention in the *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī*, a work compiled during the life-time of Sultan Firūz. A noble “داود خان بن یو” is mentioned along with other nobles in the said work, but, in my opinion, this name is a copyist's error for “داود خان بن یو”, the remaining words “داود خان بن” having been probably an inadvertent repetition by the scribe.<sup>1</sup> If this guess is correct, Malik Dā'ūd who is ranked among the foremost nobles of the reign of Firūz,<sup>2</sup> was the first descendant of Malik Ibrāhīm Bayyū. This guess is indirectly supported by the discovery of a new inscription in Bihar Sharif itself—the findspot of the inscription under study—which is dated A.H. 765, in the reign of Firūz Shāh. It mentions Khān-i-Kabīr Asadu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn Dā'ūd Khān as the governor.<sup>3</sup> It is not at all unlikely that Dā'ūd Khān had succeeded to the governorship of Bihar on the death of Malik Ibrāhīm.

I also venture to suggest one degree further in the genealogy of Malik Ibrāhīm. In the Indian Museum itself, there is another inscription of the time of Firūz Shāh, which is being studied next. Originally coming from Bihar Sharif and dated two years later than the inscription of Dā'ūd Khān mentioned above, it refers to the governorship, obviously of Bihar, of one Khānzāda Sulaimān, son of Ulugh Dā'ūd, who is not mentioned even by name in chronicles or elsewhere. It is very likely that Ulugh Dā'ūd is none other than Asadu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn Dā'ūd who, on his death that, if at all, might have occurred sometime during A.H. 765-767 was succeeded in office by Sulaimān.

The above genealogy making Sulaimān a son of Dā'ūd Khān and the latter a son of Malik Ibrāhīm Bayyū, if accepted, would by no means be contrary to known facts however meagre.

Likewise, the nomenclature Bayyū (written Vayā in the Rajgir Jain inscription referred to above), to my mind, may be a shortened form of the name Ibrāhīm itself. In Panjab, the custom of addressing people after converting their names into short forms is prevalent even today. Thus, for instance, Ghulām Muḥammad, Sirāj and Iqbāl are shortened as Gāmā, Sājā and Bālā respectively—the latter as Bālo, if it happens to be the name of a lady—in informal modes of address. Provided the appellation Khānzāda to the name of Sulaimān in his above-mentioned inscription is taken to indicate his domicile in Mewat, which is situated in and around Panjab, the corruption of Ibrāhīm to Bayyū is easily explained.

The other inscription of Firūz Shāh, dated about thirteen years later, also comes from Bihar Sharif as already stated above. The slab of black basalt (3'10" by 1'6") on which the record is carved in relief in beautiful *Naskh* characters has lost about one third of its portion on the right. It has slightly cracked at one or two places and the writing on it is also somewhat damaged. It is difficult to establish the purport of the record, firstly because the text is incomplete and second-

<sup>1</sup> *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Ms., Or. Pub. Lib., Bankipore, Patna), f. 76a.

<sup>2</sup> Other nobles mentioned along with him are Qiwāmu'd-Dīn Khudāwand Khān Tirmidhī, Sher Khān Mahmūd Bek Rustam Bakhshī, 'Ainu'd-Dīn-i-Māhrū and others (*ibid.*).

<sup>3</sup> *ARIF*, 1953-54, App. C, No. 91. The credit of discovering this inscription goes to Prof. S. H. Askari of Patna College, Patna, who published a reading of it in 'A Review of Bihar during the Turko-Afghan Period', *Current Studies*, Patna, 1954, p. 17.



ly, nothing is on record regarding its exact findspot. It is reported to have been removed to the Museum from Bayley Sarai in Bihar Sharif by the Government of Bengal sometime during the last century.<sup>1</sup>

The incomplete nature of the record, however, does not detract from its historical value inasmuch as it refers to a new governor of Bihar, namely Sulaimān, son of Ulugh Dā'ūd, who has been already mentioned in the above lines.

Another interesting feature of the record is its mention of the name Sulaimān prefixed by the word *Khānzāda*. Whether this word is used in the ordinary sense, viz., 'the son of a *Khān*', or it is intended to convey the tribal or clan name of that personage, it is not easy to say. Personally, I am inclined to adapt the latter connotation, in which case, the record may be considered to contain perhaps the earliest mention of this nomenclature. It will be remembered that several members of the *Khānzāda* family came into renown, in Mewat, a couple of decades later.<sup>2</sup>

The epigraph is also remarkable for its beautiful calligraphy: it is engraved in a variety of *Naskh* which combines in it boldness of execution as well as graceful symmetry of curves and straight lines of letters. The designer of the writing also seems to have indulged in a few intricate devices by which he has made one letter serve the purpose of two, with or without effecting any additional change in that letter: thus, for example, a single curve has been made to represent the curves of letters "ن" of "سليمان" and "غ" of "الغ" or, the "الف" of "الغ" has been eliminated by adapting a simple device of making a small shaft project leftwards from the "الف" of "سليمان" and meet the dot of "ن" in the same word.<sup>3</sup>

The record is dated 30th Muharram A.H. 767 (17th October 1365 A.D.), and has been read as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate II (b)

الله

..... [في] روز شه گیتی مدار ..... (۱)

الله

الله

وقت خانزاده سليمان الغ داود خان      اختيار اهل سيف و نمر هيجا اختيار

<sup>1</sup> An incomplete, and by no means correct, reading of the inscription was published by Paul Horn, *opp. cit.*, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the *Khānzādas*, see Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, vol. XX, pp. 10-22.

<sup>3</sup> It is probably these intricacies that are responsible for the corrupt reading of Paul Horn, *opp. cit.*, p. 294, where in the footnote it is stated that 'the first and the third hemistich have been almost ruined; besides, the letters of the inscription are very rude, so that I could decipher it only fragmentarily'. It will be seen from the facsimile that the scribe deserved better remarks.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Horn, *opp. cit.*, omits these words.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* reads "سلعان".

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* omits these words.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* translates: 'who is the glory of the men of the world'.

<sup>8</sup> I can suggest no better reading. Paul Horn reads "کارهجا اعتبار" and translates thus: 'an esteemed satirist'.



(۲) .....<sup>۱</sup> [از برای کردگار .....  
<sup>۲</sup> رفتند از تاریخ هجرت هفصد و باشت و هفت باز از ماه محرم <sup>۳</sup> سی شمر <sup>۴</sup> دیگر شمار

## TRANSLATION

(1) ..... Firūz Shāh, the mainstay of the universe, during the regime of Khān-zāda Sulaimān, (son of) Ulugh Dā'ūd Khān (who is)

the pride of the men of sword, and a leopard indulging in wars,

(2) ..... for the sake of the Creator. Seven hundred and sixtyseven years had passed from the date of the Hijra;

again, count the reckoning of thirty from the month of Muḥarram.

The last of the Tughluq inscriptions refers to the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Firūz Shāh Tughluq. Like the two previous records, it also comes from Bihar Sharif, where it originally belonged to a ruined mosque in Kabiruddin Ganj, the northern-most locality of the town.<sup>5</sup>

The record comprises two verses in Persian, inscribed on a slab of black basalt measuring 2'8" by 1'8", in *Naskh* of a high order which can be called a good specimen of calligraphy.

Historically also, the inscription is important inasmuch as it is one of the few inscriptions that show that when the Tughluq empire was showing veritable signs of disintegration, the sovereignty of the ruler of the house of Tughluq was acknowledged in the eastern part of the empire, which bordered on the independent kingdom of Bengal, then ruled by Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn A'zam Shāh.

The epigraph records the construction of a mosque by Khwāja Diyā, son of 'Ulā in A. H. 792 (1389-90 A.D.). It reads as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate II (c)

(۱) شد بعهده دولت شاه محمد نامدار

این چنین مسجد مروح فضل باری کردگار

(۲) این بنا را کرد چون خواجه ضیاء ابن علا

بد ز هجرت <sup>۴</sup> هفصد دیگر نود دو در شمار

<sup>1</sup> Paul Horn, *opp. cit.*, omits these words.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* reads "دفتر" and translates: 'the account of' etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* reads "فی".

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* omits.

<sup>5</sup> Blochmann, *JASB*, vol. XLII (1873), pt. i, p. 303, had published only the text of this inscription. From its facsimile published here, it will be seen that the style of this inscription resembles that of the above two records. It appears that Bihar, like Bengal, had developed its own style of writing for mural records.

<sup>6</sup> It should have been "هفصد و" as read by Blochmann, *opp. cit.*, p. 303, or "و هفصد" to make it conform to the metre which is a variation of *Ramal*.

## TRANSLATION

(1) During the period of the reign of the king Muḥammad, the illustrious, such a pleasant mosque was constructed through the grace of the Almighty Creator.

(2) When Khwāja Diyā, son of 'Ulā erected this structure, it was seven hundred and ninetytwo in the Hijra reckoning.

The next inscription, in chronological order, pertains to the reign of one of the Sharqī rulers of Jaunpur. The inscriptions of the Sharqī kings found in Bihar are said to range between the years A.H. 805 and A.H. 892. The earliest inscription at Darbhanga mentioning the reign of Ibrāhīm Sharqī, in A.H. 805, is now no more traceable.<sup>1</sup> But in Bihar Sharif itself, a new inscription of Ibrāhīm Sharqī, dated A.H. 809, has been discovered recently by Prof. S.H. Askari in a plain one-wall mosque attached to the tomb of Sayyid Muḥammad Siwistānī, a fourteenth century saint.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, another new inscription dated A.H. 810 in the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh of the Tughluq dynasty has been found also by Prof. Askari on a mosque in Chāndpura Maḥalla of the same town.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to account for acknowledgment of the sovereignty of two independent rulers in one place and practically during the same period, unless we take it for granted that the Sharqī inscription, which is apparently not *in situ*, was brought from some other place.<sup>4</sup>

The inscription under study belongs to the reign of Ibrāhīm's son and successor, Maḥmūd Sharqī and is said to have been originally found on a mosque which stood opposite to the Chhoṭā Takiya in Bihar Sharif.<sup>5</sup> The old mosque, of which a large square platform was left when the slab was first found and presented to the Museum by the Government of Bengal, no more exists, but a new mosque erected in recent years probably marks its site now.

The record is inscribed on a black basalt slab measuring 3' 8" by 2' 5" and records the construction of a Jāmi' mosque in A.H. 847 (1443 A.D.) by Sayyid Ajmal at the instance of Maliku'sh-Sharq, Naṣīr, son of Bahā, the then governor of the province. Both Blochmann and Paul Horn who have published readings of this inscription which cannot be considered final, have erroneously combined two different men, namely, the builder and the governor, in the person of the above-mentioned Naṣīr.

The language of the epigraph, except that of the religious texts, is Persian verse, while the style of writing is *Naskh* which though of a fairly good type lacks symmetry of curves and graceful execution that are the distinctive features of some inscriptions from Bihar Sharif. The text of the inscription runs as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate III (a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ قَالَ عَلِیْهِ السَّلَامُ مِنْ بَنَی مَسْجِدًا لِلّٰهِ بَنَى اللّٰهُ لَهُ بَیْتًا فِی الْجَنَّةِ  
شَدِّ بِتَوْفِیْقِ الْهِیْ وَ اِزْ طَفِیْلِ مِصْطَفٰی مَسْجِدَ جَمْعِهِ بَعْدَ شَهِ دَیْنِ پُرورِ بَنَی

<sup>1</sup> Askari, *opp. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* The inscription has been copied and is noticed in *ARIE*, *opp. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* It is noticed in *ARIE*, *opp. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> The above-mentioned one-wall mosque bears two more records, one of which is of Jahāngīr's reign. This also indicates that the Sharqī record is not *in situ*.

<sup>5</sup> Blochmann, *opp. cit.*, p. 305; Paul Horn, *opp. cit.*, p. 293.

<sup>6</sup> Both Blochmann and Paul Horn wrongly translate this word as 'the best in the Eastern (Jaunpur) kingdom'. Maliku'sh-Sharq was a title with which great and powerful nobles used to be invested, irrespective of their postings, in west or east, both under the central and at least some provincial governments.

<sup>7</sup> Blochmann, *opp. cit.*, reads "وز".



- (۲) شاه محمود ابن ابراهيم<sup>۱</sup> عادل شاه آنک  
کشور از شاهان ستاند<sup>۲</sup> تاج بخشد برگدا  
بانی این مسجد آن مسند شریعت هست کو  
ذات پاکش قره العین نبی و مرتضا  
(۳) سرور و صدر جهان آن سید اجمل که شد  
ملک و ملت<sup>۳</sup> و دین و دولت را در او التجا  
کرده فرمایش بناء خیر ملک الشرق کان  
مقطع<sup>۴</sup> داور<sup>۵</sup> درین خطه نصیر ابن بها  
(۴) این بنا شد استوار از طاق کسری در بهار  
کعبه در عظمت برفت بیت معمور علا  
غره ماه رجب بد<sup>۶</sup> هیصد<sup>۷</sup> و چهل هفت سال  
کاندرین مسجد اقامت شد بتائید خدا

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. Says the Prophet, on whom be peace, 'He who builds a mosque for God, God will build for him a house in Paradise'.

Through Divine guidance and through the blessings of *Mustafā* (i.e., the Prophet), the Jum'a mosque was built in the reign of the Faith-nourishing monarch,

(2) *Shāh Maḥmūd*, son of *Ibrāhīm*, the 'Ādil (just), the king who conquers kingdom from princes, and bestows crown on paupers.

The builder of this mosque is that seat of religious law whose holy person is the coolness of the eyes<sup>8</sup> of the Prophet and *Murtaḍā* (i.e., 'Alī)—

(3) that leader and chief of the world (*Sadr-i-Jahān*), namely, Sayyid Ajmal,<sup>9</sup> whose threshold is the refuge of State and Religion, and Faith and Government.

The construction of this worthy edifice was suggested by *Maliku'sh-Sharq*, who is the just *muqti*<sup>10</sup> (governor)<sup>10</sup> of this district, (namely) *Naṣīr*, son of *Bahā*.

(4) This building, in Bihar, has become stronger than the portico of Chosroes; it is *Ka'ba* in grandeur and the high *Baitu'l-Ma'mūr*<sup>11</sup> in loftiness.

It was the first day of (the month of) Rajab of the year eight hundred and fortyseven (25th Oct. 1443 A.D.), when in this mosque, the *iqāmat* was held through Divine support.

<sup>1</sup> Paul Horn, *opp. cit.*, reads "شاه عادل" which falls out of metre.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann, *opp. cit.*, reads "باج".

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* omits "و" which is otherwise also redundant.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Horn, *opp. cit.*, reads "داود".

<sup>5</sup> Blochmann reads "هشصد" but Paul Horn correctly remarks that the form "هیصد" is not seldom in Indian inscriptions.

<sup>6</sup> Blochmann, *opp. cit.*, reads "چل".

<sup>7</sup> Both Blochmann and Paul Horn translate this phrase as 'for the sake of', which does not give the exact sense.

<sup>8</sup> This word has come to signify an offspring, a son, a descendant.

<sup>9</sup> Both Blochmann and Paul Horn take this word as an adjective, while in fact it is the name of the builder.

<sup>10</sup> Blochmann translates it as 'jāgirdār, the lord of the district'.

<sup>11</sup> Blochmann, followed by Horn, translates it as 'edifice of sublimity'. *Baitu'l-Ma'mūr* is the heavenly prototype of *Ka'ba* (Steingass).

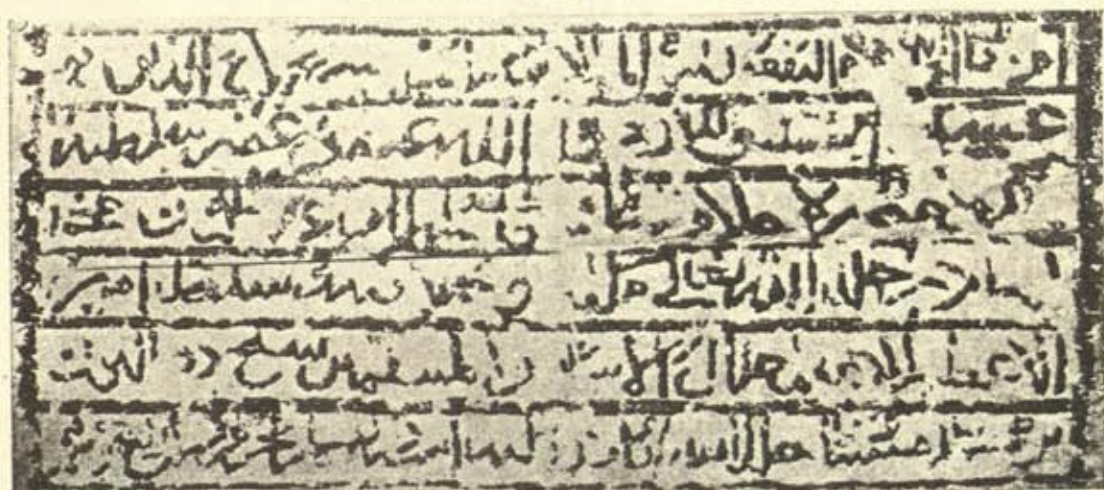


(a) Inscription of Maḥmūd Sharqī, dated A.H. 847, from Bihar Sharif (p. 11)



SCALE : '1

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 854, from Persia (p. 13)



SCALE : '16

(c) Inscription of Bārbak Shāh, dated A. H. 865, from Gaur (p. 14)



SCALE : '12





Sayyid Ajmal, the builder of the mosque, appears to have been a leading personality of his time in his province: the array of high-sounding eulogistic phrases used with his name indicates that apart from enjoying a noble lineage connecting him with the Prophet, he was celebrated for his profound knowledge of religious law (*Shari'*). It would not be surprising if he had occupied some high office—if we can hazard a guess—say, that of the *Sadr-i-Jahan* in the province.

The next inscription, in order of sequence, is engraved on a slab of grey sandstone measuring 2'2" by 1'6" said to have been found in Persia and presented to the Museum by Mr. T. W. Townsend; its exact findspot is not known. From its present damaged condition, it appears to have been subjected to neglect and inclemencies of nature for quite a long time for, the letters on it have lost their shape in most places, while in few they have altogether peeled off. The record mentions the name of *Ghiyāth*u'd-Dīn Muḥammad Bahādur, in whose reign the great noble *Shaiḫ* *Dhu'n-Nūn* caused a certain structure to be erected. Though the exact nature of the building cannot be ascertained, as the writing in the first line is worst affected, in all probability it was the resting place of a certain saint *Salāḥ*u'd-Dīn Taqī 'Askarī.

The record runs into six lines of Arabic prose inscribed in *Nasḫ* in a country outside India. It will be seen that this *Nasḫ* is not very different from the one employed in India in the corresponding period. The epigraph reads as under:—

## TEXT

## Plate III (b)

- (۱) امر بعمارت . . . المظهره . . . صلاح الدين تقى  
 (۲) عسكرى . . . لله . . . رضى الله عنه فى عهده سلطنة  
 (۳) حضرة خلافة . . . غياث الدين محمد  
 (۴) بهادر خلد الله تعالى ملكه و خلافته و سلطانه امير  
 (۵) الاعظم الاعدل جلال الاسلام والمسلمين شيخ ذو النون  
 (۶) بن محمود ؟ المستعان خلد الله ايام دولته . محرم سنة  
 اربع و خمسين و ثمانماية

## TRANSLATION

(1-2) . . . . . holy . . . . . *Salāḥ*u'd-Dīn Taqī  
 'Askarī . . . . . may God be pleased with him, was ordered to be erected  
 during the reign of

(3) . . . . . caliphate of . . . . . *Ghiyāth*u'd-  
 Dīn Muḥammad

(4-5) Bahādur, may God, the Exalted, perpetuate his kingdom, rule and sovereignty, by the most just and great noble, *Jalālu'l-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn* (the glory of Islām and the Muslims), *Shaiḫ* *Dhu'n-Nūn*,

(6) son of Maḥmūd (?), the one who seeks help (of God), may God perpetuate the days of his government . . . . . Muḥarram, A.H. 854 (Feb.-Mar. 1450 A.D.).

The next two records belong to the reign of Sultān Ruknu'd-Dīn Bārbak *Shāh* of Bengal (A.H. 864-879). The earlier of the two is inscribed on a slab of black basalt (3'9" by 1'2") which originally belonged to Gaur but was taken to Serampore in the second quarter of the last century by Mr. Marshman, who subsequently presented it to the Museum through the efforts of Blochmann. The latter also published a reading of the epigraph in which the name of the builder was left out.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann, *JASB*, vol. XLIII(1874), pt. i, pp. 282, 295-96.



The inscription records the construction of a mosque by Khurshīd Khān. Though nothing is known regarding him from historical works, he is commemorated as builder of mosques in not less than four inscriptions, to wit, from Bhagalpur, dated 10th Jumādī I, A.H. 850,<sup>1</sup> the present one, dated 10th Jumādī I, A.H. 865, from Hatkhola in Sylhet District, dated 5th Šafar, A.H. 868,<sup>2</sup> and from Peril, in Dacca District, dated 5th Shawwāl, A.H. 869.<sup>3</sup> All these records style him as *sar naubat-i-ghair mahalliyān* which shows that he was associated with the Royal court as an official. This office he had apparently enjoyed at least from A.H. 850, the date of the Bhagalpur inscription, to A.H. 869, the date of the latest inscription in which he is so mentioned. These four records also show the districts in which Khurshīd Khān was stationed at different periods of his career.

The language of the present epigraph is Arabic and like the other three inscriptions referred to above, it is written in one line. A mere glance at these four records bears out great similarity, in point of text as well as style of writing, between two later epigraphs on one hand, and between two earlier ones on the other.

It may also be pointed out that in three of these records which are dated in the reign of Bārbak Shāh, the latter is mentioned as 'Malik'—a word that has led to some speculation regarding his independent rule while yet a prince—which shows that it was intended for a full-fledged king.<sup>4</sup>

The style of writing employed in the record is *Naskh*. About one fourth of the total space is occupied by actual letters, while the rest is filled by their elongated shafts. The width of a letter varies from one part of it to another as may be seen from the way in which the letters "ن", "ع" etc. are written. The chisel of the engraver seems to have been responsible for leaving a word incomplete—engraving "الا" for probably "البازل" or "الاکرم" and making "خلد" instead of "خان" in "خرشید خان". The text of the epigraph has been read as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate III (c)

قال النبى عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا فى الدنيا بنى الله تعالى له قسرا فى الجنة -  
بنى المسجد فى زمن الملك العادل [الا كرم] و هو السلطان بن سلطان ركن الدنيا و الدين

<sup>1</sup> Paul Horn, *opp. cit.*, p. 280 (with plate).

<sup>2</sup> Shamsud-Din Ahmad, *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1935-36, p. 58, pl. XXXVII(a), where the reading is not without mistakes; the full title of Khurshīd Khān is also not read correctly.

<sup>3</sup> Y.K. Bukhari, *Epig. Ind., A. & P. Suppl.*, 1953 & 54, p. 22, pl. VII(b). Majlis-i-Ulugh Khurshīd of the Muzaffar Shāh inscription from Malda (*Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1929-30, p. 13, pl. VIIIa), dated 10th Rabī' I, A.H. 898, does not seem to be identical with Khurshīd Khān under notice.

<sup>4</sup> Y.K. Bukhari, *opp. cit.*, p. 20, tried to show—in my opinion, inconclusively—that Bārbak Shāh might have ruled independently while his father was alive. But the reading of the date of the inscription from Tribeni in Hooghly District (*ibid.*, pp. 20-21, pl. VIII a) is extremely doubtful. Hence, to arrive at such a conclusion only on the basis of the use of the word 'malik' is not correct, for, apart from the fact that as late as A.H. 869, when he was a full-fledged monarch, Bārbak Shāh is spoken of as 'malik' (Peril inscription referred to above), even his father, Mahmūd Shāh, is so designated in the Bhagalpur inscription of A.H. 850 referred to above. The composers of these records obviously understood the word 'malik' in the sense of a king.

<sup>5</sup> Blochmann, *opp. cit.*, reads "صلى الله عليه وسلم".

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* reads "سبعين قسرا".

<sup>7</sup> "الاکرم" may have been originally intended, though "الا" on the stone suggests "البازل".

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* reads "السلطان".



أبو المجاهد باربكشاه<sup>١</sup> السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان و بانيه<sup>٢</sup> خان معظم خورشيد خان سر نوبت  
غير محليان في العاشر من جمادى الاول سنة خمس و ستين و ثمانماية

## TRANSLATION

The Prophet, peace be on him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque in the world, God, the exalted, builds for him a palace in Paradise'. The mosque was constructed during the reign of the just and illustrious ruler, who is the Sultān, son of a Sultān, Ruknu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Abū'l-Mujāhid Bārbak Shāh, the Sultān, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, the Sultān, and the builder thereof is Khān-i-Mu'azzam Khurshīd Khān, chief of the Royal guards outside palace. On the 10th Jumādī I, year 865 (A.H. or 21st Feb. 1461 A.D.).

The other inscription of Bārbak Shāh is reported to have originally belonged to a mosque in an abode called Bayang, eight miles from Mirganj in Malda District.<sup>3</sup> The slab of black basalt measuring 2'1" by 10" on which it is inscribed was presented to the Museum by Mr. J. H. Reily. The text of the epigraph which records the construction of a mosque by Ajyāl Khān, comprises two lines in Arabic and the style of writing is *Nasḥ* of an inferior type. Though the slab is in good state of preservation, the writing is somewhat confused towards the concluding portion of the record, with the result that the portion bearing the parental name of the builder and part of the date has defied several concentrated efforts for a complete decipherment; consequently, its reading may be treated as purely tentative.

## TEXT

## Plate IV (a)

- (١) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا بنى الله في الجنة سبعين قصرا - بنى  
هذا المسجد في عهد سلطان الاعظم ركن الدنيا والدين  
(٢) ابنى المظفر باربكشاه ابن محمود شاه السلطان بناء خان معظم اجيال خان ابن  
منجه . . . ملكو مظهر الدين مورخا شهر ستو سبعين و ثمانماية

## TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, may salutation and peace of God be upon him, says, 'He who builds a mosque, God builds for him seventy palaces in Paradise'. This mosque was built in the reign of the magnificent Sultān, Ruknu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn,

(2) Abū'l-Muẓaffar Bārbak Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, the Sultān (and) it was built by the great Khān Ajyāl Khān, son of Manjh (?). . . . . Malakū Mazharu'd-Dīn (?). Dated in the months of (the year) eight hundred and seventysix (?) (876 A.H. or 1471-72 A.D.).

Bārbak Shāh's son and successor Yūsuf Shāh is represented by one inscription in the present group which, according to Cunningham, was found at a spot with some ruins called Darasbārī

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* reads "سلطان".

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* omits these words.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann, *JASB*, vol. XXIX (1860), pt. i, p. 407, where an incomplete reading is also given.

<sup>4</sup> This is how it seems to read on the stone, but it would not be very unlikely if the intended text—something like "محمد سلمه الله في الدارين"—was so engraved by the stone-carver.



or the college, half a mile to the south-west of the Koṭwālī Gate near the small village of Umarpur near Gaur.<sup>1</sup> Ilāhī Bakhsh of Angrezābād, author of *Khūrshīd-i-Jahān Numā*, claims to have been present when, in the course of the clearance of the jungle about the mosque in Darasbārī—which he places between Mahdipur and Firuzpur—this inscription was found under heap of rubbish.<sup>2</sup>

The subject-matter of the inscription is the erection of a Jāmi' mosque by order of the Sultān in A.H. 884 (1479-80 A.D.). The slab of black basalt bearing this record is huge in dimensions, being 11'9" in length and 2'3" in width. The style of writing is *Naskh* of the usual Bengal type in *Tughrā*. Despite ample space at his disposal, the scribe appears to have found it yet small presumably because the letters were intended to be so big as to attract attention of the onlookers from a distance. The result was close writing of the text with one letter written above another, thus rendering the task of decipherment difficult and trying. Another of Yūsuf Shāh's inscriptions, found on the tomb of Nūr 'Ālam at Pandua, recording the erection of a mosque in the same year by Majlis A'lā bears striking resemblance to the epigraph under notice in point of calligraphy, but its *Tughrā* flourish is not so marked and strong.<sup>3</sup>

Our epigraph is written in one line in Arabic and is rendered below :—

## TEXT

## Plate IV (b)

قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم  
من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له قصرا مثله في الجنة قد بنى هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان الاعظم  
الاعدل مالک الرقاب و الامم السلطان بن السلطان بن السلطان شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر  
يوسف شاه السلطان بن بار بكشاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و افاض  
على العالمين بره و احسانه في سنة الهجريه اربع و ثمانين و ثمان مائه

## TRANSLATION

Says God, the Most Exalted, 'And verily, the mosques are for God only; hence, invoke not anyone (else) with God'. And the Prophet, may salutations and peace of God be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for God, God builds for him a palace, like it, in Paradise'. This Jāmi' mosque was constructed by the great and just Sultān, master of necks and nations, the Sultān, son of the Sultān, son of the Sultān, Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Yūsuf Shāh the Sultān, son of Bārbak Shāh, the Sultān, son of Maḥmūd Shāh the Sultān, may God perpetuate his kingdom and make his bounty and gift universal, in the Hijra year 884 (1479-80 A.D.).

The next inscription in chronological order represents the reign of Saifu'd-Dīn Firūz (A.H. 893-896/1487-90 A.D.). It is carved on a slab of black basalt, measuring 2'2" by 9", which was originally found from the Kaṭra or the old fort of old Malda.<sup>4</sup> It records the erection of a mosque

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, A., *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, vol. XV, p. 76, where this inscription is illustrated (pl. XXII), but not read.

<sup>2</sup> Beveridge, 'Khūrshīd-i-Jahān Numā', *JASB*, vol. LXIV (1895), pt. i, pp. 222-23, where an eye-reading of the inscription is given.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, *opp. cit.*, p. 85, gives its text but no plate; Ravenshaw, *Gaur: its ruins and inscriptions* (London, 1878), p. 50, pl. 47, no. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann, *JASB*, vol. XLIII (1874), pt. i, pp. 299-300; Ravenshaw, *opp. cit.*, p. 76, pl. 49, no. 8.



- (a) Inscription of Bārbak Shāh, dated A. H. 876 ?, from Bayang, Dt. Malda (p. 15)



SCALE : '17

- (b) Inscription of Yūsuf Shāh, dated A. H. 884, from Darnabārf, near Gaur (p. 16)



SCALE : '06

- (c) Inscription of Saifu'd-Dīn Firūz, dated A. H. 886 ?, from old Malda (p. 17)



SCALE : '22



# THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES  
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS  
TO THE PRESENT TIME



THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

in the reign of the king. The name of the builder could not be satisfactorily deciphered due to intricate writing of the text in that portion, though the tablet is comparatively well preserved and the portion bearing the name of the builder is quite distinct. However, the date seems to read as A.H. 886 (1481-82 A.D.), which falls out of the reign of Firūz Shāh as accepted by modern writers. But we do possess another inscription of this king which is dated in the year A.H. 880.<sup>1</sup>

The style of writing employed in the epigraph is *Thulth* with a *Tughrā* flourish, of the bow and arrow variety, which is a distinctive feature of Bengal inscriptions. The symmetrical placings of the letters beneath the curvatures of letters “ن” written across is pleasing to the eye, while the latter, with “ن” written just across them, present an appearance of a row of four lamps—in typically Indian fashion—placed against the background of railing.

The inscription has been read as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate IV (c)

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى في الدنيا مسجدا بنى الله له سبعين قصرا مثله في الجنة و قد بنى  
هذا المسجد [ في زمن ؟ ] السلطان العادل سيف الدنيا و الدين ابو المعظفر فيروز شاه سلطان خلد  
الله ملكه و سلطانه باني هذا المسجد مجلس شها و هو سعيد با دين خالد ؟ في شهر سنة ست  
ثمانين ثمانماية<sup>2</sup>

## TRANSLATION

The Prophet, may peace be on him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque in the world, God builds for him seventy palaces like it in Paradise'. And verily, this mosque was built (in the reign of) the just Sultān, Saifu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Firūz Shāh Sultān, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty. The builder of this mosque is Majlis Shihālā and he is fortunate in religion, Khālīd ?, in the months of the year 886 ? (A.H. or 1481-82 A.D.).

The next inscription of the group also represents the rule of Saifu'd-Dīn Firūz Shāh. The slab of granite stone (4'2" by 1'11") bearing the record was received from Mr. H. C. Chaudhury of Sherpur in Mymensingh District. The tablet seems to have been subjected to much damage and the letters on it, originally carved in relief, have become indistinct and in many places completely peeled off. The slab was entire, but an elephant is reported to have put his foot on it, thereby breaking the right side of the stone into two. It is said to have been originally found at Garh Jaripa, north of Sherpur town.<sup>4</sup> Though the slab was ultimately found lying in a tomb within the mud fort, it is said to have been at first attached to iron rings at the gate of the fort. Blochmann had published an incomplete—and also incorrect—text of this inscription which

<sup>1</sup> S. Sharafud-Din, 'Biral Inscription of Sayfuddin Firoz Shah : A. H. 880', Varendra Res. Soc.'s Monographs, no. 6 (Rajshahi, March 1935), pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> The words “في عهد” or “في زمن” seem to have been left out inadvertently by the engraver. As it is, the text would mean that the mosque was constructed by the king, but a few words later, the text indicates that the builder was a different person. The ignorance of the engraver or the caprices of the designer seem to be responsible for the jumble in which the name of the builder is enveloped towards the end of the text.

<sup>3</sup> The reading of the builder's name and the date is tentative.

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann, *JASB*, vol. XLIII (1874), pt. i, pp. 282-83.



he was inclined to assign to a Mausoleum and an 'Idgāh.<sup>1</sup> According to my reading, however, it records the construction of the gateway of a fort in A.H. 893 (1487 A.D.), during the reign of Saifu'd-Dīn Firūz Shāh.<sup>2</sup>

In each corner of the slab is a square, containing the name of one of the first four Caliphs. Two vertical panels, one each on the left and right sides of the stone between these squares, contain some writing which has become too indistinct to yield decipherment but which seems to comprise two Persian couplets of didactic nature. The central portion of the epigraph comprises four lines in Arabic, the first three of which are devoted to religious text, while the last contains the historical portion. The style of writing is *Nāskh*.

## TEXT

## Plate V(a)

## Corners.

ابوبکر صدیق - عمر خطاب

عثمان عفان - علی مرتضی

## Sides.

## Right

زور .....

که یکن ببردیم با خود بگور

## Left

.....

.....

## Centre.

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ - لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

(۲) مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ — "اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ الْمُصْطَفَى وَعَلَى الْمُرْتَضَى

(۳) وَ الْفَاطِمَةَ الزَّهْرَاءَ وَ الْحَسْنَ مَجْتَبَاً ؟ وَ الْحُسَيْنَ الشَّهِيدَ بِكَرْبَلَا وَ زَيْنَ الْعَابِدِينَ عَلَى وَ

بَاقِرِ الْمُحَمَّدِ وَ جَعْفَرِ الصَّادِقِ وَ مُوسَى الْكَافِلِمْ وَ عَلِيَّ رِضَا وَ مُحَمَّدَ التَّقَى وَ عَلِيَّ التَّقَى

(۴) وَ الْحَسْنَ عَسْكَرَى وَ الْمُحَمَّدَ الْمُهْدَى - بَنَى بَابَ الْحِصَارِ فِي زَمَنِ ؟ سُلْطَانِ الْعَهْدِ

وَ الزَّمَانِ سَيْفِ الدُّنْيَا وَ الدِّينِ أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ فَيُوزْ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ وَ سُلْطَانُهُ وَ تَمَّ بِنْيَاذُ

هَذَا الْبَابِ فِي الْارْبَعِ ؟ مِنْ مَحْرَمِ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثٍ وَ تَسْعِينَ وَ ثَمَانِ مِائَةٍ

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> The *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal Presidency* (Cal. 1898), p. 222, has confused him with Firūz Shāh of the Tughluq dynasty, though the latter flourished about a century earlier. The acknowledged dates of this Firūz Shāh's reign are A.H. 893-896 (Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Beng.*, II (Dacca, 1948), p. 139), but an inscription of his reign, dated A. H. 890, forms an exhibit in the Varendra Research Society's Museum at Rajshahi, East Bengal. For details, see S. Sharafud-Din, *opp. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that of the inscriptions of Bengal Sultans noticed so far, this is perhaps the only one containing what is termed by epigraphists as Shiite *Durūd*; at the same time, it also contains names of the first four Caliphs.



CALCUTTA MUSEUM—contd.

(a) Inscription of Saifu'd-Dīn Firāz, dated A. H. 893, from Sherpur, Dt. Mymensingh (p. 18)



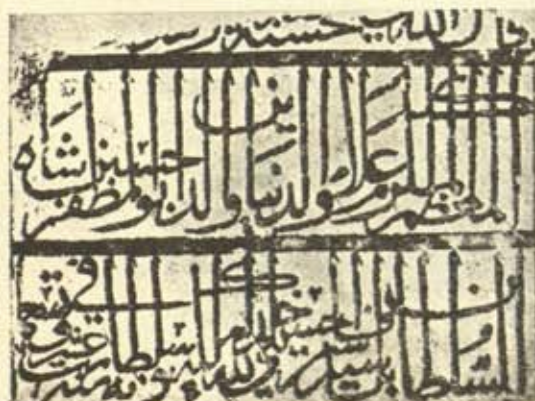
SCALE : ·15

(b) Inscription of Muzaḥfar Shāh, the Abyssinian, dated A. H. 897, from Kalā (p. 19)



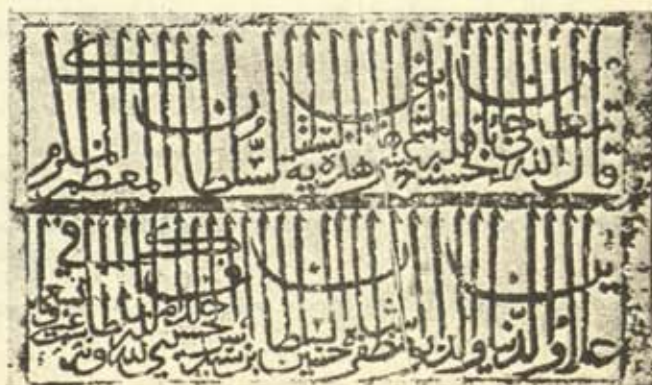
SCALE : ·17

(c) Inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain, dated A. H. 916, from Bara Bazar (p. 20)



SCALE : 17

(d) Inscription of the same king bearing the same date (p. 20)



SCALE : ·34





TRANSLATION<sup>1</sup>

(1-4) *Bismillāh*. First Creed. Shiite *Durūd*.

(4) The gateway of the fort was constructed during the reign of the monarch of age and time, Saifu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Fīrūz Shāh, the king, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty. The building was completed on the 4th of the month of Muḥarram, year 893 (A.H. or 20th Dec. 1487 A.D.).

The following inscription was originally found at the Dargāh of Shāh Majlis at Kalna in Burdwan District. It comprises one line of Arabic prose executed in *Naskh* characters of the usual Bengal style on a grey granite slab (1'10" by 9"), which was presented to the Museum by the Government of Bengal. In fact a new inscription of Muẓaffar Shāh, the Abyssinian (A.H. 896-898/1491-93 A.D.), it has been wrongly assigned the rules of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh by some,<sup>2</sup> and of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd II by others.<sup>3</sup>

A rubbing of this inscription was sent to Blochmann by Mr. Walter M. Bourke, along with a rubbing of the inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh from Kalna studied below; it could not be deciphered as the stone had worn away, but Blochmann claimed to have been able to read therein the name of Ḥusain Shāh. Dr. Bloch at first supposed that the inscription was of Ḥusain Shāh's time but later on thought that it 'probably belongs to Nasirudin Mahmud Shah II, of the Habshi Kings'.<sup>4</sup> Few years later, Abdul Wali edited this inscription duly illustrated by its facsimile. He also assigned it to Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd II. His reading, which was accepted in the main by H.R. Neville, then officiating Numismatist to the Asiatic Society, Bengal, whom he had consulted, is as follows<sup>5</sup> :—

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا في الدنيا بنى الله له قصرا في الجنة بنى هذا المسجد في  
 زمن السلطان العادل ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المجاهد محمود شاه سلمه الله تعالى في سنة خمس  
 و تسعين و ثمانماية

But after a careful examination of the record, which is hopelessly damaged, I have come to the conclusion that it is neither of the time of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh nor of the period of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd II, but it really belongs to the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh the Abyssinian, who is said to have put to death Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd II before ascending the throne in A.H. 896. There should be no doubt about this, as the name 'Muẓaffar Shāh' is quite legible in the epigraph. The name of the builder, however, could not be deciphered. The text as read by me, is as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate V(b)

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا في الدنيا بنى الله سبعين قصرا في الجنة - بنى هذا  
 المسجد في زمن السلطان العادل مظفر شاه السلطان و البائى الخير . . . مورخا في شهر سنة  
 سبع و تسعين و ثمانماية

<sup>1</sup> Only the central portion has been translated.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann, *JASB*, vol. XLI (1872), pt. i, p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> Bloch, A.R., *Arch. Sur. Ind., Bengal Circle*, 1903-4 (Calcutta, 1904), pt. ii, p. 4; Abdul Wali, 'Antiquities of Kalna', *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. XIV (1917), p. 100, pl. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Bloch, *opp. cit.*, 1902-3 (Cal. 1903), pt. i, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Abdul Wali, *opp. cit.*, p. 100. The reading of the underlined phrases was considered doubtful by him.



## TRANSLATION

The Prophet, on whom be peace, says, 'He who builds a mosque in the world, God builds (for him) seventy palaces in Paradise'. This mosque was constructed in the reign of the just king Muza'ffar Shāh, the Sultān and the builder of the edifice is . . . . . Written in the months of the year 897 (A.H. or 1491-92 A.D.).

The next two inscriptions, both dated A.H. 916, pertain to the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain Shāh, founder of the Sayyid dynasty (A.H. 898-925/1493-1519 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> The first of these, originally found at Bara Bazar in Burdwan District, is inscribed on a slab of black basalt of which the upper part, especially in the left corner, is broken, with the result that the portion mentioning the object of construction—in all probability a tank—is lost. The epigraph consisting of three lines is inscribed in *Thulth* of a fairly good type. The language is Arabic and the tablet in its present state measures 1'7" by 1'2". The inscription has been read as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate V(c)

- (١) قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها [ بنى هذه السقاية السلطان ؟ ]  
 (٢) المعظم المكرم علاؤ الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه  
 (٣) السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه في سنة ست عشر و تسعمائة

## TRANSLATION

(1) God the Exalted says, 'He who does a single good gets tenfold of it'. [This tank was caused to be excavated by]

(2) the illustrious and honoured Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Husain Shāh,

(3) the Sultān, son of Sayyid Aghraf al-Husainī, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in the year 916 (A.H. or 1510-11 A.D.).

The exact findspot of the other inscription is not known. Engraved in two lines on a slab of black basalt measuring 19" by 11", it is identical in text with the previous inscription.<sup>2</sup> The style of writing, as in the case of the latter, is *Thulth* of a fair type, but executed by a different hand (pl. V(d)).

It has been rightly remarked in regard to 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain Shāh that, of the reign of no king of Bengal do we possess so many inscriptions. It is no wonder that his period has been considered as a period of unparalleled architectural activity.<sup>3</sup> But, what strikes us most is that the year A.H. 916 seems to occupy a significant place in the period of his reign, for of all his inscriptions found so far, those dated in this particular year outnumber those written in any other single year of his reign.<sup>4</sup> Of course, this may be nothing more than a coincidence, but at the same time,

<sup>1</sup> These inscriptions were referred to by M. Shamsud-Dīn Ahmad in his article 'Some inscriptions of Bengal', *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1933-34, p. 3. While giving the text of one inscription referring to the excavation of a tank in the same year, he had refrained from giving the readings of the two inscriptions under notice, 'since the texts of all three are the same'. While the two records given here, are identical in text, the one published by M. Shamsud-Dīn Ahmad is slightly different from the former, insofar as it does not give the name of Husain Shāh's father.

<sup>2</sup> Therefore the reading is not given.

<sup>3</sup> Sarkar, *opp. cit.*, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> A. H. 911 is the next single year abounding in inscriptions.

it is also possible that the building activity during this year was accentuated by some factors other than mere love of construction: natural calamities, like drought, in that year, may be named as one of the factors, for we find that as many as three inscriptions of this particular year record excavation of tanks only.

The next two inscriptions, in order of sequence, are reported to have been brought from Kosh Valley in East Persia. They form epitaphs of 'Alī, son of Khwāja Muḥammad and of Daulat, daughter of Khwāja 'Alī whose deaths took place in A.H. 919 (1513 A.D.) and 920 (1514 A.D.) respectively.<sup>1</sup>

The inscriptional tablets are of chlorite stone measuring 1'5" by 10" and 14" by 11" and were presented to the Museum by Surgeon-Major B. Greagh. The style of writing employed is ordinary Naskh. These epitaphs have been rendered as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate VI(a)

الوفاة المعصوم  
المغفور على ابن  
مرحوم خواجه محمد  
في شهر رجب سنة  
تسع و عشر و تسعمائة

## TRANSLATION

The death of the innocent,  
the pardoned one, 'Alī, son of  
the late Khwāja Muḥammad  
(occurred) in the month of Rajab, year  
919 (A.H. or Sep.-Oct. 1513 A.D.).

## TEXT

## Plate VI(b)

الوفاة  
سعيدة معصومة  
دولت بنت خواجه  
على في شهر شعبان  
المعظم سنة عشرين و تسعمائة

<sup>1</sup> Probably they were related as father and daughter.



## TRANSLATION

The death (of)  
the fortunate, the innocent,  
Daulat, daughter of Khwāja  
'Alī (took place) in the month of Shābān  
al-Mu'azzam, year 920 (A.H. or Sep.-Oct. 1514 A.D.).

The next inscription in chronological order, is dated in the last year of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain Shāh's reign (i.e., A.H. 925), and records the erection of a mosque by Sikandar Khān. Its text has been published with facsimile by Blochmann and need not be repeated here.<sup>1</sup> The reading of Blochmann is correct with the exception of only one word: the word "السلطان" after the name of the king has been read by him as "السلطان".<sup>2</sup> From the question mark put after the latter, it is evident that Blochmann himself was not satisfied with his reading. Though this word is quite distinct in the plate given by him, he was perhaps misled by the *ḍamma* (over the letter "س" in the word in question) having been engraved in close proximity to "ن" thus presenting the appearance of "ن" without the dot.

The following inscription comprising eight lines in Persian verse was originally found at Koil, near Aligarh, in Uttar Pradesh. It records the construction of a fort in A.H. 931 (1524-25 A.D.),<sup>3</sup> during the reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh of the Lodi dynasty, when Miṭṭha, son of 'Umar and Shihāb, son of Munawwar, were the *shiqdār* and *dabīr* respectively. The latter two are further stated to have taken great pains in the execution of the work.<sup>4</sup> The inscription is also interesting from palaeographic point of view. Belonging to a period when *Nasta'liq* was about to make appearance in the mural records in India, it is executed in a fair type of *Naskh* that recalls to mind inscriptions of earlier period. The poetry of the record is mediocre and faulty in many places. The slab of camel-coloured stone measures about 1'8" by 2'6". The epigraph has been read as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate VI(c)

- (۱) نخستین حمد گفتم مر خدا را که \* پید آورد حضرت مصطفی را  
(۲) نبشتم چند بیت از پی حصارے نامن من \* بماندش یادگرے  
(۳) حصارے استوار و اصل محکم که اتماش شده در عهد شام

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann, *JASB*, vol. XL (1871), pt. i, p. 256, pl. V.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Please see note 9 on the next page.

<sup>4</sup> The text of this inscription, as read by Blochmann in *PASB*, 1872, p. 167, and copied later in the *Proc. of the Hist. Cong.*, 1944, Madras Session, p. 290, is not free from mistakes.

<sup>5</sup> Blochmann, *opp. cit.*, begins the inscription with *Bismillāh*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* reads "پیدا کرد".

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* reads "بمائد".

(a) Epitaph of 'Ali, dated A. H. 919, from East Persia (p. 21)



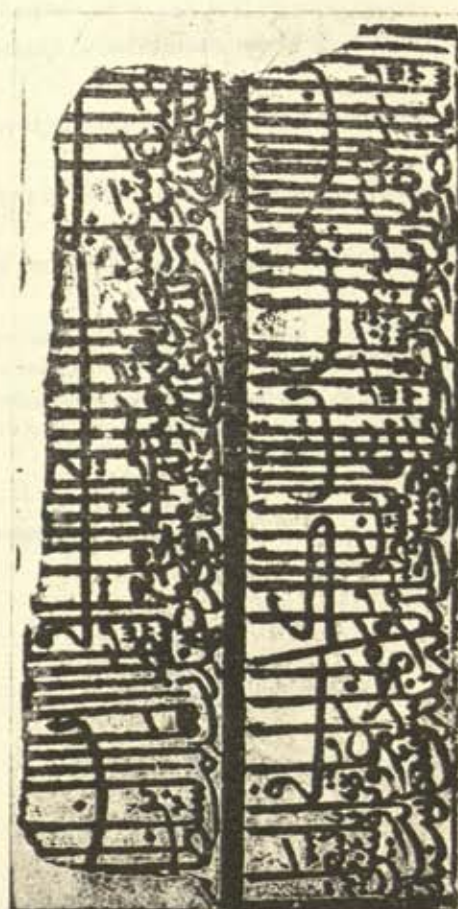
SCALE : 12

(b) Epitaph of Daulat, dated A. H. 920, from East Persia (p. 21)



SCALE : 14

(d) Inscription of Nāṣirū'd-Dīn Nusrat, dated A. H. 933, from Gaur (p. 24)



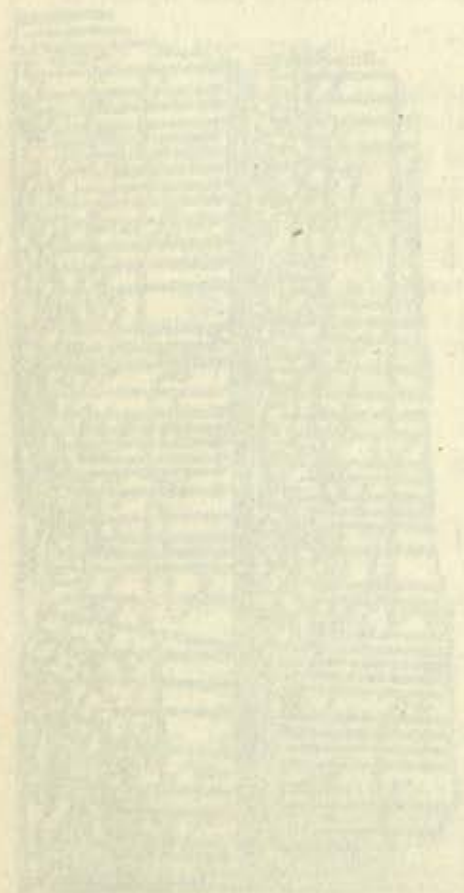
SCALE : 19

(c) Inscription of Ibrahim Lodi, dated A. H. 931, from Koil (p. 22)



SCALE : 15





- (۴) که نامش هست ابراهیم سکندر به بخشد سایلانرا سیم و از زد
- (۵) بشقداری متهد ابن عمر دبیری بد شهاب ابن منور
- (۶) که در باب عمارت رنج بردنا باز رک مدته اتمام کردند
- (۷) ز هجرت بود نهصد سی سالی که حصنی یافته زیب و کماله
- (۸) من بیچاره کو نامست احمد بیابد روز محشر سایه احمد

## TRANSLATION

- (1) First of all, I praise the Lord who created the Holy Prophet *Mustafā*.  
 (2) I have written a few verses on account of the fort; I may not remain, but its memory will endure :  
 (3) (it is) a fort, strong and of firm foundation, whose completion took place in the reign of my king,  
 (4) whose name is *Ibrāhīm*, son of *Sikandar*, who bestows silver and gold on supplicants,  
 (5) (and) during the *shiqdārī* of *Miṭṭha*, son of *Ummar*,\* (when) *Shihāb*, son of *Munawwar*, was the *dabīr*,  
 (6) both of whom have taken great pains on account of the construction and have seen to its completion within a short time.  
 (7) The year of Hijra was nine hundred and thirty-one<sup>9</sup> when the fort attained perfection and beauty.  
 (8) May I, the humble one, whose name is *Aḥmad* get, on the day of Resurrection, shadow (of protection) of *Aḥmad* (the Holy Prophet)!

It will be seen from the above reading that the name of the *shiqdār*, during whose term the fort was constructed, is *Miṭṭha* and not *Muḥammad* as read by Blochmann. It was latter's reading of this name that has misled Dr. S. Moinul-Haq who has accepted and utilized it in his paper entitled, 'Koīl (Aligarh) during the rule of the Lodi Sultans' read before the Indian History Congress, Madras Session, in 1944.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* reads "ابراهیم" which is metrically more appropriate.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* reads "که".

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* omits "از".

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* reads "محمد".

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* reads "برده".

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* reads "کرده".

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* reads "و" after "سی"; there is a *ḍamma* over "ی" in the rubbing.

<sup>8</sup> Written so in the original.

<sup>9</sup> Since the *ḍamma* over "ی" is taken as "و", the date will be nine hundred and thirtyone.

<sup>10</sup> *Proc. Ind. His. Cong., opp. cit.*



The next epigraph, dated A.H. 933, belongs to the reign of Nugrat Shāh, son of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain Shāh of Bengal. It is inscribed on a slab of black basalt (2'2" by 1'2") which was originally found at Gaur and presented to the Museum by Dr. G. Smith of Serampore.<sup>1</sup> The slab is partly broken at the top as well as on the right side, without, however, materially affecting the text. Consisting of two lines of writing in Arabic, the record mentions the construction of a Jāmi' mosque by Majlis Sa'd. The script employed is Thulth of a fairly high type. As in the case of the Bengal inscriptions of the later ninth and earlier tenth centuries, the letter "س" and dots of the letters "ث" or "ش" are distinguished by the use of particular signs.

The record has been read as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate VI (d)

- (۱) [قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من [بنى] مسجدًا لله بنى الله له بيتًا مثله في الجنة  
بنى هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان العالم السلطان بن
- (۲) السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر نصرتشاه السلطان ابن حسين شاه السلطان  
خلد ملكه و بانيه <sup>۲</sup>مجلس سعد دام علوه في سنة ثلث و ثلثين و تسعمائة

## TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, on whom be God's salutations and peace, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for God, God builds for him a house in Paradise'. This Jāmi' mosque was constructed during the reign of the learned Sultān, the Sultān, son of

(2) the Sultān, Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Nugrat Shāh, the Sultān, son of Husain Shāh, the Sultān, may his kingdom last for ever, and the builder thereof is Majlis Sa'd, may his glory endure, in the year 933 (A.H. or 1526-27 A.D.).

The next inscription of the group, dated A.H. 939, is the only mural record so far discovered of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Firūz Shāh, a son and successor of Nugrat Shāh. Even his coins are few in number. Among the historians, Ghulām Husain Salim is the only one to mention his rule, which is said to have covered a period of three years.<sup>4</sup> The duration of his rule is given as three months by Stewart who based his *History of Bengal* on Ghulām Husain's work.<sup>5</sup> This view which has since been accepted,<sup>6</sup> has been recently challenged by a modern writer who has tried to show on the basis of numismatic evidence that it was 'not unreasonable to assume that Alauddin Firuz Shah reigned for three years (i.e. 938 to 940 A.H. or 1531 to 1533 A.D.) at Gaud, as recorded in the Calcutta edition of the *Riyaz* and not merely for three months....'

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann, *JASB*, vol. XLIII (1874), pt. i, p. 307, where its text is given.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* reads "الله" after "خلد".

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* reads "المجلس".

<sup>4</sup> Ghulām Husain, *Riyāzu's-Salāṭin* (Cal. 1890), p. 139.

<sup>5</sup> C. Stewart, *Hist. of Bengal* (Lond. 1813), p. 118.

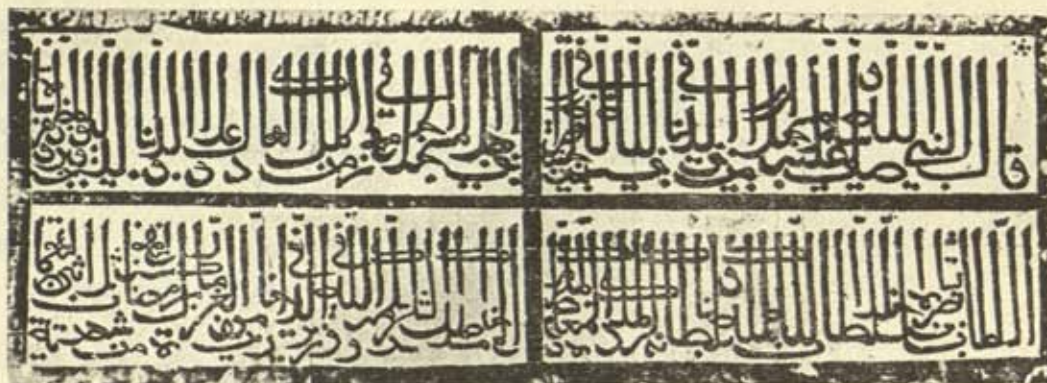
<sup>6</sup> *JASB*, vol. XII (1872), pt. i, pp. 331-32; Sarkar, *opp. cit.*, p. 159 etc.

<sup>7</sup> S. Sharafud-Din, 'A note on the reign of Alauddin Firuz Shah III of Gaud', *Varendra Res. Soc.'s Monographs*, no. 6, pp. 16-18.





(a) Inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Firūz, dated A. H. 939, from Kalna (p. 25)



SCALE : ·46

(b) Inscription of Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn Maḥmūd on bricks (p. 27)



SCALE : ·12

(c) Inscription of Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn Babādur, dated A. H. 967, from Kalna (p. 28)



SCALE : ·22



This inscription comprising two lines in Arabic is engraved on a slab of black basalt measuring 2'11" by 1'2" which was found lying on the ground in front of the *Shāhī Masjid* at Kalna in Burdwan District and presented to the Museum by Blochmann. The latter had published its reading with a short historical note, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1872, from the rubbing sent to him by Mr. Walter M. Bourke,<sup>1</sup> and also published its facsimile in the next issue.<sup>2</sup> Blochmann's reading contained mistakes of a minor nature, which were sought to be improved upon later by Abdul Wali who, instead of correcting the former's readings, not only committed fresh mistakes, but also ascribed to him mistakes which he had never made.<sup>3</sup> The major mistake common to both is in regard to the builder's name and is being corrected in the revised text published below.

The inscription is also interesting from palaeographic point of view. Though in broad outlines its style of writing conforms to the Bengal variety of *Naskh*, it contains a few distinctive features that deserve mention. Its short and pointed letters are more pronounced in their straightness than in roundness. The scribe who has sought to be artistic and neat in designing this epigraph, appears to have particularly endeavoured to avoid, as far as possible, imposition of one letter over another, as may be seen from his writing of "الله و" and "الله في" in the first line, and also from the dots and other diacritical marks which have been put far above the written lines, immediately beneath the border. Next, the style of writing of the letters "ع" and "و"—the latter when occurring at the end of a word—arrests immediate attention. While the former is so written as to represent a trifoil, elegantly designed, the latter is made in the shape of an eye or an almond. The writing of the word "في", likewise, shows the artistic taste of the calligraphist. It will also be observed that in some cases, letters of a single word have been separated from each other by the insertion of a letter or letters of another word in between.

It is hoped that the revised text of the inscription as given below will be found absolutely correct.

## TEXT

## Plate VII(a)

(١) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا في الدنيا بنى الله له سبعين قصرا  
في الجنة بنى هذا المسجد الجامع في زمن الملك العادل علاو الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه  
(٢) السلطان بن نصرت شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بنا كرده ملك المعظم  
و [١] لمكرم الخ مسند خاصملك سر لشكر و وزير سلمه الله في الدارين مورخا في الغره من شهر  
مبارك رمضان سنة تسع ثلاثين و تسعمائة

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, vol. XLI (1872), pt. i, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, vol. XLII (1873), pt. i, pl. VII, no. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Abdul Wali, *opp. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann omits the *badl*.

<sup>5</sup> Abdul Wali reads "بالاخره".

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* reads "الجامع".

<sup>7</sup> Blochmann omits this word.

<sup>8</sup> Abdul Wali reads "كرده".

<sup>9</sup> Both Blochmann and Abdul Wali read "خانملك".

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* read "و" after "تسع".



## TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, may God's salutations and peace be on him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque in the world, God the Exalted, builds for him seventy palaces in Paradise'. This Jāmi' mosque was constructed during the time of the just Sultān, 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Firūz Shāh,

(2) the Sultān, son of Nugrat Shāh, the Sultān, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty. It is built by the great and respected Malik Ulugh Masnad-i-Khāss Malik, *sar-lashkar* (commander) and *wazīr* (minister), may God protect him in both the worlds. Dated the first day of the auspicious month of Ramaḍān, year 939 (A.H. or 27th Mar. 1533 A.D.).

The next inscription, in order of sequence, records the construction of a mosque in the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of the Sayyid dynasty by Malik Mah Khān who was probably the *wazīr* of the city of Muḥammadābād. Its date could not be ascertained as the portion bearing the date is unfortunately lost. It is inscribed on five bricks regarding whose original findspot nothing is known. According to Cunningham, who took a detailed notice of this epigraph, as he found it on four—and not five—bricks, the epigraph might have come from a panel, of about the same total size as the four bricks, that was still visible over the main gateway of the tomb of Akhī Sirāju'd-Dīn at Gaur.<sup>1</sup> Cunningham had read the last word on the last brick as "سبعماية" (or seven hundred); of the full name of the king, he had only his titles before him viz., Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar. Consequently, he concluded that the epigraph belonged to the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn A'zam Shāh, son of Sikandar Shāh and grandson of Ilyās Shāh.<sup>2</sup> Stapleton writing about half a century later, was inclined to read the last word indicating the date as "تسعمائة" (or nine hundred), in which case he argued that the king who put up the inscription was Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Husain Shāh.<sup>3</sup>

With the discovery in the Museum itself of a new brick bearing the name of the king along with that of his father, which was recently brought to my notice by Dr. C. Dutt, formerly Assistant Curator, Archaeological Section of the Museum, there should now be no doubt that it is Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh to whom the inscription belongs.<sup>4</sup> Cunningham was apparently unaware of the existence of this brick and so was Stapleton. It is therefore obvious that the inscription could not have come from the panel in Akhī Sirāju'd-Dīn's tomb,<sup>5</sup> as suggested by Cunningham, for the total size of the extant five bricks would be bigger than that of the panel in question.<sup>6</sup> Hence, Stapleton's otherwise plausible suggestion seeking to identify the city of Muḥammadābād with Gaur<sup>7</sup> should also be rejected until some new evidence is brought to light establishing the association of these bricks with Gaur.

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, vol. XV (1879), p. 72, pl. XX, no. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Abid Ali Khan, *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua* (ed. by Stapleton, Cal. 1931), p. 92 n.

<sup>4</sup> Bevelidge, *opp. cit.*, p. 215, f.n.1, while referring to the so-called inscription of Sultān Bahādur Khān claimed to have been found and seen by Ilāhi Bakhsh Angrezābādī, suggested that the inscription under notice was probably the same as the former. At the same time, he pointed out that the inscription referred to by Ilāhi Bakhsh was on stone. All such conjectures leading nowhere should now be set at rest.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham has failed to take notice of the statement of Ghulām Husain, *opp. cit.*, p. 138, that the tomb of the saint was constructed by Nugrat Shāh.

<sup>6</sup> Moreover, there must have been more than one brick containing the missing portions of the text.

<sup>7</sup> Abid Ali Khan, *opp. cit.*

As has been rightly remarked by Stapleton, the inscription is not so much important in regard to the king's name as in its mention of the town of Muḥammadābād, which place-name also occurs as a mint name on several coins issued between A.H. 880 and 913.<sup>1</sup> Though, thus, the inscription might enable us to offer some explanation of the previously unexplained name Muḥammadābād, it does not help to establish the identity of that town, in view of the total obscurity in which information regarding its findspot is enveloped.

Of the five bricks in question, four—including the one that was unknown to Cunningham—are whole and of equal size, while of the fifth, which from Cunningham's illustration appears to have been then also half the actual size, only one fourth remains: the two diagonally opposite parts containing the word “تسعمایه” and part of the words “وزیر شهر” are lost. A considerable portion of the inscription is still missing, since the *ḥadiṭh* following the words on the first brick as also the text stating the erection of the structure are not to be found on the extant bricks.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, there is a gap after the king's name, which originally contained the remaining part of the benedictory phrase and the words indicating the Malik to be builder of the structure which was obviously a mosque.

The builder of the mosque, (*Khān-i-*) A'zam, Mukarram, Malik Mah *Khān* is not traceable in historical works available to us.

There is nothing very particular about the style of writing which is *Naskh* with a *Tughra* flourish except that in one or two places, “الف” and the vertical shaft of “ل” are treated as common; the letters of a single word are not written in quick succession as is generally done, but far apart; e.g., “الف” of “الله” in (iii) is put before “سلطان” and that of “ابن” above “شاه”. The inscription has been read as follows:—

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

## Plate VII(b)

(i)

قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم [لم]

(ii)<sup>4</sup>

عهد غياث الدين ابو المظفر

(iii)<sup>5</sup>

محمود شاه سلطان ابن حسين شاه سلخاف خ [لد] [الله]

(iv-v)

اعظم مكرم ملك مهخان بنده كمينه و

[وزیر شهر] محمدآباد فی الثالث و اربعین ؟ و تسعمایه

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>2</sup> That the object of construction was a mosque is quite evident from the oft-quoted saying of the Prophet occurring in inscriptions on mosques.<sup>3</sup> The text given by Cunningham, *opp. cit.*, p. 72, is incomplete and incorrect.<sup>4</sup> Apparently there is more than one brick missing between brick nos. (i) and (ii).<sup>5</sup> There is a gap between the two bricks (iii) and (iv).



## TRANSLATION

- (i) The Prophet, on whom be God's salutations and peace, has said.....  
 (ii) reign of Ghiyāth'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar,  
 (iii) Maḥmūd Shāh Sultān, son of Ḥusain Shāh Sultān, may God perpetuate.....  
 (iv-v) the great and the respected (Khān), Malik Maḥ Khān, the humble slave and *wazīr* of the city of Muḥammadābād, in the year 943 (A.H. or 1536-37 A.D.).

Thus, it is clear for once and all that Ghiyāth'd-Dīn A'zam Shāh has nothing to do with the inscription which has since been supposed to be the only mural record of that king, and which it is not.<sup>1</sup> Even Ghiyāth'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh's records so far noticed are not many: they are, one from Gaur, dated A.H. 941,<sup>2</sup> and the other from Shahpur, Malda, dated A.H. 943.<sup>3</sup> There is yet another found on a mosque at Jowar in Mymensingh District, East Bengal. It is dated A.H. 941 and has not been noticed so far.<sup>4</sup>

The next inscription was brought to the Museum from Kalna. It consists of three lines in Arabic inscribed on a black basalt, measuring 1' 10" by 1' 4". The slab was originally acquired by the Government of Bengal and presented to the Museum. The epigraph mentions the construction of a Jāmi' mosque in A.H. 967 (1560 A.D.), during the reign of Ghiyāth'd-Dīn Bahādur Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh Sūr, founder of the Sūr dynasty of Afghans in Bengal. A reading of this inscription also was published by Abdul Wali but it is inaccurate especially in its reading of the date: he reads it as A.H. 969.<sup>5</sup> There is another inscription of this king stored in the Museum, which was published in a previous issue of this Series,<sup>6</sup> but it does not give his titles, while the present record quotes them in full.

The record is executed in *Naskh* style which resembles to some extent the style of writing of the previous but one record which it will be remembered, was also found in the same town. Here also, the letters have more straightness than roundness and the letters of a single word have been intervened by a letter or letters of a preceding or following word as in the case of the inscription under reference.

The epigraph has been read as under:—

## TEXT

## Plate VII(c)

(۱) قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا قال عليه السلام من بنى  
 مسجدا لله بنى الله له في

<sup>1</sup> I have recently identified the inscription in the Assam Provincial Museum, Gauhati, as genuinely belonging to this monarch: for details, see p. 33, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, vol. XLI (1872), pt. i, p. 339; *ibid.*, vol. XLIV (1875), pt. i, p. 226; Cunningham, *opp. cit.*, p. 73; Ravenshaw, *opp. cit.*, p. 10, pl. 58, no. 25; Abid Ali Khan, *opp. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, vol. LXIV (1895), pt. i, p. 214. Now in the B. R. Sen Museum, Malda, it is being published on page 39 *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> No. 90 (i) of the old collection in the office of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Department of Archaeology, Nagpur.

<sup>5</sup> Abdul Wali, *opp. cit.*, p. 103, pl. 3 (facing p. 100).

<sup>6</sup> *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1933-34, pp. 7-9, pl. IV. Other inscriptions of Ghiyāth'd-Dīn Bahādur Shāh's reign are: from Rajmahal, dated A. H. 964, from Kusumba and from Kumarpur, both dated A.H. 966. For details regarding the last two, see S. Sharafud-Dīn, 'Rajshahi inscription of Ghiyāthuddin Bahadur Shah: 966 A.H.', *Varendra Res. Soc.'s Monographs*, no. 6, pp. 18-21.

<sup>7</sup> Abdul Wali, *opp. cit.*, reads "و" after "احد".

- (۲) الجنة قصرًا بنى هذا المسجد الجامع للسلطان العادل خليفة الله بالبرهان السلطان  
[۱] السلطان غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر بهادر شاه سلطان
- (۳) ابن محمد شاه غازى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه البائى ذلك امير السلطان المسمى  
بسروور خان مورخا فى العاشر من شهر المكرم ذى الحجة سنة سبع و ستين و تسعماية

## TRANSLATION

(1) God the Exalted says, 'Verily, the mosques are for God only; hence, invoke not anyone (else) with him'. Says (the Prophet) on whom be peace, 'He who builds a mosque for God, God builds for him

(2) a palace in Paradise'. This Jāmi' mosque was built for the just Sultān, vicerent of God by proof, the Sultān, son of the Sultān, Ghiyāth'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Bahādur Shāh Sultān,

(3) son of Muḥammad Shāh Ghāzī,<sup>1</sup> may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule. The builder of this is a noble of the Sultān, named Sarwar Khān. Dated the 10th of the respected month of Dhi'l-Hajja, year 967 (A.H. or 1st Sep. 1560 A.D.).

Abdul Wali, as has been remarked above, reads the date as A.H. 969, which is evidently wrong. The word indicating the unit figure in the date, which he has read as "تسع" is clearly "سبع" in the rubbing, there being a dot beneath the second letter. Moreover, Ghiyāth'd-Dīn Bahādur Shāh was not alive in A.H. 969, having died in the previous year.<sup>2</sup>

The next three inscriptions of the present group, all reported to have been brought from Persia, are epitaphs. The earliest of these is engraved on two cylindrical pillars, which must have been originally fixed up at the head of some grave: one of the pillars contains a part of the Quranic verse purporting to the mortality of every living object, while the other bears the epitaph proper, recording the death of one Bairam Shibli in A.H. 1089 (1675-76 A.D.). The style of writing is *Naskh* and the language Arabic.

## TEXT

## Plate VIII (a)

(a)

كل نفس  
ذائقة الموت

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* reads "السلطان".

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* reads "البائى امير ذلك".

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* reads "تسع".

<sup>4</sup> No mural record of Muḥammad Shāh Ghāzī was believed to have existed. Recently, Professor S. H. Askari, *opp. cit.*, p. 22, discovered an inscription, fixed in the wall of an old building now used as a hotel in Bihar Sharif, which on examination on the spot, I found to be of that monarch. The same has been noticed in *ARIE*, 1953-54, App. C.

<sup>5</sup> Even Abdul Wali, *opp. cit.*, p. 103, gives A.H. 968 as the last year of Bahādur Shāh's reign.



(b)

هذا قبر المرحوم  
 بیرم شبلی توفی  
 الی رحمة الله  
 تعالیٰ سنه ۱۰۸۹

## TRANSLATION

(a) Every one

shall taste Death.

(b) This is the grave of the late

Bairam Shibli, who died unto the mercy of God

the Exalted, in the year 1089 (A.H. or 1675-76 A.D.).

The second epitaph records that the death of Muhammad Mahdi Shīrāzī occurred on the 7th of Sha'bān in the year A.H. 1169 (1756 A.D.). It is carved on a slab of grey sandstone, measuring 1' 3" by 3' 3", which is said to have been brought from Kosh Valley in East Persia. The epigraph comprises seven lines of which the first two, in Arabic, contain religious texts, while of the rest, two make one verse in Persian and the remaining three in Persian prose form the obituary notice. The calligraphy is of a fairly high order, the Arabic portion having been executed in Thulth and the Persian in Nasta'liq. The record reads as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate VIII (b)

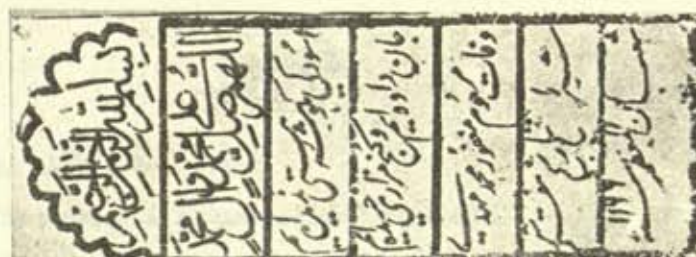
- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- (۲) اللهم صل علی محمد و آل محمد
- (۳) آسودگی بگوشه هستی ندیده ایم
- (۴) جان داده ایم و کنج مزاری خریدہ ایم
- (۵) وفات مرحوم مغفور محمد مہرے
- (۶) شیرازی بتاریخ هفتم شهر
- (۷) شعبان المعظم سنه ۱۱۶۹

(a) Epitaph of Bairam Shihbī, dated A. H. 1089, from Persia (p. 27)



SCALE : 18

(b) Epitaph of Muhammad Mahdi, dated A. H. 1169, from Persia (p. 30)



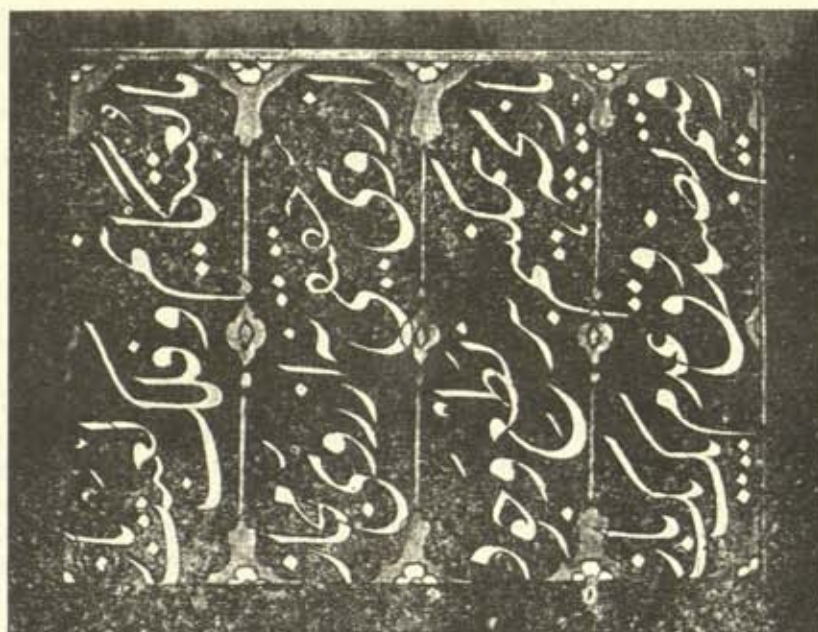
SCALE : 1

(c) Epitaph of Allāh Qulī Baig from Persia (p. 31)



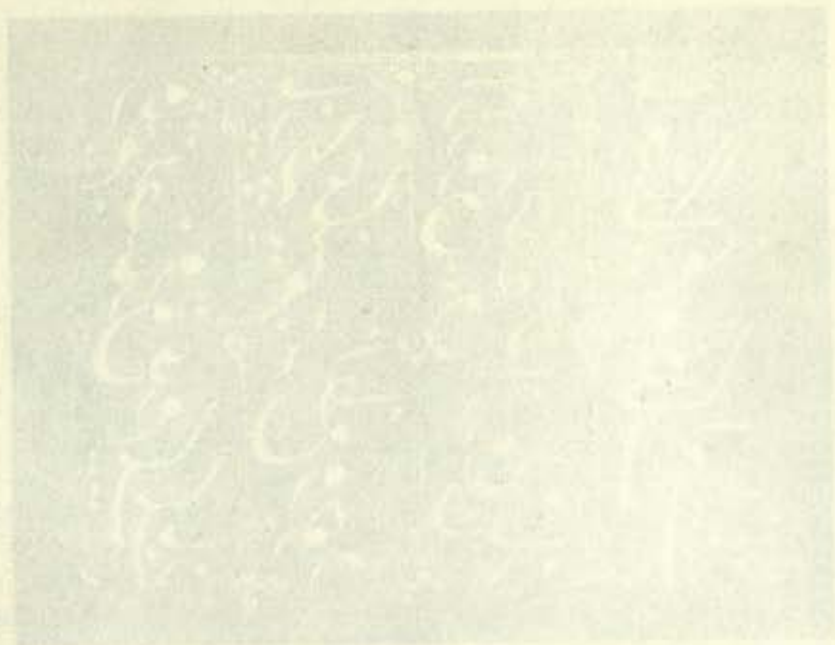
SCALE : 16

(d) Inscription on a tile from Lahore (p. 32)



SCALE : 6





## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate.
- (2) O God, send Thy salutations on Muḥammad and his progeny !
- (3) We never had comfort in the corner of the world ;
- (4) we have (therefore) bartered our life and purchased (in return) the corner of a grave.
- (5) The death of the pardoned, who has been taken into the mercy of God, (namely), Muḥammad Mahdī
- (6) of Shīrāz (took place) on the 7th of the month of
- (7) Sha'bānu'l-Mu'azzam, year 1169 (A.H. or 7th May 1756 A.D.).

Similar to the above in style of writing and to a certain extent in text, is the third epitaph carved on a fragmentary slab<sup>1</sup> of the same quality as in above. The slab is reported to have been presented to the Museum by Surgeon-Major B. Greagh and measures 1' by 2' ; it was also brought from Kosh Valley. The death of one Allāh Qulī of the Turkoman tribe is referred to in the epigraph which reads as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate VIII (c)

- |                              |     |
|------------------------------|-----|
| بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم       | (۱) |
| كل شيء هالك الا وجهه         | (۲) |
| اللهم صل على محمد و آل محمد  | (۳) |
| وفات مرحوم الله قلی بیگ والد | (۴) |
| علی قلی بیگ قوم ترکمان       | (۵) |
| [مبارک رمضان . . .           | (۶) |
| . . . . .                    | (۷) |

## TRANSLATION

- (1) *Bismillāh.*
- (2) Everything shall perish save His Face.
- (3) O God, send Thy blessings on Muḥammad and his progeny !
- (4) The death of the late Allāh Qulī Baig, son of
- (5) 'Alī Qulī Baig, of the Turkoman tribe (occurred on)
- (6) . . . . . auspicious (month of) Ramaḍān
- (7) . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> The portion of the slab bearing the date is lost.



Lastly, we may take up the last two inscriptions of the group which are undated and do not contain any historical information. One of these is found inscribed on an enamelled tile which is reported to have come from Lahore. It comprises the following well-known quatrain (*Rubā'i*) of the celebrated Persian philosopher and poet, 'Umar *Khayyām*.<sup>1</sup> The style of writing employed is fair *Nasta'liq*.

## TEXT

## Plate VIII (d)

- (۱) مالعبتگانیم و فلک لعبت باز  
 (۲) از روی حقیقی نه از روی مجاز  
 (۳) بازیچه همکنیم بر نطع وجود  
 (۴) رفتیم بصندوق عدم یک یک باز

## TRANSLATION

(1-2) We are dolls while the Heaven is the player with dolls, in a real sense and not metaphorically.

(3-4) We (are allowed to) play on the stage (lit., carpet) of existence and go into the box of non-existence one by one.

The other inscription is fragmentary and was brought from Kosh Valley. The surviving piece of stone merely contains the words 'Allāh' and 'Ali'.

<sup>1</sup> *Rubaiyat Hakim Omar Khayyām* (Tahrir Iran Co., Tehran), pp. 309-10.

## INSCRIPTION FROM THE ASSAM PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, GAUHATI

By Z. A. DESAI

The only stone inscription in the Museum is reported to have been discovered long before the establishment of that institution by some worker of a research society who may have little suspected its importance. Unfortunately, recorded information regarding this antique is meagre. It is said to have been found at village Boko, in Gauhati sub-division of Kamrup District. The name of the building or ruins where the slab was found is not known. The slab with its inscription and the figure of a standing lion above it is rectangular in shape and measures 2' by 3'4". I am much grateful to the Curator of the Museum for this information.

Unfortunately, the slab is fragmentary and the portion of the record containing the date and purport is missing. The extant portion contains the name of Ghiyāth'd-Dīn A'zam Shāh, the third ruler of the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty of Bengal. It is a pity that the date portion of the record is gone, thus depriving us of extremely valuable evidence that might have thrown new light on the chronology of the reign of this king, who is regarded as a very attractive figure among the Sultans of Bengal but about whose reign very few facts are on record.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, being the only extant stone record of this king, the inscription should rank as one of the prized possessions of the Museum. It may be pointed out here that the inscription on bricks—now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta—which Cunningham has wrongly assigned to him,<sup>2</sup> in fact, belongs to Ghiyāth'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of the Sayyid dynasty who ruled about a century and a half later.<sup>3</sup>

The epigraph is important from another point also. Kamrup is said to have engaged the attention of the Muslim Sultans of Lakhnauti from the beginning. Ghiyāth'd-Dīn 'Iwaj in 1227 A.D., and Malik Yūzbek in 1257 A.D., had advanced with Muslim hosts as far as Kamrup but on being confronted by overpowering forces of the Rāja, both were obliged to beat a retreat. After about a century, Ilyās Shāh is said to have invaded Kamrup in about A.H. 758 (1357 A.D.), pushed up the Brahmaputra to Kāmrupnagara and occupied it. Stapleton and Barua have questioned the conquest and occupation of this city, which has been unmistakably denoted by the mint name of the coin—Chāwalistān alias Kāmrup—issued by Sultan Sikandar, father of Ghiyāth'd-Dīn A'zam Shāh, and son of Ilyās Shāh.<sup>4</sup>

The present inscription furnishes some additional evidence. Whether it was a recent occupation under A'zam Shāh or mere continuation of the Muslim authority since the reported conquest by Ilyās Shāh, it is difficult to say, but this much is certain that at one time or other during the reign of A'zam Shāh, this territory was subject to his authority. If in view of the numismatic evidence referred to above, the conquest and occupation of Kamrup or a certain part thereof by Sikandar Shāh is accepted as a fact, the present inscription would indicate continuation of that occupation.

The epigraph in its present state comprises ten lines in all, nine having been written horizontally on one side and the remaining one written vertically on the other. The horizontal lines are written in *Naskh* letters in relief. Same is the case with the vertical line, but the writing seems to differ from the rest; it is not clear if this portion forms part of the main text. The slab is

<sup>1</sup> J. N. Sarkar, ed., *Hist. of Beng.*, vol. II (Dacca, 1948), pp. 116 ff. For fresh information on the subject, see Z. A. Desai, 'Some new data regarding Pre-Mughal Muslim rulers of Bengal', *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad Dn., July 1953, pp. 193-207.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, vol. XV, p. 72, pl. XX, No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Please see p. 28 supra.

<sup>4</sup> J. N. Sarkar, *opp. cit.*, pp. 103-110.



considerably damaged due to effects of weather as well as due to neglect, and in a few places, letters have become indistinct. The reading of the text is as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate IX (a)

- (۱) در عهد همايون ؟ سلطان سلاصی  
 (۲) ظل الله في العالمين [غياث] اندني  
 (۳) والدين ابو المظفر اعظم شاه  
 (۴) ابن سلطان العادل ؟ ابو المجاهد  
 (۵) سکندر شاه سلطان ابن سلطان  
 (۶) المغفور شمس الد[نيا] و الدين الياس  
 (۷) شاه سلطان جعل الجنة مثواهما  
 (۸) و ثقل بالحسنات ميزانهما بحکم  
 (۹) فرمان کامگار همايون اعيان ؟ لازال ..

## Vertical line.

خدای؟ تعالی بکرم و رحمت ؟ .....

## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the auspicious reign of the king of kings,  
 (2) Shadow of God in the worlds, *Ghiyāthu'd-Dunyā*  
 (3) wa'd-Dīn, Abu'l-Muẓaffar A'zam *Shāh*,  
 (4) son of the just king, Abu'l-Mujāhid  
 (5) Sikandar *Shāh*, the king, son of the pardoned king,  
 (6) *Shamsu'd-Dunyā* wa'd-Dīn Ilyās  
 (7) *Shāh*, the king, may Paradise be the abode of (the last mentioned) two.  
 (8) and may their balance be heavy with good deeds, at the  
 (9) successful and auspicious order and command.....for ever.....

## Vertical line.

God the exalted with (His) generosity and mercy.....

(a) Inscription of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn A'zam Shāh from Boko, Dt. Kamrup (p. 34)

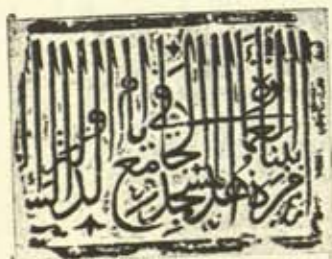


SCALE : .25

GOMTI GATE MUSEUM, GAUR

(c) Inscription recording the erection of a gate to a mosque from Firuzpur, Gaur (p. 36)

(b) Fragmentary inscription (p. 35)



SCALE : .07



SCALE : .2



## TEXT

## Plate IX (c)

قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله باي هذا الباب خانجهان في التاريخ غره من ذي الحجه سنه  
سبعين [ثمان ما]يه

## TRANSLATION

God the Exalted has said, 'Verily, the mosques are for Allāh'. The builder of this gate is Khān-i-Jahān. On the 1st of Dhī'l-Hajja, year (8)70 (A.H.).

The hundred number in the date is not clear on the stone, which has lost some portion at the left corner which contained the hundred number of the date; this number may be read either "ثمان" or "تسع". Ravenshaw gives the date A.H. 970,<sup>1</sup> while Ilāhī Bakhsh in his Khūrshīd-i-Jahān Numā reads it as A.H. 870.<sup>2</sup> According to Paul Horn, the word *tis* was not legible on his rubbing.<sup>3</sup> Which of the reading then is correct?

It will be seen that in the portion under discussion, the first letter contains three very small notches visible in the rubbing and looks like "س" which probably led to the reading of the word as "تسعمايه", but there is, as a matter of fact, no space for "ت" before "س" or for "ع" after "س".<sup>4</sup> Paul Horn is right when he says that the reading *tis* is not supported by the rubbing. Ilāhī Bakhsh's reading of the date may be treated as authentic and correct, for, it is just possible that the portion of the slab containing date was in a better condition when he read the inscription.

The historical figure, Khān-i-Jahān, referred to in the epigraph can neither be identical with Husain Qulī Baig entitled Khān-i-Jahān of Akbar's court, who conquered Bengal in A.H. 984,<sup>5</sup> nor with Khān-i-Jahān, governor of Orissa in A.H. 982 and a noble of Dā'ūd Karārānī, the Afghan ruler of Bengal.<sup>6</sup> We find one more Khān-i-Jahān who was the minister of Bārbak, the Eunuch (also known as Sultān Shāhzāda) of Bengal in A.H. 891. The latter may be identified with the builder of the gate. Though the inscription was engraved 21 years earlier than the date quoted above, it may logically be presumed that Khān-i-Jahān might have held some high rank in the reign of Ruknu'd-Dīn Bārbak Shāh (A.H. 864-879) and built the gate mentioned in the inscription. About him, no further details are available in historical works.

<sup>1</sup> Ravenshaw, *opp. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, vol. LXIV (1895), pt. i, p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> *Epig. Ind.*, II (1894), p. 286, fn. 3.

<sup>4</sup> In that case, the better reading is "تسعمايه" and not "ثمان مايه". —Ed.

<sup>5</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān. *Ma'ā'at-i-Umūrā*, vol. I (Cal. 1888), p. 648.

<sup>6</sup> Ghulām Husain Salīm, *Riyāṣat-s-Salātīn* (Cal. 1890), p. 124.

# ARABIC AND PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE B. R. SEN MUSEUM, MALDA, WEST BENGAL

By DR. M. ISHAQUE

In the B. R. Sen Museum at Malda, headquarters of the district of the same name in West Bengal, are stored four stone inscriptions of which one, belonging to the reign of Shamsu'd-Dīn Abu'n-Naṣr Muẓaffar Shāh of Bengal (A.H. 896-898) has been already published.<sup>1</sup> Of the remaining three that are published now, one—the first of this group—has been studied in details by Mr. A. K. Bhattacharya in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*,<sup>2</sup> but the learned author has made some strange observations regarding the position and status of the personage referred to therein. Moreover, his reading of the epigraph is not free from errors. It was, therefore, deemed advisable to include it in the present study.

Taking up the last mentioned inscription first, it is a three-line record in Arabic, epigraphed in clear and bold *Naskh* that characterises the style of writing of the inscriptions of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain Shāh and his son and successor Nuṣrat Shāh of the Sayyid dynasty of Bengal. There are lacunae on the left hand side as well as about the beginning of the second and third lines. It will be observed that the slab is fragmentary, a considerable portion of it, on the left, having been lost, with the result that in the first line the saying of the Prophet, appearing so commonly in such tablets is missing except the two initial words "من بنى", while in the second and third lines, the name of the ruling monarch which is preceded by honorific titles and the date which usually follows the name of the builder, as here, are respectively lost. A complete reading of the record is therefore out of the question.

The inscription has been cut into bold relief on the back of a piece of a Jaina sculpture in basalt representing diety Adinatha. The slab is said to have been found in a ruined dargāh in Village Sadipur, P.S. Kalichak in Malda District, about seven miles north-east of the ruins of Gaur to which it is originally stated to have belonged. The extant portion of the slab measures 36" by 17", and bears the following inscription:—

## TEXT

### Plate X (a)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ، قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ بَنِي [لَهُ] .....  
 (۲) الْمَجَاهِدُ فِي [سَبِيلِ] الرَّحْمَنِ خَلِيفَةُ اللَّهِ بِالْحِجَّةِ وَالْبَرَهَانَ غَوَثُ الْأَسْـ[لَامِ] .....  
 (۳) مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ [عَلَى] بْنِ أَمِيرِ حَاجِي الْمَخَاطِبِ بِمَجْلِسِ الْمَجْـ[لِسِ] .....

<sup>1</sup> *EIM*, 1929-30, p. 13, pl. VIIIa.

<sup>2</sup> A. K. Bhattacharya, 'An unpublished Arabic inscription on a Jaina image from Malda, Bengal', *JAS*, Letters, vol. XVIII (1952), No. 1, pp. 9-12.

<sup>3</sup> Bhattacharya, *opp. cit.*, p. 12, supplies "أبو" before "الْمَجَاهِدُ" which, besides being unwarranted, does not make sense. The phrase "الْمَجَاهِدُ فِي سَبِيلِ الرَّحْمَنِ" is commonly found in inscriptions and coins.

<sup>4</sup> This name also appears to be 'Ali.

<sup>5</sup> Bhattacharya, *opp. cit.*, in reading "مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ ... بْنِ ... ؟" shows a lacuna with a question mark between "بن" and "أَمِيرِ حَاجِي" which is not to be found in the rubbing.



## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. The Messenger of Allāh, peace and blessings of Allāh be on him, has said, 'He who builds for God.....'

(2) the crusader in the path of the Beneficent, the vicegerent of Allāh by all arguments and demonstrations, the great defender of Is[ām].....

(3) Muḥammad, son of 'Alī, son of ['Alī?], son of Amīr Ḥājī, called by the title of Majlisu'l-Majālis<sup>1</sup>.....

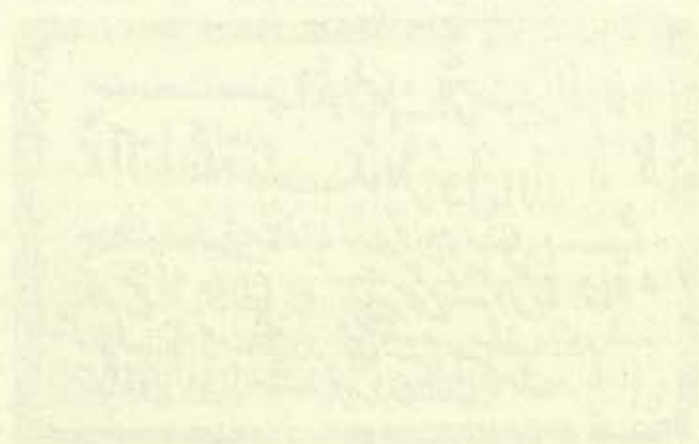
The inscription, as has been already remarked, is fragmentary and does neither bear the name of the ruling king nor the date. However, the question of the time of the record and identities of the king and the builder has been satisfactorily discussed in details by Mr. Bhattacharya and so its repetition here is considered futile. But Mr. Bhattacharya's remarks on the status and position of the builder may be re-examined here with advantage. The learned writer states that 'the builder of the present inscription, Muḥammad, the son of 'Alī is called Mukhāṭib, Amīr and Ḥājī i.e., an orator, a leader and a performer of the Holy Pilgrimage'. I am afraid this statement is not correct and hence likely to mislead those who are not conversant with Arabic and who have to rely on English translations in their researches. The builder is neither intended in the epigraph as a leader nor as an orator nor as a ḥājī. The text of the inscription in this part, despite one lacuna, is quite clear; but Mr. Bhattacharya has erred in spotting out another lacuna—between the words “بن” and “امير حاجي” on the stone which really does not exist, with the result that he took the phrase “امير حاجي” as indicating the honorific or factual titles of the builder. Now as may be seen in the estampage, this phrase preceded immediately by the word “بن” forms the name of the great grand-father of the builder. Apart from this, it may not be correct to translate the word “امير” as “leader”. As regards the builder being an orator, I have not been able to find any word in the text that might suggest this meaning. Most probably, Mr. Bhattacharya takes the word “المخاطب”—without the definite article—to mean ‘orator’ which to say the least betrays lack of elementary knowledge of Arabic or even Persian. The phrase “المخاطب بخطاب” is commonly found in inscriptions especially in Bengal and merely means ‘one who is addressed by the title of’. There is neither any need nor any justification to take the word in question as a noun of agency (اسم فاعل), in view of the context, though even as a noun of agency it would not mean ‘an orator’.

The second inscription of the group comes from Shahpur near Malda. The slab of black basalt (27"×11") was found in some heavy jungle to the east of the town in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Daryā Khān: at least Ilāhī Bakhsh of Angrezābād, author of the *Khūrahid-i-Jahān Numā* had found it there.<sup>2</sup> It contains two lines of writing in Arabic inscribed in fine *Naskh* with *Tughra* flourish purporting to the construction of the gate of a fortress, to ensure protection and security, by Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of the Sayyid dynasty of Bengal. Very few inscriptions of this king have been found and published. The present inscription is an important addition, but unfortunately, the eye-reading of Ilāhī Bakhsh, referred to above, having been taken

<sup>1</sup> For the correct connotations of the titles like this, please see p. 53, f.n. 3 infra.—Ed.

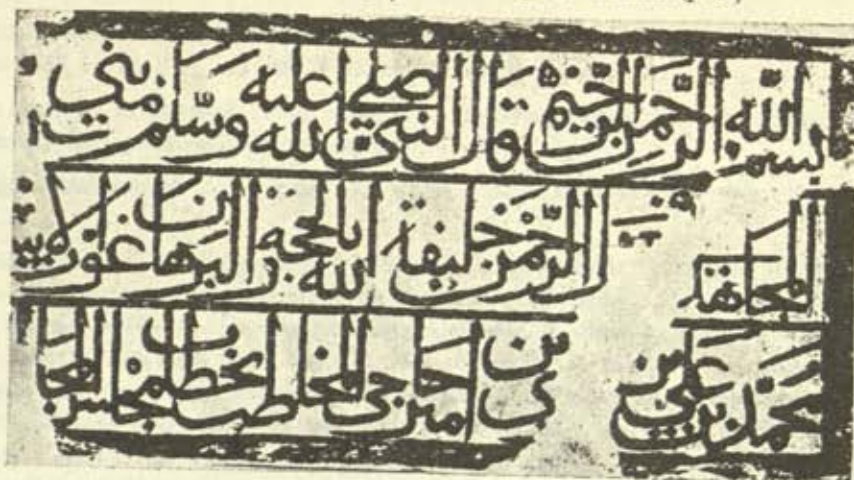
<sup>2</sup> H. Beveridge, 'The *Khūrahid-i-Jahān Numā* of Sayyad Ilāhī Bakhsh al Ḥussainī Angrezābādī', *JASB*, vol. LXIV (1895), pt. 1, pp. 205, 214, where an eye-reading of the inscription under notice is given. Needless to say, the reading is very faulty.

(Also please see note at the end of this article.—Ed.)



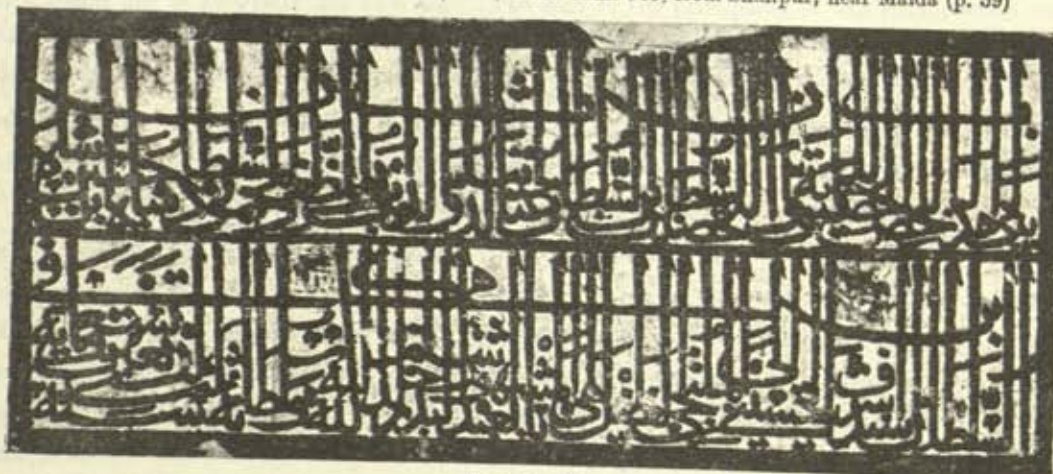


(a) Fragmentary inscription from Sadipur, Dt. Malda (p. 37)



SCALE : .13

(b) Inscription of Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, dated A.H. 943, from Shahpur, near Malda (p. 39)



SCALE : .22

(c) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A. H. 1102, from the same town (p. 40)



SCALE : .2



as granted, modern scholars have been led to err in regard to the original name of this king, as we shall presently discuss.

The inscription has been read by me as follows :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate X (b)

(١) بنى هذا الباب فنحصن الحصين للحماية و التحصين السلطان بن السلطان غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه السلطان ابن حسين شاه  
(٢) السلطان ابن سيد اشرف الحسينى الملتجى الى الفضل الهى المشهور بالعبد البدر شاهى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه فى سنة ثلث اربعين و تسعمائه

#### TRANSLATION

(1) This gate of the impregnable fort was constructed for the defence and security (of the kingdom and people) by the Sultān, son of Sultān, *Ghiyāthu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn* Abu'l-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd *Shāh*, the Sultān, son of Husain *Shāh*,

(2) the Sultān, son of Sayyid Aḥraf al-Husainī, seeker of the grace of God, well-known as 'the slave, al-Badr *Shāhī*', may Allāh endure his country and sovereignty for ever, in the year nine hundred and fortythree (1536-37 A.D.).

The other inscriptions of this king so far discovered do not bear a date later than 941, while this inscription has extended his rule by two years. But more important is its mention of the popular name of the king as it does. The coins of Maḥmūd *Shāh* also bear the phrase *Badr Shāhī*, which, until the discovery of this inscription, had remained unexplained.<sup>1</sup> With the clear mention of the popular name of the king in the inscription, this phrase has been satisfactorily explained. But unfortunately, Ilāhī Bakhsh's reading has been mainly responsible for the mistake in the actual wording of the name. In the latest work on the history of Bengal, it is stated that the name of this king was 'Abdu'l-Badr' which to my mind is far from correct; *Badr Shāhī* and not 'Abdu'l-Badr' seems to have been the correct nomenclature, as is clearly inscribed on his coins. The latter has found currency probably due to the phrase "المشهور بالعبد البدر شاهى" in the second line of the inscription. If 'Abdu'l-Badr *Shāhī*' were intended here, the text ought to have been "المشهور بعبد البدر شاهى".<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the name 'Abdu'l-Badr sounds peculiar. As it is, the word "العبد" should not be taken as a part of the name but as meaning 'the humble slave'.

The last inscription of the group consists of six lines of writing over a surface measuring 20" by 12". Of them, the first two, in Arabic, contain the *Bismillāh* and Kalima,<sup>4</sup> while the last four make a Persian stanza in the *mathnavī* verse-form. The Arabic portion of the text has been

<sup>1</sup> H. N. Wright, *Cat. Coins in the Ind. Mus.*, Calcutta, vol. II (Oxford, 1907), p. 179, No. 222.

<sup>2</sup> J. N. Sarkar, ed., *Hist. of Bengal*, vol. II (Dacca, 1948), p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> True, the Arabic inscriptions of India, as elsewhere also, are not free from grammatical mistakes. But in this particular case the evidence of the coins, inasmuch as they clearly call it "بدر شاهى", should be considered decisive and final.

<sup>4</sup> *Kalima* is the fundamental doctrine of Islām confessed by every Muslim.



inscribed in *Nasḫ* and the Persian in *Nasta'liq*, both of low artistic quality. The epigraph signifies the construction of a mosque in the township of Shahpur during the reign of Aurangzeb (A.H. 1069-1118/A.D. 1659-1707) through the combined efforts of Fath La'l, Daulat Khān, and Muḥammad Hāshim. The poetry of the record is defective in places in respect of language as well as metre,<sup>1</sup> and has no claim to any literary merit. The epigraph has been read as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate X (c)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

(۲) لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ

(۳) بدور شاه اورنگ زیب غازی      کہ او در دین قایم خلق راضی

(۴) بحکم فتح لعل و دولتخان      ز تدبیر محمد هاشم از جان

(۵) کہ در سده هزار و صد دگر دو      مزین گشت مسجد بیت از او

(۶) بقصبة شاه پور جلوه نما شد      ز بهر دین داران بنا شد

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) There is no god but Allāh; Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh.

(3) In the reign of Aurangzeb, the champion of the Faith, who (is) steadfast in religion and the people (are) contented,

(4) (it was) by the order of Fath La'l and Daulat Khān (and) the sincere endeavours of Muḥammad Hāshim

(5) that, in the year one thousand, one hundred and two (1690-91 A.D.), the building of the mosque became ornamented by him.

(6) It became resplendent in the township of Shāhpūr, it was constructed for the pious.

None of the persons, mentioned in the record, is known to us.

*Editor's Note on the Second Inscription.*

Five years ago, Prof. N. B. Roy had made a short study of this inscription in *JAS, Letters*, vol. XVII, No. 3 (1951), pp. 217-18. This study is liable to create some confusion since it contains a large number of mistakes, major as well as minor, in the reading of the text as also in its translation. Consequently, Prof. Roy's conclusions are faulty and misleading.

It may be pointed out at the outset that the text published by Beveridge, *opp. cit.*, is that of this inscription only. Moreover, Beveridge himself had nothing to do either with the inscriptional

<sup>1</sup> The metre of the verses is *Hazaj*.

<sup>2</sup> The exact findspot of the inscription is not on record, but it appears from this verse that the inscription originally belonged to a mosque in the town of Shahpur, which is probably the one situated near Malda.

slab or the text ; he had merely reproduced the text while describing the contents of the *Khūrahīd-i-Jahān Numā* of Ilāhī Bakhsh who as in this particular case, has also given in his work eye-readings of other inscriptions he had come across. Hence, it is Ilāhī Bakhsh and not Beveridge who 'found this slab lying in some heavy jungle, near another tomb in the neighbourhood' of that of Daryā Khān.

Prof. Roy has read the inscription as under :—

بنى هذا الحصن الحصين بالحماية والتحصين. السلطان ابن السلطان غياث الدنيا و الدين  
ابى المظفر السلطان محمود شاه ابن حسين شاه بن السلطان سيد اشرف الحسينى الى الملتجى  
الفضل المشهور بالعبد البدر شاهى خلد الله ملكه و سلطنة فى سنة ثلث (ثلاث) و اربعين  
و تسعمائة

Ilāhī Bakhsh's eye-reading is as follows :—

بنى هذا الباب الحصين فى حماية السلطان ابن السلطان غياث الدنيا و الدين ابى  
المظفر محمود شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسينى ابى الملتجى بفضل  
الهي المشهور بالعبد شاه و بالعبد البدر خلد الله ملكه و سلطنته - سنة ثلث و اربعين  
و تسعمائة

A comparison of Prof. Roy's reading with the readings of Ilāhī Bakhsh and Dr. Ishaque is left to the readers who will see for themselves as to how corrupt it is. I shall here point out, in brief, only the more striking mistakes committed by Prof. Roy :—

Firstly, according to Prof. Roy's reading, the inscription 'states that this strong fortress was built with the support and patronage of Sultan' etc. It has been seen above that the epigraph only refers to the construction of 'this gateway of the strong fort for protection and security'. In other words, the fort referred to in the record was already there, while it was the gate that was constructed (more correctly, perhaps, reconstructed or strengthened) by the king. Prof. Roy's conclusion that the king 'took additional precaution at this juncture of fortifying Gaur by erecting new defences, which is set forth in the above inscription' is off the mark.

Secondly, his reading of the second line which is hopelessly corrupt has led Prof. Roy to think that 'it would be a mistake to construe the words as the name of the Sultan'. According to him the king was 'famous as the slave of Badr Shah'. While it is just possible that the king who according to the correct reading of the text was 'known as the slave, Badr Shāhī', was an admirer of a saint named Badr Shāh, it is quite incorrect to state that he was 'a slave of Badr Shah'. That Badr Shāhī was his popular name is clear from the text.

Thirdly, by reading "بن" (more correctly "ابن") between "حسين شاه" and "السلطان"—while its correct position is after "السلطان"—Prof. Roy gives the name of Sultān Ḥusain Shāh's father as 'Sultan Sayyid Ashraf Husain'. The prefix Sultān to the latter's name is likely to create the impression that Sayyid Ashraf al-Ḥusainī too was a king, which he was not.

<sup>1</sup> Beveridge, *opp. cit.*, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Husain is probably a misprint for Husainī.



Lastly, Prof. Roy's translation on the whole, based as it is on a very incorrect reading of the text, needs correction in many places. To quote only one instance, he translates "أبي المظفر" as 'father of victory' which is wrong. Space does not permit us to go into further details, but the mistakes in Prof. Roy's text and translation can be rectified from the above study of the inscription by Dr. Ishaque.

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## INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE STATE MUSEUM, LUCKNOW

BY Y. K. BUKHARI

The inscriptions stored in the State Museum, Lucknow, are sixteen in number, of which ten have already been published with their facsimiles in the previous issues of this series.<sup>1</sup> The remaining six are being published here.

The first of these records, dated A.H. 1253 (1837 A.D.), belongs to the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh, king of Awadh (1837-42 A.D.), and records the construction of a grand public road, while the next two contain information regarding the distances of important towns and cities of India in a tabular form. The fourth inscription refers to a treasure in cash and kind deposited probably by Sayyid Junaid Firūz in the underground cell of a building known as *Shish* Maḥal at Firuzpur. The fifth one is fragmentary bearing the name of Ulugh Iqrār Khān only and its purport is not clear. The last inscription appears to be an epitaph, but being badly damaged, does not admit of clear decipherment.

### INSCRIPTION NO. 1

This epigraph, partly in Arabic and partly in Persian, is carved on a slab measuring 2'×3'10" in *Nasta'liq* letters in relief.<sup>2</sup> The lower part of the tablet has been badly damaged and the inscription thereon has peeled off completely : only the first nine lines are decipherable while in the tenth line hardly a word or two can be read. The record mentions the construction of a grand public road, for the facility of travellers and communications, carried out by the orders of Abu'l-Faṭḥ Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh of Awadh, at the suggestion of Qaisaru'd-Daula Mu'azzamu'l-Mulk 'Alī Tajallī Bahādur Haibat Jang, who was then 65 years of age. The epigraph is dated A.H. 1253 (1837 A.D.) or Baisākh, V.S. 1894, corresponding to the 1st regnal year of the said king. The text of the record reads as follows :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XI (a)

(۱) یا هادی الطریق

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۳) الحمد لله الذى هدانا لهذا الصراط المستقيم و وقفنا السلوك على الطريق القويم

(۴) كه آراستگى شارع عام هذا و پيراستگى شاهراه مصفا براى رفع تكليف همه

سالكان عاجل

(۵) و آسایش كافه راكب و راجل حسب الحكم بادشاه سكندر بارگاه هادی طریق

اسلام شاهنشاه عالی مقام

(۶) ابو الفتح معين الدين سلطان الزمان نوشيروان عادل محمد على شاه بادشاه اوده

خلد الله ملكه

<sup>1</sup> *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1937-38, pp. 38-41 ; *ibid.*, 1939-40, pp. 26-29.

<sup>2</sup> The provenance of the epigraph is not known.



- (۷) و سلطنته حسب العرض غلام عبودیت التیام قیصر الدوله معظم الملك على تجلی ؟  
بهادر هیئت جنگ  
(۸) که مدت عمرش تا هذا الزمان شصت پنج سال بافزوده سنه ۱۲۵۳ هجری مطابق  
سنه احد  
(۹) جلوسی ... [مطابق] بقی سنبت و ؟ سنبت ۱۸۹۴ بکرماجیتی یساکهه سد . . انجام پذیرفت  
(۱۰) . . . . . نصف راه . . . . .

## TRANSLATION

- (1) O Director of the path !  
(2) In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Clement.  
(3) Praise be to Allāh who led us to the right path and graced us the walk on the straight way,  
(4) that the development of this public road and the embellishment of this thoroughfare with a view to removing the difficulties of all fast-moving travellers,  
(5) and providing comfort to all riders and pedestrians, at the instance of the king of Alexander's audience-hall, preceptor in the way of Islām, emperor of exalted rank,  
(6) Abu'l-Fatḥ Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, king of the Age, Nūshīrwān the just, Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh, king of Awadh, may God perpetuate his kingdom  
(7) and sovereignty ! (and) at the request of the humble slave, Qaisaru'd-Daula, Mu'azzamu'l-Mulk, 'Alī Tajallī Bahādur Haibat Jang,  
(8) the period of whose age upto this time has reached sixtyfive years, was carried to completion in the year A.H. 1253 or the 1st  
(9) regnal year (corresponding to) Saṁvat . . . . and Baisākh sud 1894 of the Bikramājī era.  
(10) . . . . . half of the road . . . . .

## INSCRIPTIONS NOS. 2 AND 3

The next two epigraphs are carved on buff-coloured sandstone slabs and furnish information regarding the distances in *krohs* between 51 important towns and cities of India. The information thus given is arranged in the form of charts containing vertical and horizontal columns: the first two lines at the top explain the method as to how to know the respective distances from one city to another. According to this method, one has to refer to the column opposite to the names of the two cities, and the figure which it contains indicates the desired distance. The names of towns have been arranged in horizontal and vertical lines. The inscriptional slabs which measure 2'×3'9" and 1'9"×3'10" respectively are carved in *Nasta'liq* characters in relief which is of a high order, while the language employed is Persian. I read the text as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate XI (b)

- (۱) نقشه درافت مسافت شهری از شهرها مثلا اگر کسی خواهد که مسافت شهری از  
شهرها که بجانب راست این نقشه مرقوم است از شهری از شهرها که بر بالای این نقشه

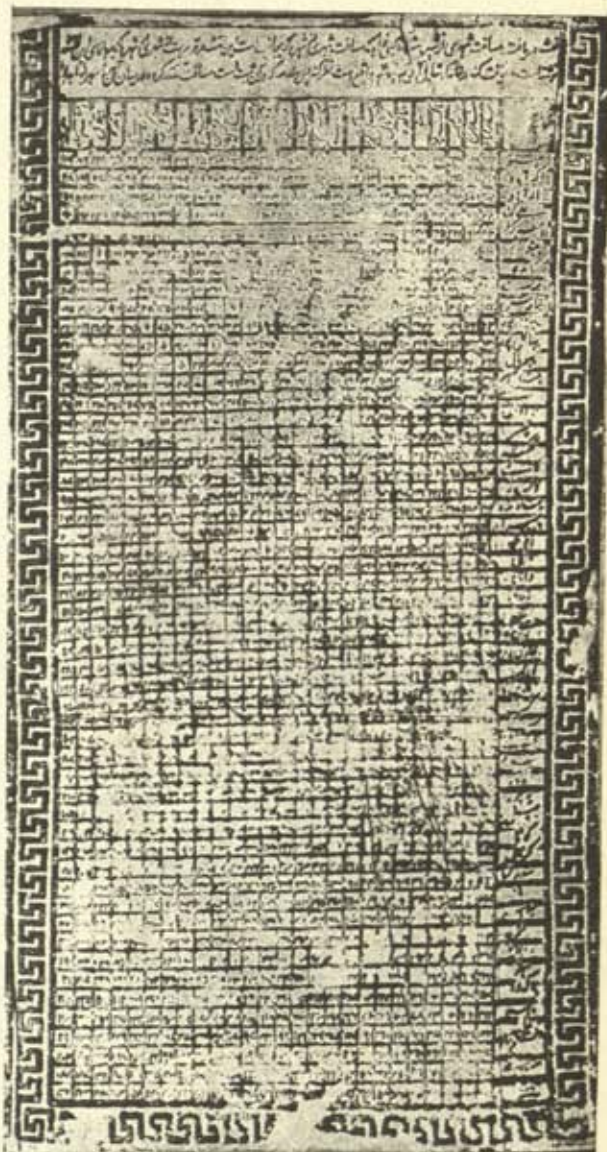
<sup>1</sup> The remaining portion of the text is completely effaced.



(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 1253, recording reparation to highways (p. 43)



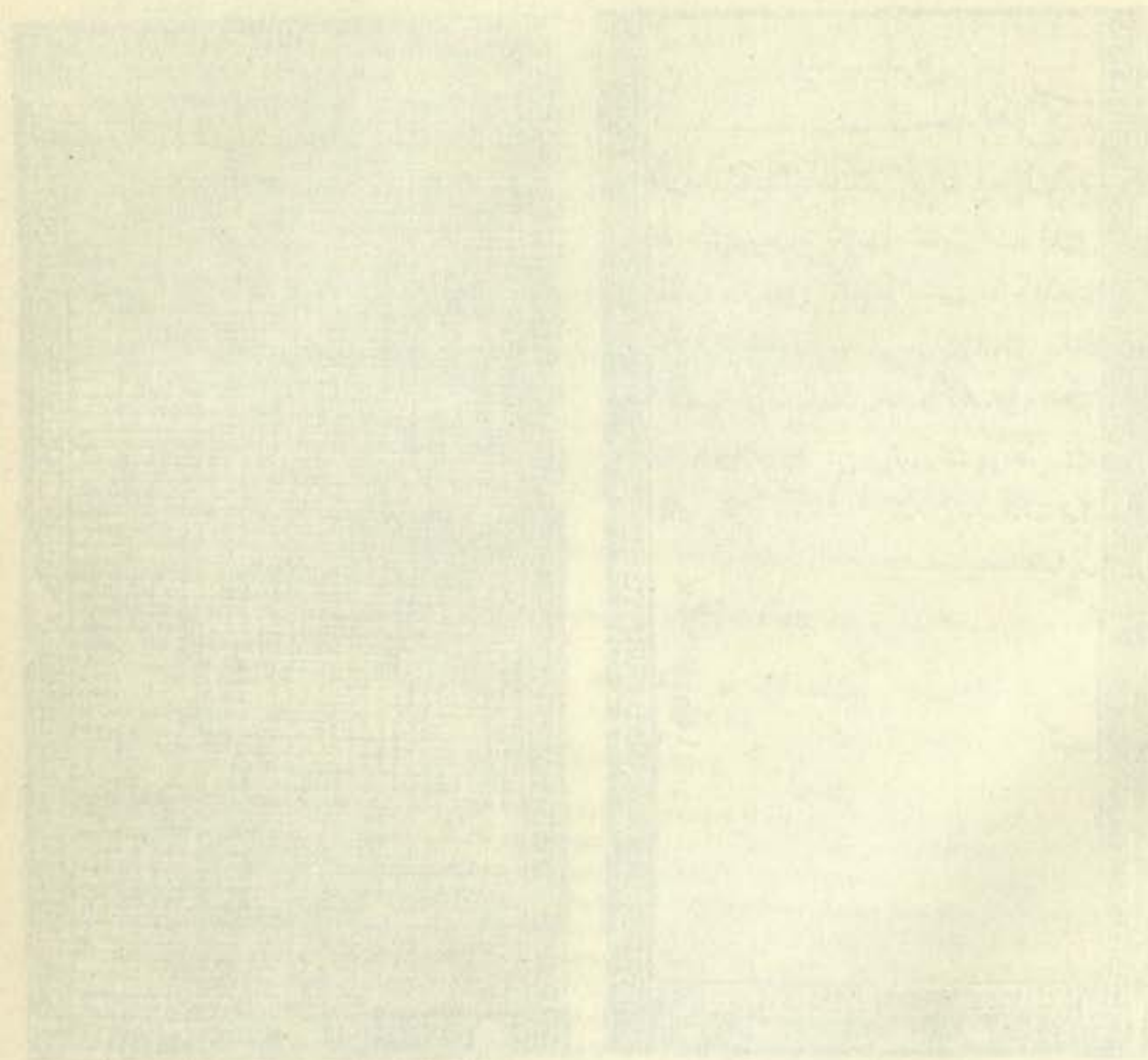
(b) Chart showing distances between important towns (p. 44)



SCALE : 14

SCALE : .14





(۲) نوشته است دریافت کند در خانه که مقابل آن هر دو شهر واقع است نظر کند پس هندسه که در آن ثبت است مسافت آن قدر کروه در میان آن هر دو شهر خواهد بود

(b) Vertical line.

لکهنؤ ، اکبرآباد ، اله آباد ، علی گڑھ ، اعظم گڑھ ، بیتول ، باندہ ، بریلی ، بنارس ،  
بہرام پور ، بھاگل پور ، بھوپال ، بلند شہر ، بمبئی ، بردوان ، بکسر ، کلکتہ ، کالپے ،  
کانپہ پور ، چنار گڑھ ، چنپرا ، ڈھانکھ ، دہلی ، دانا پور ، اٹاوا ، فتح پور ، فتح گڑھ ،  
غازی پور ، گوردھپور ، گوالیر ، گیا ، حمیر پور ، ہانسی ، حیدرآباد ، اندور ، جونپور ،  
جبل پور ، کوٹہ ، کرنال ، . . بن ، مالہ ، میرٹھہ ، کرہ ؟ ، مرزاپور ، سہرا ؟ ،  
ناگپور ، . . نیپال ، عظیم آباد ، ساگر ، سہارنپور

(c) Horizontal line.

علی گڑھ ، اعظم گڑھ ، بیتول ، باندہ ، بریلی ، بہرام پور ، بھاگل پور ، [بھوپال ؟] ،  
بلند شہر ، بردوان ، چنار گڑھ ، چنپرا ، ڈھانکھ ، دانا پور ، گیا ، حمیر پور ، ہانسی ،  
بکسر ، جبل پور ، کرنال ، مالہ ، منو ، ناگپور ، . . مندراج ، حیدرآباد

#### TRANSLATION

(a) The chart for determining the distance of a town from (other) towns. For example, if any body wants to find out the distance of a town written on the right side of this (chart) from the other towns carved above on this chart (horizontally), he should look at the columns opposite the names of the two cities and the figures carved there will be the (required) distance in *krohs* between the two cities.

(b) Lakhnaū, Akbarābād, Ilākābād, 'Alīgarh, A'zamgarh, Bītūl, Bānda, Baraily, Banāras, Bahrāmpūr, Bhāgalpūr, Bhopāl, Baland Shahr, Bamba'i (Bombay), Bardwān, Baksar, Calcutta, Kālpi, Kānhpūr, Chunārgarh, Chhaprā, Dhānkha, Dihli (Delhi), Dānāpūr, Itāwā, Fatḥpūr, Fatḥgarh, Ghāzīpūr, Gorakhpūr, Gwāliar, Gayā, Ḥamīrpūr, Hānsī, Ḥaidarābād, Indore, Jaunpūr, Jabalpūr, Koṭa, Karnāl, .... ban, Mālā, Mairāth, Kaṭa, Mirzāpūr, Sehra, Nāgpūr, ...., Nepāl, 'Aẓīmābād, Sāgar, Sahāranpūr.

(c) 'Alīgarh, A'zamgarh, Bītūl, Bānda, Baraily, Bahrāmpūr, Bhāgalpūr, [Bhopāl], Baland Shahr, Bardwān, Chunārgarh, Chhaprā, Dhānkha, Dānāpūr, Gayā, Ḥamīrpūr, Hānsī, Baksar, Jabalpūr, Karnāl, Mālā, Ma'ū, Nāgpūr, ...., Mund Rāj, Ḥaidarābād.

#### Second Chart

#### TEXT

#### Plate XIII (a)

Horizontal line.<sup>2</sup>

بمبئی ، کلکتہ ، کوٹہ ، اندور ، نیپال ، سیٹا پور ، عظیم آباد ، ساگر ، میرٹھہ ،  
اکبرآباد ، اٹاوا ، دہلی ، گوالیر ، متھرا ، مرزا پور ، اله آباد ، غازی پور ، بنارس ،  
گوردھپور ، جون پور ، کالپے ، فتح گڑھ ، فتح پور ، کانپہ پور ، لکهنؤ

<sup>2</sup> Vertical lists of cities in both the charts are identical.



## TRANSLATION

Bamba'i, Calcutta, Koṭa, Indore, Nepāl, Sitāpūr, 'Azīmābād, Sāgar, Mairāṭh, Akbarābād, Itāwā, Dihlī, Gwāliar, Mathūra, Mirzāpūr, Ilāhābād, Ghāzīpūr, Banāras, Gorakhpūr, Jaunpūr, Kālpī, Fathgarh, Fathpūr, Kānpūr, Lakhna'ū.

## INSCRIPTION NO. 4

This epigraph is reported to have been originally found from the Firuzpur fort near Sambhal in Moradabad District, U. P. It comprises *Bismillāh* and five lines of Persian prose incised in *Nasta'liq* characters, and states that twelve lacs of *dāms* together with pearls, jewels and two swords were stored in the underground cell of the *Shish* Maḥal. The inscription further contains the name of Sayyid Junaid Firūz and the date which is 4th *Sha'bān*, regnal year 2; but the name of the ruling king is omitted. Maulavi Muhammad Shuaib was inclined to believe him to be Farrukh Siyar,<sup>1</sup> but there are reasons to believe that the record belongs to the reign of Aurangzeb, as we shall soon see. The inscriptional slab measures 10"×1'5" and the text runs as under:—

## TEXT

## Plate XII (a)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ  
 (۲) دوازده لاکه دام معه گوهر و  
 (۳) جواهر و دو قبضه شمشیر در  
 (۴) شیش محل اندرون تپه خانه  
 (۵) نهادند سید جنید ؟ فیروز  
 (۶) ۴ شعبان سنه ۲ جلوس

## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Clement.  
 (2) Twelve lacs of *dāms* together with pearls,  
 (3-5) jewellery, and two swords were deposited in the underground cell in the *Shish* Maḥal  
 (by ?) Sayyid Junaid Firūz.  
 (6) 4th *Sha'bān* of the 2nd regnal year.

Sayyid Junaid Firūz referred to in the epigraph was a nobleman and official of high rank during the reigns of *Shāh Jahān* and Aurangzeb. He had built a large red-brick fort at Firuzpur situated at a distance of four miles from the town of Sambhal.<sup>2</sup> In all probability, the town of Firuzpur takes its name from him. He was the *nāib* of Rustam *Khān* Dakhanī, the founder of the town of

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep., U. P., 1910-11, p. 39, no. 44.

<sup>2</sup> This word reads as "صید" in the epigraph. H. R. Nevill, *District Gazetteer, Moradabad* (Allahabad, 1911), p. 25, also reads it "صید". Obviously it was so engraved for "جنید".

<sup>3</sup> The fort was probably built as an outpost for the defence of Sambhal which had been the seat of provincial government for a considerable period during the Muslim rule.



Moradabad. According to the *District Gazetteer*, the palace of the Sayyids, now lying in ruinous condition, was probably constructed by Sayyid Firūz and named as *Shish Maḥal*,<sup>1</sup> which name appears in the inscription under notice. Consequently, one may draw the conclusion that the treasure mentioned in the record might have been buried in this building. The *District Gazetteer* further informs us that the descendants of Firūz then living there were in possession of a few *farmāns* granted to them by *Shāh Jahān*, *Farrukh Siyar* and other Mughal monarchs.

A brief account of Sayyid Firūz's life is given in the *Ma'āthir-i-Umarā*. According to this account, he was a nephew and son-in-law of Sayyid *Khān-i-Jahān Bāriha* and had, by his merit, intelligence and hard work, attained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse during the reign of *Shāh Jahān*, ultimately rising to the high rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. A good soldier and a veteran commander, he had played a chivalric role in many expeditions led by princes Aurangzeb and *Dārā Shukūh* as well as by Rustam *Khān Dakhani*. In the 22nd year of *Shāh Jahān*'s reign (1650 A.D.), the title of *Khān* was conferred upon him. He received the high title of *Ikhtisās Khān* in the second year of Aurangzeb's reign and was appointed governor of Bengal in view of his services and loyalty to the king. He remained *thānadār* in Gauhati in Assam for a considerable period. He lost his life, fighting bravely in an encounter with the Assamese, in A.H. 1077 (1666-67 A.D.), as no help could arrive to him in proper time.<sup>2</sup>

# INSCRIPTION NO. 5

This is a fragmentary record found originally at Ghazipur and contains only the name of *Iqrār Khān* who is mentioned with high-sounding titles. A considerable portion in the beginning and a few words in the end are missing with the result that the purport of the record and the date are not clear. It appears to have been written in Arabic, executed in *Nashk* style on a slab of black basalt measuring 1'10"×10", and runs as follows:—

## TEXT

### Plate XII (b)

..... خاناعظم و خاقان معظم مكرم صاحب اسيف و القلم (۱)

..... بهلوی عصر و الزمان الغ اقرار خان سلمه الله تعالى في الدارين (۲)

## TRANSLATION

(1) ..... the great *Khān* and illustrious *Khāqān*, master of sword and pen,

(2) champion of the age and time, *Ulugh Iqrār Khān*, may Allāh the great protect him in both the worlds.....

The name *Ulugh Iqrār Khān*, apart from the inscription under notice, is found in some other epigraphs of the reign of *Bārbak Shāh* of Bengal (1456-1474 A.D.). The Tribeni inscription of that monarch mentions the name *Iqrār Khān* without prefixing the word *Ulugh* and, substituting it by *Khān-i-Mu'azzam*, describes him as commander of the army, guard of the royal harem, commander and minister of the District of *Sājilā Mankhabād* and the town *Lāobalā*.<sup>3</sup> In another inscription dated A.H. 865 from *Dinajpur*, he appears almost with all the titles mentioned in the epigraph

<sup>1</sup> H. R. Nevill, *opp. cit.*, pp. 253-54.

<sup>2</sup> *Shāh Nawāz Khān*, *Ma'āthir-i-Umarā*, vol. II (Cal. 1890), pp. 473-74.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, vol. XXXIX (1870), pt. i, p. 290; *Epig. Ind.—Ar. & Per. Supp.*, 1953 & 54, pp. 20-21.

(In the inscriptions, the name *Sājilā Mankhabād* has been wrongly read for *Sājilā Sankhabād*.—Ed.)



under notice,<sup>1</sup> while in another epigraph of the same date, from Mahi Santosh, he is simply mentioned as Khānu'l-Mu'azzam Ulugh Iqrār Khān.<sup>2</sup> In all the stone records noted above, he is mentioned as the builder of mosques. One may draw the conclusion that the present inscription also, though fragmentary and bearing no date and name of the ruler, belongs to the reign of Bārbak Shāh, in which case, it shows that the jurisdiction of Bengal rule was extended westward upto Ghazipur—a district bordering on Uttar Pradesh and North Bihar. The kingdom of Bengal at one time extended to Dinajpur in the north, to the districts of Monghyr and Bihar in the west, and to the portion of Orissa (Jajnagar) in the south.<sup>3</sup> The early Muslim Sultans of Bengal had held their sway upto Gandaka—a territory already acquired by the early Muslim invaders in eastern India and they tried to control the riverine tract, north of Monghyr, upto the river Gandaka.<sup>4</sup> If we are right in assigning the inscription under notice to the reign of Bārbak Shāh, it may be presumed that Ghazipur also formed part of the dominion of Bengal kings, lying as it does further west of Monghyr.

## INSCRIPTION NO. 6

The slab bearing the last inscription of the present group was acquired by the Museum recently.<sup>5</sup> It is divided into two panels of unequal size containing in the right, the First creed and in the left, names of the four companions of the Holy Prophet. The left panel has a margin at the bottom containing two hemistiches in Persian verse which seem to record the date of demise of the occupant of a grave but they do not admit of clear decipherment. Only disconnected words which probably give the year could be made out of it. The language of the record is Arabic and Persian, and the style of writing *Thulth* of a fairly high order.

The epigraph may be read as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XII (c)

## (a) Right hand panel.

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

## (b) Left hand panel.

الله محمد ابابكر عمر عثمان [على]

## (c) In the horizontal margin.

سن هزار و . . . هفتم بوده از هجرة  
شد متين از يمن . . . . . حضرت

## TRANSLATION

(a) There is no god but Allāh; Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh.

(b) Allāh, Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī.

(c) It was the . . . . . year one thousand and . . . . . seven of the Hijra,  
(when) . . . . . was strengthened through the blessing of (?) . . . . .<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, vol. XLII (1873), pt. i, p. 272

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. XLIV (1875), pt. i, p. 291.

<sup>3</sup> *EIM*, 1915-16, p. 13, f. n. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute*, vol. XXVI (Poona, 1955), pt. I-II, pp. 164-65.

<sup>5</sup> Its findspot is not known.

<sup>6</sup> The slab measures 2'6" × 1'.

(a) Inscription from Firuzpur  
near Sambhal (p. 46)



SCALE : 18

(b) Fragmentary inscription from Ghazipur (p. 47)



SCALE : 2

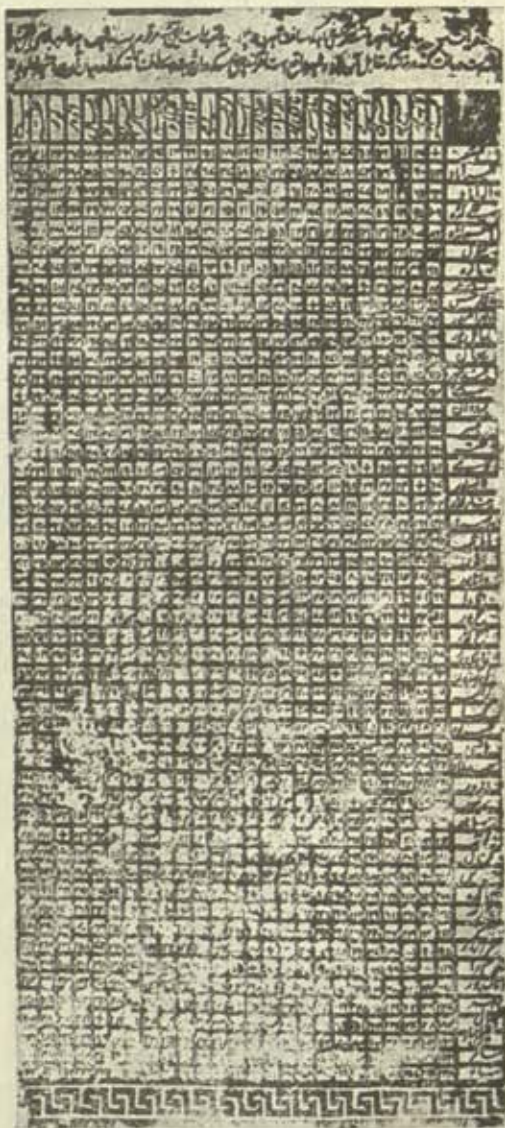
(c) An epitaph (p. 48)



SCALE : 25



(a) Chart showing distances between important towns (p. 45)



SCALE : .14

(b) Inscription from Kosi Kalan (p. 49)



SCALE : .25

# INSCRIPTION FROM THE CURZON MUSEUM, MATHURA

BY Y. K. BUKHARI

The only epigraph stored in the Curzon Museum, Mathura, is reported to have been originally found lying near a tank in the town of Kosi on the Delhi-Mathura Road and was removed to the said Museum for preservation in 1914 A.D.

The epigraph is fragmentary and badly damaged. It consists of twenty lines of writing in Arabic and Persian prose carved in crude *Naskhī* letters on a slab which measures 7" by 2'10". Some space has been left out blank between the first and second lines. The first twelve lines of the text are of religious nature comprising *Bismillāh*, the Creed, and the Throne Verse, while the rest are historical but so badly damaged that a complete decipherment of them is not possible. It seems to record the excavation of a tank. The name of the ruling monarch and that of the excavator of the tank are not clearly intelligible; the date portion is also completely effaced owing to effects of time and weather. Nevertheless, after sustained efforts, I have been able to make out the blurred portion particularly in lines 15 and 16, which, according to my reading, contain the names *I'tibār Khān Ghāzī* and *Dā'ūd Khān Quraishī*. Though the date portion is not readable, the epigraph may be assigned to the last year of *Shāh Jahān's* reign, provided of course, my reading of the name *Dā'ūd Khān Quraishī* is correct.

I have read the inscription as under :—

## TEXT

### Plate XIII (b)

- (۱) لا اله الا الله [محمد رسول الله]  
 (۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 (۱۲-۳) آية الكرسي  
 (۱۳) اين تالاب [د] ر کار خير شد  
 (۱۴) بنا . . . آب . . . خيرات نمود  
 (۱۵) اعتبار خان غازي و کار . . .  
 (۱۶) فرمايش داود خان [قریشی ؟]  
 (۱۷) . . . . .  
 (۱۸) . . . . . دار . . . . .  
 (۱۹) . . . . . از کار . . . . .  
 (۲۰) . . . . . اين . . . . .



## TRANSLATION

(1-12) Creed, *Bismillāh* and Throne Verse.<sup>1</sup>

(13) This tank was constructed for public good.

(14) .....showed charity.

(15) I'tibār Khān Ghāzī ?.....

(16) at the instance of Dā'ūd Khān (Quraishī).

(17) .....

(18) .....

(19) .....

(20) this .....

As regards Dā'ūd Khān of the inscription, I take him to be Dā'ūd Khān Quraishī who was appointed *faujdar* of Mathura, Mahāban etc., in the 30th year of Shāh Jahān's reign (1658-59 A.D.) and was given the charge of the road between Agra and Delhi with 2,000 horse.<sup>2</sup> The tank from which the pillar is said to have been recovered lies on the Delhi-Mathura road which was in Dā'ūd Khān's charge, which makes it very likely that Dā'ūd Khān of the inscription is identical with Dā'ūd Khān Quraishī. If we are correct in the above assumption, the epigraph under notice may be assigned to the last year of Shāh Jahān's reign when Dā'ūd Khān held authority in this part.

So far as I'tibār Khān, the other personage mentioned in the record, is concerned, we do not have definite information. Two persons bearing this name are mentioned in historical records, one being I'tibār Khān Nāzīr, the governor of Delhi under Akbar, and the other I'tibār Khān Khawāja Sarā, who flourished under Jahāngīr.<sup>3</sup> But as they were not contemporaries of Dā'ūd Khān Quraishī, it is difficult to identify any of them with I'tibār Khān under notice.

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, ch. II, vv. 255-56.

<sup>2</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Mu'adhiru'l-Umarā*, vol. II (Cal. 1890), p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I (Cal. 1888), pp. 65, 134-135.

## INSCRIPTION FROM THE RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER

BY Z. A. DESAI

The Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, possesses in all four inscriptions. Of them, one from **Arhai Dīn** k̄a Jhonparā at Ajmer itself, is fragmentary. The second is from Pushkar near Ajmer and was published in the *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1923-24, p. 21. The third is a modern inscription in English, Hindi and Urdu, forming the text of an order issued by Col. Dixon in 1846 A.D.; its provenance is not known. The remaining one, which is being published here, was brought from some place in the former state of Alwar, now covered by Alwar District of Rajasthan.

The inscriptional slab measures 1'3" by 3' and is slightly damaged with the result that some of its letters, especially in the left corner at the bottom, have become indistinct. But, the record is on the whole easily decipherable. It refers to the construction of a well in the reign of Aurangzeb by Muḥammad Amin, son of Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Qumī.<sup>1</sup> The object of construction is indicated in the estampage by the word "جا" meaning 'a place', but looking to the context, it is very likely that the word "چاه" (well) is intended. The inscription, as it is, does not bear any date. The script employed is *Nasta'liq* without any distinctive quality. The record comprises ten lines of writing, of which the first two, in Arabic, constitute religious text and the rest are in Persian.

It reads as follows :—

### TEXT

#### Plate XIV (a)

- |      |                                   |
|------|-----------------------------------|
| (۱)  | بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم            |
| (۲)  | لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله    |
| (۳)  | در عهد سعادت مهدي                 |
| (۴)  | و زمان دولت ابد                   |
| (۵)  | پيوند بادشاه عالم گير             |
| (۶)  | محمد اورنگزيب بهادر               |
| (۷)  | خلد الله ملكه احقر عباد الله محمد |
| (۸)  | امين ولد شمس الدين محمد           |
| (۹)  | قضى اين چاه [؟] را في سبيل الله   |
| (۱۰) | بنا فرموده تا سكان [ين زمين ؟]    |
| (۱۱) | و عامه خلايق فيض [پذيرند ؟]       |

<sup>1</sup> I have failed to trace any reference to the builder in the available historical records.



## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
  - (2) There is no god but God ; Muḥammad is the Prophet of God.
  - (3) In the auspicious reign
  - (4) and eternal government of the world-conquering ('*Alamgīr*) king,
  - (5) Muḥammad Aurangzeb Bahādur,
  - (6) may God perpetuate his kingdom, the meanest of God's creatures, Muḥammad
  - (7) Amīn, son of Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad
  - (8-9) Qumī (i.e., of Qūm), constructed this well for the sake of God, so that the residents of this place
  - (10) and general public might derive benefit therefrom.
-

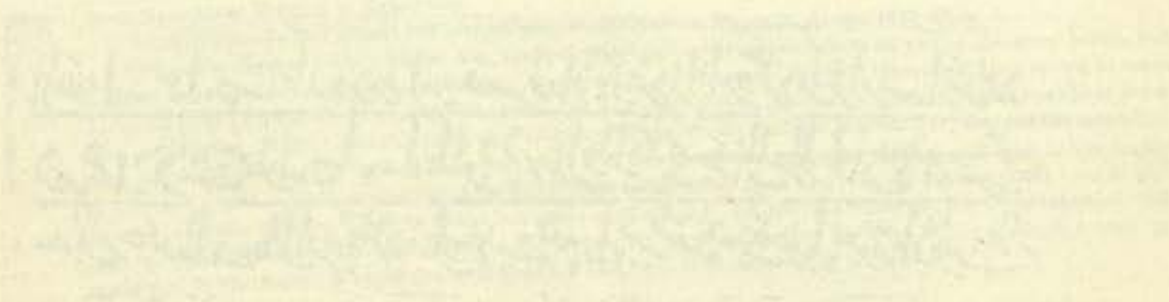




PLATE XIV

STATE MUSEUM, ALWAR

RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER

(b) Inscription of Albar, dated A.H. 989, from Nauganwa (p. 54)

(a) Inscription of a well (p. 51)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
 در عهد سعادت محمد  
 و زمان دولت اب  
 چون با شاه عالم که  
 محمد اورنگ زیب  
 حاکم ملک انور جبار داد محمد  
 امین دل شمس الهی محمد  
 فی این چار فنی سعاد  
 بنا کرد در مکان  
 عا حلالی فخر

SCALE : 13

صالح  
 تاریخ ۱۰۸۹  
 در زمان سلطان  
 محمد ابرو شاه غزنوی  
 در سال ۱۰۸۹  
 سلطان محمد غزنوی  
 در سال ۱۰۸۹  
 در سال ۱۰۸۹

SCALE : 16

(c) Inscription of a hammām, dated A. H. 1013, from Tijara (p. 55)

بنا کرده اسپندر عریض  
 گدازد رفت خوبی آن خوش مقام  
 خوشتر بخشام اسپندر است  
 غباری بگو جایی جان بخش  
 الله

SCALE : 16

(d) Inscription of Buhlul Ledi, dated A.H. 888, from Nauganwa (p. 53)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 در عهد سعادت محمد  
 در سال ۸۸۸  
 در سال ۸۸۸  
 در سال ۸۸۸

SCALE : 18



## INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE STATE MUSEUM, ALWAR

BY Z. A. DESAI

Of the three unpublished Persian inscriptions Stored in the State Museum, Alwar, the earliest belonging to the Lodi period was noticed by G. H. Ojha in his report in 1920 thus : 'A persian inscription in Tughra characters on a stone built into the wall of the house of a Meo at Naugāmā, in the Alwar State,<sup>1</sup> records the reconstruction of the gate of the fort of Naugāmā, built during the reign of Bahlol Shah and subsequently fallen, in the time of Muhammad Shah. The date can be read as the second day of Zikad but the year cannot be deciphered'.<sup>2</sup>

The record, however, mentions that the fort and the gate of the town of Nauganwa, which had fallen in ruins, were reconstructed in the reign of Buhlul Shāh and during the governorship of Masnad-i-Āli<sup>3</sup> Alāwal Khān, by Jalāl, son of Zakariyyā. The work was begun on 22nd Dhi'l-Qa'da and completed in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 888. The yellow sandstone on which the epigraph is inscribed is damaged but the inscription is legible. The slab is rectangular in shape, measuring 3'8" by 10" by 8½". The text of the record which comprises three lines in Persian is executed in *Naskh* without any trace of Tughra flourish. As very few epigraphs of Buhlul Shāh have come to light, the present one may be found interesting by the students of palaeography. It has been read as follows :—

### TEXT

#### Plate XIV (d)

- (۱) یا الله - این عمارت حصار و دروازه قصبه نوگانه که بمور ایام و کروز  
اعوام مسمار شده بود
- (۲) در عهد دولت بهلول شاه سلطان و در عمل والی ولایت مسند عالی علاولخان  
بنده درگاه حضرت رحمی
- (۳) جلال زکریا احمد جلال از سر بنا کرده بتاریخ بیست دوم ماه ذی القعدة  
و مرتب شد در ماه محرم سنه ثمانو ثمانین و ثمانمائه

### TRANSLATION

(1) O God ! This edifice of the city-wall and the gate of the town of Naugānwa, which had, through lapse of days and passage of years, come to ruins—

<sup>1</sup> Now Alwar District in Rajasthan.

<sup>2</sup> G. H. Ojha, *Annual Report on the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1919-20, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The titles *Masnad-i-Āli*, *Majlis*, etc., are frequently met with in inscriptions as well as historical works, but nowhere these have been properly explained. In one place, for example, the title *Masnad-i-Āli* is stated to mean the 'great prop' (*Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1933-34, p. 9). Dr. G. Yazdani (*ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 13, f.n. 3) tried to explain them thus : 'The titles *Majlis*, *Masnad*, *Sadr*, etc., all mean *Shāhib-i-Majlis*, *Shāhib-i-Masnad*, i.e., Lord of the assembly, Lord of the throne, Lord of the seat of honour, etc.' The clue to their exact connotation is provided in the Arabic history of Gujarat. While explaining these titles, Ḥājī Dabir states that 'and it is the custom of the men of this country to entitle the king's deputy (*nāibu'l-Muḥlag*) as *Masnad-i-Āli*, and the minister (*Wazīr*) as *Majlis-i-Āli* and he who is permitted to take a seat in the presence of the king is given the title *Majlis* to which a term in apposition to his (status) is appended'.—*Zafaru'l-Wāliḥ*, vol. II (Lond. 1921), p. 613.



(2) in the auspicious reign of Buhlul Shāh, the king and during the governorship of the governor of the district (*wāli-i-wilāyat*) Masnad-i-‘Alī ‘Alāwal Khān, the servant of the court of the compassionate Lord, (namely)

(3) Jalāl, son of Zakariyyā, son of Aḥmad, son of Jalāl constructed anew on the 22nd of the month of Dhī-l-Qa‘da. And it was ready in the month of Muḥarram, year eight hundred and eighty-eight (A. H. 888, Muḥarram=Feb.-Mar. 1483 A. D.).<sup>1</sup>

Nothing is practically known regarding Jalāl, the builder, who must have been associated with the town in some authoritative capacity; probably he was in charge of the town. The governor, too namely, ‘Alāwal Khān, probably belonging to the Khānzāda stock, does not claim any notice in the historical works of that period. The title Masnad-i-‘Alī prefixed to his name in the record shows the high status he must have enjoyed among the nobility of Buhlul Shāh. But the annals of the latter’s reign do not even mention him. According to Cunningham, Nikhumbhas were extirpated by ‘Alāwal Khān Khānzāda in Samvat 1549 (or 1482 A.D.) near the end of Buhlul Lodi’s reign,<sup>2</sup> in which case, ‘Alāwal Khān would appear to have been a son of Aḥmad Khān, and uncle of Hasan Khān Mewātī, the opponent of Bābur.<sup>3</sup> This ‘Alāwal Khān may have been connected with the foundation of Alawalpur, the remains of which, according to Major Powlett, can be traced to the east of the town of Tijara which was supposed to be the seat of the governors of Mewat. But Major Powlett is inclined to identify the founder of Alawalpur with ‘Alāwaldin alias Alam Khān Lodi, who is mentioned amongst the emperor’s forty-four officers of distinction, and who was a brother of the emperor.<sup>4</sup> This identification is far-fetched.

The other inscription in the Museum was also found from a well near the Gumbad in Naunganwa. It belongs to the reign of Akbar and records the construction of a well in the town of Naunganwa by two brothers, viz., Shahbāz Khān and Sarwar Khān karorī, sons of Nāthū Dhūsar. The epigraph comprises eight lines of which the first is in Arabic and the rest in Persian. The style of writing is *Nasta‘līq* which is of indifferent execution. The inscriptional slab is somewhat damaged and measures about 1’4” by 1’6”. The reading of the epigraph is as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XIV (b)

هو اکبر (۱)

بتاریخ ۱۰ شهر جمید الثانی سنه ۹۸۹ (۲)

در زمان بندگان حضرت جلال[ال]دین (۳)

محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی (۴)

<sup>1</sup> It is reported that the Hindi version of this inscription is to be found on a slab in the Jain Temple at Naunganwa itself; it is said to bear the date V.S. 1538, magh s.3, Thursday. I have not been able to confirm this statement.

<sup>2</sup> A. Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, vol. XX, p. 120, quotes Major Powlett for this account but I was not able to lay my hands on it at least in Powlett, *Gazetteer of Ulwar* (London, 1878).

<sup>3</sup> In Dorn’s translation of the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*, ‘Alāwal Khān is mentioned as the father of Hasan Khān Mewātī, but the corresponding passage in Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 346, does not agree with it (S.H. Hodi-vala, *Studies in Indo-Musl. Hist.* (Bomb. 1939), pp. 449-50).

<sup>4</sup> Powlett, *opp. cit.*, pp. 5, 130.

# INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE STATE MUSEUM, ALWAR

(۵) در سواد قصبه نوگانو [ه] جناب

(۶) شهباز خان و سرور خان کروری وند

(۷) ناتھو دھوسر چاہ بنا کردہ کہ

(۸) حق ملک ایشان [دا] باشد

## TRANSLATION

(1) He is great (*Akbar*).

(2) On the 10th of the month of Jamīd II, year 989 (A.H. or 12th Jul. 1581 A.D.),

(3) in the reign of His Majesty Jalālu'd-Dīn

(4) Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī,

(5) in the environs of the town of Naugānwa, the respectable

(6) Shāhbāz Khān and Sarwar Khān Karorī, sons of

(7) Nāthū Dhūsar, constructed a well,

(8) the right of (whose) property is theirs.

The builders of the well, as the appellations prefixed and suffixed to their names suggest, appear to have been men of some importance. The word Dhūsar denotes their caste which is found to exist even today.

The last inscription from the Alwar Museum was originally found at Tijara, a town in the erstwhile Alwar State. Like the previous record, it belongs to the reign of Akbar who is not mentioned in the inscription. Comprising a fragment of three verses in Persian, engraved in relief in *Nasta'liq* on a slab measuring 2'2" by 1'1", it gives the date of a *ḥammām* (bath) constructed in A. H. 1013 by Iskandar 'Isawī. The date which is yielded by the chronogram occurring in the last hemistich is also given in figure. The composer of the text is one Ghubārī. The inscription may be read as follows :—

## TEXT

### Plate XIV (c)

(۱) بنا کردہ اسکندر عیسوی چہ حمام جان بخش آن محتشم

(۲) کہ در رفعت و خوبی آن خوش مقام شد از جان فزائی بعالم علم

(۳) چو تاریخ حمام اسکندر است غباری بگو جای جان بخش جم

(۴) سنہ ۱۰۱۳



## TRANSLATION

- (1) What a life-giving *ḥammām* Iskandar-i-‘Isawī—that grand man—has constructed
- (2) that, the said pleasant abode, in respect of greatness and beauty has become celebrated in the world due to its life-refreshing quality.
- (3) Since the chronogram for the *ḥammām* of Iskandar is sought, O *Ghubārī*, say : (it is) *a place which imparts life to Jamshīd*.
- (4) Year 1013 (A.H.=1604-5 A.D.).

Iskandar, the builder of the bath, does not find mention in the annals of the period accessible to us. His epithet, ‘Isawī, which literally means related to ‘Isā (Jesus Christ), may be taken to indicate that he practised Christianity. It is very likely, however, that he is identical with Iskandar, the Armenian who is mentioned by Jahāngīr as having enjoyed his father Akbar’s favours and whose marriage with the daughter of Abdu’l-Ḥayy, the Armenian, working in the royal seraglio, was arranged by Akbar himself.<sup>1</sup> The poet *Ghubārī*, who is the composer of the fragment comprising the inscription, is not to be confounded with another poet of this period with the same pen-name, who had died about a decade earlier.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad (Ally Gurb, 1864), p. 324.

<sup>2</sup> *Badāyūnī, Muntakhabu’l-Tawārīkh*, vol. III (Cal. 1869), pp. 289-91.



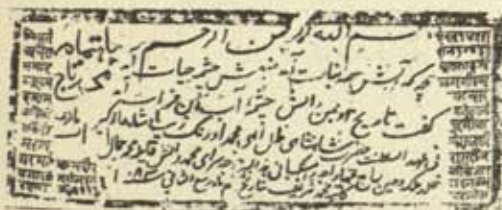


(a) Inscription of Firūz Taghluq, dated A. H. 765, from Sambhar (p. 57)



Scale : 18

(b) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1083, from Jaipur (p. 59)



Scale : 07

(c) Inscription of Bābur and his son Kāmran, dated A. H. 934, from Bharatpur (p. 61)



Scale : 17



## INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, AMBER

BY Y. K. BUKHARI

Of the three inscriptions preserved in the Archaeological Museum, Amber, near Jaipur, one is executed in cursive *Naskh* script, in too indifferent and illegible hand to admit of decipherment, while the remaining two are historically important.

The earlier of these two inscriptions is reported to have been originally fixed to a well just outside the town of Sambhar in Jaipur District of Rajasthan, on the way to Deoyani tank.<sup>1</sup> The epigraph is bilingual, consisting of ten lines in Persian prose followed by a Sanskrit version, badly affected, of nine lines. The Persian version is executed in embossed *Naskh* characters in relief, while the inscription below it is incised on the stone. The former records the construction of a step-well in the reign of Sultan Firūz Shāh Tughluq and during the governorship of Malik Kamālu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khūram, through the best efforts of Bāmdēv, son of Nathū, son of Gāngā Dev who is mentioned as *muḥī'u'l-Islām*. It is dated 1st Rabi' I, A.H. 765 (8th Dec. 1363 A.D.).

The text and translation of this inscription by Maulavi Zafar Hasan were published by Mr. Daya Ram Sahni in his monograph on Sambhar excavations.<sup>2</sup> However, the reading given there, besides being incomplete, is incorrect to a certain extent. It will not be without interest if a duly illustrated revised and complete reading of the same is given : it runs as follows :—

### TEXT

#### Plate XV(a)

- (۱) تمام شد بنا [ی] عمارة این باین فی ایام دولت
- (۲) سلطان العهد و الزمان الوائق
- (۳) بتائید الرحمن ابو المظفر فیروز شاه
- (۴) سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانہ
- (۵) و نوبت ملک کمال الدولة و الدین
- (۶) احمد خورم دام معالیه و بسعی
- (۷) مطیع الاسلام بامدیو بن
- (۸) تنہو ؟ بن کانگا دیو کہ از جہت
- (۹) باین مذکور در قصہ سنہیر نمک نصیب است
- (۱۰) فی التاریخ الغره من ربیع الاول سنہ خمس و ستین و سبعایہ

<sup>1</sup> Daya Ram Sahni, *Archaeological Remains & Excavations at Sambhar*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.



## TRANSLATION

- (1) The construction of this step-well was completed during the reign of
- (2) the king of age and time, confident
- (3) of the support of the Merciful, Abu'l-Muzaffar Firūz Shāh
- (4) Sultān—may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty—
- (5) and in the governorship of Malik Kamālu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn
- (6) Aḥmad Khūram—may his glory last for ever, and through
- (7) the best efforts of the follower of Islām, Bām Dev, son of
- (8) Nathū ? son of Gāngā Dev. (And) on account of
- (9) (the upkeep of) the said step-well, (some quantity of) salt is fixed in the town of Sambhar.
- (10) Dated the first of the month of Rabi' I, A.H. 765 (8th Dec. 1363 A.D.).

*Note on the Sanskrit Version.*

The record in Sanskrit is too badly obliterated and worn out to admit of a clear decipherment. However, the following note on it is from the Government Epigraphist, Ootacamund, who was requested to examine it.

"There is an invocation to the god Varuna at the commencement. It is dated Vikrama Śaṃvat 1420 and Śaka 1286 Mārgaśīrsha, vadi 14.<sup>1</sup> Contains the name Kamāladina in line 3. Seems to record the construction of a well by a person named Vāmadeva."

The personages referred to in the inscription deserve mention. Malik Kamālu'd-Dīn Aḥmad is mentioned as the governor of this region, but contemporary or otherwise historical records are silent on this point. They do mention three persons bearing the same title to wit, Maulānā Kamālu'd-Dīn,<sup>2</sup> Malik Kamālu'd-Dīn,<sup>3</sup> and Kamālu'd-Dīn.<sup>4</sup> Only casual references are to be found in their regard in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*. Of them the first is mentioned as a theologian in the time of Firūz Tughluq. Malik Kamālu'd-Dīn, one of the nobles of the Sultan's reign, is mentioned in connection with a conspiracy to poison Firūz's mind against prince Muḥammad, afterwards Nāsiru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, but his rank and titles are not clearly defined. The third one was a cousin of Nāsiru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh and his name also occurs in connection with a revolt. Shams Sirāj 'Afif mentions one more Malik Kamālu'd-Dīn with the suffix of Tūrtī (or Taurīt) Khān as the incharge of a factory (Jāmdār Khāna) manufacturing material for the use of animals etc., during the period of Firūz Shāh.<sup>5</sup>

Whether we can identify Malik Kamālu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khūram of the inscription under notice with any of the last mentioned three nobles, it is difficult to say with any amount of certainty, because none of the historical works mention any of them as enjoying the status of a governor, nor do they give the second part of the name, viz., Aḥmad Khūram.

<sup>1</sup> This corresponds to 5th Dec. 1363 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* (Nawal Kishore), p. 144; Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Nawal Kishore), p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142; *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150; *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>5</sup> Shams Sirāj 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Cal. 1891), p. 339.

# INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, AMBER

Likewise, the name of Bāmdev, through whose efforts the step-well was built, is not met with. However, the like of his father's name is mentioned, with the prefix of Malik to his name, by Firishṭa, in connection with his support to a pretender who was set up on the throne of Delhi by Aḥmad Ayāz as a son and successor of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.<sup>1</sup>

The other inscription is also a bilingual record written in Persian and Sanskrit. Its Persian version is executed in *Nasta'liq* characters in relief and consists of six lines, of which second and third are in Persian verse and the rest in Arabic prose with an admixture of Persian words. On the left side three words are written in a different hand which, I think, have been inscribed later. On left and right margins, there is an inscription in Sanskrit carved in *Nāgarī* characters. The epigraph assigns the construction of a well in the reign of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb and during the *rāj* of Mahārāja Rām Singh to an eunuch, Muḥammad Dāniṣh, the work having been supervised by Muḥammad Tāj. The epigraph was composed by Muḥammad Jamāl and written by Muḥammad Sharīf. It is dated the 9th Rabi' II, A.H. 1083. The slab measures 3'6"×1'3". I read the inscription as follows:—

## TEXT

### Plate XV(b)

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- (۲) چه که آبس همه نبات آمد      منبش چشمه حیات آمد
- (۳) گفت تاریخ او بمن دانش      چشمه آب آن فرات آمد
- (۴) فی عهد السلطنت حضرت شاهنشاهی ظل الهی محمد اورنگ زیب بادشاه  
عالم گیر
- (۵) خلد ملکه و حین راج مهاراجه رام سنگهه بانی هذا البئر خوجه سرای  
محمد دانش قایله محمد جمال
- (۶) کاتبه محمد شریف تاریخ نهم ماه ربیع الثانی سنه ۱۰۸۳

On the left side.

- (۱) باهتمام
- (۲) محمد تاج.....<sup>2</sup>

## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
- (2) (This is) a well whose water is as sweet as sugar and whose source is in the Fountain of Life.
- (3) Wisdom<sup>3</sup> conveyed its chronogram to me: *Euphrates is (merely) a spring of its water.*
- (4-5) The founder of this well (constructed) during the reign of his Majesty the emperor, shadow of God, Muḥammad Aurangzeb Bādshāh-i-Ālamgīr, may his kingdom endure, and in the rule of Mahārāja Rām Singh, is the eunuch Muḥammad Dāniṣh. Composed by Muḥammad Jamāl (and)

<sup>1</sup> Firishṭa, *opp. cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> There are a couple of unintelligible words after this.

<sup>3</sup> There is a pun on the word *Dāniṣh* which means 'wisdom' and is also the name of the builder.



(6) written by Muḥammad Sharif on the 9th of the month of Rabi' II, A.H. 1083 (25th Jul. 1672 A.D.).

*On the left side.*

Under the supervision of Muḥammad Tāj.....

*Sanskrit version.*

This is dated Samvat 1729 and San 1083 (the figure in decade place is not clear but it must be 8, for it corroborates with the figure in Persian text and corresponds to the Samvat 1729 recorded in the Sanskrit version). Refers to the reign of Pātsāha Ālamgīra Mahamada Auvarāṅgajeva and mentions Abhairāmasāha Thākūra and Rāmsingha.<sup>1</sup>

Mahārāja Rām Singh, referred to in the epigraph, was the elder son of Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh Kachhwāha of Amber and flourished in the reigns of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb. His father having introduced him to Shāh Jahān, he entered imperial service in the sixteenth regnal year (1643 A.D.). In the nineteenth year, when the emperor intended to go from Lahore to Kabul, he received a robe of honour and was promoted to the rank of 1000 (*hazāri*) with 1000 horse. He progressed gradually until he rose to the high rank of 3000 with 1500 horse.

He sided with Dārā Shukūh in the battle of Samūgarh. At the discomfiture of this battle he attached himself to Aurangzeb and was deputed along with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān and Mu'azzam Khān to pursue Shujā'. In March 1666 A.D., when Shīvājī visited the then capital, Agra, Aurangzeb sent Rām Singh along with Mukhlis Khān to accord him a warm reception. On the confinement of Shīvājī, Rām Singh was appointed guard to watch the former's activities and movements. When Shīvājī effected his escape from Agra, the emperor suspected Rām Singh and deprived him of his rank and pay. Later, the emperor transferred him to the pestilential province of Assam where he displayed his skill as general of the army for a period of about 9 years from 1667 to 1676 A.D.

On the death of his father, which occurred in the tenth regnal year of Aurangzeb (1668 A.D.), Rām Singh was again graced with many royal favours. He received a robe of honour, a sword with golden case, an Arab horse with golden harness and the title of Rāja and was elevated to the higher rank of 4000 with 4000 horse. In 1676 A.D., he was recalled from Assam and a year later he retired from the imperial service and renounced the world to devote himself chiefly to meditation and spiritual contemplation.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription under notice contains the date A.H. 1083 (1672 A.D.) which tends to show that this inscription was carved after he had incurred the displeasure of the emperor referred to above and that the latter's sovereignty was acknowledged by him as a loyal subject.

As regards the other personages referred to in the record, we do not possess any information.

<sup>1</sup> Note by the Government Epigraphist, Ootacamund.

<sup>2</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'at al-Umarā*, vol. II (Cal. 1890), pp. 301-3; Faruqi, *Aurangzeb and His Times* (Bomb. 1935), pp. 358, 360, etc.

# INSCRIPTION FROM THE STATE MUSEUM, BHARATPUR

By Y. K. BUKHARI

The following inscription which forms the only exhibit in the Persian and Arabic section of the epigraphical gallery of the Museum, was found lying loose near the Koṭhī Khāṣ where it was used for washing clothes by local people until its removal to the Museum.<sup>1</sup> It is carved on a granite stone slab measuring 2'×2'11" in embossed *Naskhī* letters, which, judging from the present state of the epigraph, appear to be executed in fairly good style.

The slab is of ogee type arch, each spandrel of which bears a small medallion inscribed with the first Muslim Creed. The border of the arch contains the *Nād-i-'Alī*, while the main text comprising the historical portion appears in the centre in eleven lines, of which the last four are too badly damaged to admit of clear decipherment. The epigraph records the construction of a *chabūṭara* (a platform) in the reign of Zahiru'd-Din Muḥammad Bābur, during the governorship of his son, Prince Muḥammad Kāmrān by a certain noble in A.H. 934 (1528 A.D.). The language of the epigraph, barring the religious texts in Arabic, is Persian. It has been read as follows:—

## TEXT

### Plate XV (c)

In the centre.

الله (۱)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (۲)

این چنوتره در عهد دولت حضرت (۳)

سلطان السلاطین خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه (۴)

و اعلی امره و شانه حضرت ظهیر الدین محمد بابر غازی (۵)

در عمل نوبت شاهزاده عالمیان محمد کامران بهادر بنا کرد (۶)

امیر معظم و مکرم نصیر الدولت و الدین ظهیر الاسلام و المسلمین (۷)

امیر خان محمد قرشی ؟ سلمه الله<sup>۱</sup> الله تعالی عن الافات و البلیات بناریخ (۸)

[ذی] لقعد اربع ثلثین و تسعمایه . . . . . (۹)

[اسما] عیل . . . . . (۱۰)

از شرف . . . . . (۱۱)

<sup>1</sup> The Curator of the Museum, Mr. Chaturbhujdas Chaturvedi; deserves our thanks for having drawn attention to this record, which is being published here with the permission of the Superintendent of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Duplication of this word. If the reading is correct, can only be ascribed to the inadvertence of the engraver.

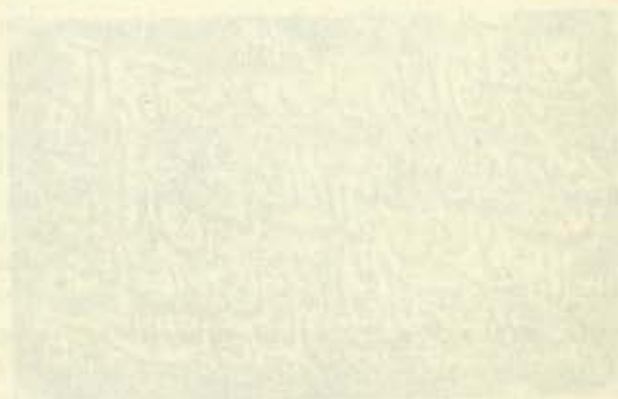
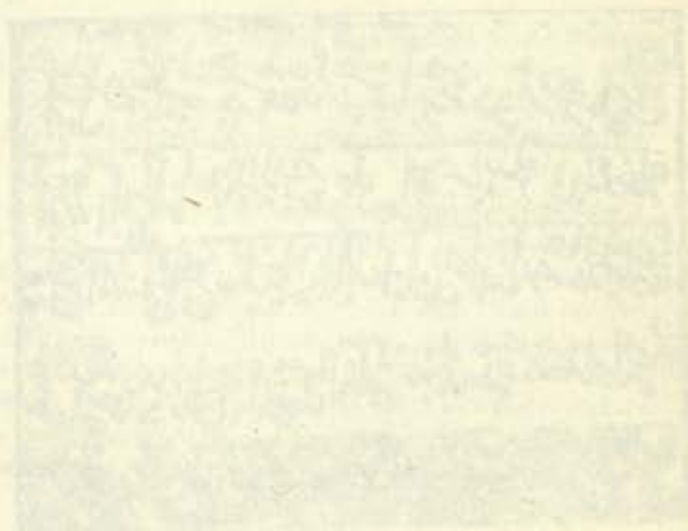


## TRANSLATION

- (1) Allāh.
- (2) In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Clement.
- (3) This *ḥabūṭara* (platform) was built during the reign of His Majesty,
- (4) King of kings—may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,
- (5) and elevate his dignity and position—His Majesty, *Ẓahīru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur*,  
the champion of the Faith,
- (6) (and) during the governorship of the prince of the people of the world, *Muḥammad Kāmraṇ Bahādur*,
- (7) by the exalted and generous noble, *Naṣīru'd-Dawlat wa'd-Dīn, Ẓahīru'l-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn*,
- (8) Amīr *Khān Muḥammad Qarashī*, may God protect him from all calamities and evils  
on the date
- (9) .....the month of *Dhī'l-Qa'd*, A.H. 934 (Jul.-Aug. 1528 A.D.).
- (10) .....[*Ismā*]'il.<sup>1</sup>
- (11) .....

Nothing could be traced about Amīr *Khān Muḥammad Qarashī* in historical records.

<sup>1</sup> This name, read tentatively, may perhaps be interpreted as the name of the sur.b.





(a) Inscription recording restoration of Kirat Chand's Pūsāl, dated A. H. 959, from Nagaur (p. 63)



SCALE : 17

(c) Inscription of Shāh Jahān, dated A. H. 1040, from Nagaur (p. 65)



SCALE : 18

(b) Inscription of Akbar, dated A. H. 973, from Nagaur (p. 64)



SCALE : 17

(d) Inscription referring to a victory, dated A. H. 1092, from Jodhpur (p. 66)



SCALE : 1



## INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SARDAR MUSEUM, JODHPUR

BY DR. M. ISHAQUE

Of the following four inscriptions exhibited in the Sardar Museum at Jodhpur, one belongs to the pre-Mughal period, while the rest are dated in the reigns of emperors Akbar, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb respectively.

The first three records of this group are reported to have been brought to the Museum from Nagaur, in the district of the same name in Rajasthan, while the fourth is said to have been found at Jodhpur itself. The Nagaur inscriptions were noticed in the *Annual Report of the Sardar Museum & Sumer Public Library, Jodhpur*, for the year ending 30th September, 1924.<sup>1</sup>

The first inscription, in chronological order, is bilingual and is said to have come from a *pūsāl* at Nagaur. It forms the text of a declaration of redemption and restoration of the *pūsāl* of Kīrat Chand effected by Masnad-i-Ālī Yūsuf Daulat Khān Husain Sūr, at the intervention of Shāikh Shāikh Sulaimān on the 12th Rabi' I, A.H. 959. There are two lines in *Nāgarī* characters below the Persian version, but the letters therein have become indistinct and hence their purport is not clear. The calligraphy of the Persian portion is of an ordinary type, the script being *Naskh* and the inscriptional slab (23" × 18") is also slightly damaged: these facts have rendered its decipherment difficult. However, it has been possible to decipher the record completely, the text whereof reads as under:—

### TEXT

#### Plate XVI (a)

این سطور تحریر پیوسته در معنی آنک بتاریخ دوازدهم ماه ربیع الاول سنه ۹۵۹  
یک پوسال باسم بهتارک کیره چند را برای حسبه الله تعالی بندگان حضرت شیخ المشایخ شیخ  
سایمان خلاص کنانید[ه] دهانید از مسند عالی یوسف دولتخان حسین سور کسی بعد این تاریخ  
از جهت پوسال مذکور کیره چند را مضرتی و رنجش دهد او را سوگند طلاق

### TRANSLATION

These lines have been inscribed to purport that on the 12th Rabi'u'l-Awwal, 959 (8th March, 1552), a *Pūsāl* (school) standing in the name of Bhaṭṭārī Kīrat Chand was caused to be redeemed and restored by Masnad-i-Ālī Yūsuf Daulat Khān Husain Sūr, at the intervention, for the sake of God only, of His Holiness, the Shāikh of Shāikhs, Shāikh Sulaimān. Anyone who after this date causes inconvenience or harm to Kīrat Chand, on account of the aforesaid *pūsāl*, shall incur the oath of *Talāq* (divorce).

The date of the inscription thus falls in the reign of Islām Shāh of the Sūr dynasty. It is an interesting record inasmuch as it has preserved unto posterity an example of equity and tolerance whereby a Muslim divine used his good offices and influence to get a *pūsāl* of a

<sup>1</sup> About twenty inscriptions from Nagaur have been published in the *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1949-50, pp. 35-53. (We are thankful to the Superintendent of Archaeology, Government of Rajasthan, and the Curator of the Sardar Museum for allowing us to publish these inscriptions.—Ed.)



fellow townsman, professing another faith, vacated and unpossessed. Unfortunately, no details are forthcoming as to under what circumstances the *pūsāl* had come to be occupied, presumably, by the state officials. Though the name Yūsuf Daulat Khān Sūr does not find mention in available records, it is clear that he was a noble of the first rank, as his title Masnad-i-Ālī<sup>1</sup> would suggest; he is likely to have been connected with the ruling family.

The second inscription was found on a step-well situated in the old fort at Nagaur, called Amar Singh Jī Kā Qal'a. Epigraphed in *Nasta'liq* of a fair type, on a slab of marble measuring 17" by 27", it contains five lines of Persian prose commemorating the completion, in A. H. 973, of 'a fountain of the water of life' (i.e., a step-well) during the reign of Emperor Akbar (A.H. 963-1014/A.D. 1556-1605), by Ḥusain Qulī Khān.<sup>2</sup> The latter has to his credit the construction, in A.H. 972, at Nagaur itself, of a mosque, the inscription on which has been published in a previous issue of this series.<sup>3</sup> Both the inscriptions are almost identical in their style of writing and hence it can be safely presumed that the present inscription was also written by the scribe of the mosque inscription, namely, Ḥājī Darwish Muḥammad, known as Ramzī.<sup>4</sup>

The inscription may be read as follows :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XVI (b)

این بنای چشمه حیات در عهد ایام خلافت حضرت  
 ظل الله المود من عند الله جلال الدین محمد اکبر  
 بادشاه خلد الله ملکه و سلطانہ بفرموده  
 خان رفیع الشان حسین قلی خان سمت  
 اتمام یافت فی شہور سنہ ۹۷۳ ثلاث و سبعین و تسعمایہ

#### TRANSLATION

The construction of this fountain of life received completion during the days of the caliphate of His Majesty, the shadow of Allāh, who is the recipient of support from Allāh, Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh, may Allāh endure his kingdom and sovereignty for ever, by the order of the Khān of lofty position, Ḥusain Qulī Khān, in the months of the year A.H. 973 (1565-66 A.D.).

The slab bearing the third inscription measures 20" by 12", and is reported to have been originally fixed on a mosque at Nagaur. The record comprises seven lines in Persian prose, inscribed in *Nasta'liq* of an ordinary type. It seems to have been the first attempt of the engraver, as is clear from the uneven size of the letters, lack of proper arrangement of lines, etc. In some places, letters were left out first and supplied afterwards, which accounts for

<sup>1</sup> For a note on the correct meaning of this title, please see p. 53, f.n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A short account of Ḥusain Qulī Khān's career is given in the *EIM*, 1949-50, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. XVII (b).

their smallness in size. The epigraph mentions the construction of a mosque in the Maḥalla-i-Arrāyān by Taiyib, son of Shahdād, during the reign of emperor Shāh Jahān and the governorship of Maḥābat Khān, Sipah Sālār, Khān-i-Khānān-i-Thānī.<sup>1</sup> It is dated the first day of Muḥarram, A. H. 1040 and has been read as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XVI (c)

الله اکبر

بنا کرد مسجد در محله ارایان طیب بن

شهداد بتوفیق الله تعالى در عهد

سلطان شهاب الدین صاحب قران دومی شاه

جهان غازی و در عمل نواب مستطاب

سید سالار خان خانان ثانی مهابت خان تحریر فی التاریخ شهر محرم

الحرام غره سنه ۱۰۴۰

## TRANSLATION

Allāh is great. By the grace of the Exalted Allāh, Taiyib, son of Shahdād built the mosque in the quarter of Arrāyān, during the reign of Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn, the second Ṣāhib-i-Qirān (Lord of the happy conjunction), champion of the Faith, Shāh Jahān and during the governorship of His Excellency, Nawwāb, Sipah Sālār (commander-in-chief), Khān-i-Khānān, the second, Maḥābat Khān. Written on the first of Muḥarram, A.H. 1040 (31st Jul. 1630 A.D.).

The fourth and the last inscription of the group comprises six lines of which four constitute a *qit'a* of two verses in Persian,<sup>2</sup> executed in tolerable *Nasta'liq* style on a slab which was originally found at the Phulerao Gate at Jodhpur. The inscription which is dated A.H. 1092, in the reign of emperor Aurangzeb, commemorates a victory that 'added to the splendour of Islām'. The nature or details of the victory are, however, not clearly stated in the epigraph. The most notable historical event of this year (A.H. 1092) in this part of Rajputana was the rebellion of the emperor's fourth son, Prince Muḥammad Akbar, which had created a crisis for the former, though only for a short time. The Prince who was supported by the Rajputs was ultimately put to flight.<sup>3</sup> This victory is, in all probability, the one referred to in the epigraph.

<sup>1</sup> For another inscription belonging to the period of the governorship of Maḥābat Khān, see *ibid.*, p. 43, where a short account of Maḥābat Khān's career is also given.

<sup>2</sup> The metre of these verses is *Mutaqārib*.

<sup>3</sup> For details, see J. N. Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzeb*, vol. III (Cal. 1921), pp. 353-368.



The tablet bearing the inscription measures 19" by 14" and the record reads as follows :—

## TEXT

*Plate XVI (d)*

(۱) هو

(۲) بهنگام فرجام و وقت سعید

(۳) ز آواز هاتف بگوشم رسید

(۴) شده رونق حصن اسلام را

(۵) ازین فتح باب عنایت پدید

(۶) سنه ۱۰۹۲

## TRANSLATION

(1) He (is Allāh).

(2-3) At a pleasant time and an auspicious hour, a voice from Heaven reached my ear (saying) :

(4-5) By this triumph, the gate of Divine favour opened for the splendour of the fort of Islām.

(6) 1092 (A.R. or 1681 A.D.).

## INSCRIPTION FROM THE VICTORIA HALL MUSEUM, UDAIPUR

By Z. A. DESAI

The epigraphical gallery of the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur contains only one Persian inscription which was found lying loose in the fort of Chitor and removed to the Museum in 1891 A.D. by the late Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha.<sup>1</sup> The record, which is fragmentary, is nevertheless interesting, not only because it is one of the few surviving Muslim inscriptions found at Chitor, but also because it throws new light on the history of that place under Muslim rule. It belongs to the reign of Ghiyāth-u'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh (1320-25 A.D.), and mentions Asadu'd-Dīn Arsalān as the builder of some construction, the nature of which is not known. The extant portion of the slab (4' 2" by 1' 10") is well preserved, and contains nine hemistichs in Persian carved horizontally in three lines. A considerable portion of the original epigraph, containing hemistichs that stated the nature and year of construction is lost. Of the date, the month viz., Jumādīn'l-Awwal is preserved, but the year and the day of the month are missing.<sup>2</sup>

The epigraph is inscribed in relief in *Naskh* script which is in general conformity with the style of writing employed in inscriptions of this period. It has been read as follows :—

### TEXT

#### Plate XVII (a)

[خ]دای ملک سلیمان و تاج و تخت و نگین	(۱)
یگانه ختم سلاطین عصر تغلقشاه	جو آفتاب جهانگیر و بل که ظل اله
[ـ]ریر مملکت از پای او مزین باد	(۲)
که گشت محکم ازو عدل و داد را بنیاد	مدار ملک اسدالدین ارسلان جواد
جمادے الاولی گذشته بد ایام	(۳)
جزاء حسن عمل را یکی هزار دهاد	خدا بفضل مرین خیر را قبول کناد

### TRANSLATION

(1) ..... master of the kingdom of Solomon, lord of the crown, the throne and the signet,

(who is) world-conquering like the sun or rather, the shadow of God, the unique, the seal of the kings of the age, Tughluq Shāh

(2) ..... may the throne of the realm be bedecked by his feet.

The pivot of the kingdom, Asadu'd-Dīn Arsalān, the generous, through whom the edifice of justice and equity has become consolidated

<sup>1</sup> G. H. Ojha, *Annual Report on the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1920-21, p.2. He also published its text in his *Udaipur Rājya Kā Itihās*, vol. I (Ajmer, V. S. 1888), p. 197, f.n. 1.

From the portion of the text giving the month, it appears that the day was either 2nd, 3rd, 6th, 9th, 10th or 30th.



(3) ..... days had passed in the month of Jumādī I.

May God, by His Grace, accept this charitable deed and give him reward for it in the proportion of thousand to one.

Malik Asadu'd-Dīn Arsalān is apparently the nephew (brother's son) of the Sultan who had appointed him in the post of the *nāib-i-bārbak* of his realm in A. H. 720 (1320 A.D.), the year of his accession to the throne.<sup>1</sup> Historical works, unfortunately, do not give much details of his career, save that he had taken part in the battles that Tughluq had fought against *Khusraw Khān*.<sup>2</sup> We do not hear of him any more in the annals of the reigns of either *Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh* or his successor, though it is obvious that he must have held an important position in the state. But, from the present as well as another inscription found in the tomb of *Ghaibī Pīr* at Chitor,<sup>3</sup> we know for the first time that Malik Asadu'd-Dīn was already governor of Chitor under his uncle's regime, and presumably continued in the post until at least a few months after the accession of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

These two inscriptions are, thus, the only so far known pieces of evidence asserting the direct control of the Sultans of Delhi over Chitor, and refuting the fanciful story of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji's recall of his son, *Khiḍr Khān* from Chitor, latter's replacement by Māldeya Chauhān, defeat of the latter (or his son) by Mahārānā Hammīr, interference of the then Sultan of Delhi, Muḥammad bin Tughluq, the latter's attack of Chitor and his arrest at the hands of Hammīr, etc.<sup>4</sup> According to this story, after the recall of the Muslim governor at Chitor by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji, right upto the year of accession of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, Delhi did not exercise direct authority over Chitor, whereas the inscriptions under notice prove otherwise. Moreover, though it is not on record as to whether Asadu'd-Dīn Arsalān was made to succeed a previous governor or not, it is more than probable that he took charge of Chitor from a governor of the pre-Tughluq rule. For, a fresh appointment would necessarily imply reconquest of Chitor by *Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh* which is not known to students of history. Had only the Muslim inscriptions at Chitor, which have disappeared along with the buildings they once adorned, survived, they would have furnished new information so essential for the history of that place during the period under reference.<sup>5</sup>

#### APPENDIX

##### *Inscription of Muḥammad bin Tughluq from Chitor.\**

The slab bearing this inscription is built up immediately above the floor into the back wall of the tomb of *Ghaibī Pīr*, situated about a mile or so from the Delhi Gate of the town. Measuring 43" by 21", it is divided into twenty panels, containing an inscription of ten verses in Persian running horizontally. The style of writing is *Naskh*.

<sup>1</sup> Barani, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Cal. 1862), p. 428; Yahyā, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Cal. 1931), p. 93. Barani at one place (p. 423) gives his title as *Sadru'd-Dīn*, which is a copyist's error.

<sup>2</sup> Amīr *Khusraw*, *Tughluq Nāma* (Hyderabad, 1933), pp. 95, 122, 124; 'Isāmī, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Agra, 1938), pp. 372, 375, 376.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix to this article.

<sup>4</sup> For details of this account, see G. H. Ojha, *Udaipur Rājya Kā Itihās*, pp. 189-198, 233-36, etc. See also, Agha Mahdi Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* (London, 1938), pp. 94-100.

<sup>5</sup> Besides the two inscriptions under notice, and 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji's inscription (G. H. Ojha, *URI*, p. 193; *ARIE*, 1955-56, App. C, no. 126), three fragmentary inscriptions of 'Alāu'd-Dīn's reign (*ibid.*, nos. 128-130) were recently brought to my notice by my revered teacher, Mr. N. S. Sayyid, B.A., of Udaipur.

<sup>6</sup> This inscription has been noticed by G. H. Ojha in his *ARRMA*, 1921-22, p. 2, where it has been wrongly assigned to 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji. The notice reads: 'It commences as usual with the praise of the Almighty. Then follow an eulogy of Sultan Shāh-i-Jahān (lord of the world) Muḥammad Shāh (Alāuddin Khalji) and the record of the building of a Serai by that Sultan on the 19th of Shawwāl in the Hijri year 705 (A.D. 1306)'.





(a) Inscription of ʿIyāthū'd-Dīn Tu'luq Shāh from Chitorgarh Fort (p. 67)

SCALE : 1

(b) Inscription on the Ghaibi Pir's Dargāh, Chitorgarh, dated A. H. 725, in the reign of Muḥammad bin Tuḡluq (p. 69)



SCALE : 17



The record, after praising the Almighty and eulogising the ruling monarch, Muḥammad Shāh, son of Tughluq Shāh, mentions the construction in Shawwāl A.H. 725 of a beautiful Sultānsarā at Khidrābād,<sup>1</sup> by Asadu'd-Dīn who was the governor of that place. It ends with a prayer for the long life of the building and its builder. The date is given in words in the last verse. The epigraph runs as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XVII (b)

مالک و کار ساز شاه و گدای	(۱) شکر مر بادشاه هر دو سرای
تاج بر فرق شان نهاده اوست	ملک شاهان دهر داده اوست
بادشاه همه زمین و زمان	(۲) که بعد خدا یگان جهان
شهر یار زمانه ملک پناه	نام شاه جهان محمد شاه
تخت گیری که بخت یاور اوست	(۳) تاج بخشی که ملک در خور اوست
بادشاهیست تا قیامت باد	خاتش از حادثه سلامت باد
بهر خلق خدا بخوب اختر	(۴) کرد سلطان سرای خوش منظر
این چنین خوش مقام کرد آباد	اسدالدین ملک بخضر آباد
صاحب خیر و خیر باقی باد	(۵) تا جهان ز آدمی بود آباد
هفصد و بیست پنج بود از سال	بود نه روز رفته از شوال

## TRANSLATION

(1) Thanks to the Master of both the worlds, the Lord and Regulator of affairs of the prince as well as the pauper, by

Whom the realm of the kings of the world is bestowed, (and) by Whom the crown on their heads is placed,

(2) that, in the reign of the master of the world, the king of the earth and time—

the name of the king of the world is Muḥammad Shāh, (who is) the monarch of time and refuge of the kingdom—

(3) a crown-bestower, of whom the kingdom is worthy, (and) a powerful monarch<sup>2</sup> who is favoured by Luok,

may his person be immune from accident (and) may his sovereignty last till the (day of) Resurrection,

(4) the Sultānsarāi of pleasing appearance, for the creatures of God, was built at an auspicious moment.

Asadu'd-Dīn, the governor at Khidrābād, has constructed such a beautiful place.

<sup>1</sup> Chitor was named Khidrābād by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji after his son Khidr Khān : Amīr Khusraw, Khawāṣṣu'l-Futūḥ, Eng. tr. (Madras, 1931), p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Lit., a throne-seizer.



(5) As long as the world is populated by men, may this charitable deed as well as its master endure !

Nine days had passed from the month of Shawwāl (and) the year was seven hundred and twenty-five (9th Shawwāl, A.H. 725=18th Sep. 1325 A.D.).

In the end, I express my thanks to the Superintendent of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur, and the Curator of the Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur, for having offered all facilities in the study of the present inscription.

# INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, BIJAPUR

By DR. S. B. SAMADI

## INSCRIPTION NO. 1

This inscription is carved on a slab of stone measuring 13" by 37" which was originally fixed into a recess in the parapet of the north-west wall of the Belgaum Fort. The text comprises three verses in Persian written horizontally in six lines. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of a fairly good type.

This epigraph, which records the foundation of the fort-wall by Ya'qūb 'Alī Khān, has been noticed by James Burgess and Blochmann, and also in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.<sup>1</sup> The date of construction, according to the reading of Blochmann, which has since been accepted, is A.H. 937 : Blochmann considered the words "دیوار قوی تر" as containing the date. But this is incorrect. From the last verse it is quite clear that the intended date is contained in the words

"دیوار قوی تر همه جا بنیاد"

which on calculation work out to A.H. 1058. Any further doubts regarding this date should now be set at rest, as it is also confirmed by another inscription from Belgaum fort composed by the scribe of the present inscription, namely Dabir ; this inscription, which is now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, is executed by the same engraver, as is clear from its style of writing which is identical in both the epigraphs ; it contains a chronogram yielding A.H. 1057 as the date of construction of the fort-wall, during the time of Khān Muḥammad.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription under study reads as follows :—

### TEXT

#### Plate XVIII (a)

- (۱) یعقوب علیخان که ازو دلشاد است
- (۲) و ز مرحمتش خا[نه] جان آباد است
- (۳) دیوار حصار را اساس از استحکام
- (۴) چون مدد سکندری قوی بنهاد ؟ است
- (۵) تاریخ مرتب شدنش گفته دبیر
- (۶) دیوار قوی تر همه جا بنیاد است

<sup>1</sup> J. Burgess, *Report on the first Season's Operations, etc.*, Arch. Surv. Ind., New Imp. Series (Lond. 1874), p. 5 ; Blochmann, 'Persian Inscriptions from Belgaum, etc.', *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV (1876), p. 7 ; *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XXI, Belgaum, p. 535.

<sup>2</sup> It is numbered 85 in the epigraphical gallery of the said museum. This inscription is the same as given by Burgess, *opp. cit.*, p. 5, with plate. I am thankful to Dr. Z. A. Desai for this note on the date and also for his suggestions in the readings of and notes on these inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> The metre in these verses is one employed in *Rubā'ī*.



## TRANSLATION

- (1) Ya'qūb 'Alī Khān, on account of whom everybody is glad of heart,
- (2) and due to whose kindness, the house of soul is prosperous,
- (3-4) has laid, for the wall of the fort, a foundation as strong as the wall of Alexander.
- (5) Dabīr has composed the chronogram of its completion.
- (6) It is : '*a wall with strong foundation everywhere*'.

Nothing can be traced in historical records about Ya'qūb 'Alī Khān who seems to have been in charge of Belgaum, which at the time of the record, formed part of the Bijapur kingdom.

## INSCRIPTION NO. 2

This inscription was also found from the Belgaum fort ; the arch-shaped tablet which is 29" from apex to bottom and is 16" wide, was set up in the south-east part of the fort.<sup>1</sup> The record is more pleasing than the previous one in style of writing which is elegant *Thulth*. Its text comprises eight lines of which the first constitutes the phrase 'Yā Fattāh', the next six contain three verses in Persian, and the last one gives the name of the engraver. The epigraph refers to the rebuilding of the wall of the fort after it had collapsed due to heavy rains. It further states that 'Abdu'l-Husain was the *amin* of the place when the reconstruction took place.

The text, engraved by 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, reads as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XVIII (b)

(۱) یا فتاح

(۲) ز باران قتاده حصار از زمین

(۳) به بستند مضبوط او را متین

(۴) شده مستعد از سر و پا تمام

(۵) بهنگام عبد الحسین امین

(۶) نوشتم حساب ز تاریخ هجرت

(۷) سنه الف و سه دان دگر اربعین

(۸) کتبه عبد العزیز

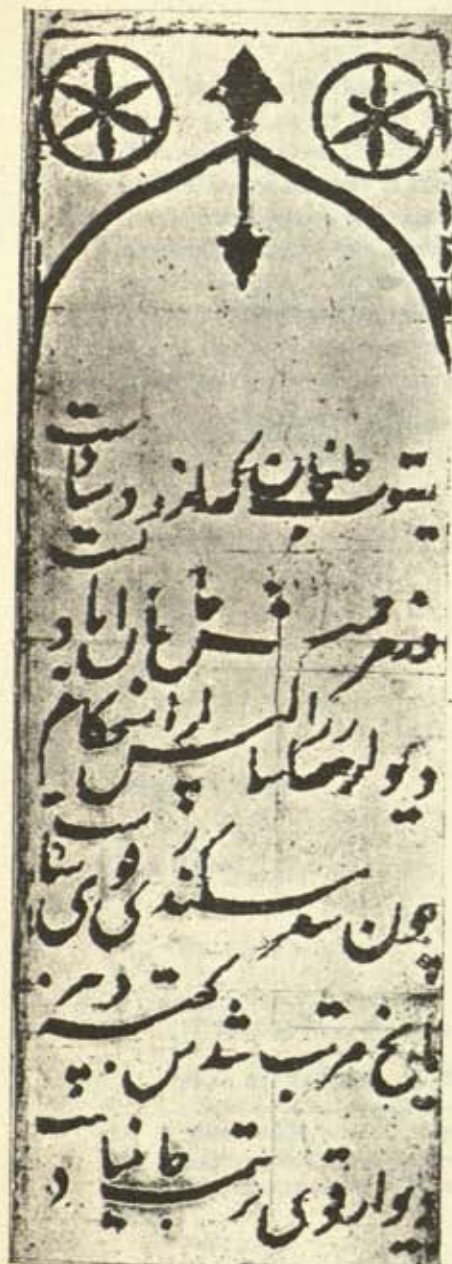
## TRANSLATION

- (1) O Opener !
- (2) The fort-wall had collapsed due to rains ;
- (3) it was again made strong and firm.

<sup>1</sup> Burgess, *opp. cit.* ; Blochmann, *opp. cit.* ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, *opp. cit.*



(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 1058, from Belgaum Fort (p. 71)



SCALE : 17

(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 1043, from Belgaum Fort (p. 72)



SCALE : 13

(c) Inscription recording an endowment, from Bijapur (p. 73)





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- (4) It was entirely renovated
- (5) in the time of 'Abdu'l-Husain, the *amin*.
- (6) I wrote down a reckoning from the Hijra era.
- (7) Know (it) to be one thousand and fortythree (A.H. 1043=1633-34 A.D.).
- (8) Written by 'Abdu'l-'Aziz.

## INSCRIPTION NO. 3

According to Bashirud-Din Ahmad, this inscription was found on a square platform, known as the *Chilla* of Pir Bāley Sāhib, situated on the back of the mosque of Malik Sandal at Bijapur.<sup>1</sup> The slab measures 17" by 15" and contains four lines of writing the first two being religious text in Arabic and the rest in Persian—covered by a thick border; the text written horizontally within the bordered space is further continued on the bottom and left margins. The epigraph mentions the endowment of two gardens for the maintenance of a mosque, the identity of which cannot be established now. As it is, apart from the mosque of Malik Sandal referred to above, there is a beautiful small mosque called Zamarrud Masjid to the south of the *Chilla*;<sup>2</sup> but it is difficult to say if this is the mosque the endowment was intended for. Likewise, the inscription does not throw any light on the name of the donor of the endowment.

The inscription is carved in ordinary *Naskh* and reads as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate XVIII (c)

(۱) نصر من الله وفتح قريب و بشر

(۲) المومنين يا محمد يا علي - دو باغ

(۳) دو چاور زمین برای مسجد وقف است هر که طمع

*Border at the base.*

(۴) کند در لعنت خدا است ماه رجب

*Left border.*

(۵) المرجب شهر سنه [تسعمایه] احدى اربعين

## TRANSLATION

(1) Help is from God and victory near; and deliver good news

(2) to the faithful. O Muḥammad! O 'Alī! Two gardens

<sup>1</sup> Bashirud-Din Ahmad, *Wāq'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijāpūr*, vol. II (Agra, 1915), pp. 92-93. (This is perhaps the same inscription as one referred to by H. Cousens in his *Notes on the Buildings and other Antiquarian remains at Bijapur*, Bombay, 1890, p. 90, no. 457, but the text given there is nothing more than a meaningless jumble. Ed.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> Above the letter "ن" there is probably the date given in figures which could not be deciphered; the middle figure is definitely 4.—Ed.



- (3) (comprising?) two *chāwar* of land have been endowed for the mosque. Whosoever covets  
 (4) it, will be liable to the curse of God. In the month of Rajab,  
 (5) *Shuhūr* year 941 (1535 A.D.).

The portion of the slab on the borders is badly affected especially in the part containing the date. Bashirud-Din Ahmad reads the date as “تسع اربعين الف” but the words “احدى اربعين” are distinct in the estampage, while between the words “شهور” and “احدى” there is a lacuna on the stone with only the horizontal stroke of the letter “س” being visible. Hence, the word here should have been either “تسعمائة” or “سبعماية”. Taking into account the style of writing of the record, I have preferred the former.

## INSCRIPTION NO. 4

This epigraph was noticed first by Cousens whose reading, apart from being incomplete, is hopelessly corrupt.<sup>1</sup> This reading was sought to be improved upon by Dr. M. Nazim<sup>2</sup> who also left out several words undeciphered.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the text has not been illustrated by either of them. A full reading of it is, therefore, being published here along with its facsimile.

The inscription is engraved in embossed letters on a slab of stone (22" by 16") which was preserved in the *Āthār Maḥal* before its removal to the Museum.<sup>4</sup> Consisting of nine lines of Persian prose executed in *Naskh* in an indifferent hand, it purports to the building and endowment of five shops for meeting various items of expenditure incurred for the upkeep of the mosque of Amīnū'l-Mulk. The builder of the shops, namely, *Khān-i-A'zam Jannat Khān*, is stated to have been the *nāib-i-ghaibat* under 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I (1558-80 A.D.). The epigraph was written on Thursday, 11th Rabi' I, A.H. 967 and reads as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XIX (a)

- (۱) غرض از تحریر این سطور اینست که پنج منزل دکان که پیوسته یکدیگر واقع  
 است طرف راست شاه بازار  
 (۲) قصبه معامله بیجاپور کنره طول آن دکانهای مذکور سی گز و نیم و عرض  
 هفت گز و نیم  
 (۳) محدود میشود از شرقی بدکان شیخ علاوالدین جاندار ؟ از غربی بدکان وقف  
 (۴) مسجد خواجه سنبل پیوسته وقف و بنا کرده خان اعظم جنتخان نایب غیبت  
 معامله مذکور ؟

<sup>1</sup> Cousens, *opp. cit.*, pp. 89-90, no. 456.

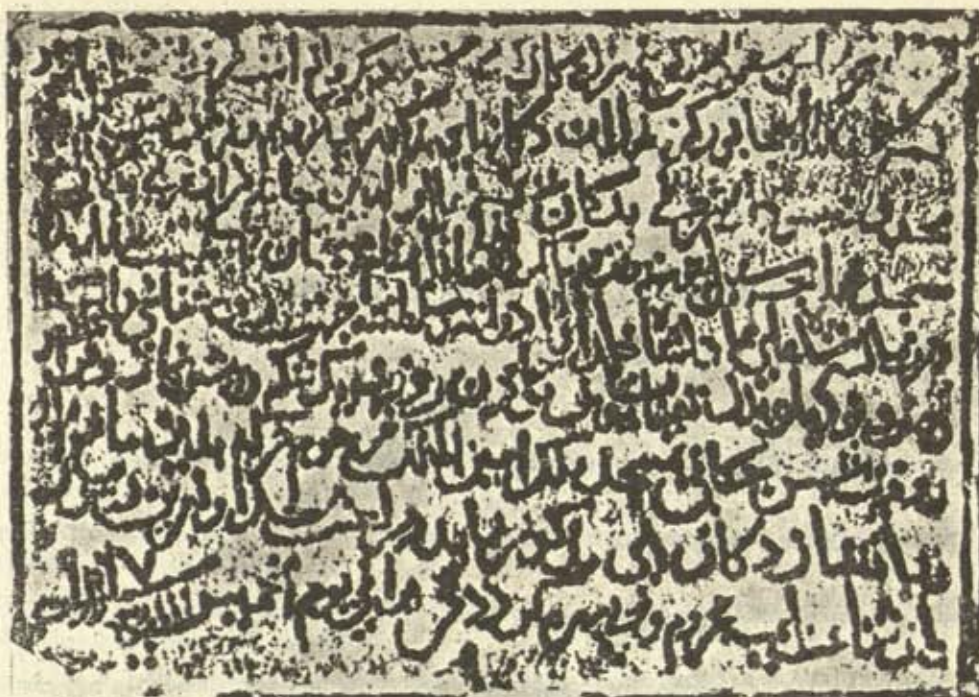
<sup>2</sup> M. Nazim, *Bijapur Inscriptions*, Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind., no. 49 (1936), p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> See the underlined words in the text below.

<sup>4</sup> The inscriptional slab appears to have decayed considerably, with the result that some of the letters have become faint, rendering the decipherment extremely difficult.

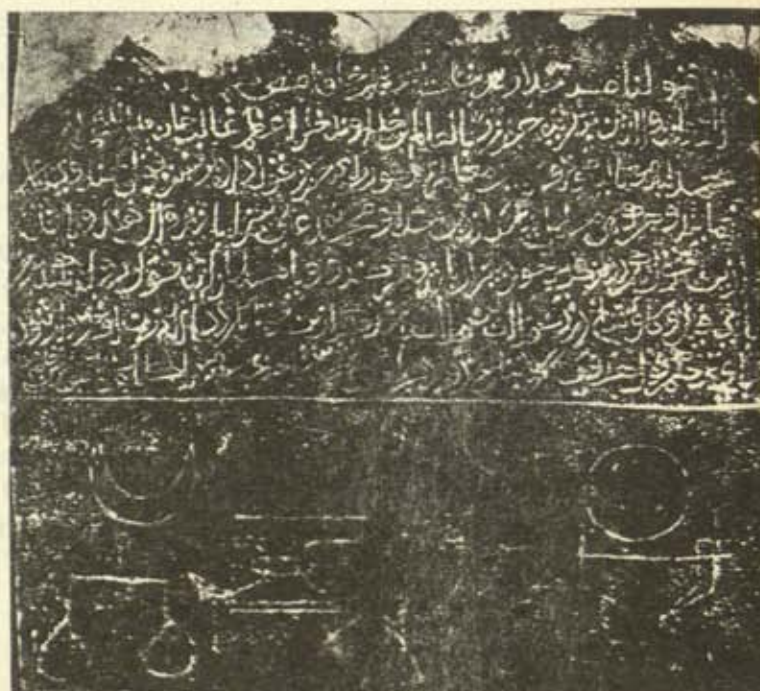


(a) Inscription of an endowment for Aminu'l-Mulk's mosque, Bijapur, dated A. H. 967 (p. 74)



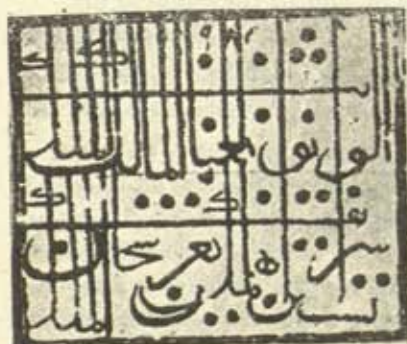
SCALE : .25

(c) Inscription containing Qaulnāma of Ghālib Khān, dated A. H. 901 (p. 78)



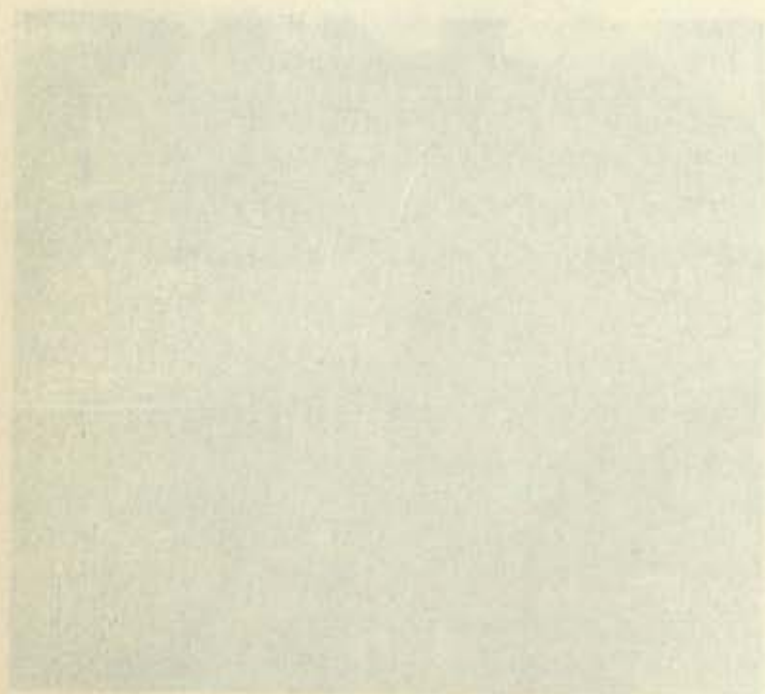
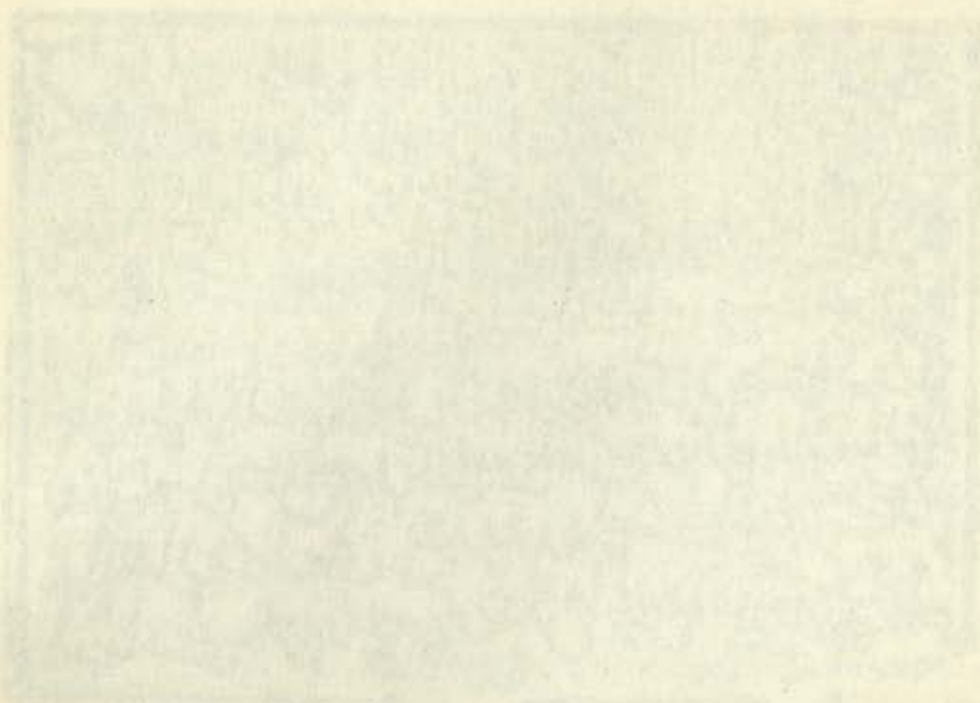
SCALE : .13

(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 984,  
from Faṭḥ Darwāza, Bijapur (p. 77)



SCALE : .09





- (۵) در زمانه شاه علی عادلشاه خلد ایام دولته و سلطنته جهت روشنائی و آب سبیل ؟  
 (۶) وضو و بوریا و بدل تعینات یوسف موزن روزینه یک تنکه و پیش نماز و فراش  
 (۷) روزینه شش جگانی بمسجد ملک امین الملک مرحوم هر که بدین مانع آید  
 (۸) و یا نقصان دکان های مذکور نماید در لعنت خدا و نفرین رسول [ باشد ]  
 (۹) و از شفاعت ایمه محروم و بے بهره گردد تحریرا فی یوم الخمیس ۱۱ ماه ربیع  
 الاول سنه ۹۶۷

## TRANSLATION

(1) The object of writing these lines is that five shops, adjacent to each other, situated to the right side of the *Shāh Bāzār*, (in the) chief

(2) town of the *mu'āmalat* of Bijāpūr Kanara, which are thirty yards and a half in length, and seven yards and a half in width,

(3) and (which) are bounded on the east by the shop of *Shāikh* 'Alāu'd-Dīn Jāndār (and) on the west, by the shop (which is) endowed to

(4) the mosque of *Khawāja* Sumbul, have been constructed and endowed by the great *Khān*, Jannat *Khān*, *nāib-i-ghaibat* of the said district,

(5) in the reign of king 'Alī 'Ādil *Shāh*, may the days of his kingdom and sovereignty last for ever ! for the purpose of defraying expenses of light, water for *Sabil*

(6) (and?) ablution, carpets and the stipend of Yūsuf, *mu'adhdhin*,<sup>1</sup> (at the rate of) one *ṭanka* per diem and of the *pīsh namāz*,<sup>2</sup> and the *farrāsh*,<sup>3</sup>

(7) (at the rate of) six *jikānī* a day for the mosque of Amīnu'l-Mulk, the deceased. Whosoever opposes this

(8) or causes any damage to the said shops, will be liable to the curse of God and detestation of His Messenger,

(9) and will be deprived of the intercession of the (twelve) Imāms. Written on Thursday, the 11th of the month of Rabī' I A.H. 967 (or 11th Dec. 1559 A.D.).

A word or two may be said regarding the mosques of *Khawāja* Sumbul and Amīnu'l-Mulk which find mention in the above inscription. *Khawāja* Sumbul's mosque, known as Yūsuf's old Jāmi' mosque, bears an inscription recording the construction of the mosque in A.H. 918 by *Khawāja* Sumbul during the reign of Maḥmūd *Shāh* Bahmanī. The former was evidently a man of importance, as he is mentioned in the inscription as the deputy in absence of 'Ādil *Khān*.<sup>4</sup> He is also mentioned in the inscription over the main doorway of the mosque of Hazāra Beg situated inside the Raichur fort as the builder of that mosque.<sup>5</sup> As regards Amīnu'l-Mulk's mosque to which the

<sup>1</sup> One who gives a call to prayers.

<sup>2</sup> One who leads the prayers.

<sup>3</sup> The carpet-spreader.

<sup>4</sup> Nazim, *opp. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>5</sup> B. Ahmad, *opp. cit.*, vol. III, p. 329.



inscription under notice must have originally belonged, no information is available; but to the east of the mosque of Khawāja Sumbul, there was a ruined gateway, which may have formed part of that mosque, as is shown by the inscription on it recording the construction of a mosque by Aminu'l-Mulk who also endowed one house and thirtysix shops for the proper maintenance of the mosque.<sup>1</sup> This inscription is dated A.H. 943. Malik Aminu'l-Mulk must have died between this date and A.H. 967 for, in our inscription he is mentioned as the deceased.

#### INSCRIPTION NO. 5

This inscription, originally fixed over the Fath gateway at Bijapur, is written in such an intricate style that it has defied decipherment of the portion containing the name of the building, despite the fact that the writing is pretty distinct and letters well preserved. Cousens, Nazim and Bashirud-Din Ahmad have published its text, but the readings of none can be considered as final.<sup>2</sup> The reading of Nazim, however, appears to be most correct of the three; but it is not illustrated by a facsimile.

Dr. Z. A. Desai informed me that Prof. B. D. Verma of Poona is editing this inscription in his forthcoming book *The Glories of Bijapur* which is in press; he also procured from the latter full extract of the study of this inscription. Prof. Verma has correctly read the words denoting construction and the name of the builder which had so far defied satisfactory decipherment. I can do no better than reproduce the same with little changes. I am extremely grateful to Prof. Verma for having agreed to the same.

According to him, "the inscription refers to the construction of a *hulmuk* by Yaghrush Khān. The word *hulmuk*, which means a sort of protecting barbican in front of a main gateway of a fort, also occurs in the *Ibrāhīm Nāma* of 'Abdul (p. 112, no. 12), in the course of the description of the fort, thus:—

دیسے تاس ہلک سون مل روپ یون  
کلی بانہ (لی) اشرفی شہر جون

"The beauty of the city (Bidyāpurnagar) was enhanced on account of the *hulmuk* and it appeared as if the city had tied an *ashrafī* to its neck."

This word was most probably Huda-mukha ('huda' meaning 'a bastion', and 'mukha' meaning 'face'). Now the word 'huda' (S. हुडा) means 'a bastion', 'a bastion connected with the fort' etc.<sup>3</sup> The word 'huda' later became 'hul' in common usage probably among the Muslims. The word 'hul-muk', thus, means the front part of the bastion which protects the main gate of a fort.<sup>4</sup> An inscription found on a bastion of the fort of Janjira in Kolaba District of Bombay State also mentions this word in a slightly different but probably more correct form, viz., "هل مکہ". The nemistich in which this word occurs reads as under:—

هر دو هل مکہ [بر] ج را کرده بنا میدی سرور

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Cousens, *opp. cit.*, p. 86, no. 430; Nazim, *opp. cit.*, p. 50; B. Ahmad, *opp. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> J. T. Molesworth, *A Dictionary, Marathi and English* (Bomb. 1857), p. 905; Pandits Ghugwe, Phurke and others, *A Dictionary of Maratha Language* (1829).

<sup>4</sup> The word 'huda' was also current during the period of Dyāneshwarī. It is also found used in the sense of a bastion in a stone inscription at Karakallu Virāpura in Bellary District, dated S 1615 (229 of 1913).—*The Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference, Mysore, 1935*, p. 718.



Dr. Nazim and others give the name of the builder as Baghrash Khān. Yaghrush Khān is probably the correct form. Steingass gives 'Yaghrūsh' as the name of a king of Persia. Obviously this word has been turned into Yaghrush¹."

The inscriptional slab is almost a square, measuring 24" by 21". The style of writing, a beautiful specimen of calligraphy, is Naskh with Tughrā flourish. The text as read by Prof. Verma is as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIX (b)

٩٨[٢]

الوائق بعنايت المالك (sic.) الملك  
بست این هلمک یغرش خان بن شریف المالك

TRANSLATION

A.H. 984 (1576-77 A.D.).

One who is confident of the mercy of the Master of the world,

Yaghrush Khān, son of Sharifu'l-Mulk, built this *hulmuk*.

Yaghrush Khān about whom no information is available in historical works appears to be connected with the royal court, as he is mentioned as the 'slave of 'Adil Shāh' in the inscription dated A.H. 986 appearing on the bastion lying to the south of the Mecca gateway.² Beyond this, nothing is known about him.

INSCRIPTION NO. 6

This is a bilingual record engraved on a huge slab measuring 2' 10" by 10'.³ The Persian version comprising seven lines occupies the uppermost part of the slab and is engraved in Naskh characters in relief. Then follows a space of about a foot which contains different figures, such as sun and moon, a pair of scales, a plough, a bull, a linga, and a hut (?). Below the figures is engraved a Kanarese inscription running into fifty lines.

Unlike most of the bilingual records, the two inscriptions do not form versions of the same text, but the Persian version is complementary to the Kanarese one: the former merely exhorts people, Hindus or Muslims, to follow strictly the *qaulnāma* issued by the great Khān Ghālib Khān, for the details of which it refers to the *qaulnāma-i-hindawāi* (i.e., the Kanarese version). Almost half of the Persian record is imprecatory, while the crude and inartistic style of writing betrays the inexperience of the scribe.

The Kanarese version is dated Śaka 1422, Siddharthin, Bhādrapada ba. 3, and seems to describe the arrangements made for the cultivation of fallow land, etc., under specified conditions, when *Khāne-ajamamutabāne Mōjama* Gālibakhāna was holding charge of the *thānē māmāle Mah-nūdābāda*.⁴

¹ Also see, Sayyid 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āṭir* (Hyderabad, 1936), pp. 154, 155, 406.

² Nazim, *opp. cit.*, p. 50.

³ The slab is partly broken at the top.

⁴ Note by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.—Ed.



The text of the Persian inscription reads as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XIX (c)

- (۱) قولنامه خداوند خان اعظم خاقان معظم اکرم ؟ قطلغ . . . . .
- (۲) الدولت و الدین برگزیده حضرت رب العالمین خداوند خان اعظم غالب خان  
مد الله عمره از سکنه ؟
- (۳) محمدآباد و تالیکوته ولایت معامله مذکور را که حضرت ؟ قول داده بر نسبت  
قول هندوی عمل
- (۴) نمایند و هر کسی مسلمان باشد از دین خدا و محمد علی بیزار [ر] باشد و اگر  
هندو باشد
- (۵) ازین قول بگردد از مذهب ؟ خود بیزار باشد و اگر هندو و یا مسلمان این قول  
پروانه نکند من عن ؟
- (۶) پای نیل و گاو شاخ در زن فلان بن فلان باشد و اگر ازین قول بگردد بالای  
زن او خر سوار شود
- (۷) باقی بر حکم قول هندوی × بتاریخ دوا [ز] دهم ماه محرم شهر  
سنه احدی تسع مئیه بالخط یاسین ؟ قاضی خاص ؟ من قلم خود

## TRANSLATION

- (1) *Qaulnāma* of *Khudāwand Khān-i-A'zam* and *Khāqān-i-Mu'azzam*, respected, *Qutlugh*...
- (2) *u'd-Dawlat wa'd-Dīn*, the chosen one of Lord, the master of both the worlds, *Khudāwand Khān-i-A'zam Ghālib Khān*, may God prolong his life, to the inhabitants of
- (3) *Muhammadābād* and *Tālikoṭa* in the said district, has given word ; (they) should act according to the provisions of the *Qaul-i-Hindawī* (the agreement transcribed in the Indian language i.e., Kanarese),
- (4) and if (among the defaulters) there be a Muslim, he will be (deemed) indifferent to the religion of God, Muhammad and 'Alī, and if he be a Hindu
- (5) (and) turns away from this *Qaul*, he will be (deemed as having become) disgusted with his faith. And if any Muslim or Hindu does not act according to this *parwāna*,
- (6) . . . . .
- (7) The rest in accordance with the *Qaul-i-Hindawī*. On the 12th of the month of *Muḥarram*, *Shuhūr* San 901. Written by Yāsīn (?), *Qāḍī-i-Khāss* by his own hand.

<sup>1</sup> The whole of line 6, containing imprecations in obscene language, has been left out in translation.

INSCRIPTIONS NOS. 7-8

These two inscriptions may be taken together as they appear to belong to one particular mosque. Nothing is known regarding their exact findspot save the fact that they were kept in the *Āthār Maḥal* prior to their removal to the Museum. One of them is dated while the other does not bear any date. The bigger of the two measures 4' 8" by 1' 6" and is a fine specimen of calligraphic art. It is carved in bold and prominent relief in beautifully executed *Nasta'liq* characters against a background of arabesque designs. All the lines, curves and points of the letters are well formed, and combined with the floral motifs drawn in artistic designs of various types, they make a beautiful piece of calligraphic art. The whole effect of the floral drawings executed under this thick bordered piece of trellis work—for such is the impression it creates in print—is really picturesque.

That the inscription originally belonged to a mosque is clear from the text which is an intelligent variation of a part of the famous Quranic verse: the variation seems to have been made, firstly because it was intended for a particular mosque, and secondly since it was required to form the chronogram. The numerical value of the text gives the year A. H. 1083 in which the construction of the mosque was probably over.

TEXT

Plate XX (a)

مسجدی اسن علی التقوی من اول یومہ

TRANSLATION

(This is) a mosque founded on piety from its very date.

The other inscription is of a much smaller size than the above. The inscriptional slab (24" by 16") must have been fixed on the water-reservoir of the mosque referred to in the above record. Designed in the same style as the other one, it reflects a milder and more delicate taste, its floral designs being lighter in effect and more subtle in nature. With its flawless calligraphy and the pleasing effect it creates, it deserves to be an inscription on something descending from heaven. If the preceding record suggests massiveness—a pre-requisite of mosque, the present one reflects something fine and celestial in effect, a pre-requisite of flowing water.

The inscription itself consists of a single line in Persian which means 'a stream from *Kauthar*'. It also forms the chronogram giving A.H. 1082 as the date, which is also inscribed in figures.

TEXT

Plate XX (b)

چشمہ از کوثر ۱۰۸۲

TRANSLATION

A stream from *Kauthar*. A.H. 1082 (1671-72 A.D.).

<sup>1</sup> The exact wording of the corresponding part of the original verse is:—

“لمسجد اسن علی التقوی من اول یوم”. It refers to the Qubā' mosque built by the Prophet himself (*Qur'ān*, ch. IX, v. 10).

\* A stream in Paradise.



## INSCRIPTIONS NOS. 9-11

These three inscriptions refer to the building activities of one person. The first of them, fixed originally on the mosque of Ikhtiyār Khān Gujarātī situated near the tomb of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I at Bijapur,<sup>1</sup> comprises the First Creed and a line in Persian purporting to invocation of reward for meritorious deed in favour of Ikhtiyār Khān Gujarātī. It does not bear any date. Engraved on a slab measuring 40" by 16", in crude *Naskh*, it reads as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XX (c)

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) ثواب کردن اختیار خان گجراتی

## TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but God ; Muhammad is the apostle of God.

(2) For the acquisition of merit by Ikhtiyār Khān Gujarātī.

The other record begins with a religious text (*durūd*) and states that 'this (construction) was done under the superintendence of Ikhtiyār Khān Gujarātī'. The nature of construction to which the epigraph refers is neither mentioned in the text, nor is its exact findspot known to us. The arch-shaped slab is fragmentary, having lost some portion at the left corner on the bottom which probably contained the date ; in its present state it measures 22" by 22". In contrast to the previous epigraph, this inscription is remarkable for its calligraphy which is a fine specimen of *Thulth* written with a slight *Tughra* flourish. The language of the record, except the religious text in Arabic, is Persian. Running into two lines, the text reads as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XX (d)

(۱) اللهم صل على محمد المصطفى وآله الاتقے ؟

(۲) در کار کر [د] اختیار خان گجراتی

## TRANSLATION

(1) *Durūd*.

(2) Under the superintendence of Ikhtiyār Khān Gujarātī.

The third inscription merely repeats the second part of the previous inscription mentioning Ikhtiyār Khān Gujarātī as the supervisor of the construction of some building. As in the case of the previous records, the provenance of this epigraph is not known, nor does the tablet bear any date. The style of writing, unlike in the preceding inscription, is inferior *Thulth* and the tablet measures 22" by 14" (pl. XX (e)).

<sup>1</sup> B. Ahmad, *app. cit.*, p. 98 ; Cousens, *opp. cit.*, p. 89.



(a) Inscription comprising chronogram for the construction of a mosque (p. 79)



SCALE : ·11

(c) Inscription from the mosque of Ikhtiyār Khān Gujarāṭī (p. 80)

Inscription comprising chronogram  
for the construction of a cistern  
(p. 79)



SCALE : ·07



SCALE : ·12

(d) Another inscription of Ikhtiyār Khān Gujarāṭī (p. 80)



SCALE : ·14

(e) Third inscription of Ikhtiyār Khān  
Gujarāṭī (p. 80)



SCALE : ·11



(a) Epitaph of Sayyid Afdal of Khitūra, died  
A. H. 1097 (p. 81)



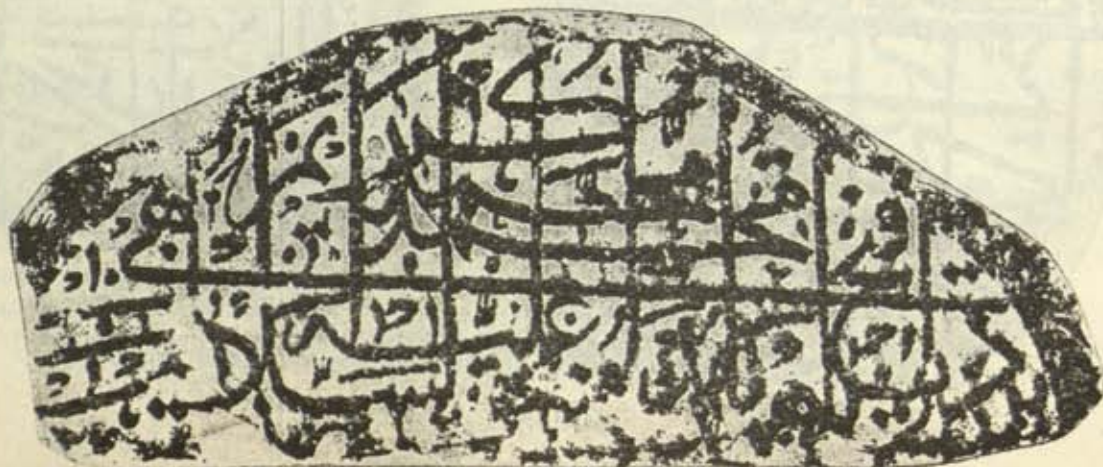
SCALE : 3

(b) Inscription in Dakhanī (?) language (p. 83)



SCALE : 2

(c) Inscription in Tughrā (p. 82)



SCALE : 25



Ikẖtiyār Khān Gujarātī, one of the eminent nobles of 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty, flourished during the reigns of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and his son 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. He was a staunch Sunnī.<sup>1</sup> According to the inscription on a bastion of the citadel-wall behind the Chīnī Maḥal at Bijapur, he constructed the fort of the district of Bijapur in A.H. 953.<sup>2</sup> Another inscription at Bijapur mentions him as having supervised the construction of a bastion in A.H. 951.<sup>3</sup> It can be safely presumed that the inscriptions under study also belong to the middle of the tenth century Hijra.

INSCRIPTION NO. 12

The provenance of this inscription which measures 14" from apex to bottom and is 8" wide is not known. The record comprises six lines of writing in mixed Arabic and Persian which are executed in *Nasta'liq* of a fair type. The slab broken towards the base appears to have been affected by passage of time and effects of weather, the letters having become indistinct in a few places. It appears to be an epitaph of Sayyid Afdal, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Sharif. It is dated in the 30th regnal year of Aurangzeb (A.H. 1097=1686 A.D.) which may be taken as the year of his demise.

The record may be read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXI (a)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ  
(۲) لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ  
(۳) سَيِّدِ اَفْضَلٍ وَلَدِ سَيِّدٍ مُحَمَّدٍ شَرِیْفٍ  
(۴) اِبْنِ سَيِّدِ عِمَادٍ مَادَاتٍ بَارِهَةٍ  
(۵) سَاكِنِ كَتَهْوَرِه دَر عَهْدِ اَوْرَنْگِ زَبِ  
(۶) سَنَةِ ۳۰

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.  
(2) There is no god but Allāh, (and) Muḥammad is His Prophet.  
(3) Sayyid Afdal, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Sharif.  
(4) son of Sayyid 'Imād, a Bāriha Sayyid,

<sup>1</sup> For details, please see Mirzā Ibrāhīm Zubairī, *Basāṭin-u's-Salāṭīn* (Hyderabad), p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Nazim, *opp. cit.*, p. 49; B. Ahmad, *opp. cit.*, p. 11; Cousens, *opp. cit.*, p. 88. Of all the readings of this epitaph, Nazim's is the most correct, with the exception of the date which has been wrongly read as A.H. 973; Bashirud-Din reads it correctly.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> These underlined phrases are also to be found in an epitaph from Ahmedabad for which see Dr. M. A. Chaghtai, *Muslim Monuments of Ahmedabad* (Poona, 1942), p. 99.



(5) inhabitant of Khitūra (died ?) in the reign of Aurangzeb

(6) (in the regnal) year 30.

### INSCRIPTION NO. 13

The inscriptional slab resembles a segment of a circle, and measures 10" from top to bottom and is 22" wide. It was first preserved in the Āthār Maḥal and later removed to the Museum. It seems to contain an invocatory verse in Persian the purport of which is not fully clear. Its text could not be deciphered with absolute certainty, as the writing is intricate and also slightly damaged in a few places. The style of writing which is *Thulth* with definite *Tughṛā* tendencies is remarkable for its elegant and bold execution. A tentative reading of the text is given below :—

#### TEXT

Plate XXI (c)

یا کریم

یا محمد

الهی بود فتح رهبر مدام بحق محمد علیه السلام

#### TRANSLATION

O Generous ! O Muḥammad !

O God ! The victory may always be our guide, through the blessings of Muḥammad, on whom be peace.

### INSCRIPTION NO. 14

This again is reported to have been stored in the Āthār Maḥal before it was shifted to the Museum. It seems to be a tombstone inscribed in *Naskh* characters, and merely contains the name of a particular person regarding whom no information is available. The slab measures 7" by 10".

#### TEXT

Plate XXII (a)

(۱) فقیر قادری

(۲) سید مصطفی

<sup>1</sup> I had suggested the following reading of this hemistich :—

براهے فتح دین همیشه مدام

But Dr. Samadi thinks that if the verse is read as given by him, the purport becomes more clear and hence he preferred that reading. It is true, the meaning is more explicit in that case, but it will be seen from the plate that the two words viz., “دین” beneath “فتح” and “همیشه” between two “یا” are quite distinct. Moreover, “ہے” looks more like “ہے” than “لہے” of “لہے” of “لہے”.—Ed.

TRANSLATION

- (1) Humble slave, belonging to the Qādirī order,  
(2) Sayyid Muṣṭafā.

INSCRIPTION NO. 15

This is a very elegantly executed epigraph comprising two phrases in local dialect which could as well be hemistiches. The main text is covered by a border forming a geometrical design. A border of about 1" thick runs along the four sides of the slab (15" by 11"), and the space between the two respective borders contains six words—four in corners and two at top and bottom—which are inscribed in an inferior hand. The purport of the record on the whole is not quite clear; it mentions the names Faṭḥ Shāh and Jamālī both of whom bear the title *majlīs-dār* (holder of assemblies?). The language of the epigraph appears to be some local dialect.

TEXT

Plate XXI (b)

مسجد                      پنجه                      گیر ؟  
فتح شاه مجالس دار نی  
جمال جی مجالس دار نے  
یک                      حد                      بندی

TRANSLATION

*Gir*                      *Panja*                      *Masjid*  
*Faṭḥ Shāh Majlīs-dār ne*  
*Jamālī Majlīs-dār ne*  
*Yak*                      *Ṣaḍ*                      *Bandī*

INSCRIPTION NO. 16

The slab bearing this inscription is arch-shaped being 24" in height and 19" in width. It is reported to have originally come from Faṭḥ Maḥal. The record comprises nine lines of writing in Persian prose and forms the text of a deed of endowment of a garden made by Sayyid Shāh Mardān, son of Sayyid Saifu'llāh Ḥusainī for the mosque which he had constructed in the land dedicated to the Twelve Imāms. It also gives brief particulars regarding the mosque and the garden, lays down terms governing the deed, and names its executors.

The style of writing is intricate *Naskh*, which is also crude and indifferent. Besides, letters of one word are sometimes interposed by a letter or letters of other words;

‡ Cousens, *opp. cit.*, p. 90, no. 458, reads "فتح شاه مجالس دار نی جمال جی مجالس دار" and translates: Faṭḥshāh the holder of assemblies: No! No! Jumālī (is the) holder of assemblies.



even where they are not so, their sequence is not always in order. At some places, the letters have been engraved sideways or upside down e.g., “یا” in “قدیم” in l. 1, and “م” of “چاه” in l. 5. All these have turned the writing into a jumble that is not so easy to solve. The slab is partly broken in the middle at the bottom, as a result of which a couple of words from the text are lost. The record does not bear any date but on palaeographical grounds, it cannot be later than 10th century Hijra. The text of the epigraph reads as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate XXII (b)

- (۱) یا قدیم - بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم و به ثقتی  
 (۲) المتوکل بعناية الله الملك الغنی سید شاه مردان بن  
 (۳) سید سیف الله الحسینی در زمین وقف دوازده امام مسجد و  
 (۴) باغ ساخته و مسجد دو چاه دارد یکی اندرون و یکی بیرون و باغ خاکی ؟  
 (۵) و خریده خودست در آنجا سه چاه دارد یکی بیرون دو اندرون بنا برین باغ  
 (۶) را وقف مسجد و اولاد خود کرده باسم شاه سیف الله و شاه اسد الله  
 (۷) و شاه لطف الله و شرط نمود که تولیت و حق التولية و تصرف والده ایشان  
 (۸) را باشد و بعد از والده ایشان تولیت اولاد مذکور را باشد  
 (۹) لا بقاء ؟ توالدوا و تناسلوا هر که باغ ... کند در لعنت خدا و رسول باشد

## TRANSLATION

- (1) O Eternal! *Bismillāh*. And in Him I have faith.  
 (2) The dependent on the benevolence of God the Master, the Independent, Sayyid *Shāh* Mardān, son  
 (3-4) of Sayyid Saifu'llāh al-Ḥusainī constructed a mosque and a garden in the land dedicated to (the memory of) the Twelve Imāms—the mosque having two wells, one inside and one outside—and the garden, which is his own property  
 (5) by virtue of his having purchased it, containing three wells, one outside and two inside; consequently, this garden  
 (6) he has endowed for the mosque and (for the benefit of) his sons bearing the names of *Shāh* Saifu'llāh, *Shāh* Asadu'llāh  
 (7-8) and *Shāh* Luṭfu'llāh on the condition that its trusteeship, right of trusteeship, and possession would rest in the hands of their mother, and after (the death of) the latter, it would rest with the aforesaid sons  
 (9) as long as they bear progeny. He who ..... garden, will be subjected to the curse of God and the Prophet.



(a) Inscription containing the name of Sayyid Mustafā (p. 82)



SCALE : .12

(b) Inscription of an endowment made by Shāh Mardān (p. 84)



SCALE : .22

(c) Inscription from a mosque (1) (p. 85)



SCALE : .27



THE GREAT COURT OF KARNAK

The Great Court of Karnak is the largest of the three main courts of the temple. It is bounded on the north by the Temple of Amun, on the south by the Temple of Khonsu, on the east by the Temple of Anubis, and on the west by the Temple of Ptah. The court is paved with black granite and is surrounded by a wall of black granite. The wall is decorated with hieroglyphs and is topped by a row of lotus flowers. The court is divided into three sections by two rows of columns. The columns are decorated with hieroglyphs and are topped by lotus flowers. The court is a masterpiece of ancient Egyptian architecture.



Fig. 1. Detail of the Great Court of Karnak.



Fig. 2. Detail of the Great Court of Karnak.

The Great Court of Karnak is the largest of the three main courts of the temple. It is bounded on the north by the Temple of Amun, on the south by the Temple of Khonsu, on the east by the Temple of Anubis, and on the west by the Temple of Ptah. The court is paved with black granite and is surrounded by a wall of black granite. The wall is decorated with hieroglyphs and is topped by a row of lotus flowers. The court is divided into three sections by two rows of columns. The columns are decorated with hieroglyphs and are topped by lotus flowers. The court is a masterpiece of ancient Egyptian architecture.

INSCRIPTION NO. 17

This inscription is engraved on an arch-shaped tablet which is fragmentary, measuring in its present state 15" from apex to bottom with a width of 10". Artistically designed, it begins with the words 'Allāh' and 'Muḥammad' which are followed by the *Bismillāh* and a famous couplet in Persian mentioning the four companions of the Prophet as the lamp, the mosque, the mihrāb (prayer-niche) and the pulpit. The writing in the last line which probably contained the date is damaged and unintelligible. The style of writing is *Thulūth* of a fairly high order. The inscription evidently belonged to some mosque.

TEXT

Plate XXII (c)

الله

محمد

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

چراغ و مسجد و محراب و منبر

ابو بكر و عمر عثمان و حيدر

سنة داد زيب .....

TRANSLATION

Allāh, Muḥammad.

*Bismillāh*.

Abū Bakr, 'Umar, Uṭhmān and 'Alī

are (like unto) the lamp, mosque, mihrāb and pulpit.

Year .....

INSCRIPTIONS NOS. 18-21

The next four inscriptions which conclude the present study merely contain religious texts and do not give any particular information. Being, however, of some calligraphic interest, they may be described here in brief.

First of them contains the word "الله" within a square formed by the shafts of the words "الصلوة والسلام عليك يا كليم" carved on four sides running clock-wise. The whole text may be taken as having been addressed to Prophet Moses whose title is "كليم الله" i.e., the interlocutor of God. The style of writing is *Naskh* with a *Tughra* flourish (pl. XXIII(a)). The inscriptional tablet measures 23" by 22", and seems to have originally belonged to the Jāmi' mosque of Bijapur.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. Ahmad, *opp. cit.*, pp. 30-31.



next one, carved in *Tughhrā*, is remarkable for its calligraphy which is of a fairly high order. But it contains nothing beyond the *Nād-i-'Alī*.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptional stone in this case is arch-shaped measuring 14" from apex to bottom and being 13" wide (pl. XXIII(b)). The third one is a typical piece of enigmatic writing within a thick circular border. The wording of this inscription runs thus :—

علیما عالما علما علم عالم را علی الدوام عالی دار

Its purport on the whole is not clear. But it is a beautiful specimen of calligraphy, the letters having been written in pleasing *Thulth*, and their prolonged shafts woven in the centre of the circle into a perfect geometrical design (pl. XXIII(c)). This slab whose writing space is 16" in diameter may have adorned the centre of a ceiling or spandrels of an arch. The last one, measuring 18" by 11", contains a single word "الله" transcribed in the centre with a border 2" thick which goes round it in curved lines making a sort of a hexagon. There are four medallions, one on each corner outside the circle, suggestive of floral decoration (pl. XXIII(d)).

<sup>1</sup> In the present case, "بالنبوتك" is erroneously inscribed for the correct "بنبوتك". The text of *Nād-i-'Alī* runs as follows :—

ناد علیا مظهر العجايب      تنعنه عوننا لك في النوايب  
كل هم و غم سينجلي      بنبوتك يا محمد بولايتك يا علی

(a) Decorative inscription containing religious text (p. 85)



SCALE : ·12

(b) Inscription containing Nād-i-'Alī (p. 86)



SCALE : ·25

(c) Decorative inscription (p. 86)



SCALE : ·17

(d) Inscription containing the word Allāh (p. 86)



SCALE : ·9



(a) Inscription of 'Alau'd-Din Khalji, dated A. H. 714 (p. 87)



SCALE : 17

(b) Fragmentary inscription, probably of the Tughluq period, from Prabhas Patan (p. 91)



SCALE : 11

(c) Inscription of Muhammad bin Tughluq, dated A. H. 726, from Prabhas Patan (p. 89)



SCALE : 11



# INSCRIPTION IN THE BHARATA ITIHASA SAMSHODHAKA MANDALA, POONA

By Z. A. DESAI

On information from Shri G. H. Khare, Curator of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona, that there was stored in the Mandala's museum an illegible inscription with mutilated writing, arrangements were made to secure its inked rubbings. On close examination it was found to be an incomplete but dated record of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji's period and is being published here with the kind permission of the Mandala. I am much grateful to Shri Khare for his co-operation and solicitude.

The slab, which is fragmentary measuring 22" by 18" with a thickness of 6", was recovered from Karād in Satara District of Bombay State. Properly Karhād, Karād lies in 17° 17' north latitude and 74° 13' east longitude at the junction of the Krishna and the Koyna, thirtyone miles south of Satara, headquarters of the district. It is an old place finding mention in inscriptions of about 200 B. C. to 100 A. D.<sup>1</sup> Eighteen inscriptions from this town were published in the previous issues of this series,<sup>2</sup> but none of them belongs prior to the second half of the tenth century Hijra, the earliest dated inscription being that of A.H. 963 (1555-56 A. D.).<sup>3</sup>

Though the present inscription, being fragmentary and much damaged, does not furnish much information, nevertheless it is an important record inasmuch as it has proved to be a dated record of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji's reign. This fragmentary record in stone is a valuable evidence of Karād's association with Muslim rule from a much earlier period than is generally known and hence its importance. It will be remembered that very few inscriptions of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji's reign, from Deccan, have been brought to light.<sup>4</sup>

The surviving record comprises two lines of writing, in relief, contained in two panels. The text being incomplete and the writing mostly illegible, it is difficult to ascertain the purport of the record. However, the name of the king and the date, 'Alāu'd-Dunyā and A. H. 714 (1315 A. D.) respectively, are clear.

The style of writing is *Naskh* showing vigour and massiveness of its letters and is in general conformity with the calligraphy that marks the contemporary inscriptions in Northern India. From what can be judged from the present state of writing, it is of a very good order.

## TEXT

### Plate XXIV (a)

(۱) . . . . [۱] ابو العظفر سکندر شکوه دارا حشمت ؟ علا الدنيا

(۲) . . . . بنیاد کفایتد پیروز بن محمود ؟ شدند بتاریخ سبع ماه رمضان [سنه] اربع

عشر و سبعایه

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer, Satara*, vol. XIX, pp. 472, 480.

<sup>2</sup> *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1933-34 (Supp.), pp. 47-54; *ibid.*, 1935-36, pp. 44-45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51: it is an epitaph.

<sup>4</sup> An inscription from Rakkaagi, Bijapur District, dated A. H. 715 (1316 A. D.), was published in *ibid.*, 1927-28, p. 17, pl. VII.

<sup>5</sup> The reading of the text, except the king's name and the date, is purely tentative.



## TRANSLATION

(1) ..... Abu'l-Muẓaffar, of Alexander's pomp and Darius's grandeur,  
'Alāu'd-Dunyā

(2) ..... got constructed by Pīrūz ī, son of Maḥmūd ..... on the 7th  
of the month of Ramadan, year 714 (A. H. or 26th December, 1314 A. D.).

## INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES, JUNAGADH

By Z. A. DESAI

The Museum of Antiquities<sup>1</sup> at Junagadh is housed in a building in the *Shakar Bāgh* about a mile and half without the Majevari Gate of the town. It contains eight Persian inscriptions of which all but one were brought from Patan Somnath; the remaining one came from Parnavada situated at a distance of about seven miles from Patan.

Texts of seven of these inscriptions as published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari* are hopelessly corrupt.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, as their facsimiles are not given in that work, it is not possible to make out their correct readings. The remaining epigraph (No. 7 infra) was edited in a previous number of the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, but the text published there, even after its revision in a subsequent issue, can be still improved upon.<sup>3</sup>

These inscriptions covering a period of about three centuries and a half represent the reigns of Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq Shāh, Sultan Aḥmad I of Gujarat, the latter's grandson Sultan Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II, and the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. An interesting feature of the group is that three of the inscriptions contain orders issued by the king or the governor, but unfortunately two of them, belonging to the reigns of the Gujarat Sultans, are too badly damaged to yield their exact nature or object, thus depriving us of valuable information regarding the internal administration of the Sultanate, condition of people, steps that were being taken to redress their grievances etc. This is all the more lamentable since the histories of the Sultanate period of Gujarat are for the most part narratives of political events.<sup>4</sup>

### INSCRIPTION NO. 1

This forms the earliest dated inscription of the group. The inscriptional tablet which is of white marble is reported to have been originally built up in one of the walls of a mosque situated in a garden called *Paṭhānwādī*<sup>5</sup> near the celebrated temple of Somnath at Prabhas Patan.<sup>6</sup> Measuring 5'4" by 12", it contains four verses in Persian inscribed in two lines in vigorous and bold *Naskh* style. The record mentions the construction of a mosque by Ḥamīd (son of) Aḥmad in A. H. 726 (1326 A. D.), during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh, when Malik Tājū'd-Duwal Aḥmad (son of) Ayāz was the governor (*wālī*) of the district.<sup>7</sup> It reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXIV (c)

(۱) عمارت کرد این مسجد بعهد دولت سلطان  
محمد شاه تغلقشہ کے عست سلطان بن سلطان  
[ب]امہ والی. این عرصہ ملک تاج دول احمد  
[ایاز] نکو کے از سہمش ہمیلرزند انس و جان

<sup>1</sup> The Museum was formerly known as Nawab Rasulkhanji Museum.

<sup>2</sup> This work was published in 1889 by the erstwhile Bhavnagar state of Saurashtra. A number of mistakes in its readings were pointed out in *Epig. Ind., A. & P. Supp.*, 1953 & 54, pp. 53, 54, 58, 74, 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1935-36, pp. 48-49, pl. XXXVb; *ibid.*, 1939-40, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Other inscriptions have also suffered more or less damage due to neglect and inclemencies of weather. A mere glance at their facsimiles will show how difficult their decipherment has been.

<sup>5</sup> *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 4, calls it *Pānawādī*.

<sup>6</sup> Prabhas Patan now in the Sorath District of Bombay state, is about a mile and half from Veraval which is the terminal station on the Rajkot-Veraval section of the Western Railway.

<sup>7</sup> *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 4, makes Ḥamīd Aḥmad both the builder of the mosque and the ruler of the province. Furthermore, it reads the date as A. H. 720, and adds in a footnote on p. 5 that '720 A. H. does not seem to be the proper date, because Juma Khan (sic.), who assumed the name of Sultan Mahomed, came to the throne in 725 A. H.'.



(۲) کمینہ بندہ [یزد] کے نامش هست حمید احمد  
 بهفتصد بیست شش بوده است بذی القعدة بناء آن  
 [خدا رحم] ت کند بروی که این خواند دعا گوید  
 کے یاد[ی] بیمارزش کے هست او از گنه گاران

## TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was constructed in the period of the rule of the Sultān, Muḥammad Shāh, son of Tughluq Shāh, who is the Sultān, son of Sultān,

when the governor of this region was Malik Tāju'd-Duwal Aḥmad (son of) Ayāz, a person through awe of whom men and genii tremble,

(2) by the mean slave of the Lord, whose name is Ḥamīd (son of) Aḥmad; in the year seven hundred and twentysix, in the month of Dhi'l-Qa'da, its construction took place.

May God have mercy on one who reads this and prays (for the builder, saying), 'O my Lord, forgive him, for he is a sinner!'

The mosque was thus constructed in Dhi'l-Qa'da, A. H. 726 (Sep.-Oct. 1326 A. D.).

The name of Ḥamīd, son of Aḥmad, the builder of the mosque, is not traceable in historical works. Likewise, it is not easy to establish the identity of Tāju'd-Duwal Aḥmad the governor: the titles Tāju'd-Dīn, Tāju'l-Mulk, etc., were borne by more than one person connected with the royal court of Delhi under the Khaljis and the Tughluqs, as is clear from the narrative of Baranī.<sup>1</sup> Most of these nobles are mentioned with their titles only and even in their case, very few details are given. Baranī, no doubt, mentions one Tāju'd-Dīn with the name Aḥmad, but does not give any further information beyond mentioning him in the list of notable grandees of the reign of Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī;<sup>2</sup> it is just possible that he is identical with Tāju'd-Duwal Aḥmad of the present inscription. In this connection, it may also be pointed out that a Persian inscription at Mahoba in Hamirpur District in U. P., dated A. H. 722, also mentions one Malik Tāju'd-Duwal Aḥmad as governor under Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh.<sup>3</sup> The present inscription—dated four years later—writes his name exactly as the Mahoba inscription does which makes it very likely that both the records refer to one and the same person.

But the name Ayāz occurring in the beginning of the fourth hemistich in the first line, if read correctly, would denote the name of Aḥmad's father. In that case, Aḥmad Ayāz of the inscription might be identical with Khwāja Aḥmad Ayāz, who was *Shahna-i-'imarat* (superintendent of works) under Tughluq Shāh and *wazir* (minister) under Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh and who had held the fief of Gujarat for some time, but the title Tāju'd-Duwal for Khwāja Aḥmad Ayāz is unknown to the students of medieval history of India.

## INSCRIPTION NO. 2

The second inscription is fragmentary. It is inscribed on a slab of white stone which in its present state measures 21" by 24".<sup>4</sup> The original findspot of this record is not known but it is very likely that it also came from Prabhas Patan. The inscriptional tablet is badly damaged

<sup>1</sup> Dīyāu'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Cal. 1862), pp. 199, 240, 323, 336, 397, 398, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 379.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1952-53, App. C, no. 138.

<sup>4</sup> It appears that the remaining portion of the text was inscribed on another slab of the same size which is not traceable now.



and the letters on it, carved originally in *Naskh* in relief, have mostly peeled off. The surviving portion of the text states that the builder of the construction was Mubārak, the Qur'ān-bearer. The nature of the building and the date are missing in the extant portion, but as the present record bears close similarity to the inscription described above, both in style of writing as well as in text—the latter being almost identical in part—we would not be much far from truth in assigning it to the Tughluq period, if not earlier. Whatever letters of the record are in tact are indicative of their sharpness and boldness. The mode of writing of certain letters, for example, the slanting “ے” of “ہے” in line 4, the long-drawn horizontal portion of “من” with a drooping curve at the right end etc., is generally found in the epigraphs of the Khalji and Tughluq periods.

The subject-matter of the inscription does not yield much historical information. But it is interesting to note the epithet used for Mubārak, the builder. The latter is styled as “حامل قرآن” which, if taken metaphorically, would mean ‘one who has learnt the Qur'ān by heart’, that is to say, a *hāfiẓ*. But it also means—and probably this is the meaning intended here—‘one who is the (Royal) Qur'ān-bearer’.

The epigraph runs into two verses inscribed in four lines and reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXIV (b)

- (۱) کسی کو یافت تو [فیق بنا] از [حضرت] یزدان  
 (۲) کمینہ بندہ ا [یزد مبارک] حا مل قرآن  
 (۳) خدا رحمت کند [بروی کہ این خوا] ند دعا گوید  
 (۴) کہ یا ربے بیمارزش کہ هست او از گنہ گاران

TRANSLATION

- (1) He who got the direction of constructing this edifice from the Holy God  
 (2) is the mean slave of the Lord, Mubārak, the Qur'ān-bearer.  
 (3) May God show mercy on every one who reads this and prays (for the builder, saying),  
 (4) ‘O my Lord, forgive him, for he is one of the sinners!’

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

The stone bearing this inscription is reported to have originally belonged to Muḥammad Jamādār's mosque situated near the Moṭā Darwāza at Prabhas Patan.<sup>2</sup> It measures 22" by 16" and contains six lines of which the first two constitute religious text in Arabic and the rest are in Persian recording the erection of the mosque in A. H. 823 (1420 A. D.), during the reign of Sultan Aḥmad I of Gujarat by Faḍlu'llāh Aḥmad Abū Rajā,<sup>3</sup> who had constructed about a decade earlier

<sup>1</sup> The words within brackets having peeled off on the stone are not clear in the estampage; they have been supplied after a close examination of the stone which bears faint traces of the original carving.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* calls him Abu Ramaja and reads the date as A.H. 820. For Abū Rajā, which is a *kunya*, see *Epig. Ind., A. & P. Supp.*, 1953 & 54, p. 51, f.n. 2.



the fort-wall at Veraval in the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh I, as is known from an inscription now fixed into the tomb of Maghribī Shāh in that town.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Faḍlu'llāh Aḥmad appears to have been connected with this part of Saurashtra in official capacity or otherwise, at least between A. H. 810, the date of the Veraval record and A. H. 823, the date of the present inscription. It is also to be noted that the name of the king is inscribed without his title, as in the case of the epigraph under reference. The style of writing in this as well as the Veraval record is *Naskh*. The inscription under study has been deciphered as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate XXVI (a)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 (۲) وَ إِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا  
 (۳) بِتَارِيخِ يَاسْتِ هَفْتَمِ مَآهِ رَمَضَانَ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِ عَشْرِينَ ثَمَانِيَا فِي عَهْدِ سُلْطَانِ أَحْمَدِ بْنِ  
 (۴) مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ مَظْفَرِ شَاهِ سُلْطَانِ بَنَّا كُنَائِدَهُ قَضَى اللَّهُ أَحْمَدُ  
 (۵) أَبُو رَجَا هَرِ كِهْ بِخَوَانْدِ بَنْدَه رَا بِدَعَاءِ اِيْمَانِ وَ قَاتِحِدِ يَادِ كَنْدِ  
 (۶) تَمَّتْ

## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.  
 (2) And verily, the mosques are for God (only); hence, invoke not anyone else with God.  
 (3) On the 27th of the month of Ramaḍān in the year 823 (A. H. or 5th Oct. 1420 A. D.), during the reign of Sultān Aḥmad, son of  
 (4) Muḥammad, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the king, (this mosque) was got constructed by Faḍlu'llāh Aḥmad  
 (5) Abū Rajā. Whoever reads this may remember this humble creature with prayers for his faith and with *Fātiḥa*.<sup>2</sup>

## INSCRIPTION NO. 4

This inscription is carved in *Naskh* characters on a slab (19" by 12"), which was originally lying in Miṭhāshāh Bhang's mosque at Prabhas Patan. Before its removal to the Museum, the slab appears to have been subjected to adverse effects of weather for quite some time, since the writing on it has not escaped damage.

The record mainly comprises four lines of writing about three of which are devoted to the religious texts in Arabic commonly found in mosque inscriptions, while the remaining one which is in Persian refers to the construction of a mosque in A. H. 831 (1428 A. D.).<sup>3</sup> The name of the

<sup>1</sup> *Epig. Ind., A. & P. Supp.*, 1953 & 54, p. 51, pl. XV a.

<sup>2</sup> Recitation of the introductory chapter of the Qur'ān which is so named.

<sup>3</sup> This date falls in the reign of Sultan Aḥmad I. *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, pp. 6-7, gives the date as A. H. 770 and the month Rabi' II.

builder cannot be read with certainty as the writing of the text is not clear in that portion.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, a few words inscribed outside the borders at the bottom and the left side are not very clear on the stone but they seem to contain the name of the mason responsible for the actual building of the mosque.<sup>2</sup> The epigraph has been read by me as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XXV (a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَ إِنَّ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا

(۲) تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ

(۳) عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ بَنِي مَسْجِدًا بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ قَصْرًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ بَنَّا كَرْد

(۴) اَيْنَ مَسْجِدِ شَمْسِ وَارَه ؟ وَ يَرَعِيدَا ؟ ..... بِرَايِ خُدا بِنَا رِيخِ يَكَمَ مَاہِ شَعْبَانِ

سَنَةِ اِحْدَى ثَلَاثِينَ ثَمَانِمِائِهِ

## Borders.

اَيْنَ مَسْجِدِ رَا بَنَّا كَرْدَمَ سِيَوْدَاسِ سَنَكِ تَرَاشِ بِنِ اَوْدَا

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. God the Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; hence, do not

(2) invoke anyone else with God'. The Prophet, may God's blessings

(3) and salutations be upon him, says, 'He who builds a mosque, God builds for him a palace in Paradise'. This mosque of (the Maḥalla of ?) *Shamswāra* was constructed for the sake of God by ..... on the 1st of *Sha'bān*, year 831 (A. H. or 16th May 1428 A. D.).

## Borders.

The construction of this mosque was executed by *Sīvdās, sangtarāsh* (stone-carver), son of *Ūdā*.

## INSCRIPTION NO. 5

The fifth inscription also belongs to Sultan Aḥmad I's reign. Prior to its removal to the Museum, the inscriptional tablet was lying loose near the Moṭā Darwāza at Prabhas Patan. The slab (19" by 12") is weather-beaten and the writing on it has become very indistinct with the result that its purport could not be made out properly. The record which runs into five lines of Persian prose seems to be a royal order putting an end to some sort of harassment or inconvenience caused to the public on the occasions of marriage.<sup>3</sup> The order was issued in 1433 A. D.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* gives the name of the builder as 'Musammāt Vārū bint (daughter of) Abdu'r-Raḥmān'.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* reads the inscription on the borders thus :—

اَيْنَ مَسْجِدِ رَا بَنَّا كَرْدَ بِيُوهُ اَمِيرِ اِسْمَاعِيلِ بِنِ اَمِيهِ دَاوُدِ شَاهِ

<sup>3</sup> Though it is difficult to state its purport more definitely, it certainly does not mention 'the erection of some building in the time of Firozshah ..... of Ahmadah of Gujarat', as stated in *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 24.



The epigraph is inscribed in *Naskh* and reads as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XXV (b)

- (۱) برای خشنودی و رضا خدا ؟ ..... خداوند عالم پناه احمد شاه  
 (۲) ابن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه سلطان خلد ملکه ؟ ..... معاف کرده بود  
 (۳) حضرت شاه بشیر سلطانے ..... در تزویج نمی شدند ؟ هر که بعد ازین  
 تاریخ باسمى  
 (۴) و رسمی در تزویج مزاحمت دهد یا ..... خطا و بے فرمانی کرده باشد و  
 مجرم خواهد ؟  
 (۵) بود و ذلک فی التاسع من ذی القعدة سنة ست و ثلاثین و ثمانیة

## TRANSLATION

- (1) For the pleasure and gratification of God ..... the master who is the refuge of the world, Ahmad Shāh,  
 (2) son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, may his kingdom last for ever, had remitted .....  
 (3) His Majesty ..... Bashīr Sultānī ? ..... in marriage. Whoever after this date, whether by word  
 (4) or by act, causes harassment in matters of marriage will be deemed to have committed mistake and disobedience, and will be held guilty.  
 (5) And this was (promulgated) on the 9th of Dhi'l-Qa'da, year 836 (A. H. or 27th Jun. 1433 A. D.).

## INSCRIPTION NO. 6

This is a bilingual inscription engraved on a slab of yellow sandstone measuring 10" by 26" which was originally built up into the inner face of the city-wall to the left of the Moṭā Darwāza at Prabhas Patan. The upper portion of the slab is occupied by the Persian record running into eighteen lines of prose which form the text of an order issued in 1455 A. D. by Sultan Qutbu'd-Dīn Ahmad II, the fifth Sultan of Gujarat. The order was issued to put a stop to the oppression and embarrassment to which the public were subjected by some officials. The style of writing of the record is *Naskh*. The Persian record is followed by a Sanskrit inscription incised in *Nāgarī* characters. As in the case of other inscriptions of the group, this epigraph also is badly damaged, especially in its Sanskrit portion, which in the opinion of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootaçamund, who was requested to examine it, does not admit of decipherment.

## TEXT

## Plate XXVI (b)

- (۱) [بسم الله] الرحمن الرحيم [رحیم]  
 (۲) در عهد دولت [سلطان] الاعظم المعظم الوانی

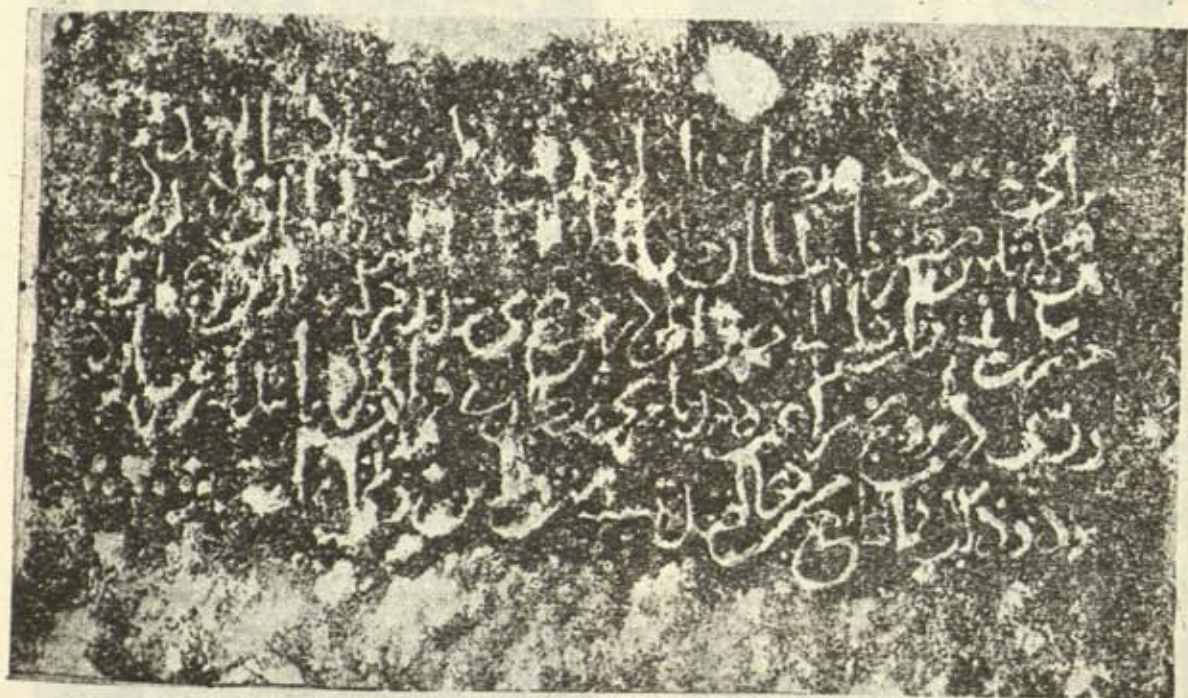


(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 831, from Prabhas Patan (p. 93)



SCALE : .25

(b) Inscription containing a royal order, dated A. H. 836, from the same place (p. 94)



SCALE : .32



(a) Inscription of Ahmad I, dated A. H. 823, from Prabhas Patan (p. 92)



SCALE : .16

(b) Inscription containing royal order of Ahmad II, dated A. H. 859, from the same place (p. 94)



SCALE : .3

(c) Inscription containing royal order of the governor of Sorath under Aurangzeb, from the same place (p. 99)



SCALE : .17



- (۳) بتائید الرحمن قطب الدنيا و الدين ابو  
 (۴) المظفر احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه  
 (۵) بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه سلطان  
 (۶) عهده داران کوتوالی قصبه پتن سکھناتھ بدانید  
 (۷) که بآمدن آینده از خانه بعضی خلق الله کتھا ؟  
 (۸) می کشیدند بر ایشان حرج و ظلم و تعدی  
 (۹) و فعلی نامشروع میشد باتفاق علما و قضاة  
 (۱۰) و مشاهیر و تھانیداران و سرانگروه ؟ و عهده  
 (۱۱) داران پرگنه و سوداگران و مہاجنان  
 (۱۲) مذکور ؟ فعلی نامشروع دور کردند اگر  
 (۱۳) ثانی الحال از عہدہ دار و از مسلم و کافر کسی کہ بیعہد ؟  
 (۱۴) و اذن دهند برای مسلمانرا سوگند عہد خدا  
 (۱۵) و رسول خداے شکستہ باشند و برای کافر را سوگند  
 (۱۶) سرستی و ستوتی ؟ کہ می پرستند شکستہ باشند تا خلق الله  
 (۱۷) را قرار و ازام باشد ؟ و این بحکم ؟ خداوند عالمپناه ؟ خلد  
 (۱۸) ملکہ ..... الحادی عشر من ذی القعدہ سنہ تسعو خمسين و ثمانیہ

## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.  
 (2) During the period of the rule of the great and illustrious Sultān, one who is supported by  
 (3) the help of the Benign (Lord), Qutb'u'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-  
 (4) Muza'ffar Ahmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh,  
 (5) son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muza'ffar Shāh, Sultān,  
 (6) let the office-holders at the *kūṭwālī* of the town of Paṭan Sukhnāth<sup>1</sup> know  
 (7-8) that with the arrival of (every new) comer, . . . \* used to be extracted from the house  
 of certain creatures of God who were thus subjected to trouble, oppression and tyranny,

<sup>1</sup> Thus in the estampage; could it be Paṭan Somnath?

\* This single word which holds the clue to the nature of harassment caused to the public could not be ascertained. Probably it is a local word.



(9) resulting in the commitment of illegal acts ; with the concurrence of the learned, the jurists,

(10) the worthies, the *thānedārs* and their chief?, the office-bearers

(11) of the *pargana*, the traders and the *mahājans*,<sup>1</sup>

(12) the said illegal action was prohibited. If

(13) in the second instance, from among the office-bearers or from the Muslims or non-Muslims, anybody without warrant or permission ?

(14-16) permits it, if he be a Muslim, he will be held to have violated the pledge to God and to the Prophet of God, and if a Hindu, he will be considered to have broken his pledge to Sarasatī (*Sarasvatī*) and *Satvanti*(?) whom they worship, so that the creatures of God

(17) may be at ease. And this was by the order of the master, the refuge of the world, may his kingdom endure

(18) ..... on the 11th of the month of *Dhī'l-Qa'da*, year 859 (A. H. or 23rd Oct. 1455 A. D.).

Though we are unable to lay our finger on the exact nature of the embarrassment caused to the public, nevertheless, the inscription is very important, since it throws new light on the internal administration of the Gujarat Sultanate. That the Sultans were not so despotic as they are generally supposed to be is illustrated by this remarkable record. It also makes it clear that before issuing its orders regarding problems affecting the common man, the highest authority of the state did not fail to consult and if necessary accept the advice of men from different walks of life, such as officers, leading men of the time, the clergy, the business community and the like. This is a piece of information which we do not easily come across in historical works.

#### INSCRIPTION NO. 7

The seventh inscription was brought to the Museum from Parnavada, situated at a distance of about seven miles to the east of Prabhas Patan. Like the previous inscription, it is bilingual, having been inscribed both in Persian and Sanskrit and dated in the reign of Sultan Qutbu'd-Din Ahmad II.

This epigraph was edited by Dr. G. Yazdani in a previous number of this series, where it was assigned to Qutbu'd-Din Mubarak Shāh Khalji, the year being illegible ; it was further stated to record the construction of a *minār* (tower) by Malik Sayyid Muhammad Mubarak 'Azz Sultānpūrī. It was also assumed that the town Sultānpūr was the name given after Muslim conquest to the town mentioned in the Sanskrit version by the name Deopattan.<sup>2</sup> Later, Dr. Yazdani's attention was invited to a reading of this inscription published by Major Watson in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1879,<sup>3</sup> p. 183, wherein the year was read as 'A. H. 862'<sup>4</sup> and the object of construction was stated to be a *khāna* (house). Dr. Yazdani accepted the reading of the date which tallied with the year given in the Sanskrit version, but could not agree to the reading of the word '*khāna*' which, according to him, was not preferable to his original reading, namely, '*minār*'.

<sup>1</sup> The *mahajan* is a public body, mainly constituted of traders and businessmen, which takes upon itself to look after the needs of the people. Its authority is even today effective in many a town and village of Gujarat including Saurashtra.

<sup>2</sup> *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1935-36, p. 48, pl. XXXVb. Deopattan is another popular name of Somnath or Prabhas Patan.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1939-40, p. 47, where a note on this inscription was published, gives 1878 which is a typographical error.

<sup>4</sup> This is incorrect. Watson gives the date 860 and not 862.



There are some points in the above statements that require correction and clarification. From the reading given below, it will be seen that a fort<sup>1</sup> was constructed by Malik Asad (son of) Mubārak 'Azz Sulṭānpūrī and that the record is dated 15th Rabī' I, A. H. 862, in the reign of Sultan Quṭbu'd-Dīn, son of Muḥammad Shāh of Gujarat.<sup>2</sup>

## TEXT

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ :ۛ كَرْدَ اَیْنِ حِصَارِ مَلِكِ اَسَدِ مُحَمَّدِ مَبَارَكِ عَزْ سُلْطَانِپُورِے

(۲) دَرْ عَهْدِ سُلْطَانِ قَطْبِ الدِّیْنِ بِنِ مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ بِقَارِیْخِ 'پَاَنْزْدَهْمِ' مَاهِ رَبِیْعِ الْاَوَّلِ

(۳) 'شَهْرِ سَنَهْ' ؟ اِثْنِیْ وَ سَتِیْنِ وَ ثَمَانِیْہِ ہَرْ کَہْ 'بَہْ' بَیْنْدِ بَانِیْ دَا بِدَعَا[یْ] اِیْمَانِ

یاد آرد

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This fort was constructed by Malik Asad (son of) Muḥammad (son of) Mubārak 'Azz Sulṭānpūrī,

(2) during the reign of Sulṭān Quṭbu'd-Dīn, son of Muḥammad Shāh, the Sulṭān, on the 15th of the month of Rabī' I,

(3) Shuhūr<sup>11</sup> year 862 (A.H. or 31st Jan. 1458 A.D.). Whoever sees this may favour the builder with prayers for (his) Faith.

The Sanskrit version is fuller and more informative than its Persian counterpart.<sup>12</sup> The former gives the name of the town where the fort (*koṭ*) was constructed as Pashnāvādra of which the modern Pashnāvāda is a corruption. It also calls the builder as Malik Śrī Asad, son of Malik Śrī Muḥammad, son of Malik Śrī Mubārak.<sup>13</sup> Finally, it gives the name of the stone-carver in full.

<sup>1</sup> The word "حصار" also means fort-wall.

<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions of the Gujarat Sultans generally give the full genealogy of the Sultan concerned, but here it is omitted.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Yazdani reads "مینار", Watson "خانه".

<sup>4</sup> Y. reads "سید", W. omits it and reads "ولد" after "محمد".

<sup>5</sup> W. reads "عزت عالی نمود".

<sup>6</sup> W. reads "السلطان".

<sup>7</sup> Y. and W. read "یازدهم".

<sup>8</sup> Y. omits; W. reads the last line thus:

"ثمان ما این و ستین مله الکریم باذلنا عالم العلام"

<sup>9</sup> Y. omits.

<sup>10</sup> Y. reads "کر[د]".

<sup>11</sup> For a note on the words "شهر سَنَه" occurring in the Gujarat inscriptions, see *Epig. Ind., A. & P. Supp.*, 1953 & 54, p. 50.

<sup>12</sup> For the Sanskrit version, please see Maj. Watson, 'Notes on the sea-coast of Saurashtra', *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII (1879), p. 183.

<sup>13</sup> I do not think the Sanskrit version mentions the Malik as 'of Deopattana' as stated by Watson, *opp. cit.*



Major Watson found it singular that 'the Persian inscription says that Malik Mihammad was the builder of the mosque or fort, while the Devanāgarī says that his son Malik Asad built it'; he further stated that 'the Persian would lead one to think that a mosque or a *musaffirkhāna* had been built, while the Gujarātī rather points to repairs of the fort'; he also thought that the Persian record was very clear; and lastly, he maintained that the date was evidently Sar-Sin and not Hijra, and that 'even then it was difficult to make the dates in the Persian and Gujarātī respectively correspond within a year or two'.<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen from the reading of the Persian version above which I hope will be found both correct and complete, that the discrepancies Major Watson pointed out between the two versions arose out of the incorrect reading of the Persian portion. For, the latter also mentions Malik Asad as the builder. Similarly, the object of construction was neither a *musaffirkhāna* nor a mosque, but a fort or fort-wall. As regards the date also, Major Watson's reading of it as 860 is early by two years.

But Major Watson is right in maintaining that the dates mentioned in the two inscriptions do not correspond. The Persian record bears the date 15th Rabi' I, A.H. 832 or 31st January 1458 A.D., while the Sanskrit version bears two dates: Sunday, Śrāvaṇa vadi 2, Samvat 1514, which is probably the date of commencement of construction and Sunday, Māgha vadi 3, Samvat 1514, which is the date of writing. These dates are puzzling. Ordinarily, the month Śrāvaṇa is preceded by Māgha, while here the former precedes the latter. If, as suggested by Maj. Watson, either the Hālārī Samvat is intended which commences in Ashāḍha or the year usually used in inscriptions and calculations of Shāstris—which commences in Chaitra, the situation arising out of the inscription—Śrāvaṇa preceding Māgha—is satisfactorily explained.<sup>2</sup> In this connection, the views of the Government Epigraphist for India may be reproduced here:—

'The two dates cited in the record would be quite in order if the Year Sam. 1514 is reckoned as Chaitrādi i.e., commencing from Chaitra (March-April) or, as Major Watson has surmised Ashāḍhādi (July-August) according to the Hālārī Samvat. In either case, the month Śrāvaṇa precedes Māgha and the equivalents for the two dates, viz., (1) Śrāvaṇa vadi 2, Sunday, and (2) Māgha vadi 3, Sunday, would respectively correspond to (1) 1457 A.D., August 7, and (2) 1453 A.D., January 22 (vadi is corrected to *audi* in this second case). If we follow Chaitrādi (Pūrṇimānta), as is in vogue in Northern India, or Kārttikādi (Amānta) as is in vogue in Gujarat, the dates are irregular. In the latter case, Māgha no doubt precedes Śrāvaṇa but the dates do not work out correctly. We may, therefore, take the Samvat quoted here as Chaitrādi (Amānta) and think that the renovation of the fort began on the first or earlier date and was completed on the second (later) date when the record was also engraved. The date cited in the Persian version, viz., 862, Rabi'u'l-Awwal 15, is only 9 days later than the second date.'

Dr. Yazdani's assumption that Deopattan was evidently named as Sultanpur after Muslim conquest is not supported by facts. Firstly, the Sanskrit version clearly states that the order was issued from Deopattan in the prosperous reign of Sultan Qutbu'd-Din. Moreover, if the word before Malik Śrī Mubāraka in the beginning of the second line of the Sanskrit version is read as 'Sultanpurhi' instead of 'Sultanpawhi' as read doubtfully by Major Watson, it would make it further clear that Sultanpur and Deopattan are not identical. Further, nowhere in the annals of Delhi as well as Gujarat or otherwise, Deopattan—Prabhas Patan of our days—is called Sultanpur.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Watson, *opp. cit.*, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> There are three towns of the name of Sultanpur in and about Gujarat. One is Sultanpur in the vicinity of Nandarbar in West Khandesh District of Bombay which figured prominently in the history of Gujarat under the Sultan; the second, a fort near Tala in Gohilwad District of Saurashtra; the third near Gondal in Madhya Pradesh District. The latter two are also old places (*Gaz. of the Bomb. Pres., opp. cit.*, pp. 657-58).



The inscription under notice clearly shows, as Major Watson has rightly remarked, that the sovereign of this belt of Saurashtra, called Nagher, was Sultan Qutbu'd-Din of Gujarat even previous to the conquest of Junagadh by his successor Sultan Mahmūd Begdā. In this connection, it may be worthwhile to point out that at least the area stretching from Mangrol to Una was continuously subjected to the authority of the Muslims—first of the Delhi Governors and later of the Gujarat Sultans—since, we find at Mangrol, Veraval, Prabhas Patan, Una etc., a number of inscriptions representing almost every king right from the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh down to the conquest of Sorath by Mahmūd Begdā.<sup>1</sup>

As regards Malik Asad, the builder of the fort, nothing definite is known from historical works. That he was in-charge of Prabhas Patan and its dependencies is obvious from the epigraph itself. Now one Malik Asad is mentioned in the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* as one of the chief nobles of Sultan Qutbu'd-Din's successor; he was the *thānadār* of Mor Amli and was defeated by the Rāja of Champaner in A.H. 887—twentyfive years after the date of this record—when he tried to plunder the latter's territories.<sup>2</sup> Whether he is identical with the person referred to in the epigraph, it is difficult to say.

#### INSCRIPTION NO. 8

The eighth and last inscription of the group represents Mughal authority in Saurashtra. It is composed of eleven lines in Persian prose inscribed in fine *Nasta'liq* characters in relief on a slab of yellow sandstone measuring 18" by 26". The stone was originally fixed up in the wall of a shop in the market-square of Prabhas Patan. It has been considerably affected by weather and the letters have lost their proper shape. The record constitutes a notice issued in the time of emperor Aurangzeb by Shāh Wardī Khān, governor of Sorath, purporting that the merchants should not be compelled to purchase the produce of the lands of officials in whole lots. It also prohibited levy of certain other imposts. The order was inscribed on the stone in 1686 A.D.

It appears that this order was promulgated throughout the district under charge of Shāh Wardī Khān for, apart from the present inscription, there are two more, found respectively at Mangrol and Junagadh, which contain similar notices. The text remains almost the same in the three records which, however, differ in their dates by a few days; the style of writing is also identical in all the three.<sup>3</sup>

The present epigraph has been read as follows<sup>4</sup> :—

#### TEXT

Plate XXVI (c)

یا فتاح (۱)

چون بنده درگاه خلایق پناه شاه وردیخان بحفظ (۲)

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1954-55, App. C, nos. 135, 136 139, 141, 150, 151, 159, 165, 167, 170 etc.

<sup>2</sup> Sikandar, *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* (Bomb. 1890), p. 105, also says that he was the *thānadār* of the king.

<sup>3</sup> *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, pp. 47-48, where the texts of the Mangrol record as well as the inscription under study have been published. The Junagadh inscription (*ARIE*, 1954-55, App. C, No.132) was discovered by me during my visit to that place in June 1954.

<sup>4</sup> The variant readings of the other two epigraphs as also of the reading of the present epigraph given in *Corpus* are noted down below.

<sup>5</sup> The Junagadh inscription begins with *Bismillāh*, while the Mangrol one has "بادشاه" and "هو الفیاض" on the top.



- (۳) و حراست این سر زمین رسیده مطلع شد که حکام پیشین
- (۴) غلات حاگیر خود را بطرح<sup>۱</sup> یعنی اودیره به بیوپاریان داده روا دار
- (۵) نقصان آنها می شدند و ابواب ممنوعه از قسم<sup>۲</sup> فروعیات<sup>۳</sup> و غیره میگرفتند
- (۶) بتوفیق ایزدی این خیر خواه خلق<sup>۴</sup> الله تصدق<sup>۵</sup> بادشاه<sup>۶</sup> دین پناه قرار داده
- (۷) که غله را بطریق اودیره به بیوپاریان ندهم و ابواب ممنوعه نگیرم چون  
این امریست
- (۸) مکرم بسرخروی دنیا و عقبی لهذا<sup>۷</sup> سوال میکنم که آئینده<sup>۸</sup> نیز حکام منصوب<sup>۹</sup>  
آنجای<sup>۱۰</sup> غله

<sup>۱</sup> Corp. Insc. Bhav. reads "اینی یعنی".

<sup>۲</sup> Ibid. reads "فروخیات".

<sup>۳</sup> Ibid. reads "بر این امر چون".

<sup>۴</sup> Ibid. reads "باشد".

<sup>۵</sup> Ibid. reads "به تصدق".

<sup>۶</sup> The space for this word in the Mangrol inscription is too small: the word which is not distinct in the estampage is perhaps "شاه".

<sup>۷</sup> Corp. Insc. Bhav. has "در بیپار" ("بیپار" in vernacular means trade or business).

<sup>۸</sup> Ibid. gives "مکرزا مکرین امر بیوپاریان جمع".

<sup>۹</sup> The Junagadh Inscription has "مدلول", while the Mangrol one has "دال".

<sup>۱۰</sup> Corp. Insc. Bhav. has "مهنای".

<sup>۱۱</sup> The Mangrol record has the same words in a different construction thus: "حکام آئینده منصوب آنجا نیز".

<sup>۱۲</sup> Corp. Insc. Bhav. has "از".

<sup>۱۳</sup> Ibid. has "ایجا".

<sup>۱۴</sup> Ibid. reads "غله را".

- (۹) اودیره به بیویاریان ندهند و فروعیات وغیره ابواب ممنوعه از رعایا نگیرند و  
 (۱۰) هرکس که به اخذ و جر این ابواب راضی خواهد شد او را قسم قرآن مجید است  
 (۱۱) و بر او طلاق خواهد افتاد تحریر فی التاریخ دوازدهم شهر ربیع الاولی سنه ۱۰۹۷

## TRANSLATION

- (1) O Opener !  
 (2) When *Shāh Wardī Khān*, the servant of the royal court (which is) the refuge of people,  
 (3) having arrived here as incharge and custodian of these territories, was informed that the officials who had preceded him  
 (4) used to compel merchants to purchase produce of their estates at a fixed price by way of *udairh*,<sup>1</sup> thus causing  
 (5) loss to the latter, and used to levy certain contraband heads of taxation of the kind of *furū'iyāt*<sup>2</sup> etc.,  
 (6) through the grace of God, this well-wisher of the creatures of God, resolved by way of an offering for the emperor (who is) the refuge of Religion,  
 (7) that he would not deliver produce to the merchants on *udairh* sale and would not collect revenue under prohibited heads. Since this is an act  
 (8) bringing honour and respect in this world as well as in the next, hence, I implore that in future also, the governors commissioned here  
 (9) will not sell crop to merchants on *udairh* basis and shall not levy on the subjects contraband taxes like *furū'iyāt* etc. ; and  
 (10) whoever agrees to the collection and drawal of such heads of revenue is adjured by the firm *Qur'ān*,  
 (11) and the obligation of *Talāq* will be on him. Written on the 12th of the month of Rabi' I, A.H. 1097 (or 27th Jan. 1686 A.D.).

This inscription is an important record enabling us to have a glimpse into the conduct of the Government officials in the outlying districts of the Mughal empire. It also shows how steps were

<sup>1</sup> In the Junagadh inscription there is a word before this word reading like "سنه", but in the Mangrol one it is "بطریق".

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. Insc. Bhav.* has "فروعیات".

<sup>3</sup> The Mangrol inscription has "وغیره" after "رعایا".

<sup>4</sup> *Corp. Insc. Bhav.* has "آینده نیز".

<sup>5</sup> There are a couple of words after this word in the Mangrol inscription which are not distinct.

<sup>6</sup> *Corp. Insc. Bhav.* has "فی ایل".

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* reads "اول".

<sup>8</sup> This word is in all probability *uḥḥad* which in Gujarati means 'in lump, unweighed' etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Furū'iyāt* means 'income or revenue other than from a fixed source'.



being taken to rectify the wrongs committed by those in authority. It is also interesting to note that the *Mir'at-i-Ahmadī* which usually quotes royal orders and decrees in full, does not refer to this measure at all. Furthermore, the epigraph corrects the *Mir'at-i-Ahmadī* in respect of Shāh Wardī Khān's date of death. According to the account given in that work, when the revenues of Sorath were granted as a personal estate to prince Muḥammad A'zam Shāh by Aurangzeb, Shāh Wardī khān was sent to Sorath as *faujdar* in A.H. 1094, and was succeeded, on his death in A.H. 1096, by his son Sher Afgan Khān.<sup>1</sup> Now, this order issued by Shāh Wardī Khān is dated Rabi' I, A.H. 1097, which means that his death must have occurred even later than the date of the record.

<sup>1</sup> • Alt Muḥammad Khān, *Mir'at-i-Ahmadī*, pt. I (Baroda, 1928), pp. 306-7, 214-15.

## TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, MADRAS

BY Z. A. DESAI

Of the two Persian records stored in the Museum, one is inscribed on stone,<sup>1</sup> while the other is engraved on a copper-plate which also bears its Sanskrit version written in late medieval Telugu characters. Nothing is known regarding the place where the stone record was originally found. The slab bearing the inscription of two verses in Persian is cut into five panels, of which the first contains *Bismillāh* and the rest one hemistich each; the date is contained in the ohronogram in the fourth hemistich and is also inscribed below in figure. The panels are covered by a margin of foliage design bound on both sides by thick lines. The epigraph, executed in *Nasā'liq* characters in relief of a fairly good type<sup>2</sup>, records the laying out of a garden by Jahāngīr Khān in A.H. 1104 (1692-93 A.D.). From the text it transpires that the garden was intended to be called *Rāḥat Bakhsh* (comfort-giving).

### TEXT

#### Plate XXVII(a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

(۲) باغ راحت بخش گلزار (sic.) ارم را توامان

(۳) بانیش خان جہانگیر است با تمکین شان

(۴) سبزہ اش میناوش گلہاش همچون سیم و زر

(۵) باغ مینا سال تاریخش خرد گفتا ازان

(۶) سنہ ۱۱۰۴

### TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate.
- (2) The *Rāḥat Bakhsh* garden is a twin of the garden of Iram.<sup>3</sup>
- (3) Its builder is Jahāngīr Khān (who is endowed) with dignity and majesty.
- (4) Its verdure is like paradise and its flowers are like silver and gold :

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Rep. Sou. Ind. Epig. (ARSIE)*, 298 of 1895; *South Indian Inscriptions*, V, Arch. Surv. Ind. New Imp. Series, XLIV (Madras, 1926), p. 354, no. 862.

<sup>2</sup> It will be observed that in two out of three places, the conjunctive "و" has been substituted by a *ḍauḡma*; likewise, the word "گلزار" is misspelt on the stone.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., *Bāgh-i-Iram*—a garden constructed on earth by Shaddād as a replica of the garden of Paradise.



(5) hence, Wisdom has given its date (in the words) : *the garden of Paradise.*

(6) Year 1104 (A.H. or 1692-93 A.D.).

The copper-plate, said to have been originally received from the office of the Collector, South Arcot District of Madras State, is inscribed on both sides, one and half of which is occupied by the record in Sanskrit verse in 31 lines written in late medieval Telugu characters. This version is preceded by three figures carved on the top, the central one of which is that of Śrī Varāha and the left and right ones, of Hanumāna and Garuḍa respectively.

The remaining half of the back sides is inscribed with a record in Persian prose running into eight lines carved in *Nasta'liq* of an ordinary type. This version refers to the grant of five villages for the maintenance of the temple of Vārāh Swāmin made by Ṭoḍar Mal alias Śrī Niwās Dās, son of Tekchand, son of Hans Gopāl, nāib of the *diucān* and *gūbedār* of Karnāṭak, in the second year of Farrukh Siyar's reign. It further states that Ṭoḍar Mal made this grant after he had come to the *pargana* of Śrī Muṣṣnī and had the *darsan* of Vārāh Swāmin.

The plate under study has been noticed in the *Catalogue of the Copper-plate Grants preserved in the Madras Government Museum*,<sup>1</sup> where the donor of the grant is mentioned as 'Dewan and Subēdār of His Excellency Nawab Saadat-Ullah Khan Nawab of the Carnatic', which is far from correct as will be clear from the following reading of the Persian version :—

## TEXT

## Plate XXVII(b)

- (۱) بتاریخ غره جمادی الثانی سنه دویم از جلوس مبارک فرخ سیر بادشاه غازی
- (۲) قدوی والا بارگاه سلاطین سجدہ گاہ تودرمل عرف سری نواس داس ولد تیکچند ابن
- (۳) ہنس گویال ساکن چکوه خورد من اعمال پرگنہ اتاوہ نایب امارت و ایالت یرست
- (۴) نواب سعادت اللہ خان دیوان و صوبدار کرناٹک فرخندہ بنیاد در پرگنہ
- (۵) سری مشنی ؟ تصرف زمیندار تجاور آمدہ درس و ارہہ سوامین نمودہ موضع کیل
- (۶) پلوگی و غیرہ پنج موضع بموجب سند زمیندار مذکور بدستور معمول در وجہ
- (۷) انعام و ارہہ سوامین مقرر نمود ہرکس از ہنود و مسلمین در جاری نمودن دہات
- (۸) مرقوم استادگی نماید دہرم و ایمان خود را برباد دہد

## TRANSLATION

(1) On the 1st of Jumādī II of the 2nd year of the auspicious accession to the throne of Farrukh Siyar Bādshāh Ghāzī (1st Jumādī II, A.H. 1126=3rd Jun. 1714 A.D.),

(2) the devoted servant of the lofty court (which is) the place of prostration for the monarchs, namely, Ṭoḍar Mal alias<sup>2</sup> Śrī Niwās Dās, son of Tekchand, son of

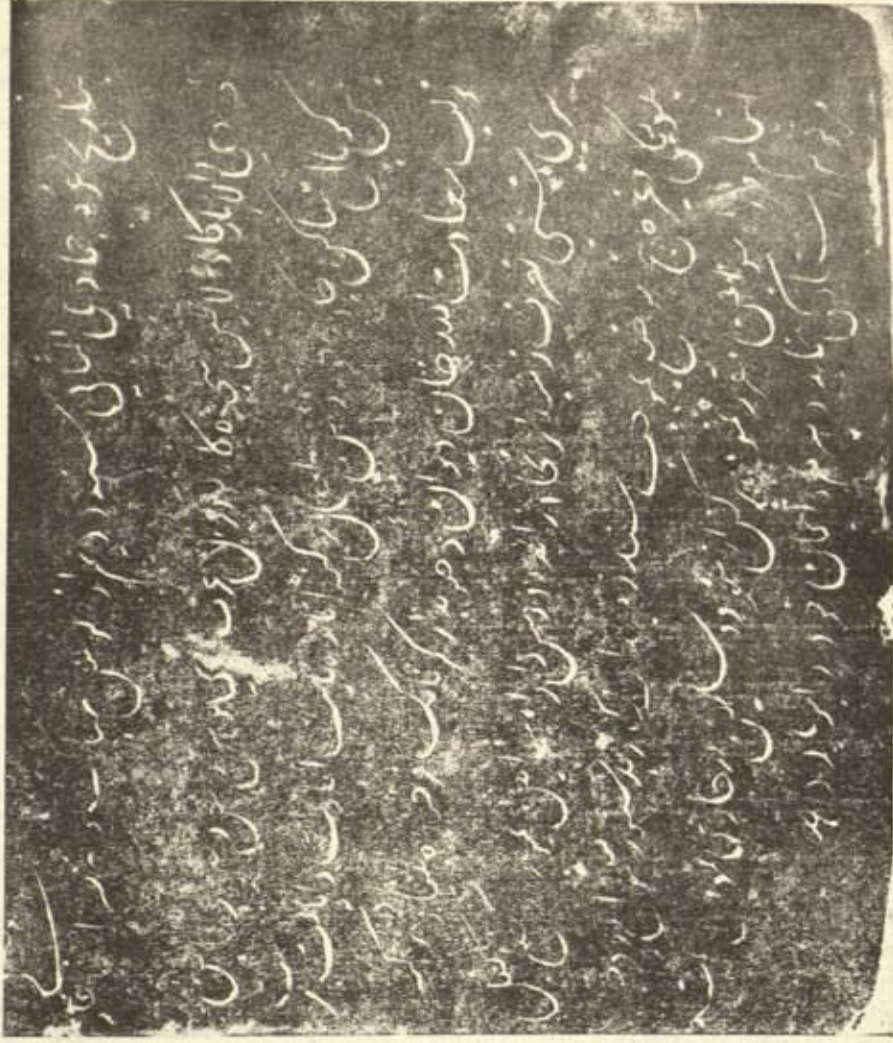
<sup>1</sup> Handerson, *Cat. Copp. Grants in the Govt. Mus.* (Madras, 1918), pp. 41-42.

<sup>2</sup> 'Urf in the original.



GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, MADRAS

(b) Copper-plate grant of Toḡlar Mal, deputy of the governor of Karnāṣak under Farrukh Siyar (p. 104)



Scale : 8

(a) Inscription recording construction of a garden by Jahangir Khān in A.H. 1104 (p. 103)



Scale : 1½





(3) Hans Gopāl, inhabitant of Chakwa Khūrd in the district of the *pargana* Eṭāwa, (who was the deputy of the refuge of governorship and authority,

(4) Nawwāb Sa'ādatu'llāh Khān, the *ḍīwān* and *gūbedār* of *Farkhunda Bunyād*<sup>1</sup> Karnāṭak, having come to the *pargana* of

(5) Śrī Muṣṇī in possession of the *Zamīndār* of Tajāwar (Tanjore?), and having visited the (god) Vārāh Swāmīn,

(6-8) fixed five villages, viz., the village Kīl Pallūyagullī<sup>2</sup> etc., in accordance with the *sanad* of the *ṣaīd zamīndār*, per usual procedure, as a gift for the (maintenance of the temple of) Vārāh Swāmīn. Whoever from among the Hindus or Muslims causes prevention in the execution of (the order in respect of) the said villages, will lose his *Dharam* or Faith.

*Sanskrit Version.*<sup>3</sup>

'Hail! On the 14th day, Vṛishabha-saṁkrānti, of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha of the year Jaya, 1637 of the illustrious Śālivāhana-Śaka era, while Parukuśāha (Farukh Siyar) Pādusāha, the lord of Dhillī was ruling righteously the whole empire, Śrīniwāsādāsa of Kāśyapa-gōtra, born in the lineage of Saṁkasāmana, bearing the epithet of *Vaiśa-Gopālapātra*, the devotee of God Śrīmushṇēśa and a protégé of Ṭoḍara-mallu, the son of Teku-chandu, granted with libation of gold and water five villages, namely, Kīlapulīyaṅkuḍī, Puttūru, Neḍiṅjēri and Malayāmbaṭṭu in Śrī-mushṇam-sīma and the village of Mēlapālayūru in Kāvanūri-sīma, situated in Cheṇje-prāntya in Tiruvaḍi-rājya, for fortnightly, monthly and annual festivals and for the worship (*tiruvārādhana*) and the waving of lights (*dīpārādhana*), etc., in the temple for the merit of the Pāchcha (Pādshāh), to be enjoyed in perpetuity as long as the sun and the moon endure.

Whosoever objects to this [gift] will incur the sin of having transgressed the tenets of his religion.

Imprecatory verse."

It will have been observed that in the Sanskrit version, no mention is made of the *gūbedār* of Karnāṭak, namely, Nawwāb Sa'ādatu'llāh Khān, who is too well-known to students of history to need any further account. But difference of a much serious nature exists between the Sanskrit and Persian versions: it is in respect of the donor of the grant and his identification. According to the Persian version, the donor of the grant is 'Ṭoḍar Mal, alias Śrī Niwās Dās, son of Tekchand, son of Hans Gopāl, inhabitant of Chakwa Khurd in the *pargana* of Eṭāwa'. But the Sanskrit version states differently. According to it, 'Śrīniwāsādāsa of Kāśyapa-gōtra . . . a protégé of Ṭoḍara-mallu made the said grant'. An inscription from the Varadarājaswāmīn temple at Conjeevaram, dated 1710 A.D., is reported to mention that Rāja Lāla Ṭoḍarmalla had brought back at the request of Śrīniwāsa alias Āttaṇ Tiruvengaḍa Rāmānuja Jiyār, the image of Varadarāja from its place of retreat in the jungles of Uḍayārpālayam and reconsecrated it in its own temple at Kānchi.<sup>4</sup> In other words, the Conjeevaram inscription as well as the Sanskrit version under notice make it absolutely plain that Ṭoḍar Mal and Śrīniwāsādāsa are two different persons of whom the donor of the grant was Śrīniwāsādāsa according to the Sanskrit version. As opposed to this is the explicit statement of the Persian inscription in respect of Ṭoḍar Mal: it not only traces his genealogy to the third degree, but also gives the name of his native place with its district. It clearly states that Ṭoḍar Mal was the alias (i.e., the title) of Śrīniwāsādāsa, the latter being his original name.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., of auspicious foundation.

<sup>2</sup> Kīlapulīyaṅkuḍī of the Sanskrit version.

<sup>3</sup> The translation of the Sanskrit version was kindly supplied, on request, by the Government Epigraphist, Ootacamund.

<sup>4</sup> *ARSIE*, 1920, pp. 121-22, 639 of 1919. A detailed account of Ṭoḍar Mal is given there.



Both the versions are clear and explicit in their statements ; therefore, it is difficult to decide whether Ṭoḍar Mal and Śrīniwāsādāsa are identical or not. If they are not, as stated by the Sanskrit inscription, and as also supported by the Conjeevaram inscription, we shall have to concede that Śrīniwāsādāsa was the actual donor of the grant. At the same time, the Persian version mentions Ṭoḍar Mal as the donor. Even if for argument's sake, the Persian version, despite its elaboration of the name of Ṭoḍar Mal, is taken to be incorrect, it is for consideration if Śrīniwāsādāsa was in a position to make grant of five villages. No such difficulty arises if it is accepted that the grant was made by Ṭoḍar Mal who was the deputy of the governor of Karnāṭak and thus in a position to make the donation. Moreover, do not the words *Vaṃsa-Gopālapātra*, stated to be the epithet of Śrīniwāsādāsa, recall to mind the name Hans Gopāl stated by the Persian version to be the name of Ṭoḍar Mal's grandfather ? In view of the above, it is not unlikely that there is some confusion in the text of the Sanskrit version itself.

Another point worth notice is the difference of dates in the two versions. 'The dates of the two records do not agree. The date of the Sanskrit inscription is irregular. *Jaya* corresponds to Śaka 1637 current and Śaka 1636 expired. Vaiśākhavadi 14 in that year corresponds to 1st May, but Vishuvasamkrānti to 28th April 1714 A.D.—a difference of three days. On the other end, there is discrepancy between this date and the date of the Persian counterpart, the latter being 3rd June 1714 A.D. There is no satisfactory explanation of the above discrepancy except that there is an error in calculation.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This note is from the Government Epigraphist, Ootacamund, who was consulted about the discrepancy between the dates of the respective versions.

# NOTE ON AN UNPUBLISHED PERSIAN INSCRIPTION IN THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, ORISSA

By I. A. OMERI

In a previous issue of the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Mr. A. K. Bhattacharya had published the only Persian inscription stored in the Orissa Provincial Museum at Bhubaneswar.<sup>1</sup> The epigraph engraved in *Nasta'liq* characters in relief on a slab of greenish chlorite stone measuring about 12" by 19" reads as under :—

## TEXT

### Plate XXVIII (b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) عاقل بود حاتم دوران

(۳) رستم وقت صاحب قران

(۴) هاتق گفت سال تاربخش

(۵) کشت بیواسطه شهید زجان

(۶) سنه ۱۱۹۳ هجری

## TRANSLATION

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

(2) 'Āqil<sup>2</sup> was the Hātim of the times,

(3) Rustam of the age (and) most fortunate.

(4) The Invisible angel stated the year of his date<sup>3</sup> (of death in these words):

(5) *The martyr became disconnected with life.*<sup>4</sup>

(6) Year A. H. 1193.

<sup>1</sup> A. K. Bhattacharya, 'An unpublished inscription in the Provincial Museum, Orissa', *JAS, Letters*, vol. XVIII (1952), No. 2, pp. 83-84.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84, has "قرآن" which is apparently a misprint giving altogether a different meaning.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* reads "۱۱۹۳".

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* translates 'Wise was the Hātim of the times'.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* translates 'stated the year and the Chronogram'.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* translates 'It happened without any agency, the martyr by life', the meaning of which I have failed to understand. It may be pointed out here that looking to the mediocre composition, the text appears to be the result of a novice's pen.



Now according to Mr. Bhattacharya, 'the verse is in *Rubā'i* of a mixed metre'. The meaning of this statement is not quite clear. What he probably means is that the form of verse employed by the composer is *Rubā'i* (Quatrain) written in a mixed or imperfect (غير سالم) metre. But, even then it is futile to designate it as such, for apart from the fact that the *Rubā'i* verse-form is written in particular metres only, these verses cannot claim to conform to any classification of verse-forms at all. For, a single metre—basic condition of any verse-form—does not run throughout these four hemistiches; also, it is doubtful if the first three hemistiches can be considered as metrical. Even if they are, they are written in three different metres which are quite uncommon; it is the fourth hemistich only that yields good scansion. It would be, therefore, better to refrain from trying to classify it, and merely call it an unsuccessful attempt of some pseudo-poet at versification.

Likewise, Mr. Bhattacharya's comments on the identity of the person whose death is recorded in the epigraph are somewhat exaggerated and not upto the point. That he may have been 'a prominent figure of his times' is not impossible, though it is equally likely that he may not have been so. But in stating that 'he was a great fighter given to large charities and was born in auspicious conjunction of stars', Mr. Bhattacharya has been misled by the epithets, used for the deceased, which are nothing more than poetical exaggeration at the most. Further, it is not clear what he means by suggesting that 'the title "حاتم دوران" might as well have been used as the common name by which the person was known'. If common name is taken by him to be the popular name, then also the assertion might not be factual. Quoting parallels in 'titles for a common name' would also be not proper. As regards the identity of the person itself, Mr. Bhattacharya has overlooked the possibility that 'Āqil could have been his proper name, as the first hemistich tends to suggest.

Mr. Bhattacharya's remarks regarding the words "سال" and "تاریختی" are not only incorrect but superfluous.

Lastly, his reading of the date is 1194, while the chronogram yields 1193, which inconsistency he has tried to remove by adopting a novel method of adding '1 which is the value of "ا" suppressed in "از" in order to correspond to the date 1194 mentioned in figures in the last line of the record'. It will be seen that the reading '1194' itself is doubtful, for, the unit figure  $\epsilon$  in the date appears to be  $\epsilon$  with its middle notch slightly extended upwards towards right, probably, through the inadvertence or inexperience of the engraver, thus making it look like  $\epsilon$ . But for argument's sake, even if it were  $\epsilon$ , the method for corresponding the date yielded by the chronogram with that given in figures betrays lack of elementary knowledge of the science of chronogram.



## INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE CENTRAL MUSEUM, NAGPUR

By B. D. VERMA

The Central Museum, Nagpur, established in 1863, possesses a fairly good collection of lithic and copper-plate records acquired from different parts of the former Central Provinces. In this collection are included eight Persian inscriptions which form the subject-matter of this paper.<sup>1</sup>

Most of these epigraphs have been listed by R. B. Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*.<sup>2</sup> But these notices which are by no means exhaustive contain mistakes of diverse nature which are liable to mislead scholars; moreover, since these notices do not make a correct or systematic study of the inscriptions, the importance of some of them has not been taken due cognisance of.

### INSCRIPTION FROM BATIHAGARH RECORDING THE CONSTRUCTION OF A WELL

The earliest of these records belongs to the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh. The slab of stone bearing this record is reported to have been brought from Baṭihāgarh, a village 21 miles north-west of Damoh, headquarters of the district of the same name, where it was kept in the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow prior to its removal to the Museum.<sup>3</sup> Its exact findspot is not on record, but R. B. Hiralal speaks of this inscription—according to him fragmentary—as having existed on a step-well called *Sās Bahū Kī Bāoli* at Baṭihāgarh.<sup>4</sup>

Though R. B. Hiralal noticed this inscription twice, he was unable to give its purport clearly. At first, he was inclined to state that 'it records the foundation of a palace (?) in the reign of Ghiyāsuddīn-ud-duniyā in the year 725 A. H. (A. D. 1324)'. In view of the explicit mention of the date and the title of the king, there should have been no doubt at all of the latter's being identical with Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh. But R. B. Hiralal, in the first edition of his list, sought—unnecessarily and also in vain—to establish the identity of the king with certainty, thereby making a few remarks that created some confusion in the otherwise clear statement of the inscription. According to his earlier statement, 'if the date is correct, this man must have been the Tughlak king who reigned between 1320 and 1325 A. D. But if this Ghiyāsuddīn is identical with that of the Damoh Inscription (of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Khaljī of Malwa), the Hijri date will have to be corrected. It is, however, possible that both may have ruled Damoh in their own times'.<sup>5</sup>

Later, R. B. Hiralal gave a summary of the contents of this epigraph in his article on a Sanskrit inscription from Baṭihāgarh itself, recording the construction of a Gomāṭha, a garden and a step-well and also mentioning Jallāla Khoja, Malik Julachī and the latter's son.<sup>6</sup> But instead of correcting his earlier statement, he committed further confusion by saying that the inscription

<sup>1</sup> I am extremely thankful to Dr. Z. A. Desai for inviting me to edit these inscriptions, for various readings he suggested and for some very valuable information regarding some of the personages mentioned in these epigraphs in general and regarding Malik Juljīn in particular, for whose account he generously and ungrudgingly gave me much material.

<sup>2</sup> R. B. Hiralal, *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar (ICPB)*, Nagpur, 1932, pp. 5, 59, 86, 145, 157.

<sup>3</sup> The slab has lost a little of its portion at the right bottom.

<sup>4</sup> R. B. Hiralal, 'Baṭihāgarh stone Inscription. Samvat 1385', *Epig. Ind. (EI)*, vol. XII, pp. 45-46.

<sup>5</sup> Hiralal, *Descriptive List of Inscriptions in Central Provinces & Berar* (Nagpur, 1916), p. 51. The exact purport of the last sentence is not clear, for the date which has been correctly read by him as 725 falls in the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh, while the Malwa king flourished about one hundred and fifty years later. Subsequently, Hiralal, *ICPB*, *opp. cit.*, p. 59, corrected his statement by omitting the portion regarding the identity of the king.

<sup>6</sup> Hiralal, *EI*, *opp. cit.*, pp. 44-46.



'informs us that it (i.e., the step-well) was constructed in the time of Jalāl Isahāka or Jalāl-ud-dīn, who killed Usmān and became Naib with the title of Akhta, in the reign of the just and pious monarch to whom the whole of Hindustan paid respect and by whose sword the whole of Turkistan was subdued'.<sup>1</sup>

From the reading of the inscription given below, the readers will be able to see for themselves how misleading and incorrect R. B. Hiralal's remarks are. The epigraph records the construction of a step-well, during the reign of Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn wa'd-Dunyā i.e., Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh, when Juljīn, the unique, was the governor and Jalāl-ud-Dīn Aḥsan was the latter's deputy in the district. The construction of the step-well took place in A. H. 725 (1324-25 A. D.).

Of the personages referred to in the inscription who were notable grandees of the earlier Tughluq period, Jalāl-ud-Dīn Aḥsan is most probably the one who had successfully rebelled against Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh and set up independent rule at Madura in the South. While histories do not give any further account of him save that he was an inhabitant of Kaithal, a town north-west of Delhi, and that he was in Ma'bar when he raised a revolt,<sup>2</sup> the present inscription indicates that he was the deputy *muqṭi* of the region where the inscription was found, during the reign of Tughluq Shāh. This post he must have held at least till V. S. 1385 or 1328 A. D., as is known from the Baṭihāgarh Sanskrit inscription referred to above.<sup>3</sup>

As regards Juljīn, the governor, historical works give very meagre information which also is not specific; not only that, but these works are not even in complete accord as regards the correct spelling of his name. Among the earliest sources, Baranī and Shams Sirāj 'Afif do not mention him at all on one hand, while on the other, 'Isāmī speaks of him as one of the notable grandees who had accompanied Tughluq Shāh on his expedition to Lakhnauti. An army was sent under his command to reinforce Bahrām Khān and Tatār Khān was asked to assist him.<sup>4</sup> Among the later histories, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* enumerates in addition one Malik Juljīn—the personage under notice or more probably his son—among those nobles of Muḥammad bin Tughluq who conveyed their loyalty to Firūz Shāh Tughluq when Aḥmad bin Ayāz had set up a boy-king on the throne of Delhi following the death of Sultan Muḥammad.<sup>5</sup> The Sanskrit inscription from Baṭihāgarh calls him Julachi and speaks of him as having been appointed governor of Chedi country by Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh.<sup>6</sup> In other words, he was governor of that part at least until 1328 A. D., date of the Sanskrit record.

As has been remarked above, the name of this noble is given differently in different works. Thus, for example, 'Isāmī writes Zulchi "زُلجی", Ibn Battūta gives Dulajī,<sup>7</sup> Yaḥyā gives

<sup>1</sup> Hiralal, *EI*, *opp. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* (Cal. 1862), p. 480; 'Isāmī, *Futūḥ-ṣ-Salāṭīn*, ed. A. Mahdi Husain (Agra, 1938), pp. 449, 452; Yabyā, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* (Cal. 1931), p. 106; Ibn Battūta, *The Rebel*, tr. A. Mahdi Husain (Baroda, 1953), p. 226. Ibn Battūta had married Hūr Nasab, Jalāl-ud-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh's daughter (*ibid.*, p. 103).

<sup>3</sup> Hiralal, *EI*, *opp. cit.* For few more Sanskrit inscriptions mentioning him and Juljīn, see Hiralal, *ICPB*, *opp. cit.*, pp. 58, 59.

<sup>4</sup> 'Isāmī, *opp. cit.*, p. 403; Ibn Battūta, *opp. cit.*, p. 95, gives the name as Dulji-ut-tatari and places the event immediately after the accession of Sultan Muḥammad, while 'Isāmī narrates it in the course of his account of Tughluq Shāh's expedition of Bengal. A. Mahdi Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* (Lond. 1938), p. 147, follows Ibn Battūta.

<sup>5</sup> Yabyā, *opp. cit.*, p. 120. The printed edition gives *Khuljīn* in the text, while *Juljīn* is given as a variant reading.

Hiralal, *EI*, *opp. cit.*, pp. 44-47. Hiralal who has read the ruling monarch's name as "Maḥmūd" thinks him to be Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd of the Slave dynasty (1246-66 A. D.), which is absurd. His "Maḥmūd" can be none other than Sultan Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh.

<sup>7</sup> 'Isāmī, *opp. cit.*, pp. 401, 403.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Battūta, *opp. cit.*, p. 95.



different spellings such as *Khuljīn*, *Dhu'alchī*, etc.<sup>1</sup> and *Firishṭa*, while speaking of a brother and a son of *Juljīn*, has “جلجی”<sup>2</sup> which is an obvious misprint for “جلجی” *Juljī* (or *Juljīn*). It may be pointed out that among the variant readings given in other manuscripts of *Yahyā's* work, *Juljīn* occurs more frequently,<sup>3</sup> and since the present contemporary record also gives *Juljīn*, there should be no doubt that ‘*Juljīn*’ is the correct nomenclature.

It may also be pointed out here that there is no complete accord among historical works regarding the actual date of death of *Tughluq Shāh* and that of the accession to the throne of his successor. While *‘Isāmī* gives A. H. 724,<sup>4</sup> *Baranī*, *Yahyā* and *Firishṭa* give A. H. 725.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain, on the basis of the *Memoirs of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, is inclined to fix the date of death of *Tughluq Shāh* as July, 1325,<sup>6</sup> which is in contradiction with the epigraphical evidence. The inscription under notice furnishes a very important piece of evidence inasmuch as it mentions *Tughluq Shāh* as ruling in A. H. 725 though it does not specify the month. But we are able to overcome this difficulty, since the inscription on the *Jāmi‘* mosque at Cambay which bears the date 18th Muḥarram A. H. 725 (1325 A. D.), speaks of *Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh* as the reigning monarch.<sup>7</sup> It follows, therefore, that—provided, of course, epigraphical evidence is to be believed—*Tughluq Shāh* must have died sometime in the month of Muḥarram—before 18th, in that year.

The present epigraph is carved in relief in seven lines written horizontally on a grey-coloured soft stone measuring 4' by 2', the language being Persian verse; the metre of the verse is a variant from of *Hazaj-i-Musaddas*.<sup>8</sup> The style of writing is bold *Nasḥ* which conforms to the calligraphy employed in the inscriptions of the *Tughluq* period; attention in particular may be drawn towards the characteristic way in which “س” (for “كه”) is carved on the stone. My reading of the text is as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXVIII (a)

(۱) بعهد شه غياث الدين و دنيا بنا اين خير ميمو[ن] گشت منصوب  
(۲) چنين شه تا جهان باشد بپايد چو در عهدش حق كس نيست مذهب\*

<sup>1</sup> *Yahyā*, *opp. cit.*, pp. 146, 151, 157, 165, 174, 220. *Elliot, Hist. of Ind.*, vol. IV (Lond. 1872), pp. 22, 29, 34, 40, 71, transcribes this name as ‘*Khul Chain*’ and adds in a foot-note (p. 22) that it is ‘probably *Kul Chand*’.

<sup>2</sup> *Firishṭa*, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, vol. I (Lucknow Ed.), p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> *Yahyā*, *opp. cit.*, pp. 151, 157, 165, 174, 220.

<sup>4</sup> *‘Isāmī*, *opp. cit.*, p. 408.

<sup>5</sup> *Baranī*, *opp. cit.*, p. 456; *Yahyā*, *opp. cit.*, p. 96; *Firishṭa*, *opp. cit.*, p. 132.

<sup>6</sup> A. Mahdi Husain, *opp. cit.*, pp. 41, 68. It may be pointed out that Dr. Mahdi Husain has computed four years and ten months—duration of *Tughluq Shāh's* rule, as given by *Muḥammad bin Tughluq* in his *Memoirs*—according to the solar system, while in fact, the computation ought to have been on the basis of the lunar system, whereby the month would be May and not July. S. H. Hodiwala has correctly computed it (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Bombay, 1939, p. 293).

<sup>7</sup> Cousens, *Rev. List of Ant. Remains in Bomb. Pres. etc.* (Bomb. 1897), p. 313. It is being noticed in *Ann. Rep. Ind. Epig.* for 1956-57.

<sup>8</sup> The metre is “هزج مسدس محذوف يا مقصور” and the scansion is:—

“مفاعيلن مفاعيلن فاعولن يا مفاعيلن”

\* It is just possible that the original word was “مرهوب”.



- (۳) بهندستان ز عدلش جم [له] شاکر  
 ۱ بترکستان ز شمس جمله مغلوب
- (۴) ایالت داشت جلجین یگانه  
 ۲ کے از تیغش سر کفرست مضروب
- (۵) جلال الدین احسن نایب اقطاع  
 ۳ بکاتب کرد لطفی غیر محسوب
- (۶) ... بیست پنج و هفصد ز هجر [ت]  
 ۴ باتمام آمد این باین مرغوب
- (۷) [شده توفیق] عثمان را بگیتی  
 ۵ بحمد الله کے حاصل گشت ۳ مغلوب

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the king *Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn wa-Dunyā*, the foundation of this auspicious edifice of public use was laid.

(2) May such a king live so long as this world lasts, because in his regime, the rights of none are lost.

(3) In India all are full of gratitude on account of his equity, and in the land of the *Turks*, all are overpowered on account of his awe.

(4) *Juljīn*, the unique, by whose sword the head of infidelity is hit hard, enjoyed the governorship (of this province).

(5) *Jalālu'd-Dīn Aḥsan* (who is) the deputy governor of the *iqṭā'* (province), did innumerable kindnesses to the scribe (of this record).

(6) The year was seven hundred and twentyfive of the migration (of the Prophet) when this step-well was completed (A. H. 725=1324-25 A. D.).

(7) Praise be to God that through His grace, the long cherished desire of *Uṭhmān* was achieved in this world.

It has not been possible to identify *Uṭhmān* who was, in all probability, the builder of the step-well as well as the writer of the inscription.

## INSCRIPTION FROM THE RAMPART OF DAMOH FORT

The next inscription is reported to have been brought from Damoh which is situated on the Bina-Katni railway line near Sagar. In olden times, Damoh was the capital of the Gond Rajas who had built a fort there. According to R. B. Hiralal who has noticed this inscription also, the slab is said to have been fixed to the western gate of the Damoh fort which has now altogether disappeared.<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, who published the text and translation of this inscription—which, in no way, can be considered final—saw it standing at the Kacherī where it came from the fort over whose western gate it was originally fixed.<sup>5</sup> The epigraph runs into seven lines in Persian

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the inscription which Ibn Battūṭa saw on the Jāmi' mosque at Multan:—

”انی قاتلت التتر تسعا و عشرين مرة فهزمتهم فحننذ سمیت بالملك الغازی“

“I (*Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn*) have encountered the Tartars on twenty-nine occasions and defeated them; hence I am called *Malik-al-Ghāzī*” (E. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 1871, p. 192).

<sup>2</sup> This reading is purely conjectural.

<sup>3</sup> Could it be “مطلوب”?

<sup>4</sup> Hiralal, *ICPB*, *opp. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> A. Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, vol. XXI, pp. 168-69.



(a) Inscription of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh, dated A.H. 725, from Baḡināgarh (p. 111)



SCALE : ·15

(b) Inscription in the Orissa Provincial Museum, Bhubaneswar (p. 107)



SCALE : ·17

(c) Inscription of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Khalji, dated A. H. 885, from Damoh (p. 113)



SCALE : ·13



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verse, incised on the slab which measures 36" by 26" ; the surface of the slab is divided into seven horizontal panels, each panel containing two hemistiches separated by a double vertical line. The style of writing is *Naskh*. The record mentions the construction of a rampart in front of the western gate of the Damoh fort in A. H. 885 (1480-81 A.D.), during the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Khaljī of Malwa and governorship of Malik Mukhlisū'l-Mulk, who was the king's favourite. I have been unable to trace any account of the latter in historical works. Likewise, no information is available regarding Raghāmī, composer of the text ; judging from the quality of the verse, he does not seem to have been endowed with much poetical talent.

My reading of the text is as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXVIII (c)

(۱) یا رب این عرصه دموه بجهان در همه حال

یاد محروس و مصون از قتن و ذل زوال

(۲) مقطع عرصه مذکور ملک مخلص ملک

که اساس همه اشرار بکرد استیصال

(۳) والی علم و علم صاحب سیف است و قلم

ماحی کفر و ستم واهب کان زر و مال

(۴) خاص خواص شهنشاه غیاث الدنیا

بادشاه همه آفاق و ملک ذوالاقبال

(۵) پیش دروازه غریبش موس گشته

این فصیل است که مرتب شده از مقطع حال

(۶) در سنه هجری و هشتاد و دگر پنج برو

بیست و چهارم ابد تاریخ ز ماه شوال

(۷) ای زغامی صفت شاه و خواص چه کنی

ز انک ناید صفت شان ببیان و اقوال

TRANSLATION

(1) O Lord ! This district of Dammūh (Damoh) may, in all circumstances, remain protected and preserved from the mischiefs and disgrace of decline.

<sup>1</sup> The metre of these verses is "رمل مثنی معذوف یا مقصور" and the scansion is :—

"فاعلاتن فعاتن فعاتن فعلن یا فعاتن"



(2) The fief-holder of the above-mentioned district is Malik Mukhlis-i-Mulk who has uprooted the foundation of all the mischief-mongers ;

(3) (who is) the lord of knowledge and banner, master of the sword and the pen, destroyer of impiety and tyranny and bestower of mines of gold and wealth ;

(4) (who is) the most favourite of the favourites of the emperor Ghiyāth-u'd-Dunyā, the lord of universe and the most fortunate king.

(5) In front of its western gate was founded this rampart which was completed by the present fief-holder,

(6) in the year eight hundred and eighty with five more to it, when the date from the month of Shawwāl was twentyfourth (24th Shawwāl, A. H. 885=27th Dec. 1480 A. D.).

(7) O Raghāmī ! why do you (try to) praise the king and his favourite, for their praise cannot be (adequately) expressed in speech and talk.

#### INSCRIPTION ON THE DIRECTION-STONE FOUND AT KALAMB

The third inscription is a bilingual record comprising versions in Persian and Marathi carved on a stone-pillar that was intended to serve as a direction-stone.<sup>1</sup> The pillar was originally found at Kalamb, about 14 miles from Yeotmal, headquarters of the district of the same name in the former Central Provinces, now included in the Bombay State. On the top of the slab is inscribed the Persian version which has been so badly scraped off that it is not possible to say definitely what it contained, though effort has been made to reconstruct it with the help of the Marathi version. The latter runs into four lines carved in relief in *Nāgarī* script except the letters “ण”, “व” and “अ” which belong to the *Moḍī* style of writing ; this shows that towards the close of the sixteenth century of the Christian era, *Moḍī* had already started to lose its hold on the public. It will be seen from the text that the first half of the Marathi portion is a mere transliteration of the Persian phrases.

The writing occupies a space 2' in length and 3' 9" in height on a slab measuring 2' by 3' 9" by 7½'.

The epigraph points out that the road goes straight to Sālewaḍ (Salod) while its branch to the left leads to Nachaṅgāon ; both these places are situated in what was formerly Wardha district. The pillar seems to have been set up in the reign of Burhān Nizām Shāh Sultān in A. H. 1000 (1591-92 A. D.). In the Marathi portion, the year is written as “सु ॥ अठक” which might indicate Shuhūr San one thousand, but this does not appear to be so. The year intended is that of the Hijra era, as 1000 Shuhūr corresponds with A. H. 1008 (1599-1600 A. D.), while Burhān Nizām Shāh II died in A. H. 1003 (1594-95 A. D.). My view is further supported by the fact that two miles south of Antur in Aurangabad district, is found another direction-stone of the reign of Burhān Nizām Shāh which also bears the date A. H. 1000.<sup>2</sup> From the text of both these inscriptions it appears that in this particular year, direction-stones were ordered to be set up in different parts of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom.

The king referred to in the epigraph is Burhān, the second to bear this name among the Nizām Shāhī rulers of Ahmadnagar. A son of Ḥusain Nizām Shāh and brother of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh, he is said to have ruled from A. H. 999 to 1003 (1590-94 A. D.).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hiralal, *ICPB*, *opp. cit.*, p. 157, makes it trilingual, the third version being Arabic, but I think it is only bilingual.

<sup>2</sup> *Epig. Indo-Moel.*, 1919-20, pp. 14-15, pl. IX (a). (I think, the word “सु” stands for Sultān and not Shuhūr as stated by Prof. Verma.—Ed.)

<sup>3</sup> For details of his reign, see Firishṭa, *opp. cit.*, pp. 152-56.

(a) Inscription on the foot-side of a grave, from Sitabaldi (p. 117)



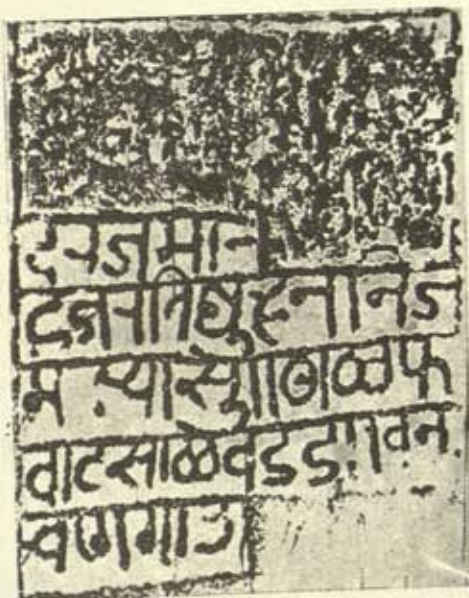
SCALE : .13

(b) Inscription on the foot-side of another grave, same place (p. 118)



SCALE : .13

(c) Inscription on a direction-stone, dated A. H. 1000, from Kalamb (p. 115)



SCALE : .1

(d) Inscription, dated A. H. 1055, from Amner (p. 117)



SCALE : .13





The epigraph, besides being an interesting relic of a guide-post, is important in showing that this part of the country was ruled over by the kings of Ahinadnagar.

My reading of the record is as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXIX (a)

(a) *Persian version.*

(۱) در زمان حضرت برهان نظام شاه

(۲) سلطان فی شهور سنه الف .....

(b) *Marathi version.*

(१) दर जमाने

(२) हजरति बुहान निज

(३) म स्या सु ॥ अळफ

(४) वाट साळेवड डावि न

(५) चणगाड

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) In the reign of His Majesty Burhān Nizām Shāh

(2) Sultān, during the months of the year A. H. 1000 (1591-92 A. D.). . . .

(b) (1) In the reign of

(2) His Majesty Burhān Nija—

(3) ma syā Su || One thousand.

(4) The road to Sālewaḍ. On the left is Na-

(5) chaṅgā'ū.

INSCRIPTION FROM THE BATH NEAR AKBARĪ SARĀI, BURHANPUR

The fourth inscription, found in one of the old public baths near the Akbarī Sarāi at Burhanpur, records that in the year A. H. 1016 (1607-8 A. D.), a public bath (*ḥammām*) was constructed by the order of Nawwāb 'Abdu'r-Raḥīmī Khān, Khān-i-Khānān, in the reign of the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr.<sup>1</sup> The construction was supervised by Muḥammad 'Alī Kark, while the record was designed by one Khālaf a't-Tabrezi. The latter, though unknown to us, appears to have been a good calligraphist, as the style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of a very high order. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nahāwandī, who has given a brief description of this bath which was meant for public use, also mentions Muḥammad 'Alī Kark as the superintendent : according to him, he belonged to *Khurāsān*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hiralal, *ICPB*, *opp. cit.*, p. 86, neither reads the date nor does he give the names of the superintendent and the designer.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nahāwandī, *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī*, vol. II (Cal. 1925), pp. 600-601.



The record comprising three lines of writing in Persian, interspersed with Arabic phrases, is engraved on a slab of stone measuring 2' 5" by 1' 5". The designer's name appears in the left corner of the third line written vertically from downwards. The slab is badly damaged and the letters have broken in many places but it has been possible to decipher the whole text which runs as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XXX (a)

- (۱) بتاريخ سنه ۱۰۱۶ در زمان خلافت ظل الله في الارضين قهرمان الماء و الطين  
نور الدين محمد جهانگیر عادل بادشاه غازي
- (۲) خلد الله ملكه و عدله و احسانه و بيمين توجه نواب كامياب خورشيد اشتهار سپه  
سالار بهادر ميرزا عبد الرحيم خان خان خانان خلد
- (۳) شوكنه الى يوم الدين و باهتمام بنده درگاه محمد على كرك عمارت اين حمام  
صورت يافت - كتبه خلف التبريزي

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the year A. H. 1016 (1607-8 A. D.), during the reign of the caliphate of the Shadow of God in both the worlds, absolute authority over land and sea, Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr 'Ādil (i. e., just) Bādshāh Ghāzī,

(2) may God perpetuate his kingdom, justice and beneficence, and through the blessed attention of the successful Nawwāb, having sun-like fame, Sipah Sālār Bahādur, Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān, Khān-i-Khānān, may (God) perpetuate

(3) his glory till the day of Judgment; and under the supervision of the servant of the court, Muḥammad 'Alī Kark this bath was constructed (lit., received completion). Written by Khalaf a't-Tabrezi.

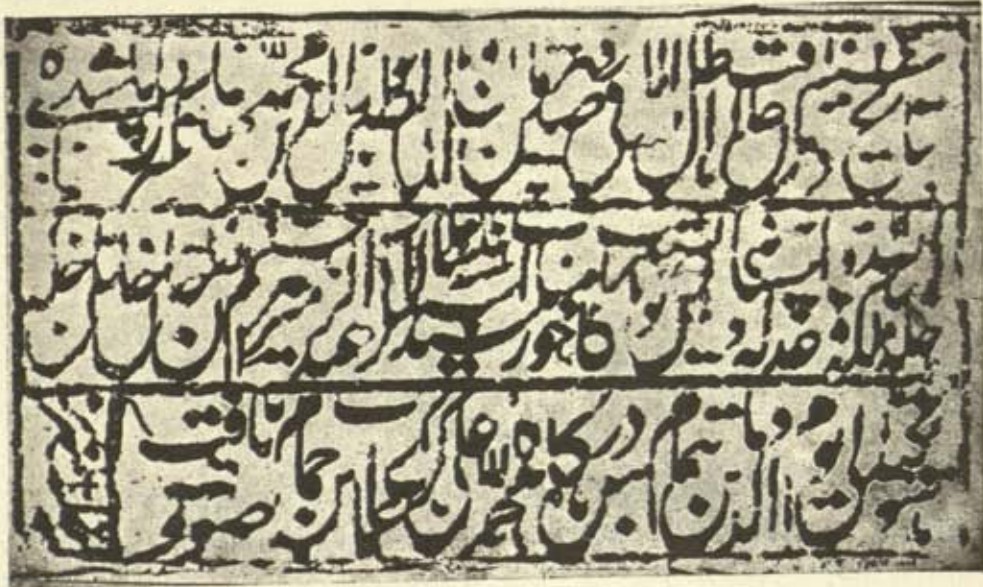
It is interesting to find that the title "عادل" is used for emperor Jahāngīr in this inscription.

## INSCRIPTION FROM AMNER, RECORDING CONSTRUCTION OF A STRUCTURE

The next inscription in the Museum is reported to have been brought from Amner in the former Amraoti district of Central Provinces. Engraved on a slab measuring 1'7" by 11½" in ordinary *Nasta'liq* characters, the record runs in two lines constituting a single verse which is defective in measure, and mentions the construction of some structure by Ismā'il Khān in A. H. 1055 (1645-46 A. D.). Ismā'il Khān has been identified as one of the five sons of Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī of Ashti. The latter, an Afghan noble, who flourished during the reigns of emperors Akbar and Jahāngīr, had received for his various services, the fief of the *pargana* of Ashti which was put under the administrative charge of his sons, Ismā'il Khān getting the *pargana* of Amner.<sup>1</sup> The latter is reported to have

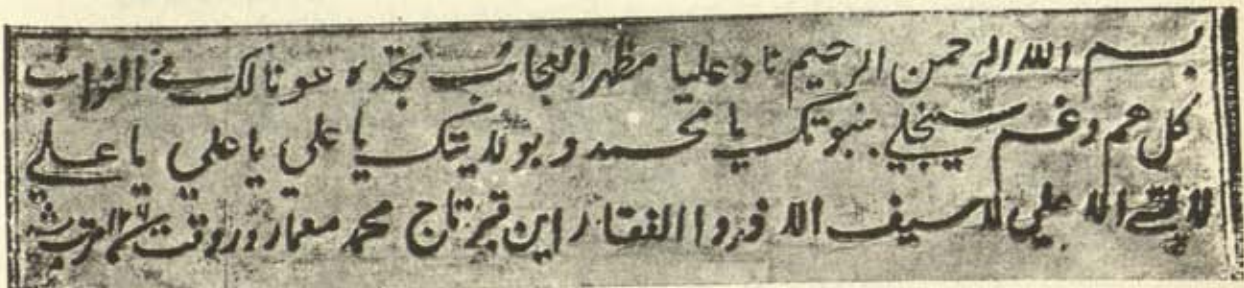
<sup>1</sup> For details and text of the record under study, please see M. A. Saboor, 'A short note on the Ashti and Burhanpur Inscriptions', *Bulletins of the Nagpur Museum*, No. 1 (Allahabad, 1920), pp. 3-5; also, Hiralal, *ICPB*, opp. cit., pp. 11, 145.

(a) Inscription of a public bath, dated A. H. 1016, from Burhanpur (p. 116)



SCALE : ·19

(b) Inscriptions on a grave, from Sitabaldi (p. 118)



SCALE : ·23

(p. 118)



SCALE : ·14





constructed at Amner a mosque of which no trace remains now. According to some old members of the Niyāzi family, the lithic record of the said mosque was removed to the Central Museum.<sup>1</sup> As there is no other such slab in the Museum except the one under notice, it is very likely that the present inscriptional tablet originally belonged to the mosque; however, the record does not give the name of the structure.

The inscription has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIX (d)

(۱) مرتب شد ز اسمعیل خان در شهر رمضان

(۲) سنه الف پنجاه و پنج بود تاریخ آن

TRANSLATION

- (1) It was constructed by Ismā'il Khān in the month of Ramaḍān ;  
 (2) year one thousand, fifty and five was the date (of construction) (A. H. 1055=1645-46 A. D.).

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE GRAVES FOUND AT SITABALDI, NAGPUR

The following three inscriptions are found carved on three different graves (*ta'wīdh*) which are lying loose in the backside of the godown situated at a distance of about a few hundred yards from the main building of the Museum; the graves were found in Sitabaldi in Nagpur itself.<sup>2</sup> The graves are carved on three sides with different verses from the *Qur'ān* and other religious texts, while on the fourth i.e., the foot-side, with the date of death of the person concerned, which could not be read in two cases, as the writing thereon is crude and indifferent. The style of writing in the case of the first two is identical, while in the case of the third it is more legible; the script is *Nasta'liq*. Below is given the reading of the inscription on the fourth side of the first grave :—

TEXT

Plate XXIX (a)

(۱) تاریخ وفاتش در دهم شهر رجب سنه بیست ؟

(۲) سه (؟) الف .....

TRANSLATION

- (1) The date of his death (is) tenth of the month of Rajab, yeartwenty (?)  
 (2) three (?) (and) one thousand.....

<sup>1</sup> Saboor, *opp. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Hirālāl, *ICPB, opp. cit.*, p. 5.



In the other grave, the foot-side contains the following inscription :—

## TEXT

## Plate XXIX (b)

(۱) و وفاتش در شهر  
(۲) شوال دومین (?) سنه هجری

## TRANSLATION

And his death took place in the month of *Shawwāl*, second day, year..... A. H.

In the case of the third grave, the right side is inscribed with *Bismi'llāh*, *Nād-i-'Alī* and the famous line in Arabic praising 'Alī and his sword. These religious texts are followed by the notice stating that the grave of Tāj Muḥammad *Mi'mār* (mason) was constructed in A.H. 1201 ;<sup>1</sup> the foot-side gives the date of his death. Below are given the readings of the inscriptions on the right side and the foot-side respectively.

## TEXT

## Plate XXX (b)

(a)

(۱-۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - ناد علیا الخ  
(۳) لا فتی الا هل لا سیف الا ذوالفقار - این قبر تاج محمد معمار در وقت  
سنه ۱۲۰۱ مرگب شد

(b)

و وفاتش  
در شهر ربیع الثانی  
بتاریخ ۲۷ روز آدینه غفر الله له

## TRANSLATION

(a) (1-2) *Bismi'llāh*, *Nād-i-'Alī*.

(3) There is on other youth except 'Alī and there is no other sword except *Dhu'l-Faqr* (sword of 'Alī). This grave of Tāj Muḥammad *Mi'mār* was constructed in the year A.H. 1201 (1786-87 A.D.).

(b) And his death (took place) in the month of *Rabī' II*, on the 27th, Friday, may God forgive him.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* gives 1206.

## INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, GWALIOR

By B. D. VERMA

The Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, has on display seven Persian and Arabic inscriptions of which four have been already published.<sup>1</sup> The remaining three are being studied here at the suggestion of Dr. Z. A. Desai who supplied me with their estampages. I am extremely thankful to him for the same and also for various very helpful suggestions and valuable references he kindly gave me in the course of writing this article.

Two of these epigraphs pertain to the rule of the Malwa kings, namely, Hūshang Shāh Ghori and 'Alāu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Khalji respectively, while the third is dated in the reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh Lodi of Delhi. The first two are executed in Naskh style with marked tendencies of a running hand; their calligraphy bears close similarity with some inscriptions of Malwa of this period.<sup>2</sup> The record of Ibrāhīm Shāh is also carved in Naskh.

These inscriptions mention some office-holders under the respective kings, who though belonging to the first rank of nobility, do not find mention in historical works. They also throw some light on the spiritual life of those days: they show how saints—as many as three are mentioned in two inscriptions—were held in high esteem by the nobility. Another thing regarding these inscriptions which is worth notice is that all the three epigraphs record the construction of works of public utility, to wit, a tank, a well and a step-well.

### INSCRIPTION FROM THE TANK AT SINGHPUR

The earliest of the three epigraphs, comprising eleven couplets of Persian verse, is reported to have originally belonged to the Singhpur tank near Chanderi in Guna district. The slab is cut into eleven horizontal lines, each of which is further divided into two by a thick line running vertically in the middle; each panel contains one hemistich. The text is inscribed in relief in Naskh script of a fairly good order. The slab which measures 26" by 24" seems to have been exposed to the inclemencies of weather and neglect, as a result of which letters have lost their shape in some places, making the task of decipherment slightly difficult.

The epigraph begins with the praise of Sultan Hūshang Shāh Ghori of Malwa, in whose reign a tank was constructed by Malik Haibat Nizām Jāshghūrī in order to commemorate the name of Shāikh Burhān, son of Ya'qūb, who appears to have been a saint of renown. It is dated 10th Shawwāl, A.H. 836 (30th May, 1433 A.D.) and reads as under:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XXXI (a)

(۱)	بعهد سر فراز داد گستر	سلیمان زمان و عدل پرور
(۲)	شهر شیر شکاری ناهیب فیل	یلی ضابط اریسه جاجنگر
(۳)	جهانگیر و جهانبان شاه هوشنگ	فلک بدری (۹) که چون خرشید انور
(۴)	بتوفیق خدا این خیر جاری	چو دریای که می بینی سراسر

<sup>1</sup> A note on the published inscriptions will be found at the end of this article.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1925-26, pl. VII (a); *ibid.*, 1929-30, pl. V (a); *ibid.*, 1939-40, pl. XIX (a).



- (۵) بنیت نیک و صدق دل به بسته چنین حوضی باسم شیخ رهبر  
 (۶) که آن دریست برهان ابن یعقوب ز دریاء وجیه الحق گوهر  
 (۷) ملک هیئت نظام جاشغوری که دارد هیئت چو حیدر  
 (۸) بلندی فخر همت وی چنانست که از نه طارمی بنمود برته  
 (۹) بصافی و لطافت آب این حوض همانند زلاست آب کولر  
 (۱۰) کریم باد مقرون عاقبت خیر تماش (؟) اجر این در روز محشر  
 (۱۱) بهیصد سی و شش از هجر بود ست دهم شوال ازین اتمام بشمر

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the exalted, the dispenser of justice, Solomon of the age and cherisher of equity,

(2) a king who captures lions (and) seizes elephants, a hero who is the subduer of Orissa (and?) Jājnagar,

(3) the conqueror and protector of the world, Shāh Hūshang, a full-moon of the sky, who is like the resplendent sun,

(4) through the grace of God, this flowing bounty (i.e., the tank), (which is) like an ocean that you see in entirety,

(5) was constructed, with good intent and sincerity of heart, in the name of the guiding Shaikh

(6) who is that pearl, namely, Burhān, son of Ya'qūb, who is a gem from the ocean of Wajīhu'l-Ḥaq,<sup>1</sup>

(7) by Malik Haibat Nizām Jāshghūrī, whose awe has the awe of Haidar (i.e., 'Alī).

(8) The height of the pride of his magnanimity is such that it appears to surpass nine heavens.

(9) In purity and sweetness, the water of this tank is limpid like the water of Kauthar (a cistern which is situated in Paradise).

(10) O generous Lord! On the day of Resurrection, may his full reward for this (good deed) synchronise with his good end!

(11) Reckon that on this completion, it was 10th of Shawwāl of the year eight hundred thirty-six from the migration (of the Prophet) (10th Shawwāl, A.H. 836=30th May, 1433 A.D.).

So far as my knowledge goes, this is the first Persian epigraph discovered so far which makes a reference to Orissa and Jajnagar by name. In the year A.H. 825 (1421 A.D.), Hūshang Shāh had left Mandu, his capital, with one thousand select cavalry, assuming the character of a merchant and marched to Jajnagar, about a month's journey from Malwa. His real object was to seize elephants but in order to conceal it, he took with him horses of different colours thereby taking the

<sup>1</sup> The author probably means that Shaikh Burhān was a descendant of Wajīhu'l-Ḥaq or the latter's disciple. The verse can also be translated thus: 'namely, Burhān, son of Ya'qūb, who is a pearl from the ocean of Wajīhu'l-Ḥaq, the gem,' but the meaning intended is obviously the same.



Rājā unawares. Hūshang Shāh returned to his capital laden with wealth and accompanied by many elephants, which fact is referred to in the second verse of the record.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the other two personages mentioned in the inscription, namely, Shaikh Burhān and Malik Haibat Nizām Jāshghūrī, nothing could be traced from historical works and biographies of saints. The former seems to have been a saint of repute held in high esteem by Malik Haibat. The latter, as it is clear from the epigraph, must have been a noble of high rank; he was a *chā'ūshghūrī* ("چاؤش غوری") which used to be a high office under the pre-Mughal Muslim kings of India. The post was allied to that of a *naqīb* or a *sahmu'l-Hasham*. The holders of these posts used to look after strict observance of court etiquette, conduct the visitor to the hall of audience, lead royal procession holding in their hands the royal mace and 'gold and silver-crested canes', marshal the participants in the audience or royal assembly in accordance with the rank they were entitled to, marshal troops for review or for battle, shout orders, arrange the troopers in lines etc.<sup>2</sup> The importance of this post may be judged from the fact that Baranī in his list of the nobles of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh mentions one Shihābu'd-Dīn Chā'ūshghūrī.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, Tātār is another noble of the same monarch who is mentioned with this appellation by 'Iṣāmī.<sup>4</sup>

#### INSCRIPTION RECORDING THE CONSTRUCTION OF A WELL

The second unpublished inscription of the Museum is also in Persian verse. Comprising seven verses inscribed in seven lines, it is carved in relief in *Naskh* characters which display marked tendency to cursive *Shikasta* that came to be widely employed in official letters and ordinary correspondence at a later period. The slab of stone measuring 18" by 21" is badly damaged, but much more so in its upper portion, with the result that first three lines of the text have lost most of the letters. No information is available regarding the findspot of the epigraph.

The record refers to the construction of a well by Makhdūm Shaikh Mūsā Qāḍī, whose title was most probably Ṣadr-i-Dīn, during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī of Malwa. In the list of the Malwa kings, there are two rulers bearing this name, but as the date of the record, as read by me, is A.H. 858 (1454 A.D.), the king referred to in the record is 'Alāu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd I, who was the most illustrious ruler of his line. He ascended the throne on Monday, 29th Shawwāl, A.H. 839 (16th May, 1436 A.D.), and after an eventful reign of about 35 years, he died on the 19th Dhī'l-Qa'da, A.H. 873 (27th May, 1469 A.D.).<sup>5</sup>

My reading of the inscription runs as follows:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XXXI (b)

..... کو	..... (۱) <sup>6</sup>
..... کش داد حوض کوثر	..... (۲)

<sup>1</sup> Firsihta, *loc. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 236-37.

<sup>2</sup> K. M. Ashraf, 'Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan etc.', *JASB, Letters*, vol. I, 1935, p. 169; I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (Lahore, 1942), pp. 60, 146. They, however, do not mention *Chā'ūshghūrī*.

<sup>3</sup> Baranī, *loc. cit.*, p. 424.

<sup>4</sup> 'Iṣāmī, *loc. cit.*, p. 401.

<sup>5</sup> For details of his reign, please see Firsihta, *loc. cit.*, pp. 243-55.

<sup>6</sup> The metre of these verses is "مضارع مثنى اخرب مكفوف محذوف يا مقصور" and the scansion is

"مفعول فاعلات مفاعيل فاعلن يا فاعلات".



- (۳) ... مسیح عصر و صدر صدور دین کوہمت شیخ راجو آن ختم اصفا  
 (۴) در عہد بادشاہ خداوند شرق و غرب محمود شاہ خلجی آن صاحب ثرا  
 (۵) چاہی شدہ چو کوثر فردوس (?) در قبول آبس چو شہد شیرین و چون شیر در صفا  
 (۶) بانی این بنای ... آن صدر دین است مخدوم شیخ موسی قاضی<sup>۲</sup> ز اتقیا  
 (۷) تاریخ این بناء ازین متدائے دین حی نون و ضاد بود ز اجلاس شاہ را

## TRANSLATION

- (1) .. .. .  
 (2) .. .. . whom the stream of *Kauthar* gave . .  
 (3) .. .. that Messiah of the age, chief of chiefs of Religion, who is *Shaiikh Rājū*, the seal of the chosen (saints).  
 (4) In the reign of the king, the lord of east and west, Maḥmūd *Shāh Khaljī*, that master of the earth,  
 (5) a well, like *Kauthar* of Paradise, was constructed : in (public) approval, its water is sweet like honey and it is like milk in purity.  
 (6) The builder of this well is that Ṣadr-i-Dīn (lit., chief of Religion), namely, Maḥdūm *Shaiikh Mūsā Qāḥan*, one of the holy (saints).  
 (7) The chronogram of this construction by this chief of religion was (found in the numerical value of letters) “ح” “ن” and “ض” (giving) the reigning year of the king.<sup>2</sup>

Though I have failed to trace the names of the saints referred to in the epigraph in the works available to me, they appear to have been celebrated for piety and sainthood in their times.

## INSCRIPTION FROM A STEP-WELL AT CHANDERI

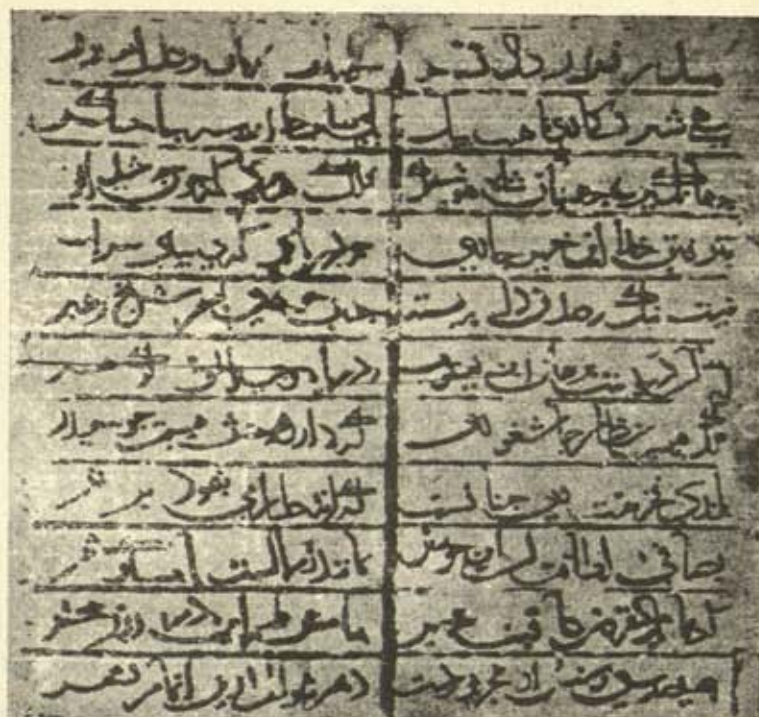
The third and last inscription from the group is reported to have originally existed at Chanderi and subsequently shifted to the Museum. It begins with *Bismi'ullāh* and runs on to say that a step-well was constructed by Malik Abu'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad bin Kamāl Naufilī, entitled *Falāḥu'l-Mulk*, during the reign of Ibrāhīm *Shāh*, the last of the Lodi kings, in A. H. 930 (1524 A.D.). It further mentions *Sharafu'l-Mulk* as the *muqṭi* of the *shiq* of Chanderi. Comprising nine lines of writing engraved on a slab measuring 21" by 20", its letters have been brought into relief by carving off the portions of the slab immediately surrounding them and not the whole background, as is usually the case. The style of writing is *Naskh*.

<sup>1</sup> This could be read as “قاضی” but I prefer “قاضن”.

<sup>2</sup> The numerical value of the chronogram, “ح”, “ن” and “ض” is 8+50+800=858 (A. H.=1454 A. D.).



(a) Inscription of Hūshang Shāh Ghori, dated A. H. 836, from Singhpur (p. 119)



SCALE : ·17

b) Inscription of Mahmūd Shāh Khalji,  
A. H. 858 (p. 121)



SCALE : ·14

(c) Inscription of Ibrāhīm Lodī, dated  
A.H. 930, from Chanderi (p. 123)



SCALE : ·12



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
DIVISION OF THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY

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The epigraph has been read by me as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXXI (c)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 (۲) بِنَا كَرْدَهُ اَيْنِ بَائِيْن مَلِكِ اَبُو الْفَتْحِ  
 (۳) مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ كَمَالِ نَوْفَلِي الْمَخَاطِبِ مِنَ الْحَضْرَتِ  
 (۴) الْاَعْلَى فَلَاحِ الْمَلِكِ الْقَاسِمِ مِنْ شَهْرِ رَمَضَانَ  
 (۵) سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِيْنَ وَ تِسْعَمَايَةِ دَرْ عَهْدِ سُلْطَانِ السَّلَاطِيْنَ  
 (۶) اِبْرَاهِيْمِ شَاهِ بْنِ سَكَنْدَرِ شَاهِ لَوْدِي شَرَفِ  
 (۷) الْمَلِكِ مَقْطَعِ شَقِّ چَنْدِيرِي

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.  
 (2) The builder of this step-well is Malik Abu'l-Fatḥ  
 (3) Muḥammad, son of Kamāl Naufilī, entitled from the lofty court  
 (4) Falāḥu'l-Mulk (lit., prosperity of the kingdom); on the 9th of the month of Ramaḍān,  
 (5) year thirty and nine hundred (11th July, 1524 A.D.), in the reign of the king of kings, Ibrā-  
 hīm Shāh, son of Sikandar Shāh Lodī. Sharaf-  
 (6) u'l-Mulk (was) the *muqṭi'* of the *shiq'* of Chanderī.

From his name, Abu'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad Falāḥu'l-Mulk appears to have been a noble of high rank but his name is not found in available records. He must have been an Arab as is indicated by the surname Naufilī. As regards the other personage, Sharafu'l-Mulk who was the governor of the district of Chanderī, we do not possess any information.<sup>2</sup>

Editor's Note.

The four inscriptions referred to above<sup>1</sup>—two from Chanderī and one each from Pawaya and Narwar Fort—were studied in *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1925-26, pp. 21-22, pl. X (a) and *ibid.*, 1939-40, p. 45, pl. XIX (b); *ibid.*, 1935-36, p. 53, pl. XXXVII (a); and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI (1927), pp. 101-4

<sup>1</sup> *Shiq'* was a large division of country forming a district.

<sup>2</sup> Many years ago, when I was in the service of the erstwhile Gwalior State, I had been to Chanderī where I found quite a few inscriptions *in situ*. Presuming that most of them would still be there, a study of these might prove of much historical importance. Most of these inscriptions, carved on white-coloured soft sandstone which is usually found in the valley of the Betwa river, were even then found to crumble fast due to their exposure to weather. (A few inscriptions from Chanderī have been published in *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1925-26, pp. 14-17, 21; *ibid.*, 1939-40, pp. 43-47; *Ind. Hist. Quar.*, vol. I (1925), pp. 653-56 etc.—Ed.)

<sup>3</sup> See p. 119, f. n. 1



respectively. But except in the case of the Narwar inscription, whose reading contains very few minor mistakes, readings of the remaining three epigraphs, being faulty and incomplete in parts, need correction.

Taking the Chanderi inscriptions first, the earlier of the two was studied by Mr. R. S. Saksena who had read it as follows :—

- |     |                           |                             |
|-----|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (۱) | شده این عمارت ز فیض اله   | بعهد همایون هوشنگ شاه       |
| (۲) | خدا باد حافظ چنین شاه را  | کے درگاه وی هست دین را پناه |
| (۳) | بوقتی کہ بد نائب این دیار | نصیر دول صاحب عز و جاه      |
| (۴) | عمر ابن حسین بکرد این بنا | کے ..... حشم هست اندر پناه  |
| (۵) | ز تاریخ بد هیصد و سی و دو | صفر ..... ز ماه             |
| (۶) | بخوادم ز حق تا بگردد قبول | شود عفو از من خطا و گناه    |

This inscription is in a fairly good state of preservation and the style of writing, though betraying strong tendency to cursiveness is not too intricate to yield satisfactory decipherment. Yet, a number of mistakes have crept in in the reading of Mr. Saksena. The minor mistakes in his reading are : “ز فیض اله” for “(sic.) ز فضل اله” in l.1,<sup>1</sup> “کہ” for “کے” and “عز” for “(sic.) عذ” in l.3, “دو” for “سہ” in l.5 (this is probably a misprint), and “شود” for “شو[د]” in l.6.

Mr. Saksena has omitted two phrases in his reading : the first of these occurring in the second hemistich of l.5, after “صفر” and before “زماہ” should probably be read “بدولی بالحریمة” ; the second, occurring in the second hemistich of l.4, is the name of a post which the builder of the structure had held. The whole hemistich which Mr. Saksena has read as “کے سہم الحشم هست اندر سپاہ” should have been read as “کے سہم الحشم هست اندر سپاہ” i.e., ‘who was a *sahmu’l-hasham* in the army’. In other words, the builder, ‘Umar, son of Husain, was a *sahmu’l-hasham* and not ‘the then Governor of the province’ as Mr. Saksena is inclined to state.<sup>2</sup> It may be pointed out that the governor’s name is distinctly given in l.3 as ‘Nagīr-i-Duwal’ i.e., Nagīru’d-Dawla or Nagīru’d-Dīn.

The date is given 813 in the introductory lines, 832 in the text and 833 (this being correct) in the translation ;<sup>3</sup> these are mistakes of print only.

Lastly, Mr. Saksena’s translation of the first hemistich of the last verse (I pray to God that this building be accepted by Him)<sup>4</sup> does not convey exact sense ; it should be : ‘I pray to God so that it (i.e., the prayer) be accepted’ ; the prayer is expressed in the next hemistich.

<sup>1</sup> *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1925-26, pp. 21-22, pl. X (a).

<sup>2</sup> This and the other mistake in spelling (“عذ” for “عز”) may be attributed to the ignorance of the engraver.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 23.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

The other inscription from Chanderi was edited by M. Shamsud-Din Ahmad whose following reading<sup>1</sup> is also not free from mistakes :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

- (۱) بعهد خسرو خلجی علاء دین و دول ابو المظفر محمود شاه ملک و ملل  
(۲) شد عمارت این حوض ..... فرو گشت جمله ..... علل  
(۳) بسعی همت و سخاوت انک ازو ؟ بمانده است چنین یادگار حسن عمل  
(۴) سال هیصد و هفتاد و اثنی از هجرت تمام گشت مرتب بمقتضای ازل  
(۵) امید هست که سبحان ابن یوسف را بصدر خلد رساند خدای عز و جل

The damaged condition of the slab has probably been responsible for the mistakes and omissions in the above reading : in L.2, in the first hemistich, “شد” is a mistake (or misprint) for “شده”, “کز ترشح آن” is left out after “این حوض” and the second hemistich should have been better read as “مروحست مصفا سفیه درد علل”. In L.3, “و سخاوت” of the first hemistich is a misreading for “شیخاء یوسف” which is the name of the builder and which also occurs in the last line where also it has been wrongly read as “سبحان”. M. Shamsud-Din Ahmad’s statement, therefore, that ‘..... two more names Subhān (?) and Yūsuf occur in the epigraph’<sup>2</sup> becomes confusing. It is clear that the name is *Shaikhā-i-Yūsuf* (*Shaikhā*, son of Yūsuf) with the *idāfat-i-ibnī*. In L.4, the preposition “به” or “ب” before “سال” is absent in M. Shamsud-Din’s reading, while “ی” of “مقتضای” should have been “ه”.

The third and last inscription is from Pawaya, about thirtynine miles south of Gwalior by road. Mr. Saksena who edited this inscription also, had read the first four lines as under<sup>3</sup> :—

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم منظومه تاریخ حصار اسکندر اباد  
(۲) چو فرموده خان ال دلیر (؟) بنا ..... بزودی بدیر (؟)  
(۳) بفرموده خان فرخ سرشت در روز شنبه نهادند خشت  
(۴) ز نه صد فزون بد شش و پنج سال بهاء رجب در ضمن (؟) با جلال

In the above reading, “حصار” in L.1 is not supported by the facsimile : it looks more like “خطه”. In L.2, the name of the *Khān*, who ordered the construction is not completely read : it is

<sup>1</sup> *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1939-40, p. 45, pl. XIX (b).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1935-36, p. 53, pl. XXXVII (a).



“جلال” (Jalāl), while the word after it is most probably “دبیر” (a scribe). In the same line, the word after “بناء”<sup>1</sup> (which also has been wrongly read as “بنا” by Mr. Saksena) is “پانوه” i.e., ‘at Pānwa’.<sup>2</sup> The last word of this line has been read by Mr. Saksena as “دیر” while it is “نه دیر”. In l.4, the phrase doubtfully read by him as “در ضمن” is nothing but “دومی” i.e., the second of (the month of Rajab).

Before conclusion, it may be pointed out that Šafdar Khān, the wazīr, ‘who could not be traced in the records at his disposal’<sup>3</sup> is obviously the same Šafdar Khān who was appointed governor of Agra sometime before that city was selected as his capital by Sikandar Shāh Lodī.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This word ought to have been “بنائی”.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Saksena who was unable to read this word indicating the name of the place was at pains to prove that Iskandarabad and Pawaya were identical. According to him, ‘the fact of its (i.e., the inscription’s) being found at Pawaya and the absence of any other Muslim centre bearing the name Sikandarabad in the vicinity establishes beyond doubt that Iskandarabad of the inscription is none other than Pawaya’ (*ibid.*, p. 52). It may also be pointed out that what the inscription mentions is the naming of the fort as Iskandarabad.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Firsihta, *loc. cit.*, vol. I, p. 183.

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**DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY**

# **EPIGRAPHIA INDICA**

**ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT**

**(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)**

**1957 and 1958**

**EDITED BY  
DR. Z. A. DESAI**



**सत्यमेव जयते**

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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

## ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

### 1957 and 1958

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#### INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY

By DR Z. A. DESAI

Before commencing the study of the Arabic and Persian inscriptions exhibited in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, I feel duty-bound to express my gratitude to Dr. Moti Chandra, Director of the Museum and Messrs S. N. Chatterjee and P. L. Gupta for their ungrudging co-operation extended to me in the course of preparation of this article.

The Museum has on its exhibit, twentyfive stone inscriptions, seven of which have been already published in this series sometime back.<sup>1</sup> Of the remaining eighteen records, four have been published with their plates: two by J. Bird and one by Shamsu'l-'Ulamā J. J. Modi in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay*,<sup>2</sup> and one by J. Burgess in one of his reports.<sup>3</sup> The last-mentioned had also published an eye-reading of one more inscription, translation of which was made by E. Rehatsek.<sup>4</sup> But these except the one published by Burgess in his report have been included in this article, since, in a sense they are complementary to some of the published inscriptions. Moreover, the two inscriptions published by Bird are epigraphed in *Kūfī* script and since there are two more *Kūfī* records in the present group, they are likely to offer comparative data for the students of palaeography. Further, Bird's readings and translations require corrections in some places as will be judged from their study given below. Shamsu'l-'Ulamā's study of the Rāja Māndhātā inscription (Inscription No. 11, *infra*) is no doubt very detailed and extensive but some of his own readings are not claimed by him to be final and also, it contains a few remarks and statements which require either correction or elucidation.

Like the Indian Museum, Calcutta, one of the special features that distinguishes this Museum from its other counterparts in India is that it possesses six epigraphs, all epitaphs, brought from outside the country of which four (Nos. 1-4) are inscribed in *Kūfī* script of different varieties. These are dated A.H. 326 (938 A.D.), A.H. 410 (1019 A.D.), A.H. 421 (1030 A.D.) and A.H. 472 (1080 A.D.), thus being few of the early stone records in Arabic available for study in this country. From our point of view, their historical value may not be much, as they were brought from foreign

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<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1925-26, pp. 10-12; *ibid.*, 1929-30, pp. 5, 6; *ibid.*, 33-34 (Supplement), pp. 9, 12. A catalogue of all the inscriptions acquired till then was prepared by Ch. Muhammad Ismail and published in 1925.

<sup>2</sup> J. Bird, 'Arabic Inscriptions in the Kufic character', *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JBBRAS)*, vol. I, pp. 239-241; J. J. Modi, 'A Persian Inscription of the Moghal times etc.' *ibid.*, vol. XXIV (1914-17), pp. 173, 533.

<sup>3</sup> J. Burgess, *Report of the first season's operations in the Belgam and Kadagi districts* (London, 1874), p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII (1883), pp. 88, 206.



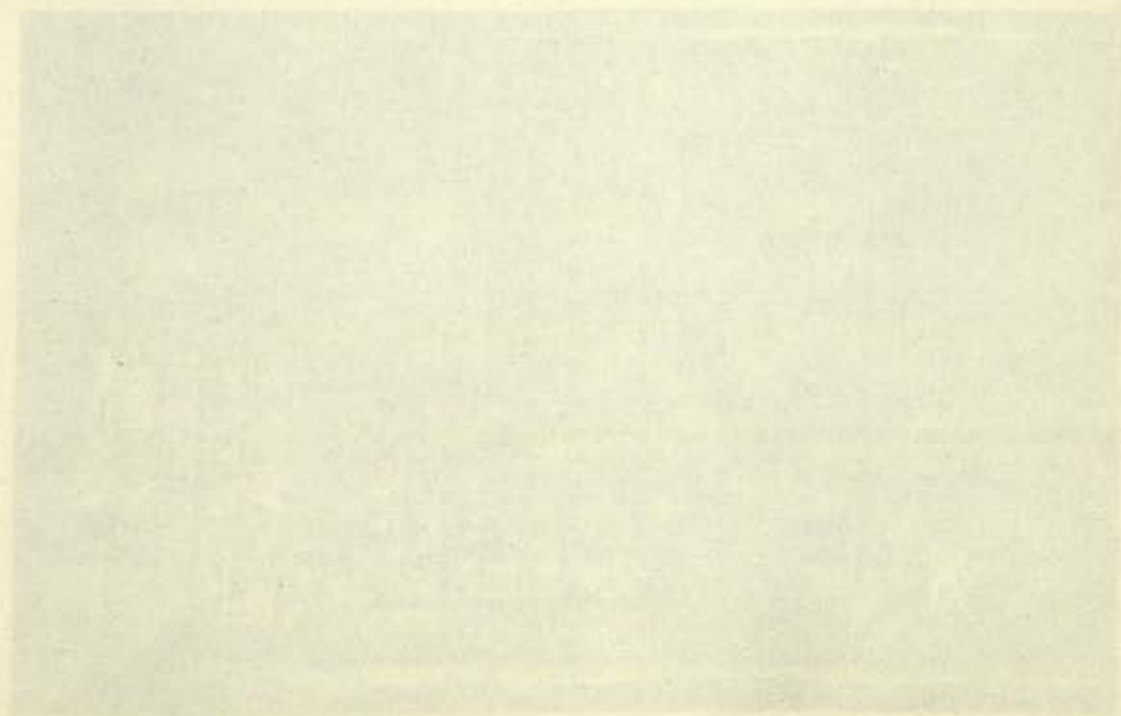
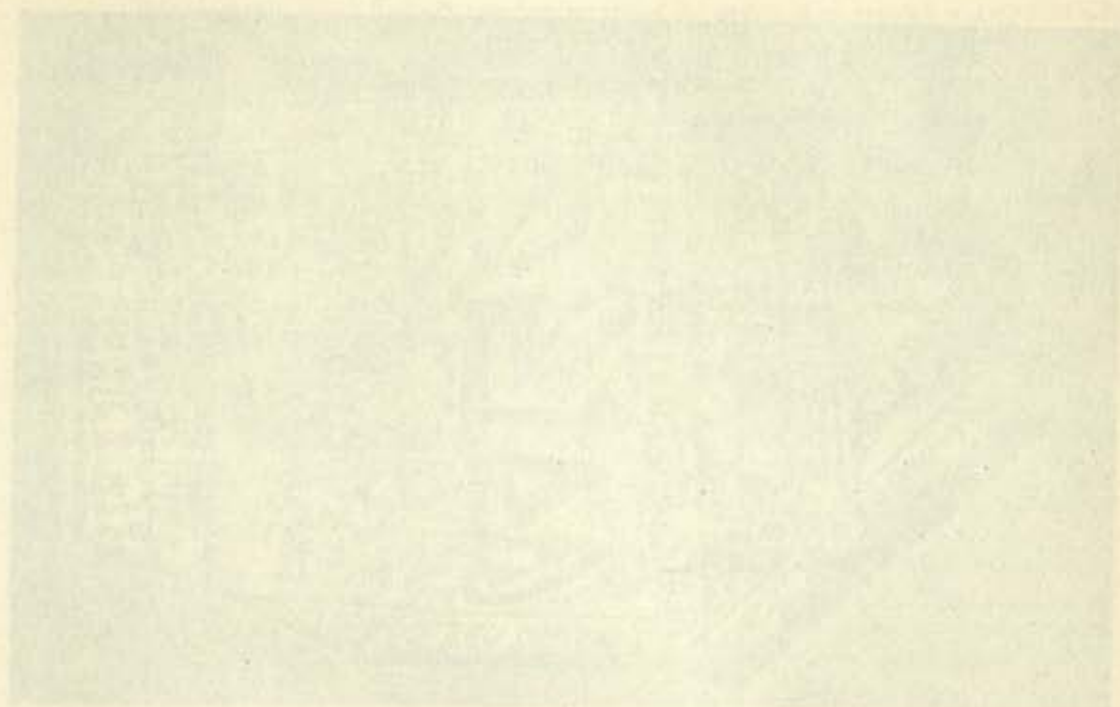
countries, but they are very interesting on palaeographical grounds. Their styles of writing display various phases of the *Kūfī* script, the variety known as ornamental *Kūfī* having been employed in three inscriptions and the variety called plain *Kūfī* in the remaining one. This group is thus an unique collection in the sense that no other museum in India possesses dated inscriptions executed in this script except perhaps the Indian Museum, which exhibits two such records.

The other two foreign records in the Museum, also epitaphs, are also interesting on account of their calligraphy, which is *Naskh* of a fairly good type. One of the two (No. 5) is complete and belongs to the second half of the 12th century. The other (No. 6) is fragmentary, the portion containing the obituary notice being lost, but close similarity in the styles of writing employed in both these epitaphs leave little room for doubt that it also belongs to the same period, that is to say, second half of the 12th century.

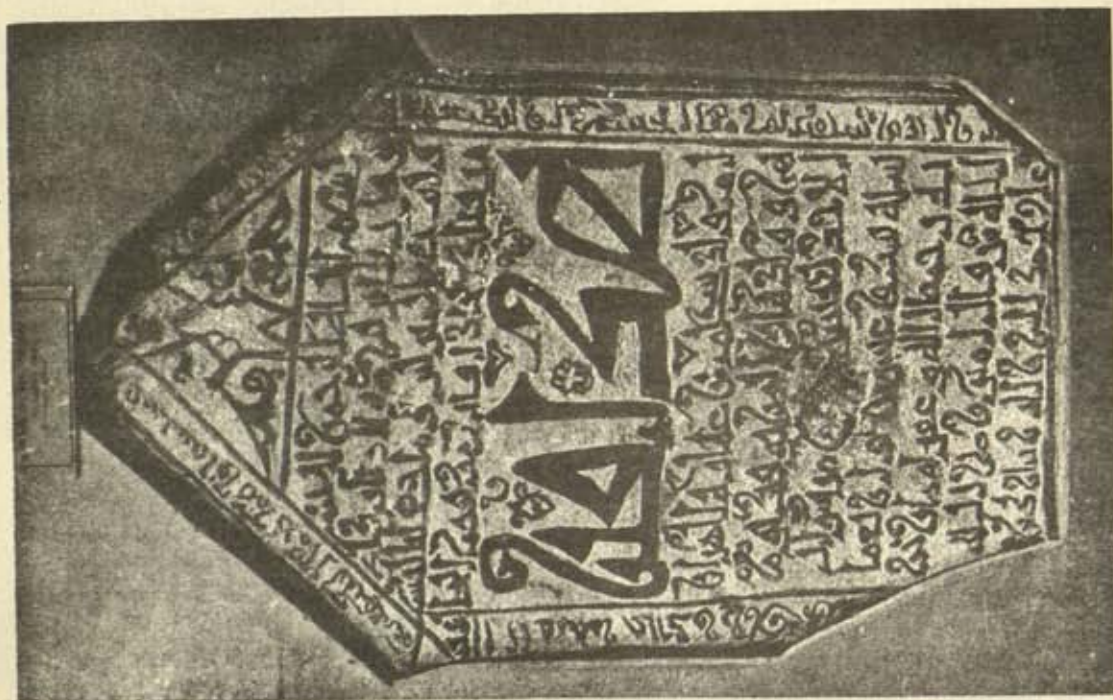
This leaves out eleven inscriptions which were originally found in different localities of the Bombay State. It is a matter of regret that no complete information regarding the exact findspots of some of them is available; in the case of a few, even the localities are not known to us, which in a way detracts from their historical value. It is a pity that the importance of these inscriptions as sources for the history of certain parts of Bombay has been overlooked so far. From whatever information it has been possible to gather, it appears that three inscriptions were originally found in Galna fort, two that were lying in the District Judge's office at Thana prior to their removal to Bombay are most probably from Maholi near Kalyan, while three came from Ankai in the Nasik district. The Galna inscriptions are dated in the last quarter of the tenth century Hijra, thus representing the Nizām Shāhī rule, though only one of these mentions, by implication only, that dynasty. The Maholi inscriptions dated in the reign of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb are quite important records relating to the history of this fort which had for sometime changed masters — Mughals and Marathas — rather quickly. The Ankai inscriptions also bear dates which fall in the reigns of Aurangzeb and his son and successor Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh whose mural records that have come to light are very few in number.

While on one hand, these records thus promise to be helpful for the local history of their findspots, on the other, they mention some officers or governors who, despite their having occupied positions of some importance, are not fortunate enough to claim notice in historical works. Without going into much details, we may, for example, note that one of these records (No. 11) gives some more details of the career of Rāja Manohar Dās, son of Rāja Māndhātā Gopāl Dās Goṛ whose family had rendered valuable services to Shāh Jahān when the latter was yet a prince. It may be recalled that it was only an epigraphic record from Asirgaḍh fort in Central India that mentioned for the first time Manohar Dās, as has been shown in its proper place in the course of this article. Similarly, two and probably three inscriptions, owe their existence to Nawwāb Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān, who has no doubt been mentioned by the author of the *Ma'āthirul-Umarā*, but the Maholi record furnishes new or somewhat detailed information regarding his career. His deputy Faqīrā Baig and *Mushrif* Santokh Rāi have left their names to posterity, thanks to the existence of these records only.

There is one more epigraph in this group (No. 7) which is worth mentioning before we pass on to the study of the individual inscriptions. Dated A.H. 779 (1377 A.D.), that is to say, towards the close of the Tughluq period, it forms the earliest of the Arabic and Persian inscriptions of the Museum belonging to this country. Unfortunately, its locality, much less its findspot, is unknown. But it is very likely that it originally belonged to some place on the Western Coast of our country. Another thing worth notice in this inscription is that it is a bilingual record: the Arabic version which is in verse is followed by a Marathī record, which is sure to prove of some linguistic interest.







SCALE : '18



SCALE : '22

## INSCRIPTION NO. 1

This epigraph, which forms the earliest record of the group, is an epitaph stating that a lady named Fāṭima, daughter of Ismā'il and grand-daughter of Ibrāhīm al-Muzanī, expired on the 7th Ramaḍān, A.H. 326 (9th July, 938 A.D.). Bird has discussed at some length the historical importance of this record, repetition of which, here, is perhaps not necessary.<sup>1</sup> He had also published transcript and translation of this epitaph, along with its facsimile, and his reading is correct to a fairly great extent. My reading given below differs from it in some places as indicated in the footnotes. The inscriptional tablet is in the shape of an arch, measuring in its present condition about 3' from apex to bottom and is 1'6" in width. The text is executed in *Kūfī* characters in low relief which are plain and without any ornamental flourishes. A narrow thick-lined border running along about two-third part of the stone contains a famous verse from the *Qur'ān* usually found in epitaphs also in India.<sup>2</sup> This epitaph reads as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate I(a)

## (a) Borders.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو والاملاكه واولوا العلم قائما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز الحكيم

## (b) Main portion.

- (١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم
- (٢) ارحم امّتك و بنت عبدك فا
- (٣) طمة ابنت اسمعيل بن ابراهيم المعزى
- (٤) فانها كانت تشهد ان لا اله الا انت و
- (٥) ان محمد عبدك و رسولك <sup>٤</sup>صل ا
- (٦) الله عليه و سلم مقرة <sup>٥</sup>بوحدايتك
- (٧) <sup>٦</sup>معترفة برؤيتك لم تزل فقيرة الى <sup>٧</sup>ر
- (٨) رحمتك محتاجة الى مغفرتك و قد

<sup>1</sup> Bird, op. cit., pp. 239-241; M. Ismail, *Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in the Epigraphical Gallery* (Bombay, 1925), p. 1, no. E. (1).

<sup>2</sup> The border portions of the text have been partially covered by the wooden frame in which the slab is set.

<sup>3</sup> Bird, op. cit., p. 242, reads "ابراهيم".

<sup>4</sup> Thus on the stone. Bird reads "صلى".

<sup>5</sup> Thus on the stone. Bird reads "لوحدايتك".

<sup>6</sup> Bird's reading "معترفة" is probably a misprint.

<sup>7</sup> Thus on the stone.



- (٩) - سلمنا انيك<sup>١</sup> الاسخيا ؟ و خلاص الا  
 (١٠) وليا و انفردت من<sup>٢</sup> الاعلى و اوحشت  
 (١١) بفقدنا منازل الاحيا و آنتست بجو  
 (١٢) ارها الموتى و نأت عن المزار و بعد  
 (١٣) ت عن الديار و حالت عن الاهل و المال  
 (١٤) اللهم اغفر خطيتها و تجاوز عن  
 (١٥) سيئتها و افتتح<sup>٣</sup> ؟ لها في حفرتها و كن لها  
 (١٦) في وحدتها و الحقها بنبيها محمد  
 (١٧) عليه<sup>٤</sup> السلم توغيت رحمها لله يوم ا  
 (١٨) لائنين<sup>٥</sup> لسبع خلون من شهر رمضان سنة  
 (١٩) ست و عشرين و ثلثمائة

## TRANSLATION

(a) ' Allāh (Himself) is witness that there is no God save Him. And the angels and the men of learning (too are witness). Maintaining His creation in justice, there is no God save Him, the Almighty, the Wise '.

- (b) (1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. O Lord,  
 (2) have mercy on Your creature (who is) the daughter of Your two creatures (namely),  
 (3) Fāṭima, daughter of Ismā'il, son of Ibrāhīm al-Muzanī,  
 (4) who was professing that there is no god but you and  
 (5) that Muḥammad is Your creature and prophet, may  
 (6) God's peace and blessings be upon him\* ; (who was) the one to declare Your unity

<sup>1</sup> Bird only gives "الا".

<sup>2</sup> Bird reads "الاخلاء".

<sup>3</sup> Bird reads "اوسع".

<sup>4</sup> Thus on the stone. Bird reads "السلام".

<sup>5</sup> Bird reads "يوم الاحد".

<sup>6</sup> Bird has "تسع" (ninth), while in the translation, he gives 'sixth day'.

<sup>7</sup> Qur'ān, ch. III, v. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Bird, op. cit., p. 241, has 'her'.

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BOMBAY MUSEUM—*contd.*

Epitaph in Kufic, dated A. H. 410, from Persia (p. 5)  
(a) On the sides of the sarcophagus



SCALE : .07

(b) On the upper facet of the sarcophagus



SCALE : .15



- (7) who was acknowledging Your Lordship, who was always in need of  
 (8) Your mercy and in want of Your pardon. And  
 (9) indeed ..... and sincerity (?) of friends have entrusted her to You,  
 (10-13) and she was made to depart ..... and due to whose absence, the abodes of the living have become sad and the dead have become joyous on account of her proximity, and she has turned away from this world and has gone far from human habitation and has abandoned family and property.  
 (14) O Lord, pardon her faults and overlook her  
 (15) shortcomings and make her comfortable in her grave and be with her  
 (16) in her solitude and join her to her prophet Muḥammad,  
 (17) may peace be on him ! She died, and may God have mercy on her, on  
 (18) Monday, when seven days had passed from the month of Ramaḍān (of the) year  
 (19) six and twenty and three hundred (7th Ramaḍān, A.H. 326-9th July, 933 A.D.).

## INSCRIPTION NO. 2

The other inscription which is also an epitaph is engraved on a sarcophagus which is said to have originally come from Persia but from which part of that country, it is not known. The sarcophagus is a single rectangular block of yellow sandstone surmounted by a replica of the grave as we find in the cases of the tombs in India. The record is in two parts : the portion comprising only religious texts is inscribed on the four sides of the sarcophagus, running from the headside ; comprising the famous Quranic verse on the immortality of God, this text is executed in ornamental *Kūfī* of an intricate pattern whereby, the shafts of the letters carved in prominent relief with boldness of shape and outline, have been so interwoven as to produce a motif of floral design. The other part of the record is engraved in relief, in plain *Kūfī* with light ornamental flourishes, on the upper facet of the same tier, and contains the third last chapter of the *Qur'ān* followed by an obituary notice of one 'Ali who passed away in the month of Rajab, A.H. 410 (November, 1019 A.D.). In the style of writing of this portion, it will be observed that the designer has not differentiated between the letters "ن" and "د". Thus, in this one inscription, we have specimens of both the types of *Kūfī* writing of a fairly high order.

This inscription which is not published so far as my knowledge goes, has been read as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate II (a &amp; b)

## (a) Sides of the sarcophagus.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم كل من عليها فان و يبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال و الاكرام  
 صلى الله على محمد و آله

## (b) Upper facet of the same.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا  
 احد و اغفر لعبدك هو المحتاج الى رحمتك على بن <sup>1</sup>ينان ؟ بن عيسى المتوفى رجب سنة  
 عشرة و اربع مائة

<sup>1</sup> I am not certain of the reading of this word.



## TRANSLATION

(a) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. 'Everyone that is thereon will pass away; There remaineth but the countenance of thy Lord of Might and Glory.'<sup>1</sup> May God's blessings be upon (His prophet) Muḥammad and his descendants.

(b) 'Say: He is Allāh, the One! Allāh the eternally Besought of all! He begotteth not, nor was begotten. And there is none comparable unto Him.'<sup>2</sup>

And (O Lord), forgive your slave who is in need of Your mercy, namely, 'Alī, son of Yanān? son of 'Isā who died in (the month of) Rajab, year ten and four hundred (Rajab, A.H. 410=November, 1019 A.D.).

## INSCRIPTION NO. 3

This inscription is also executed in *Kūfī* of the ornamental variety. The inscriptional tablet, with a cone-shaped upper part, measures 3' from apex to bottom, is 2' wide and 2½" thick. Nothing definite is known regarding its original findspot, but according to the Museum authorities, it seems to have been brought from Southern Arabia like the majority of the *Kūfī* inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

The left part of the tablet towards the base is broken without, however, affecting the text much. A narrow border running around the three sides of the slab is inscribed with two verses from the chapter "الأنبياء" of the Holy Quran. The main record begins with *Bismillāh* after which comes another verse from the same chapter and one more from the chapter "المؤمنون". This is followed by the epitaph proper recording the demise of the wife of one Suhām, son of 'Umāra al-Hadhārāhī, who expired on Sunday, the 10th *Shawwāl*, A.H. 421 (11th October, 1030 A.D.). It is further recorded, provided of course my reading is correct, that her male child was also interred in the same grave: in which case, it is not unlikely that she had died of child-birth.

It will be seen from the plate that while the calligraphy of this epigraph is also an ornamental variety of the *Kūfī* script, as in the case of the previous record of approximately the same period, the style of ornamentation is different; it is not so ornate and heavy as in the former. For the rest, however, there is not much difference in the designs of the letters proper.

This inscription is also unpublished and I have read it as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate I (b)

(a) Borders.

ان الذين سبقت لهم منا الحسنى اولئك عنها

مبعدون ولا يسمعون

حسبها وهم فيها اشتيت

انفسهم خالدون

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, ch. LV, vv. 26-27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. CXII.

<sup>3</sup> *Ismail*, op. cit., p. 1, E. (3).

110



110

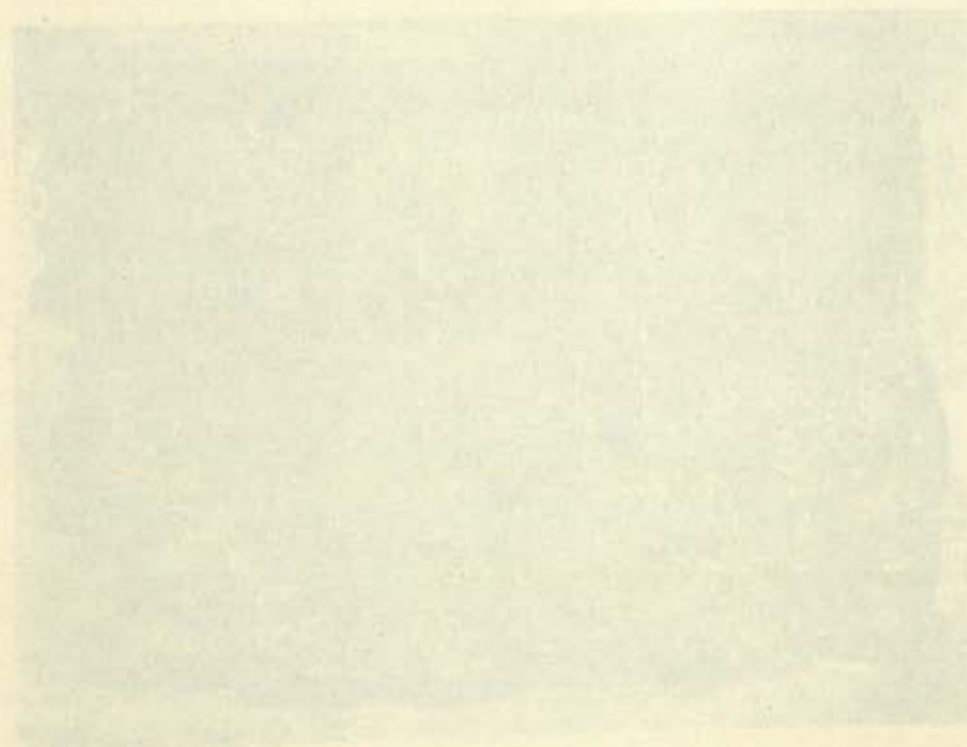
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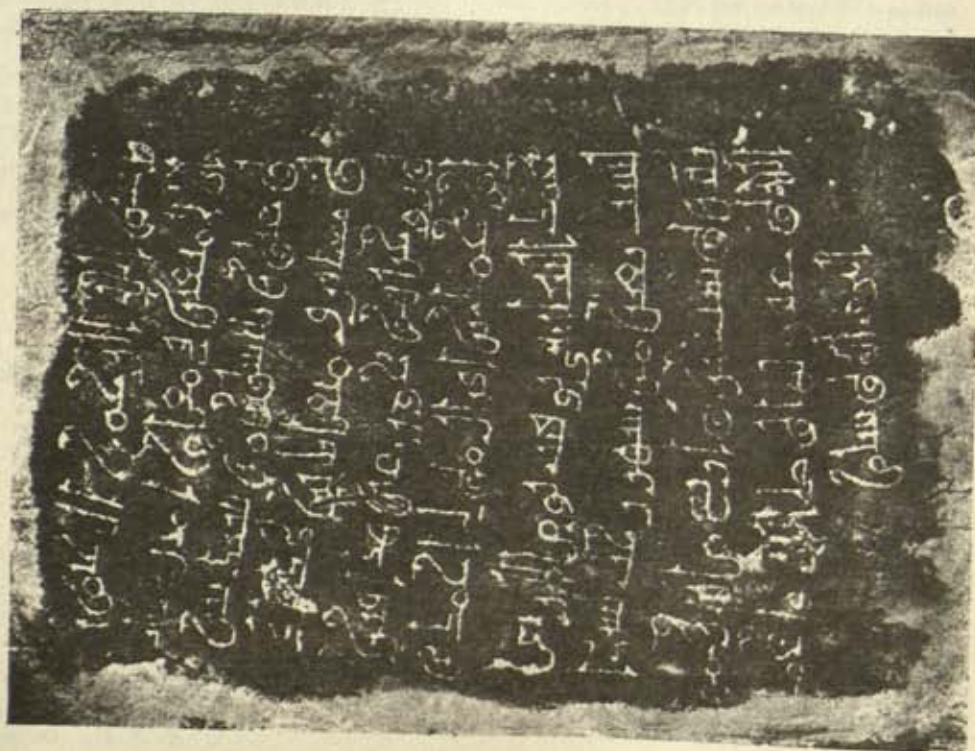


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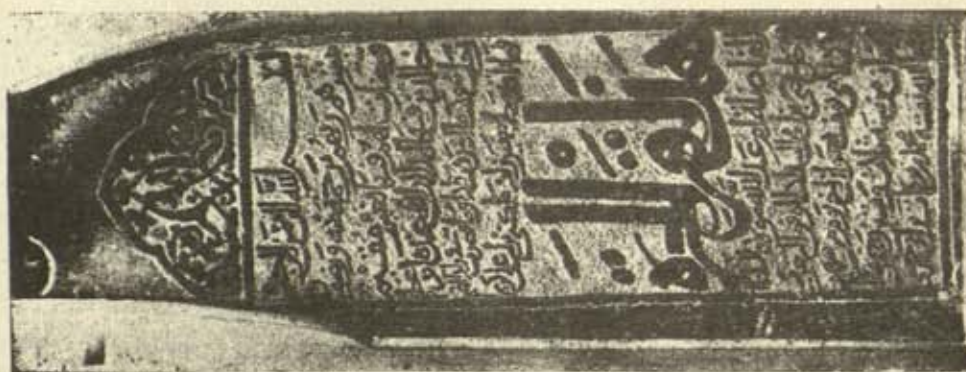
BOMBAY MUSEUM—*contd.*

(a) Epitaph, in Kufic, dated A. H. 472,  
from Southern Arabia (p. 8)



SCALE : 3

(b) Epitaph, dated A. H. 563,  
from Aden (p. 10)



SCALE : 25

(c) Fragmentary  
Epitaph (p. 12)



SCALE : 25

(b) *Within the borders.*

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(٢) وَ قُلْ رَبِّ انْزِلْنِي مَنَزَلًا مَبَارَكًا

(٣) وَ أَنْتَ خَيْرُ الْمُنْزِلِينَ وَمَا جَعَلْنَا لِبَشَرٍ

(٤) مِنْ قَبْلِكَ الْخُلْدَ إِذْ أَنْ مَتَ فَهُمْ الْخَالِدُونَ

(٥) هَذَا قَبْرِ

(٦) أُمِّ وَلَدِ مُحَمَّدٍ بْنِ عَمَارَةَ الْهَذَارِ

(٧) هِيَ وَ وَلَدُهَا فِي الْقَبْرِ تَوَفَّيَتْ يَوْمَ

(٨) الْإِحْدَ عَشَرَ خُلُونِ مِنْ شَوَّالِ

(٩) سَنَةِ إِحْدَ وَ عَشْرِينَ وَ أَرْبَعِمِائِ

(١٠) يَهْ رَحِمَهَا اللَّهُ وَ غَفَرَ لَهَا رَحِمَ

(١١) اللَّهِ مَنْ قَالَ آمِينَ وَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ

(١٢) عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ النَّبِيِّ وَ آلِهِ وَ سَلَّمَ كُنْ [لَهَا ؟]

#### TRANSLATION

(a) 'Lo ! those unto whom kindness hath gone forth before from Us, they will be far removed from thence. They will not hear the slightest sound thereof, while they abide in that which their souls desire.'<sup>1</sup>

(b) (1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

(2) And say : My Lord ! Cause me to land at a blessed landing-place,

(3-4) for Thou art best of all those who bring to land.<sup>2</sup> 'And we appointed immortality for no mortal before thee. What ! if thou diest, can they be immortal ?'<sup>3</sup>

(5) This is the grave of

(6) the mother of the son of Sulhām, son of 'Umāra al-Hadhāra-

(7) hī and her son is (also interred) in the grave. She died on

(8) Sunday, (when) ten days had passed from (the month of) Shawwāl,

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the word "كن" appears to be quite certain to me, while the word in the brackets is supplied through conjecture.

<sup>2</sup> *Qur'ān*, ch. XXI, vv. 101-02.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. XXIII, v. 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. XXI, v. 34.



(9) year one and twenty and four hundred (10th *Shawwāl*, A.H. 421=11th October, 1030 A.D.).

(10) May God have mercy on her and pardon both (and also)

(11) may He show mercy to those who say Amen! And God's blessing

(12) be on Muḥammad, the Prophet, and his progeny, and (His) salutations (also). Be (with her).

#### INSCRIPTION NO. 4

The fourth inscription, dated A.H. 472 (1080 A.D.), is also in ornamental *Kūfī*. The inscriptional slab measuring 12" by 16" is reported to have been discovered along with No. 1 above in some graveyard in Southern Arabia.<sup>1</sup> Unlike in the case of the previous inscriptions, here the letters are incised on the uneven surface of the stone, but they are fairly clear. The style is ornamental *Kūfī* no doubt, but there is not so much of ornamentation as will have been noticed in the previous epigraphs. Apart from this, a definite trend in change of script is visible, especially in the shape of letters, which are becoming slightly more curved than before.

The record comprises eleven lines of writing of which almost five are devoted to an extract from the Holy Quran. The remaining mention the demise of a lady whose name is not given but who is spoken of as the mother of Muḥammad, son of Iqbāl. This latter<sup>2</sup> is mentioned in the inscription as a client of one Ahmad, son of Muḥammad at-Tiflīsī. The lady had passed away on the 24th Rajab, A.H. 472 (20th January, 1080 A.D.).

This is the second inscription of which, as referred to above, Bird had published the text along with its translation and facsimile. As in the case of the inscription No. 1, he has dwelt upon at some length on the historical importance of this epigraph also and hence it would not be perhaps advisable to repeat the same.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, from our view point, its palaeographical aspect is more important than the historical one.

The inscription reads as follows :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate III (a)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(٢) إِنَّ الْمُتَّقِينَ فِي مَقَامٍ أَمِينٍ فِي جَنَّاتٍ

(٣) وَ عِوْنَ يَلْبَسُونَ مِنْ سُنْدُسٍ

(٤) وَ [١] تَبْرِقُ مُتْقَابِلِينَ كَذَلِكَ

(٥) وَ زَوْجَانَهُمْ بِحُورٍ عِينٍ هَذَا قَبْرُ

(٦) أُمِّ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ أَقْبَالَ مَوْلَى أَحْمَدَ بْنِ

<sup>1</sup> Ismail, op. cit., p. 1, no. E. (2).

<sup>2</sup> Bird, op. cit., pp. 239, 243, takes the deceased herself to be 'an emancipated slave'.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 239-41.

(٤) محمد التفليسي توفيت يوم الاربعاء

(٨) <sup>١</sup>لست بقين من شهر رجب سنة ا

(٩) <sup>٢</sup>ثنتين و سبعين و اربع مايه رحمها

(١٠) الله و غفرلها و صلى الله على محمد

(١١) النبي و آله و سلم

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
- (2) ' Verily, the pious shall be lodged in a place secure, amid gardens
- (3) and water-springs, attired in silk
- (4) and silk-embroidery, facing one another. Thus shall it be.
- (5) And We shall espouse them unto fair damsels with wide black eyes.<sup>3</sup> This is the tomb of
- (6) the mother of Muḥammad, son of Iqbāl, the client of Aḥmad, son of
- (7) Muḥammad a't-Tiflīṣī. She died on Wednesday,
- (8) when six days were remaining in the month of Rajab, year
- (9) two and seventy and four hundred (24th Rajab, A.H. 472=20th January, 1080 A.D.). May God have mercy on her
- (10) and pardon her and may God's blessings and peace be on
- (11) the Prophet and his descendants!

INSCRIPTION NO. 5

The next epigraph is also an epitaph reported to have been recovered in the last quarter of the 19th century from one of the disused burial grounds at Aden and brought to Bombay where it lay in the Victoria and Albert Museum prior to its removal to this Museum in 1924 A.D.<sup>4</sup> This elegantly executed record is engraved in relief on the uneven surface of a hard black stone measuring about 9" by 19", which is undressed except in the front surface. At the top of the slab is carved a floral design within an arch resembling a mihrāb.

Burgess who noticed this record in 1883, had supplied its transcript to E. Rehatsek who rendered it into English. Both the text and translation were published in the *Indian Antiquary*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243, has "است" which is obviously a misprint.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, has "ثنتين".

<sup>3</sup> *Qur'ān*, ch. XLIV, vv. 51-54.

<sup>4</sup> Ismail, *op. cit.*, p. 1, no. E. (4).

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 206.



But as it has not been illustrated, it is being published here with the facsimile so that the palaeographers may have an idea of its style of writing which is *Naskh* of a fairly good order. The *Kūfī* is found here replaced by *Naskh*, though the former did continue to be employed in epitaphs as may be seen from the inscription stored in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which is dated A.H. 581.<sup>1</sup> The inscription under study records the death of a lady, the mother of 'Abdu'llāh who<sup>2</sup> was the client of Sulṭān Yaḥyā bin Abī's-Sidād al-Muwaffaq a'th-Thaḡharī al-Islāmī; the lady had died in her middle age<sup>3</sup> on the last day of the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 563 (8th July, 1168 A.D.). The epigraph was inscribed by Muḥammad, son of Barakāt bin Abī Ḥaramī. It will have been observed that this is the only inscription in the group of the foreign inscriptions which gives the name of the scribe.

The text of the epigraph reads as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate III (b)

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 (٢) يَبْشُرُهُمْ رَبُّهُمْ بِرَحْمَةٍ مِنْهُ وَرِضْوَانٍ  
 (٣) وَجَنَّاتٍ لَهُمْ فِيهَا نَعِيمٌ مُقِيمٌ  
 (٤) خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ عِنْدَهُ أَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ  
 (٥) رَحِلْتُ وَكُنْتُ مَا أَعْدَدْتُ زَادًا وَ مَا قَصُرْتُ فِي زَادِ الْمُقِيمِ  
 (٦) فَهَانَا قَدْ رَحِلْتُ بِغَيْرِ زَادٍ وَ لَكِنِّي نَزَلْتُ عَلَى كَرِيمٍ  
 (٧) هَذَا قَبْرُ الْحُرَّةِ  
 (٨) الْفَاضِلَةِ أُمِّ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ <sup>٤</sup>مَوْلَاةِ السُّلْطَانِ  
 (٩) الْأَجَلِ يَحْيَى بْنِ أَبِي السَّدَادِ الْمُؤَقِّقِ الثُّغَرِيِّ  
 (١٠) الْإِسْلَامِيِّ تُوَفِّيتُ <sup>٥</sup>بِعَوَانٍ آخِرَ يَوْمٍ مِنْ شَهْرِ

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1955 & 56, pl. I(a).

<sup>2</sup> The text has "مَوْلَاة". The word "مولى" means 'master' and also 'slave' freed or unfreed. The feminine form of this word is rarely, if at all, used and hence the term client or slave must refer to 'Abdu'llāh and not to his mother as stated in the *Ind. Ant.*, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase "تُوَفِّيتُ بِعَوَانٍ" in the original has been translated in the *Ind. Ant.*, loc. cit., as 'she died at 'Awān' which is stated to be 'perhaps the old name of Aden itself'.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, loc. cit., p. 206, gives "قَصِدْتُ".

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, has "فَهَا إِنَّا" which may be a misprint.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, has "مَوْلَاة" female form of "مولى". See also note 2 above.

<sup>7</sup> The published text in *ibid.* gives "لَعَلَهُ عَدْنٌ" after "بِعَوَانٍ". Rehateek who did not have the facsimile before him, states: 'I translate the transcript as sent to me by Dr. Burgess, although it is not likely that the words "لَعَلَهُ عَدْنٌ", written in parenthesis, constitute a part of the epitaph also on the stone. Whether any other additions or changes have been made by the scribe I cannot say' (*ibid.*, f.n. 1). Also see f.n. 3 above.

(١١) رمضان من سنة ثلاث و ستين و خمس مائة

(١٢) رحمها الله نقشه محمد بن بركات بن ابي حرمي

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
- (2) ' Their Lord gives them good tidings of mercy from Him and acceptance,
- (3) and of gardens wherein lasting pleasures will be theirs ;
- (4) there they shall abide for ever. Verily, with Allāh there is immense reward.' \*
- (5) (Verse :) I departed and had not been able to prepare provision (for the last journey), though I did not spare efforts (to prepare) an everlasting provision.
- (6) And now I have departed without any provision whatsoever, but (I have no fear, since) I have alighted before the munificent (Lord).<sup>2</sup>
- (7) This is the tomb of the free
- (8) and accomplished lady, the mother of 'Abdu'llāh, whose master is the
- (9) glorious Sultān Yaḥyā, son of Abi's-Sidād al-Muwaffaq a'th-Thaghārī al-Islāmī. She died in her middle age on the last day of the month of
- (11) Ramaḍān of the year three and sixty and five hundred (30th Ramaḍān, A.H. 563=8th July, 1168 A.D.),
- (12) may God have mercy upon her ! Carved by Muḥammad, son of Barakāt, son of Abi Ḥaramī.

INSCRIPTION NO. 6

This inscription, also an epitaph, is fragmentary, about half the portion of the slab having been lost. Not only is the inscriptional tablet of the same type of stone and more or less of the same shape as in the case of the previous record, but there is also a very close similarity between the styles of writing of both the epigraphs. Moreover, the extant portion of the text of the present inscription begins with the same Quranic verse as is found in the previous epigraph. Consequently, we would not be far from truth in assigning the same date, viz., second half of the 6th century A.H. to this inscription. The slab, in its present condition, measures about 9" to 17".

Below is given the reading of the surviving portion. It is not necessary to give the translation, as the extant text comprising verses 21-22 of Chapter IX of the *Qur'ān*, followed by the words 'this is the grave of' has already been translated above.

\* *Ibid.*, has "ثلاث".

<sup>2</sup> *Qur'ān*, ch. IX, vv. 21-22.

<sup>3</sup> Another like fragment, found in epitaphs, is more eloquent in appeal. It runs as follows :—

وولدت على الكريم بغير زاد من الحسنات و القلب السليم  
 وحمل الزاد اقبل كل شئ اذا كان الوفود الى الكريم



## TEXT

## Plate III (c)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(٢) نَشْرَهُمْ رَاحِمٌ بِرَحْمَةِ مَنْهُ وَ رَضْوَانِ

(٣) وَ جَنَاتٍ لَهُمْ فِيهَا نَعِيمٌ مُقِيمٌ خَالِدِينَ

(٤) فِيهَا أَبَدًا إِنَّ اللَّهَ عِندَهُ أَجْرٌ

(٥) عَظِيمٌ

(٦) هَذَا قَبْرُ [لِفَاضِلَةَ ؟]

## INSCRIPTION NO. 7

This epigraph, as has been referred to above, is the earliest of the Indo-Muslim inscriptions displayed in the epigraphical gallery of the Museum. The slab of marble (24" by 20" by 2") which contains the inscription in two languages is damaged and has also cracked. The other side of the stone bears the Portuguese Coat of Arms which shows that the Portuguese, having removed the stone from its original position, got their insignia engraved on the back and fixed the slab into the wall of some building of their own with mortar. That is why the front portion bearing the original inscription has become disfigured to such an extent that the Arabic version which was carved in relief is not legible. This version comprises four verses inscribed in four lines in eight panels that have been nicely carved in the middle of the upper part of the stone. The style of writing is *Nasikh* of a fairly high but an intricate type whereby the letters are put one upon another which has partly made the inscription illegible. I have not been able to decipher this portion and any suggestions for the reading of the same will be greatly welcome.

Below this is incised the *Nāgarī* version running throughout the lower one-fourth portion of the slab in three lines. Its letters are in better or rather almost perfect state of preservation, probably because they were incised and not carved in relief. According to Mr. Ismail, the *Nāgarī* version 'indicates that a lady by name *Khadija* died on the 15th of the month of *Ṣafar* A.H. 889=A.D. 1484'.<sup>1</sup> This is definitely incorrect as will be seen presently.

I do not consider myself competent enough to say anything more definite about this version. But from whatever tentative reading I have prepared, it appears that on the second *prahara* of Saturday, 15th *Ṣafar*, A.H. 779 (23rd June, 1377 A.D.), *Nākhudā Ghafūr*, son of *Nākhudā Aḥmad*, known as *Chhimkhorā* departed to the last abode. If we can judge from the language of the record which is a mixture of Marathi and Gujarati and bound to be of considerable interest to linguists as such, the slab must have been found from somewhere on the Western coast in the part bordering on Gujarat i.e., somewhere to the north of Bombay.

I have prepared the following reading of this version :—

## TEXT

## Plate IV (a)

(१) हिजरत ७७९ याहे मासु सफर तेरीक १५ सणवारा

<sup>1</sup> Ismail, op. cit., p. 2, no. E. (7).



## BOMBAY MUSEUM—contd.

(a) A bilingual Epitaph, dated A. H. 779 (p. 12)



SCALE : 18

(c) Undated inscription (p. 27)

(b) Inscription of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh from  
Galna, dated A. H. 977 (p. 13)

SCALE : 12



SCALE : 25





- (२) तेया दिसी पहारां दोहांमां गप्रो' नाखुआ' हिवनि' आहाम  
(३) द नाखुआ' अळमारुफ छिमखोरा आखिरते गेले

TRANSLATION

- (1) Month Safar of the Hijra year 779, day 15, Saturday (23rd June, 1377 A.D.);  
(2) on this day, in the second *pahar* (i.e., *prahara*), Gapro (i.e., *Ghafūr* ?) Nākhuā, son of Ahama-  
(3) da (i.e., Aḥmad) Nākhuā, known as Chhimkhorā, went to (his) last abode.

INSCRIPTION NO. 8

This is a bilingual inscription bearing the date A.H. 977 (1569-70 A.D.) or Śaka 1491. The slab of stone which measures 2'2" by 1'8" by 11" is reported to have been sent with two others, to the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society from Galna Fort by A. Richardsone who visited it in about 1856.<sup>4</sup> The tablet was found between the two central arches on a bastion situated in the wall of the fort at about two-thirds of the length from the east.<sup>5</sup>

Almost the whole portion of the slab is occupied by the Persian record comprising three verses inscribed in three lines and purporting that a bastion was constructed for the king, whose name does not occur in the text, under the supervision of Aflātūn Khān.<sup>6</sup> The quality of the verses is mediocre and the last hemistich which forms the chronogram is not very clear in its meaning. Then there are two words written beneath the name Aflātūn which mean 'under the supervision of'. The style of writing is *Naskh* of an ordinary type.

Below the Persian version is incised an inscription in one line in *Nāgarī* characters but since that part of the slab is partially covered by the wooden frame in which it is set, only upper half of the text has come on the estampage. It probably bears the date Śaka 1491 and contains the name of Aflātūn; more than this could not be ascertained.<sup>7</sup>

The Persian version has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IVb

- |                           |                              |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| درین قلعه ز بهر شه منازل  | (۱) بنا بنهاد خان حکمت اندیش |
| که نامش گشته قجی برج حاصل | (۲) مرتب شد ز بهر شاه برجے   |
| بفتح برج افلاطون عادل     | (۳) ز هوشی جستمش تاریخ گفتا  |
| درکار کرد سنه ۹۷۷         |                              |

<sup>1</sup> Probably this is a corrupt form of "गफुर".

<sup>2</sup> Corruption of "नाखुआ".

<sup>3</sup> Obviously "ईले".

<sup>4</sup> Richardsone, *JBBRAS*, vol. VI (1861), pp. 143-45, has in the course of a detailed description of the fort given brief particulars about these three inscriptions. His account has been reproduced in *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XVI, Nasik (Bombay, 1883), pp. 436-38; see also Ismail, op. cit., p. 3, no. E. (10). There are a few more inscriptions in situ in the Galna fort which belong to this period.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 143-44.

<sup>6</sup> There are at least two more inscriptions in the Galna fort which mention Aflātūn as the builder of a step-well and the city-wall with a bastion made of stone in the year A.H. 978.

<sup>7</sup> These remarks on the *Nāgarī* version are by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.



## TRANSLATION

- (1) The far-sighted Khān laid the foundation, in this Fort, of buildings<sup>1</sup> for the king.
- (2) For the sake of the king was constructed a bastion for which the name Faṭḥī Burj has been obtained.
- (3) I sought the year of its construction from Hūshī who said, ' (it can be obtained from the words) *Faṭḥ Burj constructed under the supervision of Aflātūn the just* '. Year 977 (A.H.=1569-70 A.D.).

The date A.H. 977 is inscribed in figure, while it is also obtained by adding up the numerical value of the letters constituting the last hemistich ; the words inscribed below the name Aflātūn are not to be counted in the chronogram, though these have been taken as part of the hemistich in translation.<sup>2</sup>

The name of the king is not mentioned in the inscription, but it is apparent that Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar in whose reign the date of the record falls is referred to in the inscription, as Galna was under the Ahmadnagar king at that period. Moreover, the other inscription from the Galna fort studied hereafter refers, by implication, to the Nizām Shāhī rule and since it is dated only eight years later, it is only reasonable to hold the view that the king referred to in the present inscription is none other than Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh I. As regards Aflātūn Khān or Hūshī the composer, I have not been able to gather any information.

## INSCRIPTION NO. 9

Like the previous inscription, this one is also bilingual. Fragmentary and slightly damaged, it records the construction of some building on the 1st Rabi' II, A.H. 985 (18th June, 1577 A.D.). This is perhaps the same epigraph which Richardsone had removed from Galna fort and presented to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Its exact findspot etc., can be judged from the following description of Richardsone himself : ' The second slab was taken from a niche between the battlements fronting the north and surmounting a row of cellars which ..... must have been intended for residences ..... The slab contained an inscription in the Devanagari character, dated Saka 14—, and below it<sup>3</sup> were four lines in Persian to the effect that the particular bastion had been built by one Mahomed Ali Khan, and completed on the first of Rubi-ul-Akhir H., or, from the employment of the Arabic numerals, it may be Soor sun 985, which will make the date 14 years later. ' <sup>4</sup> It will be seen from the reading given below that the above statement is full of mistakes and hence likely to mislead.

Some portion of the stone at the top has broken off with the result that the Persian version has lost a few lines. The remaining lines merely contain the date and the words 'was constructed' and also, occurring at the end, the name Zahīr (son of) Muḥammad who wrote the inscription. Of the other name only the latter part has survived on the stone, viz., Ḥabashī Nizām Shāhī who is

<sup>1</sup> Please see foot-note 6 on p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> This verse without taking into consideration the phrase "ذکر کرد" may be translated thus : I sought its date from Hūshī. He said in reply, ' (it can be found) in (the words) *Faṭḥ Burj of Aflātūn, the just* '.

It may be pointed out that the numerical value of letter "ب" in "بفتح" is to be included in the calculation.

<sup>3</sup> The fact is quite the reverse. Probably, Mr. Richardsone wrote from memory.

<sup>4</sup> Richardsone, op. cit., p. 144. As stated earlier, *Bom. Gaz.*, op. cit., copies the same account verbatim. Also see Ismail, op. cit., p. 2, no. E.(8).



probably none other than Khān-i-A'zam Haibat Khān *khānedār* mentioned in the *Nāgarī* inscription incised below the Persian record. The latter also mentions one Sayyidu's-Sādāt Sayyid Manā but the connection of this name is not clear. The *Nāgarī* record comprising four lines is dated the 10th day of the bright half of Jyēṣṭha of the Śaka year 1499, Isvara, corresponding to 11th June, 1577 A.D., which is earlier than the date of the Persian version by a week. It refers to the *hastākshara* of Khān-i-A'zam Haibat Khān.<sup>1</sup> It may be pointed out that the date of the record falls in the reign of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar.

The style of writing of the Persian version is *Nasḫ*, while the slab which is greyish granite measures in its present condition 2'4" by 1'4" and is about 10" thick. The text of the Persian portion reads as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate V (a)

- (۱) شاهی ..... ن حبشی نظام شاه  
 (۲) بعنایت ؟ مرتب شد فی التاریخ غره من شهر دیع  
 (۳) اللای سنه خمس ثمانین و تسعمایه رقم العبد ظهیر محمد داعی ؟

## TRANSLATION

- (1) ..... Shāhī ..... Ḥabashī Nizām Shāhī.  
 (2) ..... through the kindness, was constructed, on the 1st day of the month of Rabi' -  
 (3) u'th-Thānī, year five (and) eighty and nine hundred (18th June, 1577 A.D.). Written by the servant Zahīr Muhammad Dā'ī.<sup>2</sup>

## INSCRIPTION NO. 10

This inscriptional tablet measuring 2'2" by 1'8" by 7" contains an epigraph comprising two verses in Persian inscribed in four lines and one line in Arabic prose giving the date. According to Richardsone, in the Galna fort there is 'a tower so constructed as to command the entire route of ascent, and immediately facing, of course at different elevations, the third and fourth gateways . . . . . There we found the third tablet dated H. 993, A.D. 1577,<sup>3</sup> the latest inscription on the fort but which ascribes its foundation to Mahomed Ali'.<sup>4</sup> Now according to my reading, one Wall completed within a short time the construction of a building near the *Baorī-i-Tāq* during the governorship of Mir 'Ali. I personally feel that by *Baorī-i-Tāq* is meant a step-well (Bāoli) called Tāq Bāoli near which the building was constructed. It is not at all unlikely that the inscriptional slab did not originally belong to the bastion or tower referred to by Mr. Richardsone; it might have been lying loose, detached from the building it was originally fixed to and later set up on the said tower.

The statement of M. Ismail about Mir 'Ali that he 'may be an official of king Miran or identical with the king himself who received very ignominious treatment at the hands of Akbar, the Mughal emperor',<sup>5</sup> is confused and vague.

<sup>1</sup> Note by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

<sup>2</sup> There is another inscription in the Galna fort mentioning Fālād Khān and inscribed on the 1st of Rabi'u'l-Awwal, Shuhūr Sana 991 by the same scribe.

<sup>3</sup> 1585 A.D., and not 1577 A.D., is the equivalent year of A.H. 993.

<sup>4</sup> Richardsone, op. cit., p. 144. Also see, Ismail, op. cit., p. 2, no. E.(9).

<sup>5</sup> Ismail, op. cit., p. 2. By Mirān he means Mirān Hussain Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar.



The text of the record is executed in relief in *Naskh* script without any distinguishing features and reads as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate V (b)

(۱) هو

(۲) برین قلعه در عهد میر علی

(۳) روان شد عمارت بمستعجلے

(۴) بنا کرد نزدیک بوری طاق

(۵) تماش نمود ز همت ولی

(۶) فی سنه ۹۹۳ من شهر جماد الاول سلخ

## TRANSLATION

(1) He is [God].

(2) On this fort in the reign of Mīr 'Alī,

(3) the construction of the building was started in urgency.

(4-5) Wall constructed, near the Tāq Borī, (the building), and completed it through magnanimity.

(6) In the year 993 in the month of Jumādā I, last day (20th May, 1585 A.D.).

The inscription is dated A.H. 993 (1585 A.D.), when Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh I was ruling from Ahmadnagar. Neither Mīr 'Alī who was probably the governor of the fort or the district nor Walli, who caused the structure to be constructed could be traced in available historical works.

## INSCRIPTION NO. 11

The tablet bearing this epigraph is reported to have been found lying in the court of the District Magistrate at Thana in 1906 and subsequently removed to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society where it lay prior to its removal to the Museum.<sup>1</sup> The inscription is bilingual but the major and important portion is in Persian comprising eleven lines of close and minute writing. It records in details the services of both Rāja Gopāl Dās Gor who was given the title of Rāja Māndhātā and also the charge of the Asir Fort by Shāh Jahān and of the former's son Rāja Manohar Dās, who, succeeding his father as the *qal'adār* in A.H. 1062, was confirmed by Shāh Jahān and after the latter, by Aurangzeb and who repaired the walls, granaries etc., of the forts of Mahābālī, Palāsgaḍh, Bhaṇḍār Durg etc., on the 5th Ramaḍān of the regnal year 11 or A.H. 1079 (27th January, 1669 A.D.). Another inscription recording the services rendered by

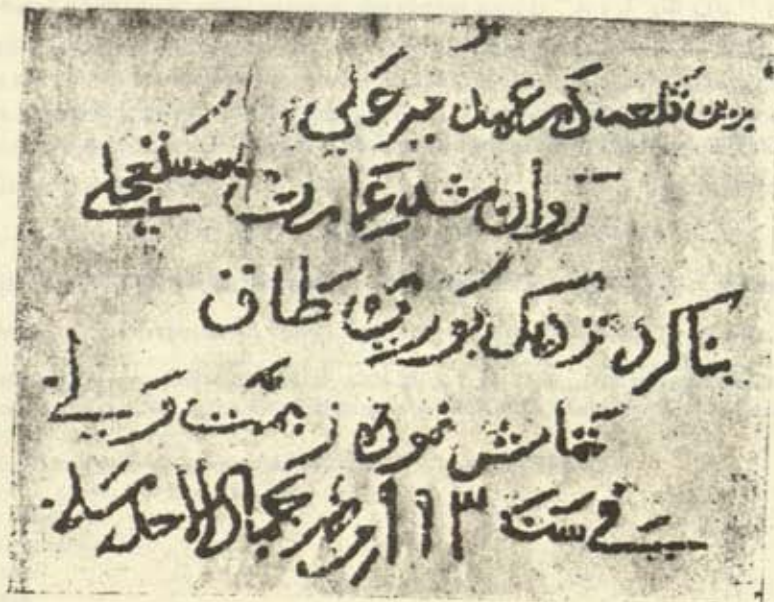
<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3, no. E. (2). For further details and exhaustive notes on this inscription, please see J. J. Modi, *op. cit.*

(a) Nizām Shāhī inscription from Galna, dated A. H. 985 (p. 15)



SCALE : 21

(b) Inscription from Galna, dated A. H. 993 (p. 16)



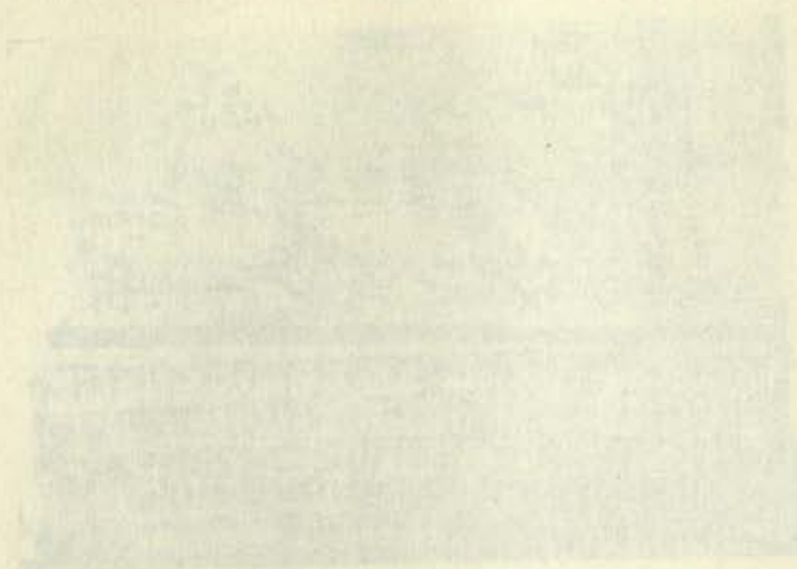
SCALE : 16



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Rāja Gopāl Dās and his family to Shāh Jahān when the latter was yet a prince is to be found on the right jamb of the Phūṭā Darwāza at Asirgaḍh.<sup>1</sup> An inscription on a gun in Aurangabad also mentions Manohar Dās as having repaired it.<sup>2</sup>

As has been stated above in the introductory lines, Shamsu'l-'Ulamā Modi had read a very exhaustive paper on this inscription before the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society. But for our purpose his study which otherwise supplies us with much information regarding various places is not so scientific as it ought to have been. His readings, which are not claimed as 'altogether correct' even by him are on the whole quite satisfactory, there being only four or five places where my readings differ from his; but these are of minor nature. The same, however cannot, be said of his remarks which, if on one hand are unnecessarily lengthy and at times superfluous, are on the other, not wholly free from statements, sometimes betraying uncertainty, that are likely to mislead. As it is not possible for us to go into details, we shall refer by way of example, to a few points only.

It may be pointed out at the outset that Shamsu'l-'Ulamā had read his paper before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society where certain suggestions etc., were made, especially by Professor Irfahani.<sup>3</sup> After the paper was published, H. Beveridge also suggested a few things. Hence Shamsu'l-'Ulamā published his further remarks in a subsequent issue of the same journal.<sup>4</sup> The most important suggestion made by Beveridge was the reading of the word "تهیه" for "تهیه" to which Shamsu'l-'Ulamā readily agreed. The whole phrase "در جنگ تهیه بکار آمدند" was translated by the latter as 'they prepared for war'. In his second article he suggested this translation, 'They fought in the battle of Tatta' or 'they became useful in the battle of Tatta', and added in a footnote that "کار" war, battle; "بکار آمدن" also means to be useful. So the sentence may also mean "they became useful in the battle of Tatta".<sup>5</sup> It is apparent that the meaning intended here is that 'they were killed in the battle of Thatta'. It is also to be noted that Shamsu'l-'Ulamā had quoted two passages from the *Ma'āthirul-Umarā* in which reference to this affair is made. In the first passage, the same phrase "بکار آمدند" is used which is translated in the same way,<sup>6</sup> while in the other passage, the phrase used is "جان نثار گردید" which Shamsu'l-'Ulamā translates, and this time correctly, as 'they were gloriously killed'.<sup>7</sup> Then also Shamsu'l-'Ulamā does not clarify the statement once for all that all these passages including the texts of this as well as the Asirgaḍh inscription of which Shamsu'l-'Ulamā had no information, mean that Rāja Gopāl Dās and his son Kunwar Balrām had laid down their lives in the siege of Thatta. Likewise, Shamsu'l-'Ulamā has interpreted the phrase "خادم حرم" thus: 'The inscription speaks of *Khādamān* (خادمان) i.e., domestic servants being left by Shāh Jahān ..... The *Tārikh-i-Jahangiri* speaks of the female servants of the royal harem (پرستاران حرم). We must understand that both seem to mean the same thing, because the word *khādam* (خادم) in Persian is used

<sup>1</sup> This inscription has been published in *EIM*, 1925-26, p. 7, pl. IV b. The services rendered by Rāja Gopāl Dās and his family have also been mentioned in *Shamsu'd-Daula Shāh Nawāz Khān, Ma'āthirul-Umarā*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 251, 263 etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1956-57, Appendix B, No. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Modi, op. cit., p. 141, f.n. 2; p. 142, f.n. 1, 2, 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 553-58.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 534 and f.n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 534.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 535



for both, male and female, domestic servants'.<sup>1</sup> This, I am afraid, is not correct. The phrase "خدامان حرم" or "پرستاران حرم" like "بندگان حضرت" signifies not the domestic servants, male or female, but members of the royal seraglio themselves. Similarly, *Shamsu'l-'Ulamā's* statement that 'the next event referred to in the inscription is that of *Shāh Jahān* crossing a river and going to Deccan' etc.,<sup>2</sup> is unwarranted and not found in the text. What the inscription means to say is that *Shāh Jahān* crossed back into Deccan from the eastern provinces where he had earlier gone. A striking instance of *Shamsu'l-'Ulamā's* hesitancy is provided in his note on the word "پورب" occurring in l.2 of the epigraph. While in the footnote he stated that 'Perhaps it is a Hindi word meaning East, as suggested by Prof. Isfahani', he expressed his views thus: 'I cannot identify the place mentioned as Purab ..... Perhaps, Purab was a place in the direction of Burhanpur. Perhaps, the scribe who inscribed the inscription misunderstood or mistook Purab (پورب) for Burhanpur (برهان پور)'.<sup>3</sup>

Lastly, his whole discussion as to whether a Hindu or a Muslim had set up the stone is quite superfluous.<sup>4</sup> I have failed to understand how this question could have arisen at all.

*Shamsu'l-'Ulamā* has likewise discussed at some length, but inconclusively, the probable find-spot of this inscription. In my humble opinion, this as well as the other stone record removed to the Museum from the Office of the District Judge, belonged originally to the Maholi fort (No. 13, *infra*).

The language of the inscription under study is Persian prose, which, though on the whole not so faulty as we often come across in inscriptions, is yet not quite free from mistakes which may have resulted due to the ignorance of the scribe. The inscriptional tablet measuring 22" by 15" is slightly damaged, the stone having developed a vertical crack in the middle, and the writing is also somewhat affected. However, this does not present much difficulty in the decipherment of the text.

The Persian version is executed in relief in *Nasta'liq* style and reads as follows:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate VI

- (۱) چون در سنه یکم هزار سی و دو هجری شاه جهان [با؟ مال] و متاع معه خادمان  
محل بر قلعه آسیر حواله راجه گوپال داس گور
- (۲) نموده خود بدولت عازم به سمت پورب شدند در هنگام [عمل؟] راجه مشار الیه  
از سلطان پرویز قریب دو سال در اسیر
- (۳) جنگ نمود بعد چند روز شاه جهان از آنجا عبور نموده باز به دکن تشریف ازانے  
فرمودند آن زمان راجه گوپال داس بملازمت

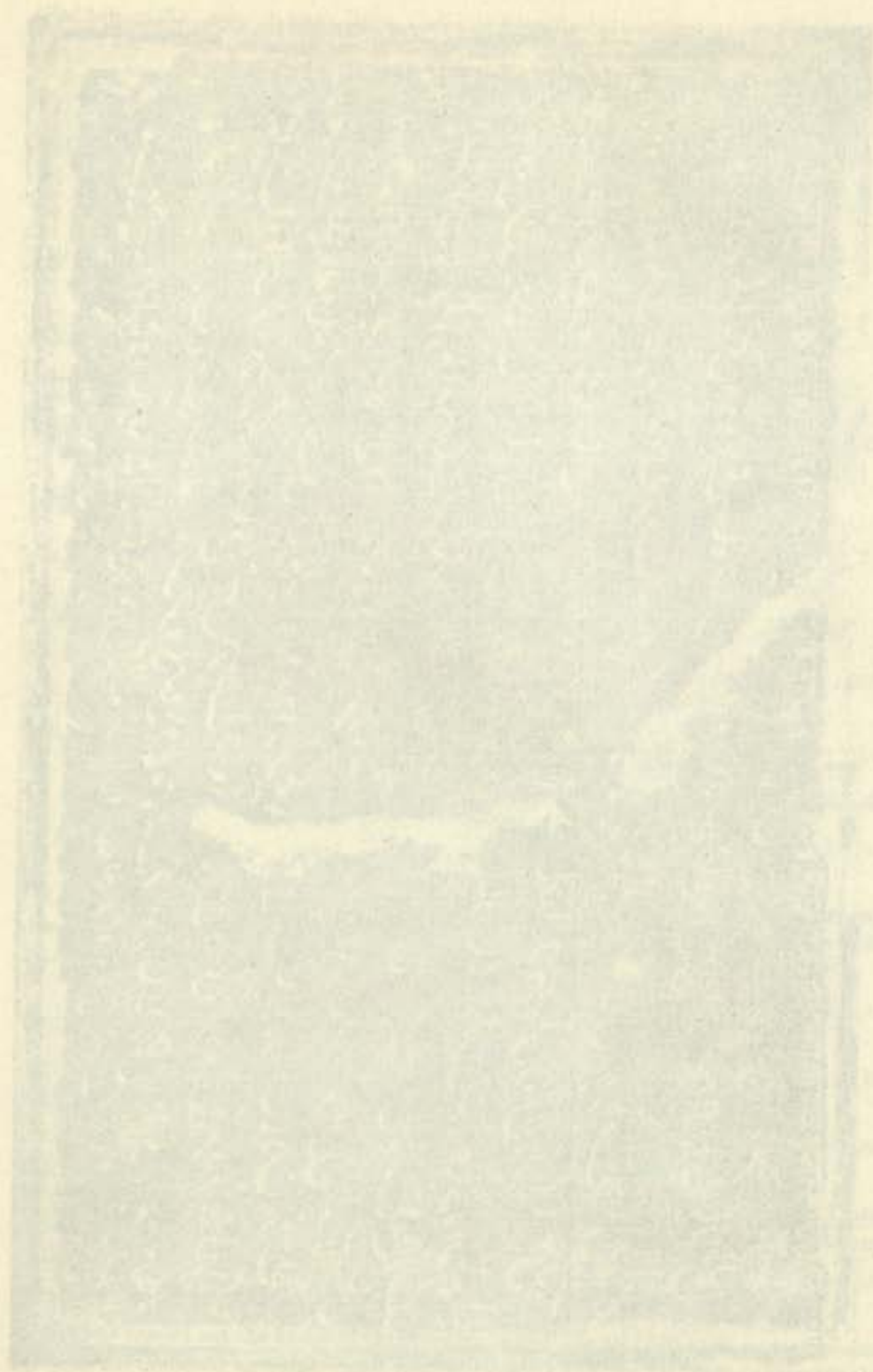
<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 151-52.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>5</sup> The text is headed by the words "هوالتیانس" meaning 'He is Bountiful'.

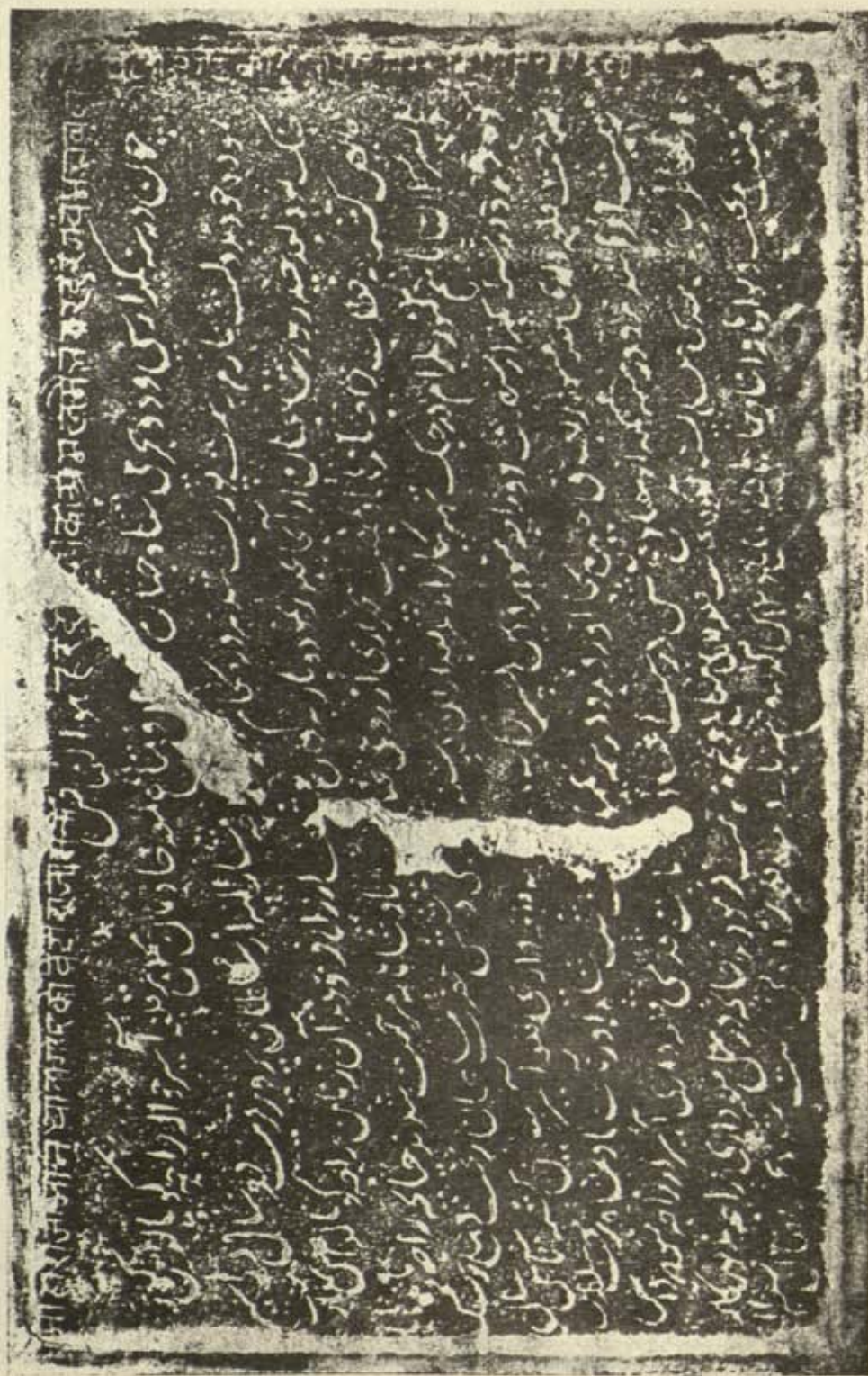


THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA



BOMBAY MUSEUM—*contd.*

Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated 11th regnal year (p. 18)



SCALE : 3



- (۴) فایض گشته به خطاب راجه ماندهاتا و بمنصب پنجهزاری از روی عنایت پادشاهانه  
مرحمت شدند چنانچه راجه ماندهاتا
- (۵) با پسر کلان باسم کنور بلرام در جنگ تهنه بکار آمدند بعد ازان در سنه یکهزار  
سی و شش حضرت شاهجهان بر تخت دهلی زینت بخش
- (۶) گردیدند و در سنه یکهزار شصت دو راجه منوهر داس پسر راجه ماندهاتا [ندهاتا] به قلعه  
داری قلعه آسیر متعین گشته تا شش سال
- (۷) خدمت قلعه داری قلعه مسطور بصدق عقیده بجا آوردند و در سنه یکهزار [شصت]  
و هشت شاه اورنگ بادشاه بر تخت سلطنت
- (۸) زینت افزا شدند و در سنه یکهزار هفتاد پنج نقش درست اعتقا [دی] و ثابت قدمی  
قلعه داری آسیر از راجه منوهر داس
- (۹) در خاطر مبارک مقدس معلی پسند آورده خدمت قلعه داری مهالیه و غیره مرحمت  
فرمودند چنانچه در عمل قلعه داری راجه مزبور کار
- (۱۰) شکست ریخت دیوارها و انبار خانه ها قلعه مهالیه و پلاس کده و زینه پایه قلعه  
بهیندار درگ اراست شدند پنجم رمضان سنه ۱۱

TRANSLATION

(1) When in the year one thousand thirty and two of the Hijra (era), Shāh Jahān, having made over his property and effects along with the inmates of his seraglio to the charge of Rāja Gopāl Dās Gor in the fort of Asir,

(2) himself started towards the east (i.e., Bihar and Bengal) ; in this period of his governorship, the aforesaid Rāja put up a fight at Asir for about two years against Sultān Parwīz.

(3) After some time, Shāh Jahān having crossed over that land again returned to Deccan ; at that time Rāja Gopāl Dās was favoured

(4) with service (i.e., audience) and was conferred the title, through royal favours, of Rāja Māndhātā and a *mansab* of 5,000. After some time, Rāja Māndhātā

(5) was killed, with his eldest son Kunwar Balrām by name, in the battle of Thatta. After that in the year one thousand thirty and six, His Majesty Shāh Jahān occupied the throne of Delhi

(6) and in the year one thousand sixtytwo, Rāja Manohar Dās, son of Rāja Māndhātā having been appointed in the custodianship of the fort of Asir, for six years

(7) he carried out the duties of the custodianship of the said fort with sincere devotion, and in the year one thousand sixtyeight Shāh Aurang Bādshāh adorned the throne of the kingdom



(8) and in the year one thousand seventyfive, the stamp of true devotion and steadfastness of the charge of the Asir fort on behalf of Rāja Manohar Dās having

(9) impressed the lofty, holy and blessed mind (of the emperor), he was entrusted with the duties of the charge of Mahābalī (fort) etc., so that during his term of custodianship, the said Rāja

(10) carried out the repairs to the walls, (and) store-houses of the forts of Mahābalī, Palāsgaḍh, (and?) the steps leading to Bhaṇḍār Durg. Fifth (of the month of) Ramaḍān, (regnal year) 11 (i.e., A.H. 1079-27th January, 1669 A.D.).

The *Nāgarī* version is very short comprising one line written around the two sides of the slab. It simply states that repairs were carried out to the buildings of the forts of Bhaṇḍār Durg, Mahāvalī and Palāsgaḍh during the governorship of Rāja Manohar Dās, son of Rāja Māndhātā Goṛ. From the text which has been deciphered by me, the language appears to be a variation of Hindi akin to a form of Rajasthani spoken in some parts of Rajasthan.

*Nāgarī version.*<sup>1</sup>

माहाराजा मानघाता गोडर को बेटो राजा मनोहरदासजी का अमल में भंडार दुरंग व महाबली व पलासगढ़ की ? ईमारति को सब काम तैयार हुवा ।

TRANSLATION

During the governorship of Rāja Manohar Dās Jī, son of Māhā Rāja Māndhātā Goṛ, buildings of the Bhaṇḍār Durg, Mahāvalī and Palāsgaḍh were completely repaired.

It will be seen that the name Mahābalī of the Persian inscription has been written here as Mahāvalī which is perhaps the correct form. Mahāvalī or Mahābalī is none other than the Maholi fort, which stands in the middle on the top of a hill-range with Palāsgaḍh on the north and Bhaṇḍār Durg on the south.<sup>2</sup>

We may also note that the date of *Shāh Jahān's* accession to the throne as given in the inscription falls short of the accepted date viz., A. H. 1037, by one year. As the latter date is supported by historical and numismatic evidences, A. H. 1036 may be taken to refer to the year in which *Shāh Jahān* was placed on the throne at Lahore by Āṣaf Khan.<sup>3</sup>

INSCRIPTION NO. 12

This inscription which is mainly in Persian verse is reported to have been brought from the fort at Ankai in Nasik District, where it originally belonged to a bathroom.<sup>4</sup> Ankai, generally called Ankai-Tankai, is the strongest hill-fort in Nasik District, rising about 900 feet above the plain. It is approached by a station of the same name, near Manmad on the Manmad-Kazipet section of the Central Railway.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Also, Modi, op. cit., p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> For a description of the Maholi and other forts, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. XIV, Thana, Places of Interest (Bombay, 1882), pp. 219-220; Bhandargadh of the *Gazetteer* is in all probability Bhandar Durg of our inscription.

<sup>3</sup> Ismail, op. cit., pp. 3-4, no. E. (14). Also, Modi, op. cit., pp. 153-54, has discussed this question at some length.

<sup>4</sup> Ismail, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed description and history of the fort etc., see *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. XVI, op. cit., pp. 419-21.

The inscriptional tablet measuring 1'5" by 2'3" is slightly damaged with the result that a few letters have disappeared on the stone while few more have lost their prominence of relief. The record comprises two verses inscribed in four lines and one more line in prose, all of which have been executed in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters of a fairly high order. The epigraph purports to give a chronogram for the construction of a bath (*ḥammām*), which, when worked out, yields the date A. H. 1097 (1685-86 A.D.), also given in figures. The last line of the text mentions the name of Naurūz Qulī Baig Rūzbihānī who obviously ordered the construction. The name of emperor Aurangzeb during whose reign the date of the record falls does not find mention in the text. I have not been able to establish the identity of Naurūz Qulī Baig Rūzbihānī from the available records, but that he must have held some office of consequence in the Mughal forces occupying this fort can be presumed without much fear of contradiction. But in that case, the omission of the emperor's name would be somewhat surprising.

The epigraph reads as under :—

TEXT

Platē VIII (a)

- (۱) مرتب شد جم[م] .....<sup>۱</sup> از رحمت قدرت  
(۲) اساس باد چون نو روز دایم شوکت و حشمت  
(۳) بنای سال تاریخش چو جستم از در [رحمت]  
(۴) ندا از هاتقم آمد بگفتا منزل عشرت  
(۵) [۱] حقر عباد الله الغنی نو روز قل بیگک روز بهائے ۱۰۹۷

TRANSLATION

- (1) The.....bath was constructed through the kindness of the Providence.  
(2) May its foundation be, for ever, pomp and splendour, like (the festival of) Naurūz.<sup>2</sup>  
(3) When I sought the base of the year of its date from the door of grace,  
(4) a call from the Invisible angel reached me saying, ' (it is) *abode of pleasure* '.  
(5) The meanest of God's creatures, Naurūz Qulī Baig Rūzbihānī. (Year) 1097 (A. H.—1685-86 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 13

The tablet bearing this inscription (1'5" by 1'6" by 2") is reported to have been found lying along with the inscription of the Rāja Māndhātā studied above (No. 11), in the court of the District

<sup>1</sup> The missing word is probably an adjective like "دلکش" or "دلپسند".

<sup>2</sup> The "الف" is there on the stone though it has not come out on the estampage.

<sup>3</sup> There is a pun here. Naurūz means New Year's day which was celebrated with great pomp and splendour by the Mughals in India and is also part of the builder's name.



Judge at Thana in 1906.<sup>1</sup> The slab seems to have been adversely affected by exposure to weather for quite a long time, as in a considerable portion of the text, letters originally carved out in relief have almost levelled down with the background. It is a matter of satisfaction that this inscription which has a great historical value is now preserved from further deterioration.

As regards the findspot of the epigraph, no information is available in the records of the Museum, but as the text refers to the history of the fort of Maholi, it is very likely that it originally came from that place.

The record belongs to Aurangzeb's reign and states that the emperor, on the fort of Maholi having been conquered, assigned its governorship to Mir Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān, son of Mukhlis Khān who held the post for about fourteen years.<sup>2</sup> It was probably during his term of office, that he constructed an ābdārkhāna (water-room), a garden, a bath and a tānka (underground water-cistern). According to my reading, the date of the record proper is Aurangzeb's regnal year 45 corresponding to A.H. 1113 (1701 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> The text running into ten lines of Persian prose is executed in *Nasta'liq* characters in relief. The calligraphy, judged from what remains on the damaged tablet, is of a fairly high order.

My reading of the text is as under :—

# TEXT

## Plate VII (a)

- (۱) در سنه یکمزار و یکصد و ..... والا ؟ همت بندگان حضرت
- (۲) سلیمان مرتبت مظهر آیات مبین ؟ محی الاسلام والدین محمد
- (۳) اورنگ زیب عالمگیر بادشاه غازی بعد تسخیر قلعه ماهولی
- (۴) از روی خانه زاد نوازے ؟ خدمت ..... زین الدین علیخان بن مخلصخان
- (۵) ..... مفوض نموده چنانچه مدت چهارده سال بترددات شایسته و آثار ؟ بایسته
- (۶) بخدمت مزبور در عین امتیاز نموده کار سننها ؟ جهنمی بتقدیم رسانیده بمراحم خسروانه
- (۷) سزاوار و بقلعه ؟ مذکور تعمیر ابدال خانه ؟ و حویلی و باغ و حمام و تانکه
- آب جهت
- (۸) حصار نمود حراست مستقیم اجمیر ؟ .....
- (۹) بشرف .....
- (۱۰) فضل و کرم با عفتاد ذات سوار و منصب احدی ..... این خدمت ؟ پنجم

محرم سنه ۴۵ ؟

<sup>1</sup> Ismail, op. cit., p. 3, no. E. (13).

<sup>2</sup> It is very unfortunate that the writing being badly damaged, a very important evidence giving the date of the conquest of the fort should have been lost.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the statement in *ibid.* : ' It is in a very bad state of preservation. From what remains, it seems that Aurangzeb in A. H. 1115=A.D. 1703 granted the rank of commander of 1,000 horse to Zainu'd-din Ali Khan, an official of the Mughal army. '

<sup>4</sup> This word may also be "انبار خانه" (store-house).



BOMBAY MUSEUM—contd.

(a) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A. H. 1113 (p. 22)



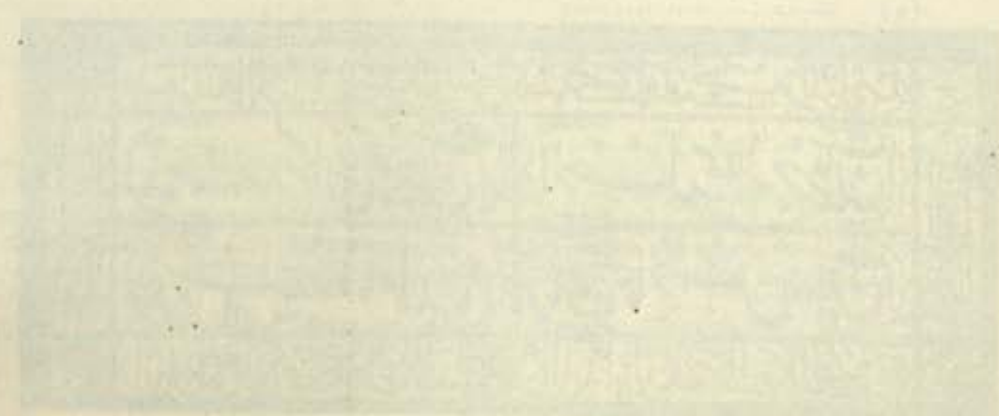
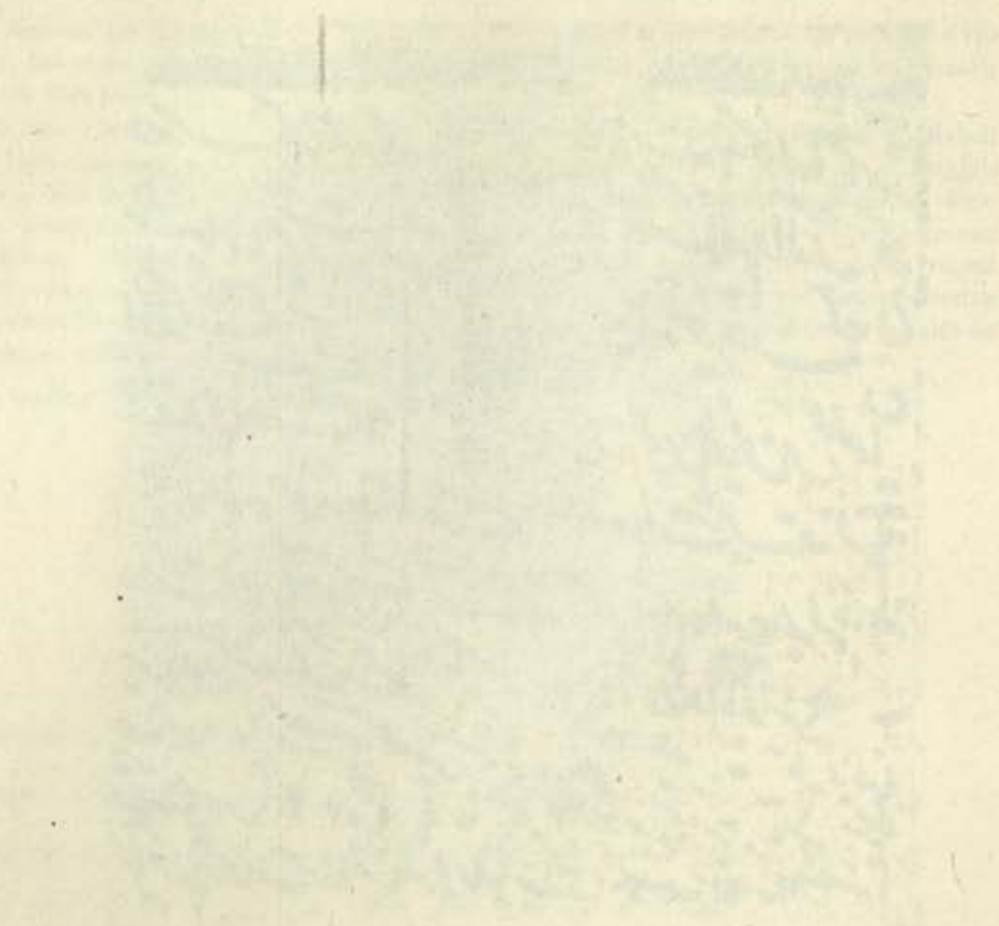
SCALE : 3

(b) Inscription from Surat, dated A. H. 1198 (p. 26)





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TRANSLATION

- (1) In the year one thousand one hundred and.....His Majesty of lofty aspirations,
- (2) having the position of Solomon, manifestation of clear signs, Muhyī'u'l-Islām wa'd-Dīn (lit., reviver of Islām and the Faith), Muḥammad
- (3) Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh Ghāzī, after the conquest of the fort of Māholi,
- (4) by way of favouring the house-born slaves, appointed Mir Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān, son of Mukhlis Khān
- (5-6).....Consequently, for a period of fourteen years, having eminently discharged the said service with praiseworthy efforts and achievements, he settled the matter of Sambhā?, the resident of hell, and was received into royal favours.
- (7) The said Mir (ordered?) construction of the water-room.....garden, a bath and the fānka of water for the use of ?
- (8) the fort.....
- (9) .....
- (10) .....5th Muḥarram, 45th year (of reign) (i.e., 5th Muḥarram, A. H. 1113=1st June, 1701 A.D.).

The fort of Maholi, the most important forts of North Konkan, is situated on the hill of the same name 2815 feet high, in the Shahpur sub-division of the Thana District of Bombay.<sup>1</sup> It is eighteen miles north east of Kalyan. It was on the 11th March 1689 that Mu'tabar Khān was ordered by Aurangzeb to march against Maholi which, along with other forts, was taken by the former before the end of the year.<sup>2</sup>

Nawwāb Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān, the son of Mukhlis Khān, who is mentioned in the inscription as having been given the charge of the fort, was a close relation of Mu'tabar Khān, the latter having been married to his sister. His father Mullā Yahyā, the younger brother of Mullā Aḥmad Nāita had entered Aurangzeb's service in the sixth year of the reign with a *mangab* of 2,000, and was later given the title Mukhlis Khān, when the son, Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān of our inscription, is stated to have been awarded suitable offices. After the death of his brother-in-law, Mu'tabar Khān, the latter's possessions passed on to him. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar, he went to Sa'ādātu'llāh Khān at Arcot where probably he remained till the end of his life. His son is also stated to have received his father's title.<sup>3</sup> Our inscription is an important record throwing light on the history of Maholi and also furnishes us with details regarding the assignment, etc., of the Nawwāb.

INSCRIPTION NO. 14

This as well as the next epigraph belong to the reign of Aurangzeb's son and successor Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh. The one studied here is carved in relief on a stone measuring 2'7" by 1'1"

<sup>1</sup> For details regarding the fort and the history of its occupation, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. XIV, op. cit., pp. 219-20 ; H. Cousens, *Revised List of the Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay, 1897), p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> For details, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. V (Calcutta, 1924), pp. 148-151, 154, 157 ; for some more references to Maholi, see *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 395 ; Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. I, p. 746 ; *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 344, etc. Sir Jadunath has based his account on a manuscript work *Kār-Nāma* which narrates the life and achievements of Mu'tabar Khān.

<sup>3</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 562-66.



by 8", which is reported to have been brought from Anaki fort.<sup>1</sup> The inscription is incomplete, its first part having been lost and moreover, it is not known as to on what building it was originally set up. But, from the surviving portion of the text, it appears that a gateway of the fort, after construction or more probably reparation, was given the name Makka'i Darwāza.<sup>2</sup> This was in A. H. 1120 (1708-09 A.D.) which falls in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam I. The inscription also contains the name Santokh Rāi *mushrif*,<sup>3</sup> who probably reconstructed the said gateway at his own initiative or under orders from a superior. The style of writing of the inscription is *Nasta'liq*, without any special merit, and quite similar to the calligraphy of the next inscription which, in all probability, is dated A.H. 1122 (1710 A.D.). As both the inscriptions are reported to be from the same place, viz., Ankai fort, it is very likely that they were designed by the same scribe and also that Nawwāb Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān mentioned in the later inscription was responsible for setting them up.

The extant portion of this fragmentary epigraph reads as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate VIII (b)

[خ] طاب مکئی دروازه ممتاز گشت ..... (۱)

ی سنه ۱۱۲۰ خاله زاد سنتو کهرای مشرف ..... (۲)

## TRANSLATION

(1) ..... was distinguished with the title Makka'i Darwāza.

(2) ..... 1120 (A.H.=1708-09 A.D.). The house-born (slave) Santokhrāi, the *mushrif*.

## INSCRIPTION NO. 15

As stated above, this record is also said to have been brought from Ankai fort,<sup>4</sup> and is, like the previous inscription, incomplete. It refers to the construction of some structure carried out under the supervision of Faqīrā Baig, who is spoken of as the deputy (*nā'ib*) of Nawwāb Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān. The inscription does not name the king but merely refers to the fourth year of his reign which must be that of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh, son and successor of Aurangzeb : the calligraphy of this inscription is similar to that of the previous record dated A.H. 1120 (1708-09 A.D.) ; moreover, in all probability, Nawwāb Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān is none other than the one mentioned in the Maholi fort inscription dated about a decade earlier (No. 13 supra). If this be accepted, the date of this inscription would be 10th Shawwāl, A.H. 1122 (21st November, 1710 A.D.). The inscriptional tablet measures about 3'3" by 1'3".

<sup>1</sup> Ismail, op. cit., p. 4, no. E. (15).

<sup>2</sup> It has been a common practice with the Muslims to name western gates of the forts as Makki Darwāza as they face the holy city of Mecca situated in the west.

<sup>3</sup> Ismail, op. cit., p. 4, gives 'Musharrif' which is wrong. For the duties, etc., of a *mushrif* see M. Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 144-45. However, the duties of a *mushrif* have been more correctly established by S. H. Hodiwala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, vol. II (Bombay, 1957), pp. 29-32, 38, 61.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4, no. E. (17), where it is stated : ' Though the date is not given, yet it may be presumed that it belongs to the time of the later Mughals. It records the completion of some part of repairs to a part of the building by an employee of one Zainud-Din Ali Khan on the 10th Shawwāl of an unknown year.'

(a) Inscription from Ankai Fort,  
dated A. H. 1097 (p. 21)

مرستد حاکم ارشد  
اساتر با جوین روزیم شوکت  
بنای سالار حسن جویم از رحمت  
ما از باقیم امیر کشتا منتر شربت  
یک ۹۷  
عمر عباد العننی بنده و فایز روریجا

SCALE : 16

(b) Inscription of the reign of *Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur*  
*Shāh*, from the same place, dated A. H. 1120 (p. 24)

باب ملی و دروازه ممتاز گشت  
ای سلاطین خانه زاد سستو کهرای مشرف

SCALE : 14

(c) Another inscription from the same place (p. 25)

تباریح و هنر تو ال سلسله علو سر  
میمنه مانوس ما اہنام بنده و سکاہ فقہ ایک  
نایب نواب والا جنابک زین الدین علی خان

SCALE : 14



The American Medical Association  
has been organized since 1847  
and has been the leading  
organization of the medical  
profession in this country  
since that time. It has  
been the champion of the  
public health and the  
highest standard of  
medical education and  
practice. It has been the  
voice of the medical  
profession in all matters  
of public health and  
medical education and  
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public health and the  
highest standard of  
medical education and  
practice. It has been the  
voice of the medical  
profession in all matters  
of public health and  
medical education and  
practice.

The American Medical Association  
has been organized since 1847  
and has been the leading  
organization of the medical  
profession in this country  
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practice.

As regards Faqīrā Baig who is mentioned in the epigraph as the deputy of the Nawwāb, I have not been able to trace any reference to him in records available to me.

The inscription has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (c)

(۱) بتاریخ دهم شهر شوال سنه ۴ جلوس

(۲) میمنت مابوس باهتمام بنده درگاه فقیرا بیگ

(۳) نایب نواب والا جناب زین الدین علی خان

TRANSLATION

- (1) On the tenth of the month of Shawwāl, year 4 of accession
- (2) of auspicious association, under the superintendence of the servant of the court, Faqīrā Baig,
- (3) deputy of the Nawwāb of lofty position (lit., threshold), Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān.

It is obvious from the above text that the lower part or rather the upper part of the epigraph is missing.

INSCRIPTION NO. 16

This elegantly executed inscription is reported to have been presented to the Museum by the President of the District Local Board, Surat, in 1938 A.D. Dr. Nazim could publish only an eye reading of this inscription, since an impression could not be taken as the inscribed words according to him, have been filled in with black stone.<sup>1</sup> But it is being re-edited here along with the facsimile for the benefit of the scholars.

Originally appearing on the ruined gateway of Daryā Maḥal,<sup>2</sup> referred to in the inscription by its chronological name Khūrshīd Nigāh only, it is interesting from another point of view : the material on which it is found carved is not stone as Dr. Nazim has been led to think but a plank of wood rectangular in shape. The plank is divided into twelve panels, square and rectangular, formed by the intersectoin of horizontal and vertical lines ; in these panels, the texts are carved within two cusped arches, one at each end. The style of writing also possesses considerable merit and the overall impression produced by the inscription on the onlooker is pleasant.

The language of the record is Arabic prose and Persian verse. The Arabic portion comprises religious texts contained in the three border panels and also in a portion of the fourth border. The middle portion contains two lines of Persian verse. In the four corners invocations to the

<sup>1</sup> It has been fully ascertained that the figure is, “۴” though it looks like “۴” in the estampage which is due to the fact that its upper portion having come beneath the frame in which the slab is set, its impression could not come on the estampage.

<sup>2</sup> *EIM*, 1933-34, Supplement, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> The building is now no longer extant.



four companions of the Holy Prophet by name are inscribed in an artistic manner. The style of writing of the Arabic portion is *Thulūḥ* with occasional *Tughrā* flourishes and that of the Persian, *Nasta'liq* of a fair type.

## TEXT

## Plate VII (b)

## (a) Four corners.

يا ابا بكر - يا عمر - يا عثمان - يا علي

## (b) Borders.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم رب انزلني منزلا مباركا و انت خير المنزلين  
لى خمسة اطنى بها حر الوباء الحاطمه المصطفى و المرتضى و ابناهما و الفاطمه  
اللهم يا مفتاح الابواب<sup>1</sup> اجعل هذا الباب مفتوحا ابدا بالدولت و النعمة و السورور

۱۱۹۸

## (c) Middle portion.

(۱) تابنده مكان ز نجم دين است از خلد لموله بر زمين است

(۲) خورشيد نگاه نام اين بام تاريخ عمارتش درين است

۱۱۹۶

## TRANSLATION

(a) O Abā Bakr, O 'Umar, O 'Uthmān, O 'Alī!

(b) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. 'O My Lord, cause me to land at a blessed landing place, for Thou art best of all who bring to land!'<sup>2</sup>

I have (the blessings of) five persons whereby I can extinguish the heat of the burning epidemic: (namely), the Muṣṭafā (the Holy Prophet), the Murtaḍā (i.e., 'Alī), the latter's two sons and Fāṭima (daughter of the Prophet).

O God, O Opener of the gates, make this remain open for ever with fortune, bliss and happiness! 1198 (A.H.=1783-84 A.D.).

(c) (1) The house (lit., place) is lustrous on account of the star of Faith (Najm-i-Dīn);<sup>3</sup> it is a replica of the highest heaven on earth.

<sup>1</sup> The word in the original is "جعل" which, if read without supplying the "الف" as has been done above, would indicate third person singular passive and the meaning in that case would be: '(this gate) has been made'. But as the preceding words are invocatory, this verb should perhaps be better read in the Imperative mood (i.e., "اجعل").

<sup>2</sup> Qur'ān, ch. XXIII, v. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Nazim, *EIM*, op. cit., p. 44, translates: '[This] Lustrous House belongs to Najm-i-Dīn (i.e., the Star of Faith).' There is pun on the phrase "نجم دين" which is the name of builder and which also means 'star of faith', imparting lustre to the house.

(2) *Khurshīd Nigāh* is the name of this building. 1196 (A.H.=1781-82 A.D.). The date of its construction is contained in it.

It will be seen that the epigraph contains two dates. One is 1196 given in figures and also obtained by adding up of the numerical value of the name of the building, viz., *Khurshīd Nigāh*. The other date 1198 given at the end of the inscription in the border may indicate the date of completion when the inscription was carved and set up. The building is said to have been constructed by Najmu'd-Dīn who belonged to the famous Dewan family of Surat. Another inscription, dated A. H. 1207 i.e., only nine years later, appearing on a mosque near the original findspot of the present inscription, mentions him as 'the Amīr of the time'.<sup>1</sup>

# INSCRIPTION NO. 17

The last inscription of the group has no historical value as it merely contains religious texts engraved in relief on a slab measuring about 1' by 1'1". However, it has some calligraphical value, executed as it is in *Naskh* and *Kūfī* scripts which are of decorative nature. It is difficult to say anything regarding the purpose of this record, much more so as its exact findspot is also not known. The major portion of the text is inscribed in *Naskh* all along the slab except in the corners which contain an ornamental pattern in *Kūfī* formed of one single word signifying perhaps a name; this name is repeated four times in such a way as to present a geometrical design. Personally, I think the name contained therein is "عرفى" which may have been the designation or the nom-de-plume of the person who either designed the epigraph or was associated with it in some way or the other. While the calligraphy is not devoid of some merit, the text suffers by three mistakes of spelling occurring in the border, for which obviously the engraver who copied the inscription on the stone was responsible.

The text of the inscription reads as follows :—

## TEXT

### Plate IV (c)

#### (a) Corners.

عرفى

#### (b) Borders.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم نصر من الله وفتح قريب و بشر المؤمنين فانه خير حافظا و هو  
الرحم (sic.) الراحمين . لا فتاح (sic.) الاعلى لا سيف الا زوالفقار (sic.)

#### (c) Middle portion.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و من يتق الله يجعله (sic.) مخرجا و يرزقه

من حيث لا يحتسب و من يتوكل على الله فهو حسبه ان الله

بالغ امره قد جعل انه (sic.) لكل شئ قدرا

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.



## TRANSLATION

(a) 'Urfī.

(b) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. ' Help is from God and victory near and deliver good news to the believers. '1 ' But Allāh is the best Keeper, and He is the most Merciful of the merciful ones. '2 ' There is no youth except 'Alī and no sword save (his) Dhu'l-Faqār. '3

(c) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. ' And whosoever keepeth his duty to Allāh, Allāh will appoint a way out for him and will provide for him from (a quarter) whence he hath no expectation. And whosoever putteth his trust in Allāh, He will suffice him. Verily, Allāh bringeth His command to pass. Allāh hath set a measure for all things. '4

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, ch. LXI, v. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. XII, v. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. LXV, v. 2.





(a) Inscription of Muhammad bin Tughluq, dated A. H. 725, from Cambay (p. 29)



SCALE : 11

(b) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A. H. 730, from Hindaun (p. 34)



SCALE : 3

(c) Inscription of the same king, dated A. H. 751, from Petlad (p. 36)



SCALE : 23



## SIX INSCRIPTIONS OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ SHAH

BY DR. MAHDI HUSAIN

Sometime back, Dr. Z. A. Desai, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Department of Archaeology, sent me for study at my request estampages of the following six inscriptions which are being edited here through the courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, New Delhi. All the six inscriptions belong to the reign of Sultān Muḥammad, and coming as they do from distant places like Cambay in Gujarat, Hindaun in Rajasthan, Petlad in Bombay, Veraval in Saurashtra (now in Bombay State), Kaghzipura in Aurangabad district and Dholka in Ahmadabad division, they testify to the far-flung empire of Dehli and its prosperity in the opening years of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reign which falls into two unequal parts,<sup>1</sup> the first part ranging over a decade from A. H. 725 (1325 A.D.) to A. H. 735 (1335 A.D.) and the second part comprising the remaining fifteen years (A.H. 736/1336 A.D.-A.H. 752/1351 A.D.). All the six inscriptions studied below pertain to the first part.<sup>2</sup> Their calligraphy illustrates the time-honoured style of the Perso-Arab epigraphy, and their contents bring into relief besides the maliks and amirs left unnoticed by the chroniclers, two women—Samrū and Kad Bānū. Samrū was an Afghān by descent and Kad Bānū a Hashimite. Their roles briefly given in the inscriptions tend to elucidate the position of women in the age of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.<sup>3</sup>

Chronologically, the Cambay<sup>4</sup> inscription tops the list. Engraved on a huge slab of white marble (9'3" by 1'6") and fixed over the main gate of the Jāmi 'Masjid at Cambay<sup>5</sup>—the gate rising to a height of 13 feet from the plinth with a breadth of about 9 feet—the inscription consists of two lines in Arabic language written in *Naskh* character carved in relief. The text which is in perfect state of preservation announces the construction of a Jāmi' Masjid (cathedral mosque) by one Daulat Shāh Muḥammad al-Būtahārī out of his private means on the 18th Muḥarram, A.H. 725 (4th January, 1325 A.D.), during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

### TEXT

#### Plate IX (a)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَ إِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا وَ قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ  
مَنْ بَنَا مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ وَ لَوْ كَمَفْصَصِ قِطَاعِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ - هَذَا مِمَّا وَفَّقَ اللَّهُ وَ إِيَّاهُ بَنَى هَذَا  
الْمَسْجِدَ الْجَامِعَ الْمُبَارَكَ

<sup>1</sup> Husain, A. M., *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* (London, 1938), p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> The first, namely the Cambay inscription, is dated 725/1325; the second, namely the Hindaun inscription, is dated 730/1329; the third namely, the Petlad inscription, is dated 731/1331; the fourth namely, the Veraval inscription, is dated 732/1332; the fifth, namely the Kaghzipura inscription, is dated 733/1333 and the last, namely the Dholka inscription, is also dated 733/1333.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *The Rehla of Ibn Battūta*, translated into English with notes by Dr. A. M. Husain, Gaekwar Oriental Series, No. CXXII (Baroda, 1953), pp. xxiv, xxix ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cambay, now in the Kaira district of Bombay State, was a flourishing commercial emporium and a world-mart in the 14th century. It was visited by Ibn Battūta (22nd Jumādā II, A. H. 743 or 22nd November, 1342 A.D.). He was impressed by its abundant shipping, and enormous merchandise, and described it as 'the home of Muslim merchants' who had raised many mosques and hospices there (the *Rehla*, op. cit., p. 172). It was from one of these merchants called Khwājagān-i-Khambāyat (خواجگان کهمیایات) by Dīyāu'd-Dīn Baranī

(*Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*, Calcutta, 1862, pp. 18, 251-52) that forty-five years before the arrival of Ibn Battūta there, Kāfir had been seized or forcibly purchased by Nusrat Khān, a distinguished general of Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khiljī.

<sup>5</sup> The text of this inscription is already published in Burgess and Cousens, *Revised List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, New Imperial Series, Vol. XVI (Bombay, 1897), p. 313.



(٢) و عمارته بجميعه و كله من خالص ماله مما آتاه الله من فضله و كرمه خالصا لله تعالى في عهد السلطان العالم العادل محمد شاه بن تغلقشاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه العبد الضعيف الراجي الى رحمته الله تعالى ذولتسه محمد البوتهارى حصل الله مراده و ذلك في الثامن عشر من المحرم سنة خمس وعشرين و سبعمائة

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. 'And the places of worship are for God (alone); so invoke not anyone else along with God.'<sup>1</sup> And says the Prophet, peace be on him, 'Whoever built a mosque for Allāh even though it be as small as the dwelling of a partridge, Allāh would build for him a house in paradise'. This is by one who has been guided and helped by Him. This auspicious cathedral mosque and its building were constructed

(2) wholly and completely, out of his own money from what Allāh had given him through His grace and benevolence, merely for the sake of God the Exalted, during the reign of the learned and just emperor Muḥammad Shāh, son of Tughluq Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his dominion and power, by the feeble servant, expectant on the mercy of God the Exalted, Daulat Shāh Muḥammad al-Būtahārī.<sup>2</sup> May Allāh enable him to achieve his object. And that took place on the 18th Muḥarram, 725 (A.H. or 4th January, 1325 A.D.).

According to 'Iṣāmī, Daulat Shāh Muḥammad served Tughluq Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq successively, accompanying the former in his Lakhnauti expedition and the latter in the Multan expedition.<sup>3</sup> In the battle of Abohar<sup>4</sup> which crowned the Multan expedition Daulat Shāh held command of the right wing.<sup>5</sup> According to Ḍiyā'u'd-Dīn Baranī, he then held the post of Ākhur Bak<sup>6</sup> (superintendent of the royal stable). According to Ibn Battūṭa he was then one of the principal amirs whom Sultān Muḥammad used to address as 'uncle'. Ibn Battūṭa also gives us an insight into the friendly relations that obtained between Daulat Shāh and the emperor, i.e., Sultān Muḥammad. He further tells us that in A.H. 735 (1335 A.D.), Daulat Shāh joined the royal expedition to Ma'bar<sup>7</sup> and died in the course of it. That is, when the emperor was on his way to subdue the rebellion of Jalālu'd-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh of Ma'bar and had encamped at Badrkot, the capital of Telingana, a plague broke out in the royal camp, and among other maliks and amirs whom the angel of death then claimed one was Malik Daulat Shāh.<sup>8</sup> But he was not known at all as a builder of mosques and was not associated with Cambay. Even if he be the same man who, according to the epigraphic report, founded the Cambay mosque he must be charged with a certain amount of reticence, for if the aforesaid inscription be not a fake, its report of the construction of the Cambay mosque must be reticent, cryptic or truncated. Evidently the demonstrative

<sup>1</sup> Qur'ān, Ch. lxxii, vv. 17-18.

<sup>2</sup> Sometime back the late Dr. Nazim introduced to our readers, Daulat Shāh Muḥammad Būtahārī as Butamārī on the strength of the latter's inscriptions which he had edited and published. Two of these inscriptions dated A. H. 721 and 722 belonged to the reign of Tughluq Shāh and one dated A. H. 726 belonged to that of his son and successor Sultān Muḥammad. I am sure that Būtahārī, not Būtamārī, is the correct reading. Vide, *Epig. Indo-Mos.*, 1933-34 (Supplement), p. 25, pl. xiv (b), p. 26, pl. xiv (c), pl. xv (a).

<sup>3</sup> 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Agra, 1938), p. 401.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 421.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 424.

<sup>6</sup> Baranī, op. cit., p. 527.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Battūṭa, *The Reḥla*, op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138.



pronoun “ذَلِكَ” in the text of the inscription is ambiguous and cannot, with scientific accuracy, be taken to mean the completion of the said mosque. Far from indicating the finish, “ذَلِكَ” in my opinion is a pointer to its commencement. If the 18th of Muḥarram, A. H. 725 (4th January, 1325 A.D.) were taken as the date of finish and if Dhī'l-Hijja, A. H. 724 (December, 1324 A.D.) be regarded as the closing month of Tughluq Shāh's reign as Hājjiu'd-Dabīr<sup>1</sup> would have us believe, then Tughluq Shāh's reign would have a duration of four years and four months only which is untenable. Probably, the term “ذَلِكَ” was intended to embrace many details and a sequence of events which could not be inscribed in an epigraph and which collateral study of 'Isāmī has enabled me to build. That is, Malik Daulat Shāh founded the mosque on the 18th Muḥarram, A. H. 725 (4th January, 1325 A.D.); then leaving it in the process of construction, he left Cambay and joined the Lakhnauti expedition of Tughluq Shāh. On Tughluq Shāh's return<sup>2</sup> by Sha'bān, A. H. 725 (July, 1325 A.D.), Malik Daulat Shāh too came back but the unforeseen tragedy of Afghānpūr occurring on the 1st of Sha'bān, A. H. 725 (13th July, 1325 A.D.) brought about the death of Tughluq Shāh and the accession of his son Ulugh Khān (now Sultān Muḥammad Shāh), during whose reign the construction of the Cambay mosque which had been in progress since the 18th of Muḥarram A. H. 725 was completed. The term “ذَلِكَ” was intended by the epigraphist to cover all that could not be expressed in words. Taken literally, the inscription under review is not worth much; and its intrinsic value is very little, for any conclusion built on its *prima facie* reading will militate against almost all the authorities—'Isāmī,<sup>3</sup> Baranī,<sup>4</sup> Ibn Battūta,<sup>5</sup> Sultān Muḥammad<sup>6</sup> and Yahyā bin Aḥmad.<sup>7</sup> If it be contended that Sultān

<sup>1</sup> According to Hājjiu'd-Dabīr, *Arabic History of Gujrat*, vol. III (London, 1921) p. 862, the death of Tughluq Shāh took place as a result of the tragedy of Afghānpūr on the last day of A. H. 724 (17th December, 1324 A.D.). But this remains unconfirmed and must be rejected in view of the cumulative evidence in favour of full five or quasi-five years.

<sup>2</sup> While 'Isāmī, Baranī and Hājjiu'd-Dabīr have left Tughluq Shāh's Lakhnauti expedition undated, Yahyā bin Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 96 and Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, Bombay ed., vol. I, p. 235, have fixed it in A. H. 724 (1324 A.D.). They assign it a duration of one year, for they put the death of Tughluq Shāh in Rabi' I, A. H. 725 (February-March, 1325 A.D.) on his return from Lakhnauti. But the above sequence of events built on 'Isāmī's data allows a period of six months only to the above expedition, i.e., Muḥarram to Sha'bān, A. H. 725 (January to July, 1325 A.D.). Under the unfavourable circumstances which then embarrassed him, he could not afford to waste a whole year over it. Almost all authorities agree that he rushed to Lakhnauti and returned with forced marches.

<sup>3</sup> 'Isāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

<sup>4</sup> Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 438, has :

“و سلطان تغلقشاه در مدت چهار پنج سال بادشاهی خود .....

‘During his four-five-year-long reign, Sultān Tughluq Shāh.....’

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Battūta, *op. cit.*, p. 50, says : ‘Tughluq ruled firmly for four years’. But he (p. 53) also points out that Tughluq ruled for about five years, saying that prince Ulugh Khān (later Sultān Muḥammad) carried on his shoulders the coffin of the saint Nizāmud-Dīn of Budāun who died at Delhi during the absence of Sultān Tughluq in Lakhnauti. Now the accepted date of the saint's death is 18th Rabi' I, A. H. 725 or 6th April, 1325 A.D. (cf. Hodiwala S. H., *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, vol. I, Bombay, 1939, pp. 292-93). Then Ibn Battūta enables us to know that the return of Sultān Tughluq Shāh from Lakhnauti, and his entry into the Afghānpūr palace took place after the arrival of Shaikh Ruknu'd-Dīn Multānī in Delhi. But no means of conveyance then in vogue (cf. Ibn Battūta *op. cit.*, pp. 3-5) could have brought Shaikh Ruknu'd-Dīn Multānī from Multan to Delhi before the month of Rajab, A. H. 725 (June, 1325 A.D.). Thus the fall of the Afghānpūr palace consequent on Tughluq Shāh's death which was witnessed by Shaikh Ruknu'd-Dīn Multānī after his arrival took place on the 1st of Sha'bān, A. H. 725 (13th July, 1325 A.D.). This is the date of Sultān Tughluq Shāh's death yielded by the narrative of 'Isāmī, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Husain, A. M., *op. cit.*, pp. 172 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Yahyā bin Aḥmad, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1931), p. 96. In view of the corroborative evidence from other contemporary sources, I consider the variant of ‘eight months’ on the margin as cogent.



Muhammad Shāh bin Tughluq Shāh had ascended the throne a few days before the 18th of Muharram, A.H. 725, when the mosque was completed, the contention will immediately fall to the ground for no sizable building, let alone the cathedral mosque of Cambay, could be constructed in the short span of a few days or a fortnight. It must also be noted that the process of the construction of buildings was much slower then than in these days of mechanics and technical engineering.

Each of the five authorities mentioned above conveys more or less the same information regarding the period of Tughluq Shāh's reign, and the manner of expression in each case testifies to its independence of outlook and freedom from exaggeration. Baranī mentions the period twice over—in the first instance 'four years and a few months'<sup>1</sup> and in the second instance 'four to five years'.<sup>2</sup> Now Baranī's 'four to five years' corroborate 'four years and ten months' given by Sultān Muhammad who says, 'And my father ruled with everybody's support for four years and ten months'.<sup>3</sup> Computing from the 1st of Sha'bān, A. H. 720 (6th September, 1320 A.D.)—the date of Tughluq Shāh's enthronement—the period of four years and ten months will extend to Jumādā II, A. H. 725 (May, 1325 A.D.) and the date of his death will fall in May. But Iṣāmī takes it further on. His narrative gives July instead of May and in fact fixes the 1st of Sha'bān, A.H. 725 (13th July, 1325 A.D.) as the date of Tughluq Shāh's death. In other words, 'Iṣāmī's narrative essentially confirms the information given by Sultān Muhammad. If Sultān Muhammad puts the period of his father's reign at four years and ten months, 'Iṣāmī gives full five years. Says he :<sup>4</sup>

در آن پنج سالی که او شاه بود      ز دین دست هر قلته کوتاه بود

'During the five years of his (Tughluq Shāh's) reign no hands of mischief could reach religion.' That is, Tughluq Shāh reigned and ruled for five years, from the 1st of Sha'bān, A. H. 720 (6th September, 1320 A.D.) to the 1st Sha'bān, A. H. 725 (13th July, 1325 A.D.).

The numismatic evidence also shows that the accession of Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq took place in A. H. 725 (1325 A.D.), not in A. H. 724 (1324 A.D.). Not a single coin of his reign bearing the year 724 is extant.<sup>5</sup> Since he is supposed to have brought about the death of his own father in order to seize the throne, he could not afford to lose a single minute, much less a day, in announcing himself formally the monarch. He must have struck his new coin immediately, for the new coinage together with the *Khaṭba* is the irreducible minimum required by the Islamic

<sup>1</sup> Baranī, op. cit., p. 456.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 438.

<sup>3</sup> In his *Studies in Medieval Indian History* (pp. 76-85), Prof. K. A. Nizami of Aligarh has disparaged the fragmentary *Memoirs* of Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq found in a manuscript (Add. 25, 285) of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* in the British Museum. But his disparaging remarks carry no weight, for Muhammad bin Tughluq's unpopularity with the orthodox Musalmans and his war with the majority of the 'ulamā and some of the sufis was due to causes other than those tackled by the learned professor. Prof. Nizami's study is one-sided; he has completely ignored the non-Muslim sources of Muhammad bin Tughluq's history. And it is dangerous to attempt historical researches with one-sided information. A study of the Jain and Sanskrit sources will show that Sultān Muhammad—'the erudite scholar well-versed in almost every science then known to orientals'—was 'the crest-jewel of all rulers of the earth, the mighty Saka lord' according to the Brahmins and also a patron and benefactor of the Jains; and to crown all, he was a close friend and admirer of the Jain acharya 'the exceedingly erudite poet and scholar', Jinaprabhasuri. The *Singhī Jaina Granthamālā* (Vishvabharati, Santiniketan) clearly states that Jinaprabhasuri was greatly honoured at the court of Sultān Muhammad Shāh even as much as Jagadguru Hirvijayasuri was at the court of Akbar the Great. The privileged position that Muhammad bin Tughluq enjoyed in the society of the 'infidels' was an eyesore to the Indian section of the 'ulamā and their followers. Seeing only one side of the picture no one can even understand the psychology of Sultān Muhammad, much less his difficulties, and his attitude towards the preceding sultans of Delhi.

<sup>4</sup> Iṣāmī, op. cit., p. 401.

<sup>5</sup> Edward Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* (London; 1871), p. 190.



law and convention for the public recognition of a new monarch. Muḥammad, or as he was still called Ulugh Khān, did nothing of the kind in A. H. 724 (1324 A.D.) because his father was yet alive and his own accession was yet far off.

Much reliance cannot be placed on 'Isāmī's date 724 as marking the accession of Muḥammad bin Tughluq' because it clashes with his own narrative. And it is no wonder if this date of 'Isāmī's is wrong, for at least four more of his dates out of the total of thirty-one that he has given in his *F. tūḥu's-Salāṭin* are wrong, viz., (i) 387/997—the date of the accession of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna,<sup>2</sup> (ii) 377/987—the date of Maḥmūd's invasion of Balkh,<sup>3</sup> (iii) 635/1237—the date of the accession of Sultān Raḍiyya to the throne of Dehli,<sup>4</sup> and (iv) 694/1294-5—the date of the accession of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī.<sup>5</sup> And in the matter of dates no medieval chronicler is infallible. Ḥājjiu'd-Dabīr too has erred.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Isāmī, op. cit., p. 408.

<sup>2</sup> According to Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 38, 40, 168, Maḥmūd ascended the throne in A. H. 388 (998 A.D.). In Rajab, A. H. 387 (August, 997 A.D.) died Subuktigin who was succeeded by his younger son Ismā'il. In Rabi' I, A. H. 388 (March, 998 A.D.) was fought a battle at Ghazna between Ismā'il and Maḥmūd. It was after this battle that Maḥmūd won the throne; then took place his accession in the year 388, not in 387 as Isāmī says. The fact that Ismā'il was the king of Ghazna for some months (A.H. 387-88) 'Isāmī has ignored. Says he:

چو بر سه صد افزود هشتاد و هفت      مہی چند دیگر زیادت برفت  
همان شاه غزنین ز عالم گذشت      بہ غزنین شہنشاہ محمود گشت

'When the year 387 had advanced a few months, the said king of Ghazna died and Maḥmūd became emperor at Ghazna.'

<sup>3</sup> According to Nazim, op. cit., p. 234, Sultān Maḥmūd did not advance to Balkh until A. H. 406 (1015-16 A.D.). Says 'Isāmī:

ز سه صد فزون شد چو هفتاد و هفت      شہنشاہ در کشور بلخ رفت

'In 377/987 the emperor went to the territory of Balkh.'

<sup>4</sup> According to the numismatic evidence Sultān Raḍiyya ascended the throne in A. H. 634 or 1236 A.D. (Vide, Edward Thomas, op. cit., p. 104). But 'Isāmī gives 635 Hijra saying:

جلوس وی اندر سرای سنج      یقین بود در شش صد و سی و پنج

'Her accession to the throne took place verily in 635/1237.'

It should be noted that Raḍiyya had been raised to the throne by the maliks prior to the death of Ruknu'd-Dīn Firoz which is known to have occurred on the 8th Rabi' I, A. H. 634 (9th November, 1236 A.D.).

<sup>5</sup> 'Isāmī, op. cit., p. 240, gives A. H. 694 (1294-5 A.D.) as the year of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī's enthronement. But according to Barani, op. cit., p. 184 and Yabī bin Ahmad, op. cit., p. 71 the assassination of Sultān Jalālu'd-Dīn Firoz Khaljī took place in A. H. 695 (1296 A.D.). This is also attested by a coin of Ruknu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the younger son of Sultān Jalālu'd-Dīn Firoz Khaljī, bearing the year 695/1296 (Edward Thomas, op. cit., p. 155). Also according to Amīr Khusrāu, *Tārīkh-i-'Alā'ī*, Elliot, op. cit., vol. III, p. 69, 'Alāu'd-Dīn ascended the throne on the 2nd Dhi'l-Hijja, A. H. 695.

<sup>6</sup> Ḥājjiu'd-Dabīr, op. cit., vol. II, p. 852, gives A. H. 721 as the year of the death of Khusrāu Khān. It should have been 720/1320, for 721/1321 is certainly the first year of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq's reign.

Again Ḥājjiu'd-Dabīr has wrongly dated the death of Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dīn and the accession of Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, saying:

و فی احدی عشرة و سبعمایہ فی اللیلة السادسة من شوال مات علاء الدین

'Alāu'd-Dīn died in the night of 6th Shawwāl, A. H. 711 (15th February, 1312 A.D.). Vide, Ḥājjiu'd-Dabīr, op. cit., pp. 827, 838. And Ḥājjiu'd-Dabīr continues:

و جلس علی سریر السلطنة قطب الدین مبارکشاه بن علاء الدین علی بن نصیر الخلجی فی

احدی عشر و سبعمایہ

'And Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, son of 'Alāu'd-Dīn 'Alī bin Naṣir al-Khaljī ascended the throne in A. H. 711 (1312 A.D.).'

This date too is definitely wrong.



Mention might also be made of a weak statement made by Shams Sirāj 'Afīf to the effect that the period of Tughluq Shāh's reign extended to four and a half years. Says he, 'While he was the muqṭī' of Dīpalpur, Sultān Tughluq went one day to see Shāikh 'Alāu'd-Dīn, taking along with himself Sultān Muḥammad and Sultān Fīroz, both minors at that time. Simultaneously as they appeared before the saint (Shāikh 'Alāu'd-Dīn), a huge quantity of fine linen was incidentally brought before him. The latter tore from it a piece measuring four yards and a half in length which he gave to Sultān Tughluq asking him to turban it on his head; another piece, twenty-seven yards long he gave to Sultān Muḥammad asking him to do the same; and another still, forty yards long, he gave to Sultān Fīroz for the same purpose'.<sup>1</sup> Shams Sirāj attached undue importance to this; and considering the pieces of linen in various lengths thus awarded to the three heirs in succession to the throne as a prediction, he calculated the respective periods of their reigns. The period allotted by the saint to Tughluq Shāh was four and a half years. But 'Afīf also says:

'Fīroz, born in 709/1308, was fourteen years of age at the time of the accession of Tughluq Shāh, and eighteen years of age at the enthronement of Sultān Muḥammad.'<sup>2</sup>

Now, if this were true, then Sultān Tughluq Shāh ruled for four years only and his accession should come off in 723/1323 instead of 720/1320 and that of his son and successor Sultān Muḥammad in 727/1327 instead of 725/1325.<sup>3</sup>

The second inscription of the present group is from the town of Hindaun<sup>4</sup> in the Sawai Madhopur district of Rajasthan. The inscriptional tablet is reported to be lying loose against a grave on a *chabūtra* (platform) near the Shrivakī's temple in the locality called Khari. From the pillars and other stones that are lying scattered about the place, it appears that the present *chabūtra* served as a plinth to what must have been an impressive tomb, which has fallen down; the said *chabūtra* also contains a couple of graves besides the main one.

The epigraph records the construction of the grave and the tomb of an amīr of high rank under Muḥammad bin Tughluq. It is dated the 1st of Rabi' I, A.H. 730 (23rd December, 1329 A. D.). Inscribed boldly in Persian *Nasḥ* character, the slab is in perfect state of preservation but as the letters are closely written, they are not easily decipherable. The following reading is the result of a genuine attempt at decipherment.

## TEXT

## Plate IX (b)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ دُرْ عَهْدِ خَدَايْكَانِ سَلَاطِیْنِ خَلَفَاءِ رَوِیْ زَمِیْنِ اَبُو الْمَجَاهِدِ مُحَمَّدِ

بْنِ تَغْلُكْشَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ خَلَدَ اللّٰهُ مَلِكُهُ وَ سُلْطَانُهُ بَنَّا

<sup>1</sup> 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1889-91), p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> The editor is unable to agree with the views expressed by Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain in the course of his valuable study of the Cambay inscription.

<sup>4</sup> Hindaun lies south east of Delhi being an intermediate railway station on the main Delhi-Ratlam line. It was visited by Ibn Battūta on the 7th Rabi' II, A. H. 743 or 9th September, 1342 A. D. *Vide*, Ibn Battūta, op. cit., p. 160. Also cf., *A'īn-i-Akbarī*, Engl. tr. Jarrett, vol. II, p. 183.

For a few more inscriptions from Hindaun, see *Epig. Indo-Mos.*, 1923-24, p. 24; *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1955-56. Appendix C, nos. 156-171.



(۲) مقبره و گنبد ملک ملوک الشرق اختيار الدولت و الدين غازى تن محمد بکيه ؟

مرحوم بانى اين خير مسماة سمرو بنت مندو افغان قوم ملک مذکور کتب فى الغره ربيع الاول

سنة ثلاثين و سبعمائة

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate and Merciful. During the reign of the Lord of the sultāns, rulers of the earth, Abu'l-Mujāhid Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh, the Sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his dominion and power, the construction (took place)

(2) of the tomb and dome of the late Malik-i-Mulūki'sh-Sharq Ikhtiyārū'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Ghāzī Taman Muḥammad Afghān Baghlī (?). The builder of this auspicious building (is) the lady named Samrū, daughter of Mandū Afghān, wife of the above-mentioned Malik. Written on the 1st of Rabi' I, year 730 (A. H.=23rd December, 1329 A. D.).

Malik Ikhtiyārū'd-Dīn Afghān and Mandū Afghān of this inscription were perhaps two out of the many Afghāns who lived in different parts of India, some even holding responsible offices in the State under Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Only those Afghans like Shāhū and Halājūn who had incurred the Sultān's displeasure and become restive were noticed in the chronicles.<sup>2</sup> Evidently, both the Afghans under review were peaceful men, and Ikhtiyārū'd-Dīn who was perhaps connected with the administration of Hindaun died peacefully.

The third inscription of the group comes from Petlad in Kaira district of Bombay State. Petlad ("पटलद" in Sanskrit and "પેટલાદ" in Gujarati) is mentioned as Petlāwadar (پیتلاودر) in a Persian inscription dated A.H. 723 (1323 A.D.) in the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh,<sup>3</sup> as Petlāwad (پتلاود) or Tablawad (تبللاود) by 'Iṣāmī<sup>4</sup> and as Petlad (پتلاد) by Abu'l-Faḍl.<sup>5</sup> According to the author of the *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī*, Petlad, lying 30 kos south of Ahmadabad, was one of the best and richest parganas of Gujarat.<sup>6</sup> Aurangzeb liked to include it in the khālṣa or crown land and gave it in about A.H. 1110 (1698 A.D.) as jagir to his son Prince Muḥammad A'zam Shāh.<sup>7</sup> Petlad was then administered on behalf of the Prince by one civil and military officer, Amin and Faujdār, respectively. The Faujdār was assisted in the performance of his duties by a subordinate official called Pishdast who appears to have been not unfrequently a

<sup>2</sup> These words were read for me by Dr. Z. A. Desai but no confirmation of these is available.

(Among other suggestions in respect of the readings of these inscriptions, I had informed my esteemed friend Dr. Mahdi Husain that as far as we can read from the stone the words in question read like Timan, Baghlī and Samrū respectively. As a number of personages mentioned in inscriptions are found to be untraceable in available written histories, it is but natural that the readings of their names cannot be confirmed. However, from the illustration of the inscription, it will be seen that no better readings for these proper names can be suggested.—Ed.)

<sup>3</sup> Husain, A. M. op. cit., pp. 180-81. Also Ibn Battūta, op. cit., pp. 100, 113.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. G. Yazdani, 'Inscriptions in the Tomb of Bābā Arjun Shāh', *ELM*, 1915-16, p. 17, pl. XIV(b).

<sup>5</sup> 'Iṣāmī, op. cit., p. 483.

<sup>6</sup> Abu'l-Faḍl, *A'īn-i-Akbarī*, ed. H. Blochmann (Calcutta, 1877), p. 494.

<sup>7</sup> 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī*, Supplement, ed. Nawab Ali, Gaekwar Oriental Series, vol. I (Baroda, 1930), p. 167.

<sup>8</sup> The inscription on the Shāhī Mosque in the Kachehri compound at Petlad mentions the Prince as the jagir-holder and Mustafā Quli as the Prince's deputy—the same as one mentioned in the Sanskrit version of the step-well inscription quoted below. This epigraph has been listed in *ARIE* for 1956-57, App. D, no. 86.



member of the Hindu community. This information is given by a trilingual inscription—in Persian, Sanskrit and Gujarati—found at a step-well at Petlad purporting to its construction by Rāmji, son of Bhimji.<sup>1</sup>

One of the earliest Muslim inscriptions of Gujarat or rather of the Western India is also to be found at Petlad. It forms the epitaph of Bābā Arjun Shāh who was an Indian saint of the age of Sultān Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish and it has been published in a previous issue of this Series.<sup>2</sup> Another inscription of Petlad which is bilingual—in Persian and Sanskrit—dating from the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh also announces the dedication of a step-well constructed in the immediate neighbourhood of the saint's tomb in A. H. 723 (1323 A. D.) and a grant of some land for its maintenance.<sup>3</sup> It appears that the construction of wells in those days had become a social institution.

A report about Petlad during the reign of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq is also available, but it is of quite a different type. It is this: The rebel army of the amirān-i-gada of Baroda headed by the ring-leaders Muqbil, Jhallū, Lālā and others chose the field of Petlad for a battle that took place in A. H. 745 (1345 A. D.) between them and the royal army under the command of 'Azīz Khammār, the governor of Malwa.<sup>4</sup>

Coming to the study proper, the loose inscriptional tablet in the present case, measuring 17" by 14" by 3" and now lying in the Bohra mosque in the town, obviously belonged to a step-well or well which is stated to have been constructed for public use by a lady named Kad Bānū, wife of Irānghah (?) and daughter of the late Shamsu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn Ḥusain 'Alawī Tabātabā'i. Since Kad Bānū is mentioned as deceased, she had probably died before the completion of the building in A. H. 731 (1331 A. D.).

This inscription, cut into relief in *Naskh* character, begins with *Bismillāh*, followed by two religious texts in Arabic emphasizing the desirability of the works of public utility,<sup>5</sup> particularly intended to enable the thirsty wayfarers to quench their thirst. This should remind the reader of similar wells constructed for public use and described in the Sanskrit inscriptions<sup>6</sup> by some of the wealthy Brahmans of Dehli in the same period. All these inscriptions uniformly announce the benevolence and goodness of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq and testify to the prosperity that the Hindus and Musalmans then commonly enjoyed. They also testify to their amiable spirit and happy relations in the absence of which no works of public utility could be thought of or undertaken. The text of the aforesaid Perso-Arabic inscription comprising eight lines reads as under:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate IX (c)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ خَيْرِ الْأَسْمَاءِ التَّوْفِيقَ شَيْءٍ عَزِيزٍ لَا يُعْطَى إِلَّا بَعْدَ عَزِيزٍ قَالَ

(۲) اللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى اجْعَلْتُمْ سَقَايَةَ الْحَاجِّ وَ عِمَارَةَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ كَمَنْ

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the University of Bombay*, 1937, pt. vi, pp. 144-48, pl. VIII. The Persian version, also listed in *ARIE*, op. cit., is composed by a Hindu gentleman, Morārji, son of Rudraji of the Nāgar community and mentions one more Bāwā Rāmji as the supervisor of the construction.

<sup>2</sup> Yazdani, op. cit., p. 16, pl. XIVa.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>4</sup> Isāmi, op. cit., p. 483.

<sup>5</sup> '.....The Hindus were also charitable and were found building the *ad'wa* (step-well) along the roads for public use and laying out gardens' (Ibn Battūṭa, op. cit., p. xxxv).

<sup>6</sup> Husain, A. M., op. cit., pp. 244-47.



- (۳) آمَن بالله و اليوم الآخر و قال على رضى الله عنه من سقا عطشانا  
 (۴) وجبت ؟ له الجنة باميد اين وعده عمارت اين خير در عهد خلافت خدايگان  
 (۵) خلفا[ى] عالم صاحب التاج و الخاتم ابو المجاهد محمد بن تغلق شاه السلطان  
 (۶) خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بيچاره مرحومه مغفوره ددبانو فم ايرانشه بنت سيد  
 (۷) المرحوم المغفور مفخر آل يسين شمس الحق و الدين حسين علوى طباطبائى

نور الله قبره

- (۸) بجهت لله تعالى از خالص مال خود بر سيل وقف بنياد كرد في الغره من شهر رمضان

سنه ١٠٨١ ثلثين و سبعمائيه

#### TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God which is the most glorious of names. Divine grace (guidance) is a rare gift which is not awarded except to (his) worthy slave. Says

(2) Allāh the Glorious and Mighty, 'Do ye make the giving of drink to pilgrims or the maintenance of the sacred mosque equal to (pious service of) those

(3) who believe in God and the last Day'.<sup>2</sup> And says 'Ali, may Allāh be pleased with him, 'To him who quenches (the thirst of) a thirsty person,

(4) paradise becomes due'. In the hope of this promise, the construction of this bounty (i.e., well) during the period of the caliphate of the Lord of

(5) the caliphs of the world, master of crown and signet, Abu'l-Mujāhid Muḥammad bin Tuḡluq Shāh, the king,

(6) may Allāh perpetuate his reign and power, the late, the pardoned, the humble Kad Bānū, wife of Irānshāh (?) (and) daughter of Sayyid,

(7-8) the late, the pardoned, the pride of the descendants of the Prophet (namely) Shamsu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn Ḥusain 'Alawī Tabāṭabā'ī, may Allāh illumine his grave, for the sake of Allāh the Exalted, from her personal money, by way of public endowment (*waqf*) was carried out on the 1st of the month of Ramaḍān, year one (and ) thirty and seven hundred (8th June, 1331 A. D.).

The epigraph tells its own tale and its historical importance is considerable though the names that it gives of the endower — Musammāt Kad Bānū — and of her husband and father are obscure. Of a piece with the Sanskrit inscriptions mentioned above, this epigraph not only elucidates the laudable spirit of public service that actuated the well-to-do of both the communities — Hindus and Musalmans — but also brings out into relief the fact that Sultān Muḥammad was the strongest ruler in the whole Muslim world and consequently did not feel as yet the need of recognizing an outside caliph — a point supplemented in a way by his *Memoirs*. Until the date of this epigraph he had admirers among his Musalman subjects who were prepared to style him as 'caliph' or even 'lord of the caliphs of the world'. But in the course of the succeeding ten years the situation changed completely. He became so unpopular among the Musalmans that far from being styled

<sup>1</sup> "احدى و ثلثين و سبعمائيه" is grammatically wrong. It should be "احدى و ثلثين و سبعمائيه".

<sup>2</sup> Qur'ān, ch. IX, v. 19.



as 'caliph' he was cursed as an infidel like Yazīd, Pharaoh and Nimrod. Then he became extremely anxious to surrender himself to the Abbasid caliph, and since no caliph of the House of 'Abbās was then known to India he began a search for one in A. H. 738 (1338 A. D.). After two years he contacted one in Cairo. All this is set off in the *Memoirs*.<sup>1</sup> In the year A. H. 741 (1341 A. D.), there came to Dehli Hājī Sa'īd Ṣarṣarī, the Abbasid caliph's envoy, with an investiture. The causes of this change in the Sultān's outlook and of his movements subordinated to the strong political needs of the hour may be read in my book.<sup>2</sup>

The fourth inscription of the series comes from Veraval, a port and town in the erstwhile Junagadh state of Saurashtra, now forming the Junagadh district of Bombay State. Veraval commands the route to Prabhas Patan where the celebrated temple of Somnath attracting a large number of pilgrims from various parts of India is situated. Veraval is also noted for the temple of Jateshwar which stands in the vicinity. It finds no mention in the contemporary chronicles.<sup>3</sup>

This inscription<sup>4</sup> is fixed over the central *mihrāb* of the local Jāmi' Masjid which is an old building with some claim to architecture. It was constructed, according to the inscription under review, within four decades of the Turkish conquest of Gujarat.

The epigraph runs into two lines, and the *écriture* describing the construction of the mosque by one Ṣāliḥ Sultānī on the 1st of Ramaḍān, A. H. 732 (27th May, 1332 A. D.) is cut into relief on a slab of white marble (49" by 12"). But the estampage of the epigraph that Dr. Desai sent me was not very clear, perhaps due to the fact that the slab, as he later informed me, had been thickly coated with paint. I thoroughly appreciate that he took pains over the estampage and also made useful suggestions while I was preparing the text. The style of writing which possesses some characteristics of the *Kūfic* style may be safely termed *Naskh*.

The language of the epigraph is mixed Arabic and Persian and my reading runs as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate X(a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَ إِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا وَ قَالَ النَّبِيُّ  
صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ بَنَى لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى مَسْجِدًا بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ  
(۲) عَمَارَتِ إِيْنِ مَسْجِدِ بَعْدِ دَوْلَتِ خَلِيفَةِ دِيْنِشَاهِ مُحَمَّدِ تَغْلَقِ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ بْنِ السُّلْطَانِ خَلْدِ  
اللَّهِ خَلَاقَتَهُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَ الْإِحْسَانِ ..... بَنَدَه كَنَاهْ كَارِ اَمِيْدُوَارِ رَحْمَتِ پُروردگارِ صَالِحِ  
سُلْطَانِ بِقِجَه دَارِ مَاضِي فِي التَّارِيخِ الْغَرَةِ مِنْ رَمَضَانَ سَنَةِ اثْنَى وَ ثَلَاثِينَ وَ سَبْعِمِائِهِ

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful. 'And the mosques are for God (alone), so invoke not any one else along with God.' And says the Prophet, peace of Allāh and greetings be on him, 'Whoever built for the exalted Allāh a mosque, Allāh would build for him a house in paradise'.

<sup>1</sup> Husain, A. M., op. cit., pp. 169-170 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> For a few Arabic and Persian inscriptions from Veraval, see *Ann. Rep. Ind. Epigraphy* for 1954-55, App. C, nos. 168-174.

<sup>4</sup> This inscription was noticed in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari* (Bhavnagar, 1879), p. 5. But the reading given there is extremely corrupt.

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 CHICAGO, ILL. 60637



(a) Inscription of Muhammad bin Tughluq, dated A. H. 732, from Veraval (p. 38)



SCALE : .19

(b) Inscription of the same ruler, dated A. H. 733, from near Daulatabad (p. 39)



SCALE : .15

(c) Inscription of the same king, dated A. H. 733, from Dholka (p. 41)



SCALE : .14



(2) The sinful slave expectant on the mercy of God, Ṣāliḥ Sultānī, former *buqḥadār*, constructed the edifice of this mosque during the prosperous reign of the Caliph of the Faith, Muḥammad Shāh the Sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his caliphate through justice and benevolence ..... on the first day of Ramadān, year 732 (A. H.=27th May, 1332 A. D.).

Ṣāliḥ, the builder of this mosque, finds no mention in the chronicles. But the term *buqḥadār* (literally, a knapsack-bearer) suggests that he was an officer charged with performing or directing the performance of some domestic duty in the royal household. From the *Reḥla* it appears that *Buqḥadār* was a servant holding charge of a bundle of silk stuffs and a box containing ornaments.<sup>1</sup>

The fifth inscription is found fixed on the eastern gateway of the enclosure of the tomb of Ḥadrat Shāh Nizāmu'd-Dīn at Kaghzipura, a village about two miles from Daulatabad towards Khuldabad in Aurangabad district of the Bombay State. This gateway is a later construction and the inscriptional tablet does not belong to it. In fact, the epigraph records the construction of a mosque which is pointed out to be an old mosque situated in the western side of the said enclosure. In the course of some repairs made at this mosque the slab was detached from its proper place and was fixed for consideration of safety in the particular space where it still remains.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription comprises two lines of writing in Persian prose over a surface of 59" by 8" on the slab. The style of writing is *Naskh* and the text reads as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate X (b)

- (۱) بنا شد این مسجد در عهد خلافت خدایگان روی زمین برگزیده رب العالمین المومنین  
بقائید الرحمن ابو المجاهد محمد بن تغلقشاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه
- (۲) بفرمایش بنده درگاه ملک الامرا اختیار الدولت و الدین الغ اعظم قبل سلطان  
المخاطب بصیر الملک اذام الله دولته فی الرابع عشر من ربيع الاول من ثلث و ثلثین و سبعمایه

## TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was constructed during the period of the reign of the lord of the earth, the chosen one of God, the lord of the world, supported by the help of the merciful, Abū'l-Mujāhid Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh the king, may God perpetuate his dominion and power,

(2) at the instance of the court-servant Maliku'l-Umarā Ikhtiyārū'd-Dāulat wa'd-Dīn Ulugh A'zam Qubli Sultānī, entitled Naṣīru'l-Mulk, may God perpetuate his fortune, on the 14th Rabi' I of (the year) three and thirty and seven hundred (A. H.=20th November, 1332 A. D.).

In the list of the courtiers of the reign of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, Baranī<sup>3</sup> makes mention of one Naṣīru'l-Mulk Qubli who must be identically the same man as the court-servant of the above inscription at whose instance the Kaghzipura mosque was constructed. He also finds

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Battūta, op. cit., p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Muḥammad Raunaq 'Alī, *Rauḍatu'l-Aqtāb* (Lucknow, 1931), pp. 281-92 where an eye-reading of this inscription will also be found. The same has been copied without acknowledgement by Bashirud-Din Ahmad in his *Wāq'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijāpūr* (Agra, 1915), pp. 260, 291.

<sup>3</sup> Baranī, op. cit., p. 455.



mention in the Solā Khambha mosque inscription of Bidar published in a previous number of this Series.<sup>1</sup> This Bidar inscription gives in Persian verse the dignified name of Muḥammad bin Tughluq as Sultān Muḥammad Khalifa-i-Yazdānī. But a wrong reading of the date in the inscription led to a complete misunderstanding of the epigraph which was erroneously ascribed to Prince Muḥammad, second son of Aḥmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī. Misled by the way in which the letter “ه” was inscribed mixed with “ن” on the stone, Dr. Yazdani, who edited the inscription under reference, read “هصد” in place of “هفتصد”. He did not appreciate the three dots over “ه” pertaining to “ن” and “ت” respectively. Further, he did not appreciate the *fatha* over “ه” which too suggests that the given “ه” is to be pronounced as *ha* (in *haft*) and not *hī* (in *hisad*).<sup>2</sup> As a result, Dr. Yazdani made out 827 in place of 727. Furthermore, he did not appreciate the significance of the term Sultān (سلطان) in the imposing Persian verse :

اندر زمن خليفه يزداني      سلطان محمد کے ندارد ثاني

Dr. Yazdani translated it as follows :

‘The vicegerent of God, Prince Muḥammad who has no equal.’

But in my opinion the correct translation of the above verse is this :

‘In the reign of the Caliph of God, Sultān Muḥammad, who has no equal.’

Even the calligraphy and the wording in the above verse and the trend of thought and historical traditions and background underlying the wording — all suggestive enough — were not appreciated. Regarding the style of writing Dr. Yazdani himself felt that it belonged to the Tughluq period. ‘The style of writing’ said he, ‘is *Naskh* of a very bold type resembling the script of the Tughluq inscriptions of the Deccan’.<sup>3</sup> Since almost all the Tughluq inscriptions in the Deccan belong to the reign of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, I have no hesitation in announcing my conviction that the Bidar inscription under review belongs in every respect to the reign of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq.<sup>4</sup>

The sixth and the last inscription of the group inspires in a way greater historical interest than did all the preceding inscriptions. It bears silent testimony to the fact that the Hindu and Muslim places of worship and sanctity stood and flourished in medieval India within remarkable proximity without being an eyesore to the orthodox on either side. A case in point is presented by the Qādī Buhlūl mosque at Dholka<sup>5</sup> — a place of great sanctity to the Hindus and Jains and abounding in their temples and idol-houses. Dholka is the place of the ancient Virata where the Pandavas are said to have lived in disguise and where subsequently, many religious edifices dedicated to the service of the mythological gods were raised.<sup>6</sup> The Solankis and Vaghelas of Gujarat also considered Dholka as a place of religious inspiration. Even after the advent of Muslims and during the

<sup>1</sup> *Epig. Indo-Mos.*, 1931-32, p. 27, pl. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Z. A. Desai for drawing my attention to this.

<sup>5</sup> In Ahmadabad district of Bombay State. For a description of the mosque, see J. Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 323. H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, where a faulty and confusing reading as well as translation of this inscription are given.

<sup>6</sup> Burgess, *op. cit.*



Khalji-Tughluq period, Dholka continued to enjoy its sanctity as is confirmed by a few inscriptions of this period.<sup>1</sup> With this historical background, the Dholka mosque under review enjoys an important position.

The inscriptional tablet measuring 48" × 8" is fixed over its central *mihrāb*, and its epigraph unlike the preceding five epigraphs, is cut into the stone. The letters are not carved out in relief as is generally the case with Arabic and Persian inscriptions, but are cut inside the slab as in the case of Sanskrit inscriptions. The Dholka mosque inscription under review gives also the name of the mason which is rarely found recorded in the Indo-Muslim inscriptions of the Sultnate period. Like the preceding inscriptions this inscription too pays rich tribute to Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Further it tends to show that in a province where twelve years later broke out the avalanche which drowned the emperor, conditions were favourable and helpful till the end of A. H. 733 (1333 A. D.). This inscription also makes mention of an officer called *Sardavidār* whose position at the court of the Dehli Sultans I have discussed in my book.<sup>2</sup>

My reading of the inscription of which the language is mixed Arabic and Persian is as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate X (c)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى "وَأَنَّ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا"  
 عمارت این مسجد در عهد
- (۲) سلطان الاعظم ابو المجاهد محمد ابن تغلقشاه و بنوئت ملک "ملوک الشرق دکن"  
 الدولت و الدين "قتلغ سردویدار خاص بنا کرده مفخر الامرا
- (۳) مقرب الدولت و الدين هلال "ملکی معمار بنده عبد الكريم لطيف في التاريخ السابع"  
 و العشرين من ذی الحجه سنه ثلاث و ثلاثين و سبعماية

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate and Merciful. Says Allāh the Exalted, 'And verily, the places of worship are for God (alone); so invoke not anyone along with God'. This mosque was constructed in the reign

(2) of the greatest Sultān, Abu'l-Mujāhid Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh under the administration of Malik-i-Mulūki'ah-Sharq Ruknu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Qutluḡ Sardavidār-i-Khāṣṣ, It was built by Mafkharu'l-Umarā (lit., pride of nobles)

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Rep. Ind. Epig.*, 1954-55, App. C., nos. 6, 8-11, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Battūta, op. cit., p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> Cousens, op. cit., omits "و".

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* reads "الملوك".

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* reads "فتح سردار یکدل".

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* reads "ملای".



(3) Muqarrabu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Hilāl Malikī. The architect (is) the servant 'Abdu'l-Karīm (son of) Laṭīf. On the date 27th of Dhī'l-Hijja, year three and thirty and seven hundred (8th September, 1333 A. D.).

It is difficult to trace the names of these persons in the chronicles of the period. However, it may be safely stated that *Qutluḡ* being a typical Turkish name symbolized a chief, and *Sardavīdār* which is an Arabicised form of *sardawātdār* was the designation of the high-ranked nobility of those days. From the name and titles of the man in the inscription it appears that he was the governor of the province of Gujarat.

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## PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS AT AJMER

By Akbar Ali TIRMIZI

From the end of the twelfth century to the beginning of the nineteenth, Ajmer was not only cynosure of all eyes but adorned the brow of the victor in the race for political supremacy in India, so much so that the history of Ajmer is in one sense the epitome of the history of India. Sultān Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām, commonly known as Shihābu'd-Dīn Ghori, conquered Ajmer after defeating Prithvī Rāj in A. H. 588 (1192 A. D.).<sup>1</sup> Next year Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibek had to lead an expedition to suppress the rebellion of Hiraḥ or Hari Rāj, the brother of Prithvī Rāj.<sup>2</sup> Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish is reported to have visited Ajmer in A. H. 624 (1227 A. D.).<sup>3</sup>

Ajmer remained under the Sultans of Delhi till Rānā Hammīra of Ranthambhor (1282-1301 A. D.) captured it.<sup>4</sup> In A. H. 799 (1396 A. D.), we find Zafar Khān of Gujarat marching against it and paying a visit to the shrine of the premier saint of India, Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī.<sup>5</sup> Rānā Kumbha of Mewar (1433-68 A. D.), profiting by the relaxation of authority that ensued upon the sack of Delhi by Timūr, took possession of Ajmer,<sup>6</sup> but on his assassination, Maḥmūd Khālji of Malwa invaded the city in A. H. 860 (1455 A. D.) and defeated Gajādhar who was in-charge of the fort.<sup>7</sup>

In the year A. H. 922 (1515 A. D.), Rānā Sāngā took possession of Ajmer.<sup>8</sup> Seventeen years later, Sultān Bahādur of Gujarat sent Shamshīru'l-Mulk against the city which he took by assault,<sup>9</sup> but soon after, in 1535 A. D., Māldev Rāthod of Marwar conquered it.<sup>10</sup> Nine years later, it was attacked by Sher Shāh who also paid homage to the tomb of Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn.<sup>11</sup> On the decline of the Sūr power, Hājī Khān, a slave of Sher Shāh, took possession of Ajmer.<sup>12</sup> Akbar in his turn sent Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Naīshāpūrī against him in A. H. 964 (1556 A. D.) and Hājī Khān had to flee against the Mughals who annexed Ajmer.<sup>13</sup> From 1557 to 1730 A. D., a period of 173 years, Ajmer remained an integral part of the Mughal empire. Here the Ṣubadār or governor of the province of Ajmer lived, while Faujdars and Qal'adārs were posted at important places such as Bairath, Sambhar, Bayana and in forts such as Ranthambhor and elsewhere.<sup>14</sup>

In the civil war fought between Rām Singh, son of Abhay Singh Rāthod, the governor of Ajmer under Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh, and his cousin Bijay Singh, Rām Singh sought help of Jai Appa Sindhia who was only too ready to agree. Later, Bijai Singh surrendered to the

<sup>1</sup> Minhāj Sirāj, *Tabaqāt-i Nāgiri*, Eng. tr. Raverty (Calcutta, 1873), p. 469, f.n. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. II (Allahgarh, 1950), pp. 222-23.

<sup>3</sup> Yahyā, *Tārīkh-i Muḥarrak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1931), p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> T. W. Haig, ed., *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III (Cambridge, 1928), p. 516.

<sup>5</sup> Sikandar, *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* (Bombay, 1890), p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> C. C. Watson, *Rajputana District Gazetteer*, vol. I (Ajmer, 1904), p. 10; Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha* (1932), p. 114, f.n. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, vol. III, p. 338; Firāhta, *Tārīkh-i Firāhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. IV (Calcutta, 1909), p. 222.

<sup>8</sup> 'Abdu'l-Haq Dehlawi, *Akhbārū'l-Akhyār* (Delhi, 1309 A. H.), p. 180.

<sup>9</sup> Sikandar, op. cit., p. 235.

<sup>10</sup> Sarda, *Ajmer-Historical and Descriptive* (Ajmer, 1941), p. 150.

<sup>11</sup> K. R. Qanungo, *Sher Shah* (Calcutta, 1921), pp. 329-30.

<sup>12</sup> Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma* (AN), Eng. tr. H. Beveridge, vol. II (Calcutta, 1912), p. 72.

<sup>13</sup> Abu'l-Faḍl, *A'in-i-Akbarī* (AA), Eng. tr. H. Blochmann, vol. I (Calcutta, 1927), p. 379.

<sup>14</sup> W. Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1921), p. 42.



Marathas, in 1756 A. D., the fort and district of Ajmer as blood-money for the assassination of Jai Appa. The Marathas held it for 31 years until 1787 A. D., when the Rāthod retook it but only for a short time. Sindhia's generals laid seige to the fort on the 21st August 1790 A. D. (1205 A. H.) and after having captured it in the following year retained its possession till 1818 A. D. when it was ceded to the British.<sup>1</sup>

Thus Ajmer has been too long the haunt of Turks, Khaljis (of Malwa), Rāthods, Mughals and Marathas to afford much scope to antiquary. It can however boast of one building viz., Aṛhāi Din Kā Jhonprā, which is one of the earliest and finest monuments of the Muslim rule in India. It was at the instance of Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām that the mosque was built in 1198 A. D., while its seven arches and the exquisite screen were added in about 1226 A. D. during the rule of Iltutmish.<sup>2</sup>

The other building that attracts people from far and near is the tomb of the celebrated saint Khawāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn who passed away in A. H. 633 (1236 A. D.). Until A. H. 860 (1455 A. D.), when Maḥmūd Khalji of Malwa conquered Ajmer,<sup>3</sup> there was no *pucca* tomb over his remains. The Malwa Sultān is reported to have built a mosque near the shrine,<sup>4</sup> but there is no epigraphical evidence at our disposal to confirm this statement. The date of construction of the present structure of the tomb is not given in any historical work; according to some it was Sultān Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Khalji, who at the instance of Khawāja Husain of Nagaur, furnished means of erecting the mausoleum.<sup>5</sup> The Baland Darwāza of the Mausoleum said to have been built by one of the Malwa Sultāns<sup>6</sup> also does not bear any inscription. The cupola of the Shrine was embellished in the year A. H. 939 (1532 A. D.) as is indicated by an inscription written in golden letters on the northern wall of the tomb at a height of 7'-8" from the floor. This date falls in the reign of emperor Humāyūn, who does not seem to have anything to do with Ajmer nor did he visit this city; on the contrary, Sultān Bahādur of Gujarat is reported to have sent a noble of his against Ajmer in this particular year.<sup>7</sup> But in view of the absence of any historical evidence, it is difficult to ascribe the embellishment of the dome to any particular individual. The chronogrammatist of the inscription in question, namely, Mu'azzam, however, may be identified with Khawāja Mu'azzam, the uncle of emperor Akbar; Mu'azzam, who died in A. H. 971 (1563 A. D.), used to compose verses.<sup>8</sup>

The Persian inscriptions that are being studied below constitute an important source for the history of the city under the Mughals and show the numerous changes of fortune that have played their part in its history. Covering, on the whole, a period of nearly three and a quarter centuries, they adorn a wide range of monuments such as mosques, mausoleums, tombs, palaces, gates, water-tanks and other buildings.

<sup>1</sup> Watson, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Epig. Indo-Mos.*, 1911-12, pp. 15-30, where the Arabic inscriptions occurring on the mosque have also been published.

<sup>3</sup> Few people are aware of the fact that the tomb of Khawāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn was even in pre-Akbar days visited by royalties. For example, Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq is reported to have made a journey to Ajmer to pay his homage to the saint ('Iṣāmī, *Futūḥu's-Salāfin*, Agra, 1938, p. 44, verses 8656-57). — Ed.

<sup>4</sup> *Firishā*, op. cit., p. 222.

<sup>5</sup> *Abdu'l-Haq*, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Sikandar*, op. cit., p. 235.

<sup>8</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'ādhiru'l-Umarā*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 618-22; 'Ali Ḥasan Khān Tāhir, *Subh-i-Gulshan* (Bhopal 1878), p. 430; Badāyūnī, *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh*, Eng. tr. Wolsley Haig, vol. III (Calcutta, 1952), pp. 466-67.

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1905.

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(b) Another inscription of Akbar dated A. H. 976, from the same place (p. 46)



SCALE : '11

(a) Inscription of Akbar, dated A. H. 976, from Ajmer (p. 45)



SCALE : '11

(c) Another record of Akbar, dated A. H. 979, same place (p. 48)



SCALE : '16



We do not quite often come across mosques erected by ladies in India, but in Ajmer we find two impressive mosques built by ladies, one of whom was the daughter of the celebrated musician of Akbar's time, Miyān Tān Sain. Another interesting feature worthy of note is that no less than five monuments record in their inscriptions that they had been built by Hindus, among whom we find Maratha governors like Bālā Rāo Ingliā and Gumānjī Rāo Sindhia.

It will be noted that the language of these records, unlike that of inscriptions on the Arhāi Dīn Kā Jhonprā, is Persian. A majority of them are in verse and the style of writing is in most cases *Nasta'liq*; quite a few of these are remarkable for their beautiful calligraphy. This style of writing reached its zenith during the time of emperor Shāh Jahān to whose reign a number of these inscriptions belong.

In this article, inscriptions covering the reigns of Mughal emperors from Akbar to Shāh Jahān are included, while those of the later reigns which have been studied will appear in the next issue of this journal.

The earliest inscription of the group belongs to Akbar's reign and is found engraved on a slab of white marble measuring 15" by 38" fixed into a niche to the right of the central *mihrāb* of Gaisū Khān's mosque, now called Qalandari Masjid, situated in the Inder Kot quarter of the city. The epigraph is executed in beautiful *Nasta'liq* letters in relief comprising nine horizontal panels, each containing a hemistich in Persian except the last which contains the name of the calligraphist, namely, Hājī Darwish Muḥammad.<sup>1</sup> The inscription records the construction of a reservoir (*saqqā*) by Gaisū Khān, son of 'Imrān in A. H. 976 (1570 A. D.) during the reign of emperor Akbar. It has been read as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XI (a)

- (۱) بعهد حضرت شاه فلک قدر
- (۲) پناه دین احمد ظل یزدان
- (۳) جلال الدین محمد شاه اکبر
- (۴) سکندر حشمت و دار[ا]ی دوران
- (۵) بیمن همت خان حسن خلق
- (۶) سپهر جود گیسو خان عمران
- (۷) ز هجرت نهصد و هفتاد و شش بود
- (۸) که شد تعمیر این سقای میران
- (۹) کتبه الراجی درویش محمد الحاجی

<sup>1</sup> The metre of the verses is a variation of *Hasf*.



## TRANSLATION

- (1) During the reign of His Majesty, the king having heavenly dignity,
- (2) the refuge of the religion of Ahmad (the Prophet), the shadow of God,<sup>1</sup>
- (3) Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, Shāh-i-Akbar,<sup>2</sup>
- (4) (who is) magnificent like Alexandar and the Darius of the age,
- (5) through the blessings of the magnanimity of the Khān of Ḥasan-like nature,
- (6) the sphere of munificence, Gaisū Khān, son of 'Imrān,
- (7) it was in the year nine hundred and seventysix of the Hijra,
- (8) when this *Saqqā-i-Mīrān* (reservoir of the nobles) was constructed.
- (9) Written by the hopeful (creature), Darwīsh Muḥammad al-Ḥājī.

Another inscription of Gaisū Khān recording the construction of an 'Idgāh at Koil near Aligarh has been published in a previous issue of this Series where a detailed account of his career is given.<sup>3</sup> As regards the calligraphist, Darwīsh Muḥammad, no details are forthcoming. He is probably identical with Maulānā Darwīsh Muḥammad mentioned by Abu'l-Faḍl in his list of calligraphists.<sup>4</sup>

Another monument of the reign of Akbar is the Baland Darwāza (lit., lofty gateway) leading to the shrine of Sayyid Ḥusain Khing Sawār,<sup>5</sup> at Taragadh. The gateway itself, about 64 feet high and 17 feet wide, is built of red sandstone, while the floor is of white marble. Religious texts may be seen carved in relief around the arch facing east, above the arch facing the tomb and on the inside of the southern wall of the gateway. On its northern side is fixed a marble slab (21" by 52") bearing an inscription carved in *Nasta'liq* characters in relief designed by the same calligraphist as in the previous inscription. The epigraph which records the construction of the lofty gateway to the 'Ka'ba-like' tomb, by Ismā'īl Qulī Khān in A. H. 976 (1570 A. D.), reads as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XI (b)

- |      |        |       |      |            |
|------|--------|-------|------|------------|
| بمهد | پادشاه | آسمان | قدر  | (۱)        |
| پناه | ملک و  | ملت   | ظل   | یزدان      |
| جلال | الدین  | محمد  | اکبر | آن شاه     |
| که   | دارد   | در    | نگین | ملک سلیمان |
| بدین | درگه   | که    | همچو | کعبه آمد   |

<sup>1</sup> Shāh-i-Akbar literally means 'the greatest king'.

<sup>2</sup> *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1925-26, p. 8, pl. V a. Also, *Islamic Culture* (July, 1947), pp. 243-44.

<sup>3</sup> Abu'l-Faḍl, *AA*, op. cit., p. 101, fn. 4. (It seems that Darwīsh Muḥammad was something of a professional calligraphist. Among inscriptions carved by him are apart from the next one—from Taragadh—two at Nagaur in Jodhpur District. Vide, *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1949-50, p. 39, pl. XVII (b), and *Epig. Ind.-A. & P. Suppl.*, 1955 and 56, p. 61, pl. XVI b. — Ed.)

<sup>4</sup> Late Professor Hafiz Mahmud Khan Shirani who has given a critical and scholarly account of Sayyid Ḥusain after consulting all available sources, has noticed some inscriptions from the tomb including the one under study in his masterly work *Prithvi Rāj Rāsā* (Delhi, 1943), pp. 242-61.—Ed.

- (۶) سوادش عین نور و نور اعیان  
 (۷) بنا فرمود این ایوان عالی  
 (۸) کریم الذات اسمعیل قلی خان  
 (۹) ز کاخ دلکشا تاریخ اتمام  
 (۱۰) اگر خواهد کسی می یابد آسان  
 (۱۱) کتبه الراجی درویش محمد الحاجی المشتهر بالرمزی

## TRANSLATION

- (1) During the reign of the king having heavenly dignity,  
 (2) asylum of the state and the community, shadow of God,  
 (3) Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, that king  
 (4) who has got in his bazel (i.e., under authority) the kingdom of Solomon,  
 (5) in this mausoleum which has come to be regarded as Ka'ba —  
 (6) whose environs are a fountain of light and light of eyes<sup>1</sup> —  
 (7) this sublime *aiwān* (porch) was raised by  
 (8) Ismā'il Qulī Khān of noble lineage.  
 (9) The date of its completion in (the words) : *a pleasant palace*,  
 (10) one can easily find if he so desires.  
 (11) Written by Darwīsh Muḥammad al-Hājī, alias a'r-Ramzī.

Ismā'il Qulī Khān of the inscription was a son of Walī Baig Dhu'l-Qadar and nephew, on sister's side, of Bairam Khān. Along with his elder brother, Husain Qulī Khān entitled Khān Jahān,<sup>2</sup> he was caught in a battle at Jalandhar when both entered royal service. He was sent against the Baluchis in the 30th regnal year of Akbar (1584-85 A. D.) and to Zābulistān in the following year. Charged with having committed certain improprieties, he fell into disgrace and was ordered to go to Mecca from Bhakkar. In the regnal year 33 (1588-89 A. D.), he was made governor of Gujarat and three years later, was appointed tutor of prince Murād when the latter was appointed governor of Malwa. He received the command of 4000 horse in the regnal year 42 (1597-98 A. D.). Given to luxury and extravagant taste for carpets, vessels, dresses, etc., he is alleged to have been poisoned by his own women who were fed up with his petty tyranny.<sup>3</sup>

The third inscription in chronological order is to be found over the entrance of the enclosure of the Ganj-i-Shahidān at Taragadh overlooking the city of Ajmer. The inscription which is in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters is carved on a marble slab measuring about 21" by 23", fixed at a height of

<sup>1</sup> *A'yān* means eyes, fountains and also '*A'yān-i-Thābita*' meaning figures emblematic of the names of God.

<sup>2</sup> Husain Qulī Khān was given Ajmer and Nagaur as *tuyūl* in A. H. 971 (1563 A.D.). For an account of his career and inscriptions, see *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1949-50, p. 39; *E. I., A. & P. Supp.*, op. cit., p. 61. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Abu'l-Faḍl, *AA*, op. cit., pp. 348-51, 388-89; Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 105-07.



9'8" from the floor. The text comprises three verses<sup>1</sup> written in six lines followed by one more giving the name of the calligraphist. It records the construction of an edifice by Shāh Qulī Khān in A. H. 979 (1571 A. D.) and reads as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate XI (c)

- (۱) نمود شاه قلی خان محرم از سر صدق  
 (۲) طواف گنج شهیدان به خطہ اجمیر  
 (۳) ز سر عمارت این بقعه را بنا فرمود  
 (۴) بی رضای خدائی که عالمست و قدیر  
 (۵) بسال نهصد و هفتاد و نه مکمل شد  
 (۶) بعهد سلطنت بادشاه کشور گیر  
 (۷) کتبہ محمد باقر

## TRANSLATION

- (1) Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, by way of truthful intention,  
 (2) performed the circumambulations of Ganj-i-Shahīdān in the region of Ajmer.  
 (3) He raised the edifice of this place afresh,  
 (4) for the pleasure of God, the Omniscient, the Omnipotent.  
 (5) In the year nine hundred and seventynine it was completed,  
 (6) during the reign of the king, the conqueror of dominions (i.e., Akbar).  
 (7) Written by Muḥammad Bāqir.

Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram was in the service of Bairam Khān and had distinguished himself in the war with Hīnū. In the first regnal year of Akbar (1556-7 A.D.), he served with Muḥammad Qāsim of Naishāpūr against Hājī Khān in Nagaur and Ajmer. After the death of Bairam Khān, he was rapidly promoted rising higher and higher in the favour of Akbar who, from good-will towards him, had permitted him entry to his female apartments. After his first entry to the royal harem he had himself manumitted. Consequently, he was called Maḥram i.e., one who is admitted to the harem. We are told that at Narnaul, where he chiefly lived, he had got erected splendid buildings and dug large tanks.<sup>2</sup>

It would not be out of place to note in this connection that at Ajmer, on the 2nd Jumādī I, A. H. 979 (9th September, 1572 A. D.), Akbar was blessed with a third son who was named Dānyāl as he was born in the house of Shāikh Dānyāl, then one of the attendants of the Mausoleum.<sup>3</sup> It would not be surprising if Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram had accompanied Akbar's harem to Ajmer in this year,

<sup>1</sup> The metre of these verses is a variant of *Muḥtath*.

<sup>2</sup> Abu'l-Faḍl, *AA*, vol. I, op. cit., pp. 387-88.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 322; Badāyūnī, op. cit., vol. II, Eng. tr. Lowe (Calcutta, 1924), pp. 143-44.

The courtyard to the east of the Begamī Dālān, separated from the Mausoleum by a marble railing, is studded with tombs, some of which deserve notice. One of the tombs appears, from its inscription, to be that of one Muḥammad Wafā. The slab of marble fixed to the north of the grave measures 9" by 6" and contains the fundamental formula of Islam executed in *Naskh* characters, while the grave itself is inscribed in *Nasta'liq* in relief, with a single verse in Persian giving a chronogram for the death of Muḥammad Wafā, which occurred in A. H. 984 (1576 A. D.). The inscription runs thus :—

TEXT

Plate XII (a)

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول (sic.) الله

(۲) محمد وفا رفت تاريخ او

(۳) محمد وفا راه حق يافت گو

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh ; Muḥammad is His apostle.

(2) Muḥammad Wafā passed away ; for the chronogram,

(3) say, 'Muḥammad Wafā took to the path of God'.

It is regretted that the sources at our disposal do not help us in establishing the identity of Muḥammad Wafā.

The next inscription, in chronological order, referring to the embellishment of the dome of Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn in A. H. 987 (1579 A. D.), is painted in beautiful golden letters in *Nasta'liq* style inside the three sides of the dome. It reads as follows :—

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

اشرف اولياء	روی زمین	(۱) خواجه خواجگان معین الدین
بادشاه سریر	ملک یقین	(۲) آفتاب سپهر کون و مکان
این مبین بود	بحصن حصین	(۳) در جمال و کمال آن چه سخن
در عبارت بود	چو در نعمین	(۴) مطلعی در صفات او گفتم
بر درت مهر و ماه	سوده جبین	(۵) ای درت قبله گاه اهل یقین
صد هزاران ملک	چو خسرو چین	(۶) روی بر درگهت همین ساینده
در صفا روضه ات	چو خلد برین	(۷) خادمان درت همه رضوان

<sup>1</sup> The plate could not be given, as taking photographs inside the tomb proper is prohibited.—Ed.



قطره آب او چو ماء معین	(۸) ذره خاک او عبیر سرشت
بهر نقاشی بگفت چنین	(۹) جانشین معین خواجه حسین
قبه خواجه معین الدین	(۱۰) که شود رنگ تازه کهنه ز نو
چراغ چشتیان را روشنائی	(۱۱) الهی تا بود خورشید و ماهی

## TRANSLATION

- (1) Lord of the lords, Mu'Inu'd-Din, most eminent of all the saints of the world, (is the)  
 (2) sun of the sphere of universe, king of the throne of the dominion of Faith.\*  
 (3) What room is there for doubt as regards his beauty and perfection? This is evident from the fortified citadel.<sup>2</sup>  
 (4) I have composed (another) *Maṭla'*<sup>3</sup> in his praise, which, in its style, is like a precious pearl:  
 (5) Oh ye, whose door is an altar for the faithful; (even) the sun and the moon rub their forehead at thine threshold.  
 (6) It is at thine door that their foreheads are rubbed by hundred thousands of kings (each as mighty) as the emperor of China.  
 (7) The attendants of thine shrine are all (like) Ridwān (the keeper of Paradise), (while) in sanctity thine shrine is like the sublime heaven.  
 (8) A particle of its dust is like ambergris in nature; a drop of its water is like limpid (pure) water.  
 (9) The locum-tenens of Mu'in (namely), *Khawāja Husain*, for the embellishment said this  
 (10) that 'the old may assume fresh hue anew, the dome of *Khawāja Mu'Inu'd-Din*'.  
 (11) Oh Lord! As long as the sun and moon endure, may the lamp of the *Chishti*s possess light!

*Khawāja Husain* mentioned in verse No. 9 was the superintendent of the shrine, when Akbar visited Ajmer in A. H. 977 (1569 A. D.) consequent on the birth of Salim. He considered himself to be a descendant of the *Khawāja* from his daughter's side.<sup>4</sup> He was once banished to Mecca and had to suffer, in common with other learned men whom Akbar despised, various persecutions.<sup>5</sup> He lies buried in a tomb at the back of the *Shāh Jahānī Masjid* adjacent to the Mausoleum.

In the enclosure of the Mausoleum, near the small cauldron and adjacent to the *Hujra* of *Nizāmu'l-Mashāikh*, is a marble sarcophagus which bears an inscription in relief executed in *Nasta'liq* characters. The epigraph comprising four verses in Persian inscribed in four panels

... *نقاشی* might have been intended in the original reading which could not be verified for want of reproduction. In the alternative, the reading *نقاشی* with the indefinite article only would conform to metre.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Verses nos. 2, 6 and 11, not found in Akbar Jahān, *Aḥsanu's-Siyar* (Agra, A.H. 1320), p. 36, and *Imamud-Din, Mu'Inu'l-Awliyā* (Ajmer, A. H. 1345), p. 274, may have been later additions.

<sup>3</sup> *Hish-i-Haṣṣa* means a strong fortress that protects him who has recourse to it for refuge. Here perhaps it stands for the Mausoleum of *Khawāja Mu'Inu'd-Din*. (The idea conveyed in this verse is not clear. It would not be surprising if the reading of the verse is faulty.—Ed.)

<sup>4</sup> Introductory verse.

<sup>5</sup> Abu'l-Faḍl, *AN*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 511.

<sup>6</sup> *Badāyūn*, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 136-41.





(a) An epitaph of Muḥammad Wafā, dated A. H. 984, from Ajmer (p. 49)



SCALE : 2

(b) Epitaph of Khusraw Khān, dated A. H. 1021, same place (p. 51)



SCALE: 2

(c) Inscription of a Gateway, dated A. H. 1021, from the same place (p. 51)



Scale: 12.7

on the right and left sides of the sarcophagus<sup>1</sup> records the demise of one Khusraw Khān who is mentioned as having hailed from Sindh. The date of his death A. H. 1021 (1612 A.D.) is found in the phrase “جایش بهشت” (paradise is his abode)<sup>2</sup> and falls in the reign of Jahāngir. The text of the inscription has been read as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XII (b)

از دل غم فقر و فاقه می شست	(۱) آن خسرو خان که دست جودش
بس گوهر عدل و داد را سفت	(۲) از خطه سند بود عمری
خوش رفت و بعالم بقا خفت	(۳) آخر بگذاشت این جهانرا
جایش بهشت <sup>۳</sup> هاتقم گفت	(۴) از دل جستم چو سال فوتش

## TRANSLATION

(1) That Khusraw Khān, the hand of whose munificence used to wipe away the anxiety of poverty and want from the heart ;

(2) he was an ‘Umar hailing from the region of Sindh ; he bored many a pearl of justice and equity.

(3) Ultimately, he departed from this world ; he went happy and slept in the ever-lasting world.

(4) When I sought from the heart the year of his demise, a voice from the invisible said, ‘His abode is paradise’.<sup>4</sup>

Abu'l-Fadl informs us that one Khusraw Khān Chirgis was a servant of Mirzā Ghāzī Baig Tarkhān on whom emperor Akbar had conferred Sindh. After the death of Ghāzī Baig in A. H. 1018 (1609 A. D.), Sindh was taken away from the Tarkhāns but Jahāngir bestowed his favours on Mirzā ‘Isā Khān.<sup>5</sup> This Khusraw Khān is likely to be the one referred to in the epitaph.

The gateway situated to the north of the Mausoleum flanked by the Maḥfil Khāna on the west and a water-room on the east bears a Persian inscription engraved in relief and executed in beautiful *Nasta‘liq* characters on a slab of marble measuring 86" × 10" and fixed at a height of 12' 3" from the floor. The inscription which records the construction of the gateway by one Mir Sham‘anī in A. H. 1021 (1612 A. D.), consists of two verses<sup>6</sup> inscribed in four horizontal panels each containing a hemistich. It runs thus :—

## TEXT

## Plate XII (c)

زین فضل و عنایات حضرت معبود	چو ساخت این در پر فیض میر شمعانی
خرد چو دید بگفتا دری بهشت نمود	نمونه ایست چو این در ز باب خلد برین

<sup>1</sup> The writing occupies a total space of 53" lengthwise and 2½" breadthwise.

<sup>2</sup> The present reading of the last hemistich does not conform to the metre. On scrutiny the correct reading of the phrase comprising the chronogram will be found to be “جایش ببهشت”. The phrase, meaning ‘His place is in paradise’, yields A. H. 1023, which, and not A. H. 1021, would be Khusraw Khān’s date of death.—Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Please see note 2 above.—Ed.

<sup>4</sup> Abu'l-Fadl, *AA*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 392.

<sup>5</sup> It is composed in a variant form of *Mujtathāth*.



## TRANSLATION

When this doorway, replete with beneficence, was built by Mir Sham'ānī, (it was) through the bounty and favours of Almighty God.

Since this door is a replica of the gateway of the sublime paradise, when reason beheld (it), it said, '(It is) a gateway resembling paradise'.

It is regretted that no notice of Mir Sham'ānī could be traced in the sources at our disposal.

Another relic of the reign of Jahāngīr is a stone elephant bearing an inscription dated A. H. 1022 (1613 A. D.). It is to be found in a private house situated opposite the Gujarati school in the quarter now known as Hāthī Bhāṭa after this stone elephant (Hāthī=Elephant, Bhāṭa=stone). The figure of the elephant, carved out of single granite rock in a sitting posture, is in a good state of preservation but its trunk and ears are slightly damaged.<sup>1</sup> The inscription is engraved, in *Nasta'liq* characters in relief, on the right side of the elephant and reads as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XIII (a)

(۱) تاریخ فیل سنگ شد از حکمت اله

(۲) این کوه پاره فیل جهانگیر بادشاه

(۳) ۱۰۲۲

## TRANSLATION

(1) The chronogram of this stone elephant, by Divine mystery, came out (to be) :

(2) 'This piece of rock — the elephant of emperor Jahāngīr'.

(3) (A. H.) 1022.

It may be noted here that Jahāngīr came to Ajmer on Monday, the 5th Shawwāl, A. H. 1022 (18th November, 1613 A. D.) and left for Mandu on the 1st Dhī'l-Qa'da, A. H. 1025 (10th November, 1616 A. D.).<sup>2</sup>

The fourth inscription of the reign of Jahāngīr is to be found over the door of a room in the southern Dālān in the courtyard of the mausoleum of Sayyid Ḥusain Khing Sawār at Taragadh. The dālān is commonly known as Maulvī Šāheb Kā Dālān. From the text of the inscription it appears that it does not belong to the present site but was brought and fixed there in order to save it from being lost. According to the *Aḥsanu's-Siyar*, it originally belonged to the eastern gate of the Ganj-i-Shahīdān and was lying in the courtyard of the mausoleum of Sayyid Ḥusain when that book was written.<sup>3</sup> The slab of marble containing the epigraph is fixed at a height of about 7 feet from the floor. The record comprises six verses in Persian, executed in

<sup>1</sup> An account of this elephant with an imperfect notice of the inscription is given in U. C. Bhattacharya, 'Relics of Jahangir's Reign', *Modern Review*, September, 1954, pp. 221-22.

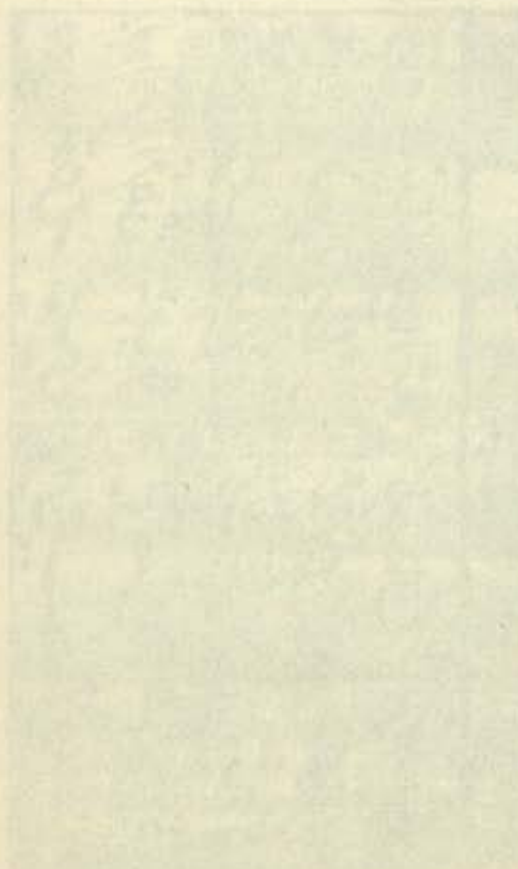
<sup>2</sup> Jahāngīr, *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Eng. tr. Rogers, vol. I (London, 1909), pp. 1, 340,

<sup>3</sup> *Akbar Jahān*, op. cit., p. 127.



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(a) Jahāngir's inscription on a stone elephant,  
dated A. H. 1022, at Ajmer (p. 52)



SCALE : -23

(c) Inscription of the same emperor, dated A. H. 1024, from the same place (p. 54)



SCALE : -23

(b) Another inscription of Jahāngir,  
dated A. H. 1022, from  
Taragadh (p. 53)



SCALE : -25

*Nasta'liq* of a fairly good type. It records the construction of some edifice by Daulat on behalf of Wazir Khān-i-Kalān. It also mentions Khōja Daulat Darbārī and Tālib-i-Khurd, the latter as the composer of the chronogram. The text of the inscription is as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate XIII (b)

(۱) الله اکبر

(۲) در زمان شه رفیع مکان

(۳) که بنازد بدور او دوران

(۴) آن شهنشه که ذات او آمد

(۵) باعث عدل و داد و امن و امان

(۶) شاه گیتی پناه نور الدین

(۷) بر جهانست سایه یزدان

(۸)<sup>۱</sup> بانى این بنای لطف آئین

(۹) با یکی سال او خرد گفت آن

(۱۰) دولت است از وزیر خان کلان

(۱۱) که نشانه چنین ز دولت دان

(۱۲)<sup>۲</sup> یکمزار و بیست و دو خوجه دولت درباری

(۱۳) قایله طالب خورد

<sup>۱</sup> The seventh hemistich should follow the eighth. This seems to be an engraver's error. The fact is the engraver's mistake lies in not making the seventh hemistich precede the eighth, but in engraving ninth hemistich before tenth. The sequence of hemistiches 8-11 should be:

(۸) بانى این بنای لطف آئین

(۹) دولت است از وزیر خان کلان

(۱۰) با یکی سال او خرد گفتا

(۱۱) که نشانه چنین ز دولت دان

Moreover, it has not been shown as to how the date A. H. 1022 is yielded by the chronogram. The words "نشانه چنین ز دولت دان" yield 1021 to which 1 is to be added as the poet says in the 9th line (8th in the plate) that "The Reason gave its date with One" i.e., with an additional 1. Of course, there is a pun on "با یکی" which also means "(Reason said) to one".—Ed.)

<sup>۲</sup> The reading is clearly "گفتا" in the estampage.—ED.

<sup>۳</sup> Akbar Jahān, op. cit., p. 128, reads "کم نشان".

<sup>۴</sup> The last two lines are not to be found in *ibid*.



## TRANSLATION

- (1) God is great.
- (2) During the reign of the king of exalted position,
- (3) in whose regime, the cycle of Time takes pride ;
- (4) that emperor whose person has come to be
- (5) the cause of justice, equity, peace and tranquility ;
- (6) the king, (who is) the asylum of the world (namely), Nūru'd-Dīn (Jahāngīr),
- (7) who in the world is the shadow of God ;
- (8) Reason said to one<sup>1</sup> as its chronogram,
- (9) 'The builder of this elegant edifice
- (10) is Daulat on behalf of Wazīr Khān-i-Kalān.
- (11) Consider but a few matches for this Daulat<sup>2</sup>.
- (12) One thousand and twenty-two. Khoja Daulat Darbārī.
- (13) Its composer (is) Tālib-i-Khurd.

Wazīr Khān-i-Kalān, one of the personages mentioned in the inscription, may be identified with Wazīr Khān Muqīm, who was given the wazirship of his dominion by emperor Akbar and the title of Wazīr Khān towards the close of his reign. Jahāngīr had also, on his accession, conferred on him the same title, rank and service. He passed away in A. H. 1029 (1620 A. D.).<sup>3</sup> Khoja Daulat Darbārī, the other person, who is the builder, cannot be identified, while as far as Tālib-i-Khurd, the composer of the text, is concerned, he should not be confused with his more celebrated namesake, Tālib Āmulī who was made poet-laureate by Jahāngīr in A. H. 1028 (1619 A. D.). The appellation 'Khurd' (junior) to his name indicates that he was a lesser known contemporary of his celebrated name-sake.

The next inscription, in chronological sequence, is engraved in relief on a slab of marble (2' x 1'2"), fixed over the southern entrance of the railing of the shrine of Sayyid Husain Khing Sawār at Taragadh. It is executed in beautiful *Nasta'liq* style and contains five verses<sup>4</sup> written horizontally. It may be read thus :—

## TEXT

## Plate XIII (c)

الله اکبر (۱)

کندر زمان او شده آسوده دل جهان	(۲) شاهنشاه زمانه جهانگیر بادشاه
شد فتح ملک رانا زان شاه کامران	(۳) سال دهم [ز] عهد جلوس مبارکش
بر تخت زرنشسته بد از فتح شادمان	(۴) وقتیکه اندر اجمیر آن شاه گنج بخش
گیتی ز عدل و دادش چون روضه جنان	(۵) بود از هزار افزون بیست و چهار سال
این پنجره ز صدق و صفا اعتبار خان	(۶) در روضه مقدس سید حسین کرد

<sup>1</sup> See my note in f.n. 1 on the preceding page—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> In the translation of this hemistich, Mr. Tirmizi has inadvertently taken the words "که نشانه" as "کم نشان" a reading of Akbar Jahān which he had correctly rejected, *vide*, f. n. 3, p. 53. The correct translation of the verse would be : Reason with one (more), gave its date saying, 'know such a monument (to be) from Daulat'.—Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Jahāngīr, op. cit., p. 13; *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 167; Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 932-3.

<sup>4</sup> The metre of these verses is a variant of *Mudārī*.



## TRANSLATION

- (1) God-is great.
- (2) Emperor of the age is Jahāngīr the king, in whose reign, the heart of the world is at rest.
- (3) In the tenth year of his auspicious accession to the throne, the country of the Rānā was subjugated by that triumphant king.
- (4) At the time when, at Ajmer, that treasure-bestowing monarch sat on the golden throne, being happy on account of the victory,
- (5) it was twenty and four years added to one thousand, and due to his justice and equity, the world was like the garden of paradise.
- (6) (At that time) in the holy shrine of Sayyid Husain, was constructed this *Pinjra* (lattice-railing), out of sincerity and truthfulness, by I'tibār Khān.

I'tibār Khān of the inscription was one of the nobles serving under Jahāngīr. On the 10th of Rabī'ī in the tenth regnal year i.e., A. H. 1024 (1615 A. D.), he came to Ajmer and waited on the emperor. He was promoted to the *shūba* of Agra on the 19th of Jamādī I of the seventeenth regnal year i.e., A. H. 1031 (1622 A. D.), and on the 1st Urdī Bihisht of the following year, he was given the title of Muntāz Khān.<sup>1</sup> It may be pointed out that the triumph of the imperial troops under prince Khurram over Rānā Amar Singh of Mewar in A. H. 1023 (1614 A. D.) was celebrated with great pomp at the royal court, then at Ajmer, and about that time Jahāngīr and his nobles built several buildings in Ajmer and its environs.<sup>2</sup>

One of the most beautiful spots that Ajmer can very well boast of is the lovely valley to the west of the fortress of Taragadh. This romantic spot hoary with age is one of the secrets of history. The name by which this place was originally known is enveloped in darkness. Bibī Hāfiz Jamāl, the daughter of Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn is said to have lived here for sometime as a religious recluse and hence the place came to be called Hāfiz Jamāl.<sup>3</sup> A relic of historical as well as archaeological interest to be found in the valley is the massive unfinished water-lift said to have been built by Rāo Māldeva of Marwar who took possession of Ajmer in 1535 A. D.<sup>4</sup> Sher Shāh after defeating Māldeva in 1544 A. D. went up the Taragadh and as there was scarcity of water in the fortress, he thought of bringing water from the Chashma Hāfiz Jamāl to the fort. He appointed renowned architects for this purpose and named the fountain as Sher Chashma after his own name.<sup>5</sup>

Another relic found just near the water-lift is a palace in a ruined state, on the summit of whose vault is to be found a Persian inscription in verse.<sup>6</sup> This inscription is carved in relief on three pieces of marble which jointly measure 14' 8" × 1' 6". It is fixed at a height of about 26 feet from the ground. The record comprises seven verses in Persian written horizontally in three panels in *Nasta'liq* of a high order. The name of the calligraphist is given as 'Abdu'llāh at the end. The record states that the palace was built at the behest of emperor Jahāngīr in the 10th regnal year (A. H. 1024=1615 A. D.), also recorded in the chronogram occurring in the last hemistich.

<sup>1</sup> Jahāngīr, op. cit., vol. I, p. 282; *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 231-32, 258.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Epig. Indo-Mos.*, 1923-24, pp. 21-22, where the Persian inscription occurring on the royal palace at Pushkar has been published.

<sup>3</sup> Watson, op. cit., vol. II, p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> Sarda, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> The metre is a variation of *Haraj*.



It also states that the site where the ruins of the palace stand was christened *Chashma-i-Nūr* by the emperor. We gather from the *Tūzūk* that Jahāngīr visited the *Chashma* of Hāfiz Jamāl on the 28th February, 1614 A. D. and he came to like the place so much that he ordered a palace to be built there. Accordingly, in the course of a year a house and grounds were made there. A basin, 40 by 40 yards, was constructed and the water of the spring was made to rise up in the basin by a fountain. The fountain, it is said, leapt up to a height of 10 or 12 yards. Buildings were laid on the edge of this basin and in the same way, above, where the tank and fountain were situated, enchanting halls and resting rooms were constructed in a masterly style by skilled painters and clever artists. The place was then named *Chashma-i-Nūr* or the 'Fountain of Light' after the name of the emperor. Sa'idā-i-Gilānī,<sup>1</sup> the head of the goldsmiths, discovered the chronogram occurring in the last hemistich.<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Roe, who was in Ajmer at that time visited this place on the 1st March, 1616 A. D. and has left for us a beautiful description of this lovely place, its handsome little garden with fine fountains and two tanks, one 30 steps above another.<sup>3</sup> The fondness that Jahāngīr had developed for this romantic spot can be judged from the fact that he visited it thirty-eight times during his stay of about three years at Ajmer.<sup>4</sup> But the garden and fountains referred to above have succumbed to the ravages of times and of the tanks only one remains in front of the dālān made of red-stone. On the roof of the dālān there are two dilapidated rooms. The tank and the dālān are also in ruins. The vault of the dālān bears the inscription under study which runs thus:—

## TEXT

## Plate XIV

(۱) بلند اقبال شاه هفت کشور	که وصف او نمیکند بقریر
(۲) فروغ خاندان شاه اکبر	شهنشاه زمان شاه جهانگیر
(۳) [بد]ین سرچشمه چون آمد ز فیض	روان شد آب و خاکش گشت اکسیر
(۴) شهنشه کرد نامش چشمه نور	شده آب خضر زو چاشنی گیر
(۵) دهم سال [۱] ز جلوس شاه غازی	بحکم بادشاه نیک تدبیر
(۶) بطرف چشمه نور این عمارت	جهان آرای شد از روی تقدیر
(۷) خرد تاریخ اتماس رقم زد	محل شاه نور الدین جهانگیر

(۸) کتبه عبد الله

<sup>1</sup> He came to India in the reign of Jahāngīr and was included in the list of poets. In the reign of Shāh Jahān he received the title of Bibadal Khān. The peacock-throne was finished by him and as a reward for this he was weighed against gold (Muhammad Sālib, *Amal-i-Sālib* (Calcutta, 1912), vol. III, pp. 418-20; Shāh Nawās Khān, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 405-8.

<sup>2</sup> Jahāngīr, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 269-70.

<sup>3</sup> Foster, W., *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* (London, 1926), p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> Jahāngīr, op. cit., vol. I, p. 341. (For another contemporary account of the place and its being used as a favourite pleasure-resort, see 'Abdu'n-Nabi, *Mai Khāna*, Lahore, 1926, pp. 804 ff.—Ed.)

<sup>5</sup> Akbar Jahān, op. cit., p. 84, who has given a reading of this inscription, omits this part of the text giving the name of the calligraphist.









## TRANSLATION

- (1) The king of seven climes, of lofty fortune, whose praise cannot be contained in speech ;
- (2) the lustre of the house of king Akbar, emperor of the age, the king Jahāngīr,
- (3) when he visited this fountain, through his bounty, water began to flow and its dust turned into elixir.
- (4) The emperor gave it the name 'Chashma-i-Nūr' (Fountain of Light) from which the water of Immortality acquires its relish.
- (5) In the tenth year from the accession of that king, the holy Champion, at the behest of that king of wise counsel,
- (6) on the bank of the Chashma-i-Nūr, this edifice adorned the world as was destined.
- (7) Wisdom wrote the chronogram of its completion (thus : it is) '*the palace of king Nūru'd-Dīn Jahāngīr*'.
- (8) It was written by 'Abdu'llāh.

As regards the calligraphist, it can be safely presumed that he is identical with Mir 'Abdu'llāh Tirmidhī, an elegant poet who also wrote an excellent *Nasta'liq* hand for which he received from Jahāngīr the title of *Mushkīn Qalam*. He died in A. H. 1035 (1625 A.D.) and his tomb stands at a place in Agra called Nagla Jawahir.<sup>1</sup>

About nine miles to the north-east of Ajmer is the small village of Gangawana which is much associated with the Mughal period of Indian history. It was here that the famous battle between Rājādhirāj Bakht Singh of Nagaur and Sawāi Jai Singh of Jaipur was fought in 1743 A. D. resulting in the defeat of the latter.<sup>2</sup> This small village possesses some relics of antiquarian interest. In the outskirts of the village beside the Ajmer-Kishengadh road there is an old step-well, commonly known as Bhikāji kī Bāori, bearing an inscription in Persian verse which has been noticed by Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, but he has given neither the complete text nor its translation.<sup>3</sup> The three hemistiches deciphered by Mr. Bhattacharya are fairly correct but there are two words regarding whose reading I differ from him. The inscription is incised on a marble slab measuring 1' 6" by 6' 6" which is fixed on the side-wall facing the west. It comprises five verses in Persian<sup>4</sup> and has been executed in fairly good *Nasta'liq* style. At the end of the lines which run vertically is carved an effigy of an elephant nicely executed. Just beneath this couchant elephant, an *ankus* (impeller) and *doshul* (bident) are beautifully carved. The text deciphered by me is as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XV (a)

(۱) الله اكبر جل جلاله

(۲) چو گجهست خان محض خير است و احسان

(۳) شده شهره در دهر از لطف بارے

(۴) ..... تعمیر سردابه ..... (۵)

<sup>1</sup> Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1884), p. 9. (For an account of the three inscriptions—two on the tomb and one on the mosque of *Mushkīn Qalam*—composed by his son, Mir Muḥammad Ṣālib Kaḥfi, see the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874, pp. 162-63. A biography entitled *Fātiḥu'l-Qulūb* describing him as a saint is numbered 650 in the catalogue of the India Office Library.—Ed.)

<sup>2</sup> Sarkar, J. N., *Fall of the Mughal Empire* (Calcutta, 1932), p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> Bhattacharya, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> The metre is *Mutaqārib*.



- (۵) که ماند در [۱] یام ازو یادگارے  
 (۶) زلالے بر آمد ازان حوض کوثر  
 (۷) که شد حور عین طالب کسه داری  
 (۸) خرد از پی سال تاریخ او شد  
 (۹) بدانش موافق دل از هوشیاری  
 (۱۰) که جبریل معنی بگوشش خبر داد  
 (۱۱) که تاریخ سردابه شد خیر جاری  
 (۱۲) سنه ۱۰۲۴

## TRANSLATION

- (1) God is great. Exalted be His Glory.  
 (2) When Gajhast Khān, who is summum bonum and bounty,  
 (3) earned renown in the world due to Divine favour,  
 (4) .....construction of a *sardāba*.....  
 (5) so that it may serve as a souvenir for him in the world.  
 (6) (Such) limpid water gushed forth from that reservoir of *Kauthar*  
 (7) that maidens of paradise were solicitous of its cup-bearership.  
 (8) For the chronogram of its year, Reason became  
 (9) in conformity with Wisdom through prudence,  
 (10) when the Gabriel of reality whispered into its ear the information  
 (11) that the chronogram of the grotto was *Flowing bounty*.  
 (12) Year 1024 (A.H.).

The chronogram *Khair-i-Jārī* gives the year A.H. 1024 (1615 A.D.), which falls in the reign of Jahāngīr who was at Ajmer in that year. As regards Gajhast Khān, we know that he was a superintendent of the elephant-stables under Jahāngīr.<sup>1</sup> He is also mentioned in connection with Mahābat Khān's *coup de main*.<sup>2</sup> Rogers and Beveridge in their translation of Jahāngīr's *Memoirs* refer to him as Gajpat Khān,<sup>3</sup> while Shāh Nawāz Khān mentions his name as Gajhat Khān. Thanks to the present epigraph, we are now in a position to say that Gajhat Khān (of which Gajpat Khān is a corruption) is the correct title, while Gajpat Khān is merely a copyist's error.

Just near the Sabīlī gate leading to the Mausoleum is a grave which is inscribed in relief with the First Creed and a chronogram in Persian verse, recording the death in A. H. 1033 (1623 A. D.) of a person who is merely referred to as Kāfī. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq*

<sup>1</sup> Jahāngīr, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 12, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 393, 395.

<sup>3</sup> The Persian text of the *Memoirs*, *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, op. cit., p. 404, has, in fact, Gajhat Khān.—Ed.

(a) Inscription on a stepwell  
at Gangwana, dated  
A. H. 1024 (p. 57)



SCALE : 1

(b) Epitaph, dated  
A. H. 1033, from  
Ajmer (p. 59)



SCALE : 14

(c) Another epitaph, dated A. H. 1033,  
same place (p. 60)



SCALE : 2





and the metre of the verse is a variation of *Hazaj*. The inscribed portion of the slab is cut into eight vertical panels: the first contains the fundamental formula of Islam as stated above, the second contains the words "الله كافي" (Allah is Sufficient), and the remaining six contain a hemistich each. The right, left and the head-side walls of the tomb are inscribed with verses from the *Qur'ān*. The epitaph reads as under:—

## TEXT

## Plate XV (b)

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد [۱] لرسول الله

(۲) الله كافى

(۳) كافى گل گلشن سيادت

(۴) برتر ز خرد حد ثنائيش

(۵) چو عزم بهشت کرد زين دار

(۶) بنهاد فرشته رخ [به] پايش

(۷) وز راه ادب ز بهر تاريخ

(۸) گفتا كه بود بهشت جايش

۱۰۳۳

## TRANSLATION

- (1) There is no god but Allāh ; Muḥammad is His apostle.
- (2) Allāh is Sufficient !
- (3) Kāfi, the rose of the flower-garden of chiefship,
- (4) whose eulogy transcends Reason,
- (5) when he made up his mind to leave this world for paradise,
- (6) Angel placed his head at his feet,
- (7) and by way of respect said for chronogram,
- (8) 'May paradise be his abode !' (A.H.) 1033.

The chronogram contained in the last hemistich gives A. H. 1033 (1623 A. D.) as the year of the death of Kāfi whose remains the tomb contains. That the occupant of the tomb was a Sayyid coming from a noble family is clear from the opening line of the inscription.

Just near the tomb of Muḥammed Wafā referred to above and at a short distance to the west of Khidki Darwāza of the Mausoleum is a marble grave at the head of which is fixed a slab containing



an inscription, engraved in relief in *Naskh* characters, which contains religious text only. The grave itself bears an inscription in Persian giving the year of death of one Nagru'llāh in a chronogram which yields A. H. 1033 (1623 A. D.) and is followed by the date, month and the day on which he died. This epitaph occupying the space of about 11"×6" is inscribed in *Nasta'liq* letters. The two inscriptions have been read as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate XV (c)

## (a) Head stone.

(۱) نصر من الله و فتح قريب

(۲) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

## TRANSLATION

(1) Help is from God and victory is near.

(2) There is no god but Allāh ; Muḥammad is His apostle.

## (b) On the grave.

(۱) آم از قوت ناکهان نصر الله

(۲) بتاریخ پنجم محرم الحرام روز دو شنبه

## TRANSLATION

(1) Alas for the unexpected death of Nagru'llāh !<sup>1</sup>

(2) (It took place) on Monday, the 5th Muḥarram.

We do not possess any information regarding the occupant of the grave, but Jahāngīr mentions one Nagru'llāh who was given the rank of 700 with 400 horse on Sunday, the 14th *Shā'bān* A. H. 1017 (13th November, 1608 A. D.).<sup>2</sup> It is not unlikely that the grave is that of this Nagru'llāh.

The *Chilla-i-Chisht*, now known as *Chilla-i-Khwāja Sāhib* is situated on the Sadā Bahār hill near the famous Anāsāgar tank. It is said that the saint, on his arrival at Ajmer, took up his abode at this place and resided here till he moved to what was to be his last resting place. Over the entrance to the *Chilla* proper, there is fixed a marble slab measuring 5'1"×4" which bears an inscription in Persian verse engraved in relief. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq*. The record comprises six verses contained in one line which is cut into twelve horizontal panels, each having a hemistich. The inscription states that the edifice of the *Chilla* was constructed at the behest of

<sup>1</sup> This constitutes the chronogram.

<sup>2</sup> Jahāngīr, op. cit., vol. I, p. 153.

Vol. 10, Part 1, 1900. Printed by the Royal Society, London.





(a) Inscription of Shah Jahān, dated A. H. 1037, from Ajmer (p. 61)



SCALE : 15

(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 1047, same place (p. 62)



SCALE : 14

(c) Inscription of a mosque, dated A. H. 1063,  
from the same place (p. 67)



SCALE : 2

Daulat Khān, a revenue collector under Khān-i-Khānān Mahābat Khān. The inscription has been read as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XVI (a)

بزمان شه رفیع القدر	حامی شرع و دین شهاب الدین
رونق عدل و جود داد چنان	که بنزد ازو زمان و زمین
گشت والی صوبه اجمیر	خان خانان بعزت و تمکین
پاک دین پاکباز دولتخان	بود شقدار او برسم امین
ساخته این مقام چله چشت	تا بود یادگار او بزمین
سال تاریخ طالبی گفتا	سی و هفت و هزار بود سنین

## TRANSLATION

During the reign of the king of sublime dignity, the protector of Law and Faith, Shihābu'd-Dīn (who)

imparted such splendour to equity and munificence that the age and the world take pride in him.

Khān-i-Khānān was appointed, with due honour and dignity, the governor of the province of Ajmer.

Pious and virtuous Daulat Khān was his revenue-collector in the capacity of an *amīn*.

He constructed this place, namely Chilla-i-Chisht so that it may serve as his memorial on the earth.

For its date Tālibī (*lit.*, a solicitor) said, 'The year was thirty-seven and one thousand'.

Zamān Baig Mahābat Khān was a Ridawī Sayyid. His father Ghūr Baig came to Kabul from Shiraz and later on joined the service of Akbar, while Zamān Baig waited on prince Salīm who gave him the title of Mahābat Khān. When Shāh Jahān stopped at Ajmer on his way to Agra on the 17th Jumādī I, A. H. 1037 (14th January, 1628 A.D.), he conferred on him the title of Khān-i-Khānān and made him the governor of Ajmer.<sup>1</sup>

Behind the Shāh Jahānī Masjid and the Maḥfil Khāna is situated the tomb of Khwāja Husain. Over its entrance, at a height of about 14 feet from the floor is fixed a slab of marble (1' 8" by 2' 11") containing an inscription of six lines of which the first merely comprises the words Allāhu Akbar,

<sup>1</sup> 'Abdu'l-Hamid, *Bādshāh Nāma*, vol. I, pt. i (Calcutta, 1866), p. 80; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ op. cit., p. 448; Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. III, p. 407.

(For inscriptions of the governorship of Mahābat Khān found at Nagaur and other places in Rajasthan, see *EIM*, 1949-50, p. 43; *E. I., A. & P. Suppl.*, 1955 and 56, p. 61.—Ed.)



the next four contain a fragment in Persian verse<sup>1</sup> recording the date of construction of Khwāja Ḥusain's tomb in A. H. 1047 (1637 A. D.) and the last one gives the name of the superintendent of the construction as Khwāja Dilāwar. The epigraph which is executed in *Nasta'liq* characters in relief may be read as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XVI (b)

(۱) الله اكبر

(۲) شد از توجه هادى و مرشدى بيقين

(۳) شهنشه دوسرا خواجه معين الدين

(۴) بنای مقبره با صفای خواجه حسين

(۵) بلفظ مغز شده سال خاتمیت این

(۶) باهتمام خواجه دلاور باتمام رسيد

## TRANSLATION

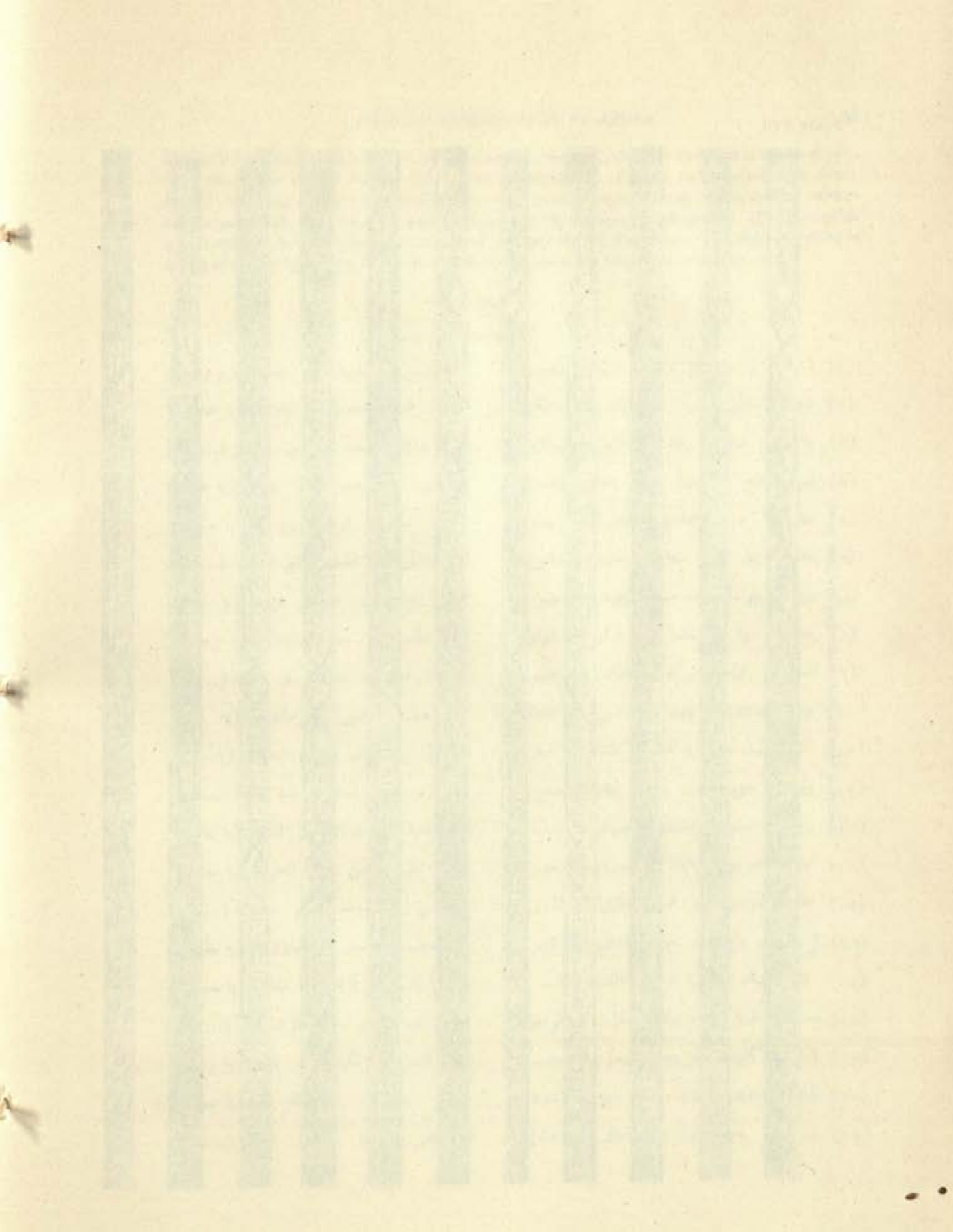
- (1) God is great.
- (2) By the favour of the guide and spiritual instructor for certain,
- (3) the emperor of both the worlds (namely) Khwāja Mu'Inu'd-Dīn,
- (4) the holy mausoleum of Khwāja Ḥusain was constructed.
- (5) The year of its completion has been found in the word *Magḥz* (marrow).
- (6) It was completed under the supervision of Khwāja Dilāwar.

The word *Magḥz*, according to the Abjad system, yields A. H. 1047 (1637 A.D.), as the date of construction. As regards Khwāja Ḥusain, a short notice has already been given above (p. 50). It may be pointed out in this connection that the tomb of Khwāja Ḥusain is a replica of the mausoleum of Khwāja Mu'Inu'd-Dīn. The author of the *Mu'Inu'l-Auliya* ascribes the construction of this shrine to Shāh Jahān.<sup>2</sup> As regards Khwāja Dilāwar, the sources at our disposal do not help us in establishing his identity.

The Shāh Jahānī Masjid situated to the west of the Mausoleum is the most elegant mosque built in Ajmer during the Mughal period. The mosque proper measures 148 feet in length and 25 feet in width, having in front an enclosure measuring 156 feet by 53 feet. This enclosure, paved with polished marble, is surrounded on the south, north and east by an elegant balustrade having five entrances, one in the south, one in the north and the remaining three in the east, each reached by a flight of stairs. The mosque proper is on a plinth which is again led by a flight of stairs. Under the roof of the mosque there is an exterior row of eleven arched entrances running parallel to an interior row of the same number, all the twenty-two being identical to one another.

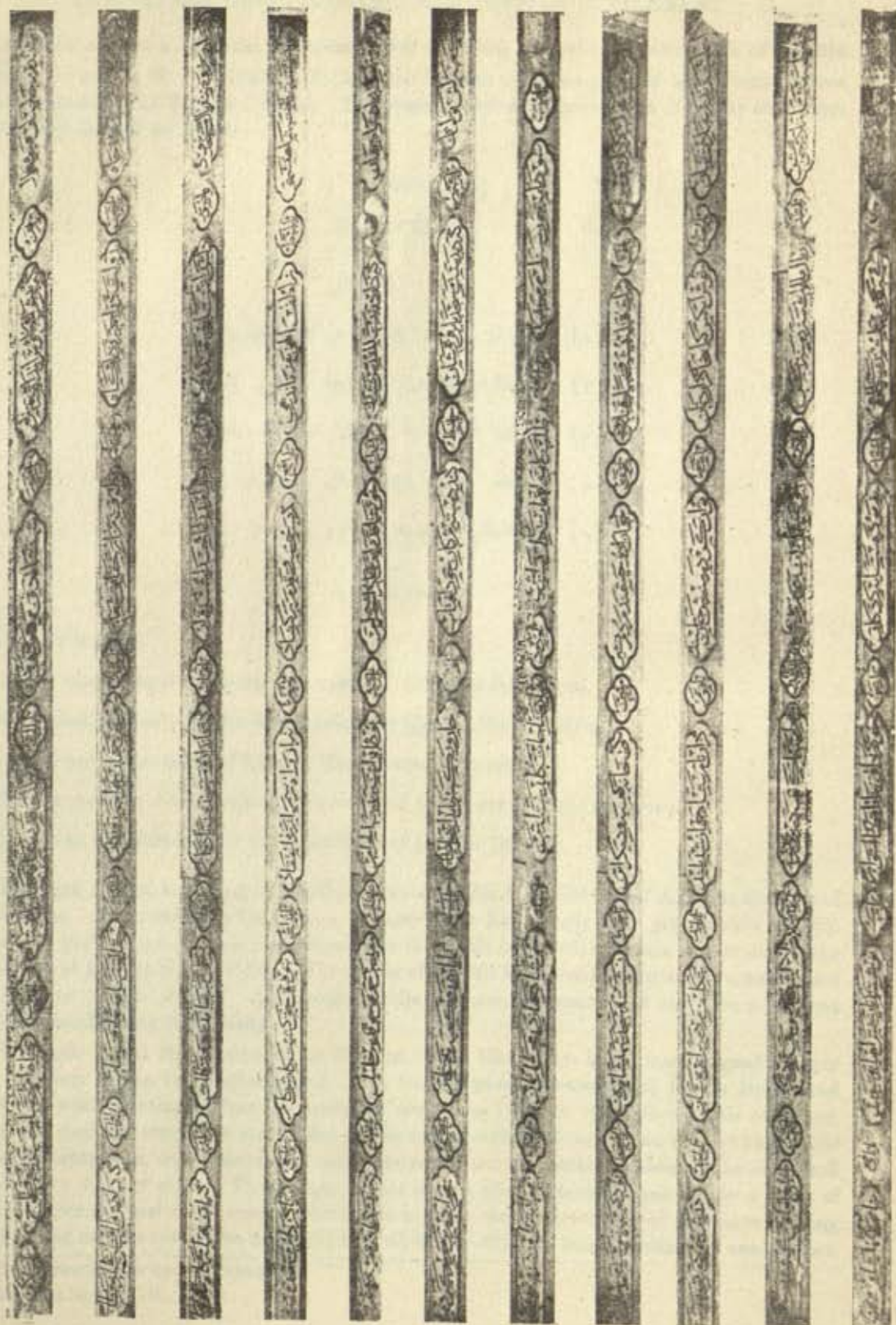
<sup>1</sup> The metre is a variant of *Muḥtathā*.

<sup>2</sup> Imamud-Din, op. cit., p. 278.





Inscription from the Shah Jahan Mosque, Ajmer (p. 63)



The back-wall has five niches in which fundamental creeds of Islam are inscribed in letters of gold. Over the frieze of the facade there is an inscription in Persian verse inlaid with black marble occupying sixty-six horizontal panels; each panel contains a hemistich flanked by various attributes of God. The whole record runs into thirty-three verses of high quality. The inscription is in *Mathnawī* form and the metre employed is a variation of *Mutaqarib*. The style of writing is *Naskh* of a very high order. The text of this inscription has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVII

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (۱) شنیدم ز خاصان فرخنده فال (یا رحمن)     | که پیش از جلوس ابد اتصال (یا رحیم)     |
| (۲) شهنشاه دین پرور دین پناه (یا ملک)      | فلک قدر شاهجهان بادشاه (یا قدوس)       |
| (۳) پناه امم صاحب تخت و تاج (یا سلام)      | [که دارد شریعت بعهدش رواج] (.....)     |
| (۴) پس از فتح رانا بصد عز و جاه (یا مهیم)  | بدولت در اجمیر زد بارگاه (یا عزیز)     |
| (۵) بطوف مزار حقایق شعار (یا جبار)         | معین جهان خواجه روزگار (یا متکبر)      |
| (۶) حقایق پناه [و] معارف مآب (یا خالق)     | که دادش فلک قطب عالم خطاب (.....)      |
| (۷) در آن روضه پاک مسجد نبود (یا مصور)     | دلش را تمنای مسجد فزود (یا غفار)       |
| (۸) خداوند را با خدا شد قرار (یا قهار)     | که ماند ازو مسجدی یادگار (یا وهاب)     |
| (۹) بسی بر نیامد ز دور فلک (یا علیم)       | که آن قبله گاه ملوک و ملک (.....)      |
| (۱۰) چو بنشست بر تخت شاهنشهی (یا باسط)     | ز لطف الهی بفرماندهی (یا رافع)         |
| (۱۱) کمر بست چست و قدم بر کشاد (یا معز)    | نه از راه رسم از ره اعتقاد (یا مذل)    |
| (۱۲) بتوفیق حق گشت کارش بکام (یا سمیع)     | بنا کرد این مسجد و شد تمام (.....)     |
| (۱۳) زهی مسجد بادشاه جهان (.....)          | که دارد ز بیت المقدس نشان (یا عادل)    |
| (۱۴) خوشا قدر این خانه کز احترام (یا خبیر) | بود ثانی اثنین بیت الحرام (یا عظیم)    |
| (۱۵) مقدس حریمی چو قدس خلیل (یا غفور)      | بوصفتش زبان وقف ذکر جمیل (.....)       |
| (۱۶) [شما] دزد با کعبه اش توامان (یا کبیر) | که دیدست مسجد باین فروشان (یا حفیظ)    |
| (۱۷) کند دسته مژگان خرد آفتاب (.....)      | [که] جاروبکش باید اینجا خطاب (یا حسیب) |
| (۱۸) نمایان درو کعبه وقت نماز (یا کریم)    | ز محراب در بر حرم کرده باز (.....)     |
| (۱۹) [بفرش گذاری چو روی سپید] (یا مجیب)    | شود زامه چو نگ مرمر سفید (یا واسع)     |
| (۲۰) طلبگار حاجات دل بسته اش (یا ودود)     | بهار مناجات گلسته اش (یا مجید)         |
| (۲۱) چو شاه جهان در محل نماز (یا باعث)     | بمحرابش آورد روی نیاز (.....)          |



- (۲۲) ز توفیق محراب کرد از دو سوی (یا حق) بیک قبله پشت و بیک قبله روی (یا قوی)  
 (۲۳) جهان را دو چشمند مردم نشین (یا متین) یکی خانه کعبه و دیگر این (یا جمیل)  
 (۲۴) نشسته بمسجد شهنشاه دین (یا محصى) بود کعبه پیوسته مسجد نشین (.....)  
 (۲۵) اجابت زند بر عبادت نیاز (یا معید) خوش آنکس که اینجا گزارد نماز (یا می)  
 (۲۶) توان کرد بر منبرش جان سپند (یا قیوم) کزان نام شاه جهان شد بلند (یا ماجد)  
 (۲۷) بتکلیف مردم برای نماز (یا واحد) درش چون در توبه پیوسته باز (.....)  
 (۲۸) [بو]د خطبه شاه تا در خورش (یا صمد) ز بال ملایک سزد منبرش (یا قادر)  
 (۲۹) لب حوض از آب زمزم پرست (یا مقتدر) ز محراب با کعبه در بر در است (یا مقدم)  
 (۳۰) ز لالش ز هر موجه بی دریغ (یا موخر) بقطع تعلق کشیدست تیغ (.....)  
 (۳۱) ز سنگش چنان <sup>۱</sup>کارپرداز تنگ (.....) که گوئی بناشد ز یکپاره سنگ (یا متعالی)  
 (۳۲) بفرموده سایه کردگار (یا بر) چو کرد این بنا را قضا استوار (یا رب)  
 ۱۰۳۷  
 (۳۳) نوشتند تاربخش اهل یقین (یا نافع) بنای شهنشاه روی زمین (.....)

TRANSLATION<sup>2</sup>

- (1) I have heard from the elite of happy omen that prior to (his) eternity-bound accession,
- (2) Faith-cherishing refuge of the religion, of heavenly dignity, *Shāh Jahān*, the king,
- (3) asylum of nations, lord of throne and crown, in whose reign the Divine Law prevails,
- (4) after scoring victory over the *Rānā*, pitched up his tent at Ajmer with great dignity, pomp and felicity,
- (5) for paying a visit to the shrine of the truthful Mu'in (helper) of the world, *Khawāja* (lord) of the age,
- (6) the refuge of truths, the receptacle of divine knowledge to whom the heaven has awarded the title of *Qutb-i-'Ālam* (the pole-star of the world).
- (7) (As) there was no mosque in (the enclosure of) that holy mausoleum, a desire for (constructing) mosque arose in his heart (then).
- (8) In between the lord (i.e., *Shāh Jahān*) and God it was ratified that there should be a mosque in memory of him.
- (9) Many revolutions of the sphere were not over when that altar of monarchs and angels
- (10) occupied the seat of emperorship and sovereignty, through divine favour,

<sup>1</sup> From the illustration the reading appears to be "کار بر در ز تنگ"—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Translation of the invocation of God by His Attributes has been omitted.

(11) girded up his loins and went ahead, not by way of formality, but through sincere intention (to put his desire into reality).

(12) By the grace of God, the work was done as desired. He laid the foundation of this mosque and it was completed.

(13) How excellent is the mosque of the king of the world which bears a stamp of the *Baitu'l-Muqaddas* !<sup>1</sup>

(14) How happy is the dignity of this house that on account of its sanctity, it is the second of the two (i.e., companion) of the Holy House (i.e., Ka'ba).

(15) It is a sacred shrine like the sanctuary of Abraham ; the tongue is dedicated to honourable mention for its description.

(16) It is considered a twin of Ka'ba ; who has beheld a mosque with such splendour and grandeur ?

(17) The sun makes a bundle out of its eyelashes<sup>2</sup> in order that he might get the honorific of 'sweeper' at this place.

(18) The Ka'ba is visible therein at the time of prayer, having opened the door of the niche towards the Holy Sanctuary.

(19) When you rub your white face<sup>3</sup> on its floor, your book of deeds becomes as white as marble.\*

(20) The indigent seeker has his heart attached therein ; its *guldasta* is the spring-time of prayers.

(21) When the king of the world (*Shāh-i-Jahān*) turned the face of supplication towards its niche, at the time of prayer,

(22) through Divine guidance, he made an altar on both the sides : he turned his face to one i.e., the *qibla* in the mosque) and his back to the other (i.e., the Mausoleum).<sup>5</sup>

(23) The world has two lovely<sup>6</sup> eyes : one is the house of Ka'ba and the other is this (i.e., the mosque).

(24) The emperor of the faith sits in the mosque ; may the Ka'ba (i.e., *Shāh Jahān*) occupy the mosque for ever.<sup>7</sup>

(25) (Here) in the mosque prayer is favoured with response<sup>8</sup> ; (therefore) happy is one who offers prayers here !

<sup>1</sup> *Baitu'l-Muqaddas* literally means Holy House and is the name given to the mosque in Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> The sun prepares a broom out of its rays.

<sup>3</sup> *Sapīd Rū* means 'fortunate'.

<sup>4</sup> Becoming white of the book of actions as against its being black means that the sins are washed away.

<sup>5</sup> The subject in the verse is "محراب" and the translation would be: Through Divine favour, the niche (was honoured) bothways; it had its back to one *qibla* (i.e., Ka'ba) and its face to another (i.e., *Shāh Jahān*).—Ed.

<sup>6</sup> *Lit.*, sitting in the pupil. (The meaning of the first hemistich is rather this : There are two eyes which sit in the pupil of the world, that is to say, there are two things in the world which it holds very dear, as one does the pupils of his eyes. The point here is that usually the pupil sits in the eye, but here the eyes sit in the pupil which means that the intended eyes are so precious that they are held dear even by the pupils.—Ed.)

<sup>7</sup> It may perhaps be better translated thus : The king of the religion sitting in the mosque (is, as if) the Ka'ba is sitting for ever in the mosque.—Ed.

<sup>8</sup> The idea is that the prayers offered in this mosque are accepted.



(26) The soul can be burned as incense at its pulpit from which the name of king of the world (*Shāh-i-Jahān*) is raised.<sup>1</sup>

(27) To the throng of people to offer prayers (here) its gate is always open as is the gate of penitence.

(28) In order that the sermon of the king may be worthy of it, it is befitting that its pulpit should be made out of the wings of angels.\*

(29) Its reservoir is full to the brim with the water of *Zam Zam*<sup>2</sup>; it is door to door<sup>3</sup> with Ka'ba through its niche.

(30) Its limpid water has (so to say) drawn a sword of wave in order to sever relations (with every thing mundane).

(31) The architect, on account of (the setting of) its stones is in such a fix (that he wonders)<sup>4</sup> if it was carved out of a single piece.

(32) Since at the behest of the Shadow of God (i.e., the king), destiny raised this edifice,

(33) men of faith recorded for its chronogram the words : *the edifice of the emperor of the surface of the world*. 1047 (A.H.).

It is evident from the inscription that *Shāh Jahān* had thought of constructing this mosque several years before his accession to the throne. This is confirmed by the fact that while yet prince *Khurram*, he had, after scoring a victory over the *Rānā* of *Udaipur*, appeared in the court of *Jahāngir* then at *Ajmer*, on Sunday, the 20th *Muharram* A. H. 1024 (9th February, 1615 A. D.)<sup>5</sup> when he first conceived the idea of constructing the mosque. On his way to *Agra*, on the 17th *Jumādī I*, A. H. 1037 (14th January, 1628 A. D.) he went to the shrine on foot like his father and grand father and issued orders for the building of a marble mosque in fulfilment of a vow which he had

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is to the reading of the sermon, containing the reigning monarch's name from the pulpit. (The idea contained in the verse is this : The pulpit, because it is the place from which the king's name is recited in sermons, is entitled to command such a high respect that if the soul is burnt before it after the fashion of the incense which is burnt as a mark of deep veneration and devoted offering, it is only proper.—Ed.)

<sup>2</sup> Hagar's well at Mecca.

<sup>3</sup> The idea is that it is very close to Ka'ba. (I think, the phrase “در برد” is composed of two parts : “در بر” meaning ‘in embrace with’ and “در” redundant preposition.—Ed.)

<sup>4</sup> See my note 1 on p. 64, where I have pointed out that the photograph of the inscription has clearly “کار بر درز” and not “کار پرداز”. Even if we read “کار پرداز” as Mr. Tirmizi has done (following probably *Akbar Jahān*, op. cit., and others), the meaning of this verse is not clear. Why should the architect be in a fix on account of the setting of its stone and wonder if it was carved out of a single piece? He could be in a fix if it were otherwise; but that is not the case here, since it appeared as if it was carved out of one piece. The fact is that the correct reading of the hemistich seems to be “ز سنگش چنان”

“کار بردرز تنگ” in which case, the meaning of the whole verse would be ‘The joints of the stone have been so overpressed (i.e., finely set together) that you may say it was carved out of one single piece’. That is to say, though the reservoir (or other parts of the mosque) have been built of different slabs of marble, they have been so finely attached together that no trace of the joints remains and hence an onlooker is led to think that perhaps the whole thing was carved out of one piece.—Ed.

<sup>5</sup> *Muhammad Sālib*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 91; *Jahāngir*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 273.



taken at the time of the Mewar campaign.<sup>1</sup> According to 'Abdu'l-Hamīd, the cost of building the mosque came to rupees forty thousand only.<sup>2</sup> According to the same authority, the emperor laid the foundation of the mosque, comprising eleven arches, the mosque proper measuring 55×10 cubits and the open space 60×14 yards. An order was also issued that the far-sighted architects and skilful sculptors should build it entirely from marble.<sup>3</sup> The above inscription also refers to the reservoir of water which is now called Jhalra.

The inscription also states that since there was no mosque in the holy mausoleum, Shāh Jahān thought of building one (v. 7). This, however, is not confirmed by historical evidence. It has been stated above that Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa had built a mosque near the Mausoleum in A. H. 860 (1455 A. D.),<sup>4</sup> while emperor Akbar had added a mosque, now called Akbarī Masjid, in about A. H. 977 (1569 A. D.).<sup>5</sup> The year A. H. 1047 (1637 A. D.), the date of completion of the mosque, is confirmed by other sources also. For example, Bibadal Khān alias Sa'īdā-i-Gilānī, and Abū Tālib Kalīm, Shāh Jahān's poet-laureate, composed a chronogram and a *qaṣīda* respectively celebrating the construction of the mosque.<sup>6</sup> However, it is curious to note that 'Abdu'l-Hamīd states that this mosque was already completed when Shāh Jahān visited Ajmer on the 7th of Rajab, A. H. 1046 (25th November, 1636 A. D.).<sup>7</sup>

Just opposite the Motī Kaṭra in the Dargāh Bāzār, there is a mosque built of red sand-stone. On its central mihrāb is fixed an inscriptional tablet cut into three horizontal panels. The first panel gives in words the year A. H. 1053 (A. D. 1643), which obviously indicates the date of the construction of the mosque. The second contains the First Creed and the third the words 'Mosque of Miā (Mainā or Minā) Bāi. The texts in the first and the third panels are executed in *Nasta'liq*, while that in the middle one is in *Naskh*. The slab, which is of marble, measures 24"×10". The epigraph has been read as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate XVI (c)

(۱) در سنه هزار و پنجاه و سه

(۲) لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله مسجد ميا بائی

## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the year one thousand and fifty-three.
- (2) There is no god but Allāh ; Muḥammad is His apostle.
- (3) Mosque of Miā (Mainā or Minā) Bā'i.

<sup>1</sup> Mu'tamad Khān, *Iqbāl Nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 304 ; 'Abdu'l-Hamīd, op. cit., vol. I, pt. i, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abdu'l-Hamīd, op. cit., pt. ii, p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pt. i, p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Abu'l-Faḍl, *AN*, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 511.

<sup>6</sup> 'Abdu'l-Hamīd, op. cit., pt. ii, p. 225. For the *qaṣīda* of Kalīm, please see Beale, *Miftāḥu't-Tauḥīd* (Kanpur, 1887), p. 362.

<sup>7</sup> 'Abdu'l-Hamīd, op. cit., pt. ii, p. 224.



About Miā Bā'i we possess no information.<sup>1</sup> But from the suffix “بائی” to the name, it appears that she belonged to the class of Kalāwants (or musicians). If so, it provides us with an interesting piece of information that the vicinity of the Dargāh was then populated by a number of musician families, some members of which (as for example the daughter of Tān Sain) constructed mosques.

The Shāh Jahānī gateway that leads to the Mausoleum is popularly known by three names: Kalima Darwāza, because the fundamental formula of Islam is inscribed on it in golden letters; Shāh Jahānī Darwāza, because the inscription on it is dated in the reign of emperor Shāh Jahān; and Naqqār Khāna, because on the gateway are kept two pairs of big drums.<sup>2</sup>

Over the gateway is fixed a marble slab measuring 8' × 1' 8" at a height of about 18 feet from the floor. The slab contains an inscription comprising the First Creed and a Persian verse stating that 'during the reign of Shāh Jahān, the sun of Faith completely removed the darkness of Infidelity'. The slab also bears the Hijra year and the regnal one, which are A. H. 1065 (1654 A. D.) and 29 respectively. The Creed which is inscribed in the middle panel is executed in *Thulth* characters, while the hemistiches occurring in the first and the third panels are engraved in *Naskh*. The inscription reads as under:—

## TEXT

## Plate XVIII (a)

(a) Middle.

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله ١٠٦٥

(b) Sides.

بمهد شاهجهان بادشاه دين پرور ز دوده ظلمت كفر آفتاب دين يکسر سنه ٢٩

<sup>1</sup> We do come across a certain Miyā (or Mayā) Bā'i in an inscription occurring on the building known as Chauburji, situated on the Multan Road in Lahore in West Pakistan. According to this epigraph, a garden—to which the aforesaid building is said to have formed an entrance—was bestowed upon Miyā (or Mayā) Bā'i through the favours of 'the elegant master, the Begum of the age':

”بگشت مرحمت اين باغ بر ميان بائی ز لطف صاحب زينبده بيگم دوران“

(In the text of this reading, quoted in Dr. Muhammad Baqir, 'The Tomb of Zibun Nisa', *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, vol. 28, no. 4, August 1952, p. 2, the name of the grantee is printed “میان بائی” but as the text of another inscription on the northern minār of the same building, as given in *ibid.* has

”ساخت میا بائی چون روضه عالی ارم“

and also, since Maulvi Nur Ahmad Chishti, *Taḥqīqāt-i-Chishtī*, Lahore, A. H. 1324, p. 570 and Sayyid Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: its History, Architectural remains and antiquities etc.*, Lahore, 1892, have given the name as “مرمیا بائی” and “میا بائی”—Miyā or Mayā Bā'i respectively, there is little doubt that the correct name is

“میا بائی” and not “میان بائی”). The Chauburji appears to have been constructed in A. H. 1056 (1646 A. D.) as mentioned in another inscription (*ibid.*).

As regards the identity of Miyā (or Mayā) Bā'i, Chishti, *op. cit.*, p. 570, and Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 190, the latter probably following the former, speak of Miyā (or Mayā) Bā'i as the wet-nurse and favourite female attendant, respectively, of Princess Zaibun-Nisā, daughter of emperor Aurangzeb. According to their account, which is claimed to have been based on the *Shāh Jahān Nāma* of Darghāmud-Dawla, an untraceable work, it was this Princess who bestowed the above-mentioned garden upon Miyā (or Mayā) Bā'i who was responsible for supervising its construction. (For further details, please see Baqir, *op. cit.*)

Any way, it is very likely that Miyā (or Mayā) Bā'i of both the Lahore and the Ajmer inscriptions is one and the same person.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> It is commonly believed that the larger of the two drums was presented to the shrine by Akbar from the spoils of Chitor. Nizāmud-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 454, mentions it as having come from the spoils of Bengal.

Inscription on the Shāh Jahānī Gateway, Ajmer, dated A. H. 1065 (p. 68)



SCALE : '07

(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 1062, same place (p. 69)



SCALE : '7





## TRANSLATION

(a) There is no God but Allāh, Muḥammad is His apostle. (A.H.) 1065.

(b) During the reign of Shāh Jahān, the religion-cherishing king, the sun of Faith has wiped away the darkness of infidelity completely. Year 29 (=A. H. 1065 or 1654 A. D.).

From the text, it is evident that the inscription commemorates the victory of Shāh Jahān over some Indian chief most probably in Rajputana. Shāh Nawāz Khān informs us that Shāh Jahān paid a visit to the holy shrine in the 28th regnal year i.e., A. H. 1064 (1653 A. D.). It was at this time that the emperor sent 'Allāmī Sa'du'llāh Khān to Chitor in order to demolish the fortifications built by Rānā Rāj Singh, son of Rānā Jagat Singh. The same authority adds that Sa'du'llāh Khān returned victorious after demolishing the old and new fortifications and bastions.<sup>1</sup> It is very likely that the present gateway was built as a memorial for the successful outcome of this campaign.

Just opposite the police station in the Dargāh Bāzār, there is a mosque which bears a very important inscription in Persian verse engraved in relief on a marble slab (1' 2" × 14") appearing over the central mihrāb at the height of about 13 feet from the floor. The script employed is *Nasta'liq*. The inscription states that the mosque was built in A. H. 1063 (1652 A. D.) by Bā'i Tilokdī Kalāwant whom the epigraph states to be the daughter of Miān Tān Sain. The record has been deciphered as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XVIII (b)

(۱) الله اكبر

(۲) اين مسجد را بائی تلوکدی

(۳) کلانوت بجی بنت میان تان سین

(۴) کلانوت دست کرده است ۱۰۶۳

## TRANSLATION

(1) God is great.

(2) This mosque, by Bā'i Tilokdī

(3) Kalāwant Bachohī (musician), daughter of Miān Tān Sain

(4) Kalāwant (in the year) A. H. 1063 (1652 A. D.), has been erected.

<sup>1</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. II, p. 447.

<sup>2</sup> Probably engraver's mistake for "کلانوت".



Thanks to this inscription, we now know that Tilokdī (Trilok Devī) was the name of the daughter of Tān Sain and that she was a musician like her father. Abu'l-Faḍl has given a short notice of Miān Tān Sain (1544-1589 A. D.), the renowned musician of the court of Akbar. He mentions the name of Tān Sain's son as Tantarang Khān,<sup>1</sup> while according to 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, the name of his son was Bilās.<sup>2</sup> Nowhere in the available material the name of his daughter is to be found.

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l-Faḍl, *AA*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 681.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, op. cit., vol. II, p. 5.

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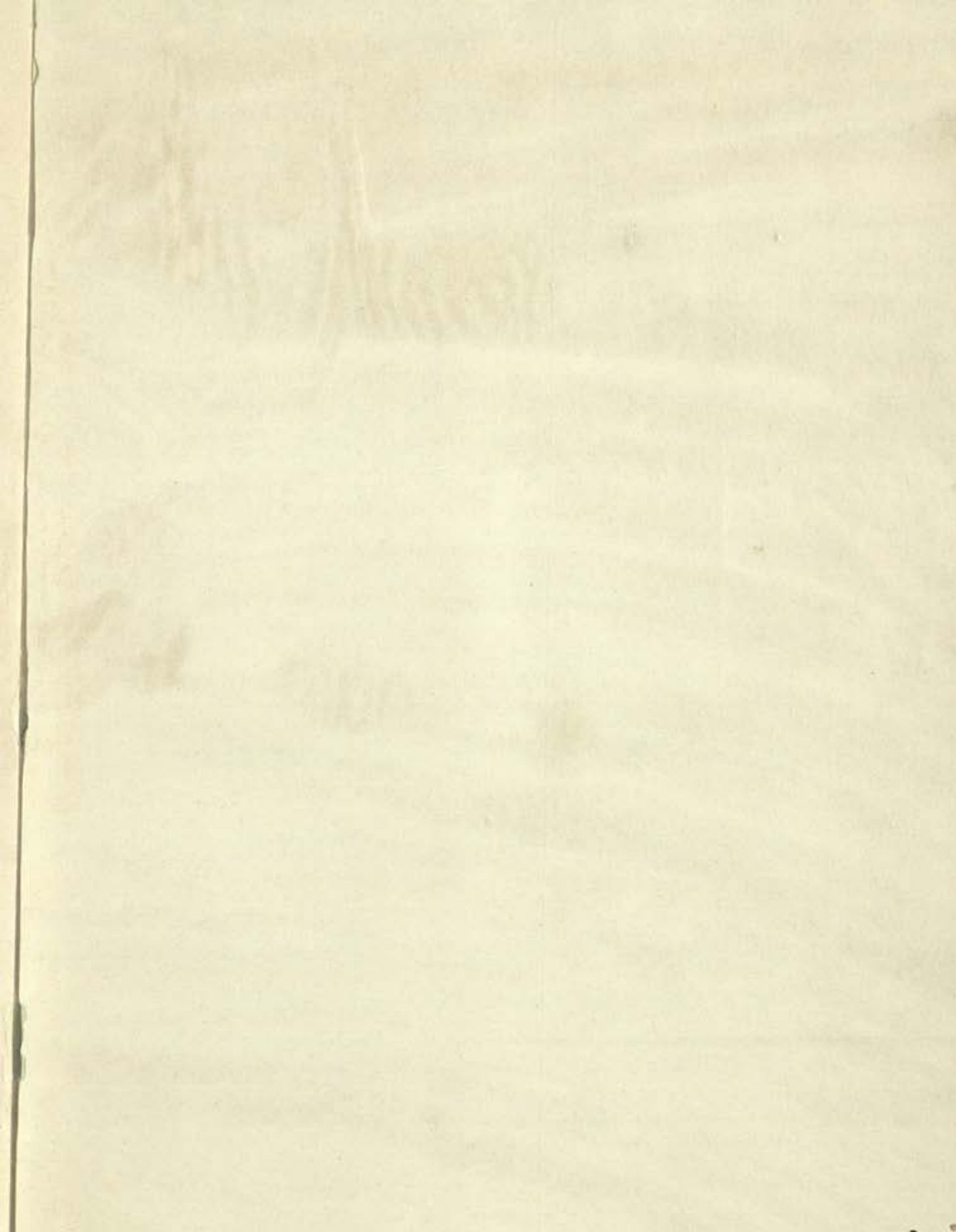
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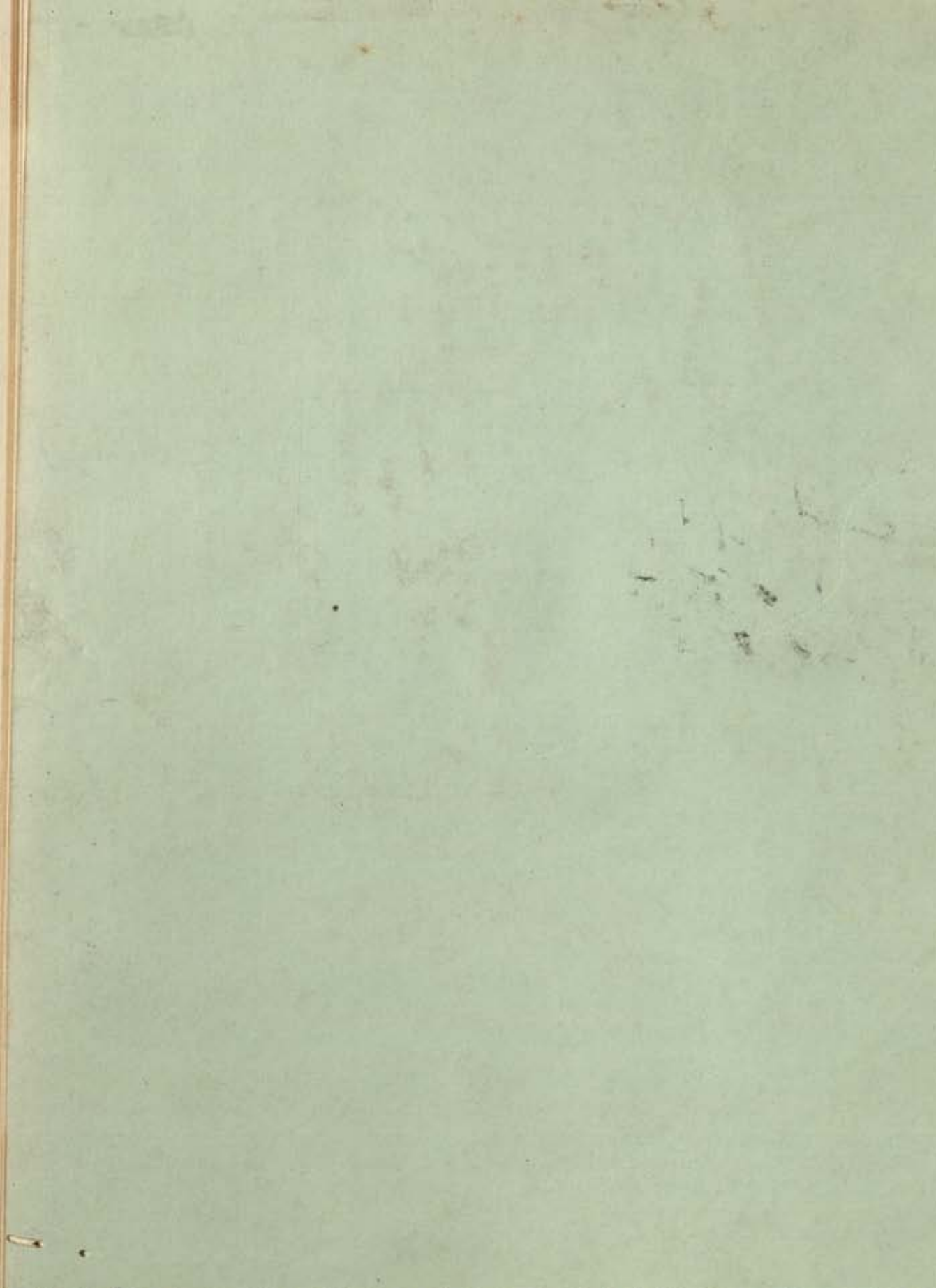
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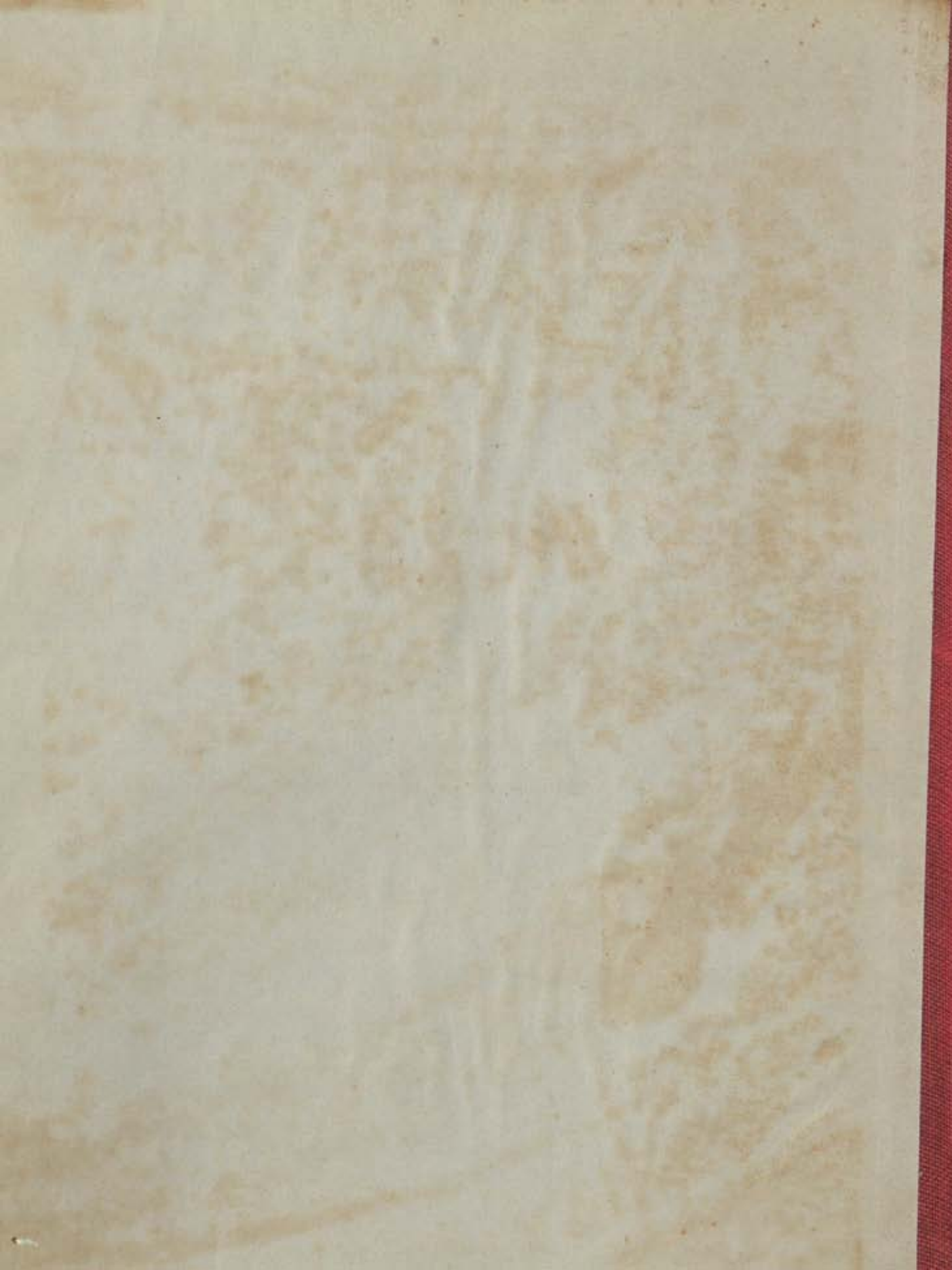












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