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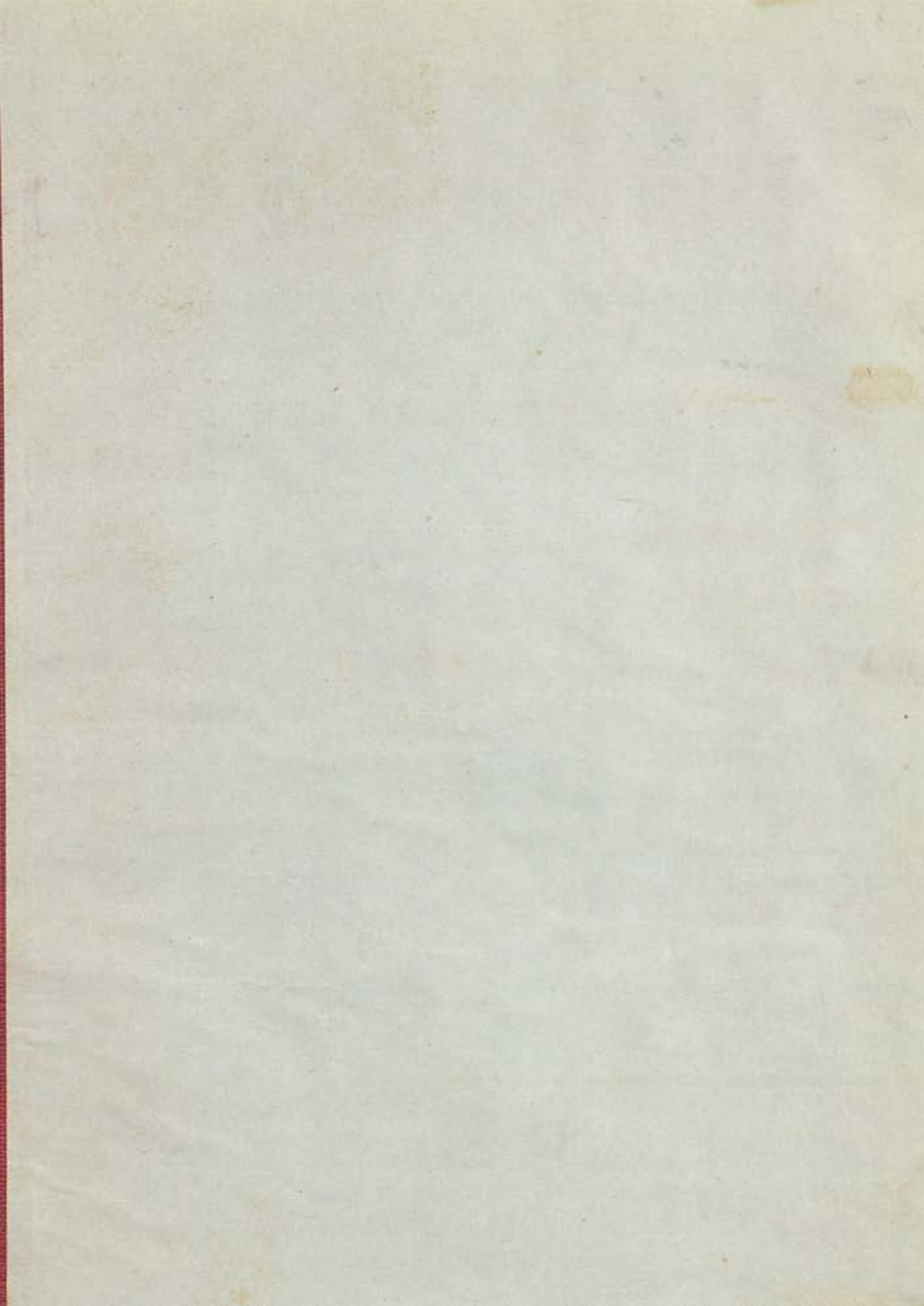
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC & PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1959-61



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

1987

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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 8th 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
1980-1987

THEORY

The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the structure of the atom. It is shown that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics, which are based on the principles of wave mechanics. The second part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of matter. It is shown that the theory of the structure of the atom can be used to explain the properties of matter, such as its electrical conductivity, its magnetic properties, and its optical properties.

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THEORY OF THE ATOM

THEORY OF THE ATOM

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1959 and 1960

EDITED BY

DR. Z. A. DESAI



Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi
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SCALE : ·08



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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

1959 and 1960

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, RED FORT, DELHI

By Y. K. BUKHARI

Of the twentyone inscriptions exhibited in this Museum, one is in Sanskrit, the rest being either in Arabic or Persian. Four of these inscriptions including the one in Sanskrit, have been already published, three in the previous issues of this series,¹ and one in the series of the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*.² The remaining seventeen have been arranged and dealt with in chronological sequence, as far as possible, in this paper.³

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

The earliest record⁴ of this group is engraved on an arch-shaped stone slab of red sandstone measuring 1'7" in width and 3'4" in height. Written in Arabic and Persian, it is executed in embossed *Naskh* characters. The first two lines at the top forming a rectangular panel comprise *Bismillāh* and Quranic verses;⁵ below this panel is another rectangular panel leaving a blank space between the two, which is inscribed with the first Muslim Creed. Next comes the bordered panel which contains a decorative *mihrāb*. On three sides of the slab runs a border inscribed with a few more Quranic verses⁶ followed by the date in words. The panel at the base of the slab contains two lines in Persian too badly damaged to admit of clear decipherment.

Information regarding the exact provenance and the monument to which the epigraph under notice belonged is somewhat confusing. It is reported to have been brought from Mehrauli near Delhi,⁷ though Cunningham believes it to have come from Okhla where another inscription of the same type was found fixed over the doorway of an old square tomb of the time of Iltutmish.⁸ According to Maulavi Muhammad Shuaib, the present epigraph belonged to a certain mosque of the time of Iltutmish, firstly because the date A.H. 608 (1211 A.D.) given in the epigraph falls in the

¹ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1913-14, pp. 11-12, 35-45, pl. III and VII; 1919-20, p. 9, pl. IV (b).

² Zafar Hasan, *Mosque of Shaikh 'Abdu'n-Nabi*, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 9 (Calcutta, 1921), p. 2, pl. III.

³ I am thankful to Dr. Z. A. Desai for the help and guidance I have received from him in the preparation of this article.

⁴ Exhibit No. 40/1001.

⁵ *Holy Qur'an*, ch. VI, v. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. III, vv. 18, 19.

⁷ *Descriptive Catalogue of the Delhi Museum (CDM)* (Delhi, 1888), p. 22, no. 821.

⁸ A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XX (Calcutta, 1885), p. 161. This tomb is not extant now and the epigraph is at present set up into the walls of the Naubat Khāna in the Red Fort, Delhi.

reign of *Iltutmish* who had ascended the throne a year earlier, and secondly because the *mihrāb* carved on the present slab conforms to the architectural feature of the *mihrābs* of the days of *Iltutmish* as indicated by the similarity between this *mihrāb* and the one found at the *Jāmi'* mosque of *Iltutmish* at Ajmer. Further, the bottom lines of the record, in *Maulavi Shuaib's* view, contained most probably the name of *Iltutmish*.¹ *J. Horovitz* who published the date portion of this inscription and its plate was also of the same opinion.² On the other hand, *Cunningham* assigned the inscription to *Qutbu'd-Dīn Aibak* whose name he claimed to have read in the bottom lines.³ Though badly damaged and difficult to decipher the full text in this part, the name of *Qutbu'd-Dīn Aibak* with a few words before and after is clearly readable. However, the record cannot belong to his reign as he had died in the previous year. It may, therefore, be presumed that the inscription which was engraved in the reign of *Iltutmish* referred to the late *Qutbu'd-Dīn* in some way. As far as I can judge, the inscription requests the visitors to offer prayers for *Qutbu'd-Dīn Aibak*. Another explanation may be that this *Qutbu'd-Dīn Aibak* is not identical with the founder of *Mamlūk* dynasty, but this appears to be a remote possibility.

TEXT

Plate I (a)

(a) Topmost lines.

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي خَلَقَ

(۲) السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَجَعَلَ الظُّلُمَاتِ وَالنُّورَ ثُمَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا بِرَبِّهِمْ يَعْدِلُونَ

(۳) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

(b) Around the arch on three sides.

شَهِدَ اللَّهُ أَنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ وَأُولُوا الْعِلْمِ قَائِمًا بِالْقِسْطِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ

إِنَّ الدِّينَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ الْإِسْلَامُ فِي شَهْرِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَسِتِّمِائَةٍ

(c) Bottom lines.

(۱) بِنْدِهِ بَرِ آورده کرد (۱)

(۲) بَقَعِهِ بَرِ سَرِ قَطْبِ الدِّينِ اِيِيَكِ رَا دَعَا كَوِيْدِ (۲)

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. 'Praise be to God, Who hath created

(2) the heavens and the earth and hath ordained the darkness and the light; nevertheless they who believe not the Lord, equalize other gods with Him.'

(3) There is no god, but Allāh; Muḥammad is the Apostle of Allāh.

¹ *J. Vogel, Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology* (Calcutta, 1908), p. 16.

² *EIM*, 1911-12, pl. XVIII, I.

³ *Cunningham*, op. cit.

(b) 'God hath borne witness that there is no god but He; and the angels, and those who are endowed with wisdom profess the same; who executeth righteousness; there is no god but He, the Mighty, the Wise. Verily, the true religion to God is Islam.' In the months of the year 608.

(c) (1) the humble slave raised.....
(2) whosoever comes over (this) place, may offer prayer for Qutbu'd-Din Aibak.

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

The next inscription¹ is engraved on a slab of red sandstone measuring 1'2" by 2'11". The slab is reported to have been originally fixed about two feet down into the west side of a well, situated about 300 yards to the east of the village of Sultanpur near Delhi.² Written in relief in the typical *Nasikh* style of the earlier period, this epigraph is also much damaged. It is dated A.H. 661 (1262-63 A.D.) and mentions the construction of a well by Šālih, the liberated slave of Badru'd-Din Ayāz Rūmī, out of his personal money. The record further states that the income accruing from the well was endowed for the mosque renowned in the city of Delhi.

M. Zafar Hasan had published the following reading of this inscription in his monumental work on the protected monuments of Delhi:³

”بنا کرد این چاه... و تعمیر کرد... از خالص مال خود...
صالح معتمد... این چاه... باین مسجد... میشود...
حاصل شود... در سال احدی و ستین و ستمایه؟“

But this reading, besides being incomplete is full of errors as will be seen from the reading given below:—

TEXT

Plate I(b)

- (۱) بنا کرد این چاه را و معمور گردانید
- (۲) از خالص مال خود بنده ضعیف صالح
- (۳) معتمد بدرالدین ایاز رومی و وقف کرد
- (۴) این چاه برای مسجدی که در شهر دهلی مشهورست
- (۵) تا بدو انچه حاصل شود چنانچه در
- (۶) وقف بگذاشت بمصرف رسد در سال احدی و ستین و ستمایه

TRANSLATION

(1-3) The weak creature Šālih, the liberated slave of Badru'd-Din Ayāz Rūmī has built this well, having met the expenditure of construction out of his personal money. And he has endowed

¹ Exhibit No. 40/1006.

² M. Zafar Hasan, *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments in Delhi Province*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1922), p. 88.

³ *Ibid.*

(4) this well for the mosque which is well known in the city of Delhi

(5-6) with a view that whatever income proceeds from it (i.e. the well), was left in endowment (for meeting the expenditure of the mosque). (This was) in the year six hundred and sixty-one (A.H. 661 or 1262-63 A.D.).

Nothing is known regarding the two personages mentioned in the record, namely, Badru'd-Dīn Ayāz Rūmī and the builder of the well, Šālīḥ. The former must have been a noble of high rank who unfortunately finds no place in the pages of contemporary annals. The date of the record falls in the reign of Nāṣirū'd-Dīn Maḥmūd of the Mamlūk dynasty who ruled from 1246 to 1266 A.D.

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

The tablet bearing this inscription¹ is a slab of red sandstone measuring 3'8" by 1'6" and contains one line of writing in Arabic, executed in bold *Naskh* letters in relief. It is undated and fragmentary and the extant portion of the epigraph contains merely the laudatory titles of the monarch who is probably none other than 'Alāu'd-Dīn *Khalji*.² The purport of the record is not clear from the text, nor do we know anything about the original findspot of the slab except that it was previously lying loose at Mehrauli near Delhi in the mosque of Maulānā Majdu'd-Dīn, which is a monument of the *Mughal* period.³ It is obvious that the epigraph cannot be contemporary with the said mosque. The text of the inscription has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate I(c)

مجدد اساس اركان عالم مجلس اعلى شهنشاه عالم غازى اعظم علاء الدنيا و الدين غياث

الـ [لام]

TRANSLATION

The founder of the basis of pillars of the Universe, Majlis-i-A'lā, Emperor of the world, most exalted *Ghāzī* 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, helper of Is[lām].....

INSCRIPTION NO. 4

This inscription is carved on a slab of grey stone measuring 2'11½" in length and 1'8" in breadth.⁴ It was originally set up on the west wall of the western *dālān* in a *khānqāh* in the village of Sayyidul-Ajaib near Delhi.⁵ Beginning with *Bismillāh*, the record consists of seven lines of Arabic in verse form, incised in *Naskh* characters of an ordinary type. It does not bear any date, but from the text of the record which forms a prayer to God invoking divine help, it appears that a water tank was constructed. Its importance lies in the fact that the supplicator who ordered the construction of the tank is Ma'rūf, a famous noble, holding the post of the Chief of Chamberlains under Firūz Tughluq.

¹ Exhibit No. 40/1004.

² These titles are also to be found in 'Alāu'd-Dīn's inscriptions on the 'Alā'i Darwāza at Quṭb (*EIM*, 1917-18, pp. 24-29).

³ J. F. Blakiston, *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology* (Calcutta, 1926), p. 5; Zafar Hasan, op. cit., p. 121.

⁴ Exhibit No. 40/1005.

⁵ For an account of the *khānqāh*, see Zafar Hasan, op. cit., vol. III, p. 121, who says: The inscription is not dated and consists only of a few Arabic verses in prayer to God from Ma'rūf.

- (a) Undated inscription of a tank, from Sayyidul-Ajaib, near Delhi (p. 5)



SCALE : .15

- (b) Inscription of a step-well, dated A.H. 923, in the reign of Sikandar Lodi, from Kotla Mubarakpur, Delhi (p. 8)



SCALE : .17

This is partially confirmed by the fact that the inscription was found at the village of Sayyidul-Ajaib, which being apparently a corrupt form of Sayyidu'l-Hujjāb was associated with Ma'rūf who may have owned it or resided there. This would assign the inscription to the reign of Firūz Tughluq or the second half of the fourteenth century A.D. The text of the record¹ reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate II(a)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ - دَعَوْتُكَ رَبَّنَا الْحَقَّ الْمُبِينَا وَ اسأل حاجتى بك مستعينا
(٢) فإن لم يسئل الانسان تغضب و وعدك ان نجيب السائلينا
و نهر السائلين كرهت دى و نحن السائلون اليك جئنا
(٣) عطاشا عارضين عليك كسا بلا ماء فارو العطاشينا
و كسى فى يدى هذا الغدير اريد الماء رب العالمينا
(٤) اذا ما العاجز الظمان ياتى و يرجو الماء باب المحسنينا
يصبوا فى اناء العذب لطفنا و رفقا يا كريم العاجزيننا
(٥) فانت احق بالاحسان حقا علينا يا ملاذ^٢ الملازكيننا
فماء المزن اصيب فى غديرى مداما كان بالابد القريننا
(٦) اى المعروف عبدك يا كريمى ترحم انت خير الراحميننا
انا العبد الفقير بباب ربى و انت الله مغنى العائلينا
(٧) فعمال العبد عصيان و جرم و منك كمال ستر المعرمينا
و يا رب ارف عنا ما جئنا الهى لا تواخذ ان تسينا

TRANSLATION

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

I invoke Thee, O our Truthful and Evident Lord ; and I beg to refer to you my need, O You from whom help is sought !

(2) For, if the men do not supplicate, Thou might get angry, while Thy promise is that 'We respond to (the prayers of) the supplicants'.

O my Master ! Thou disliketh the chiding of the supplicants (and) now we are supplicants before Thee,

¹ Bashirud-Din Ahmad, *Wāqī'āt-i-Dāru'l-Hukūmat-i-Dihli*, vol. II (Agra, 1919), pp. 373-74, has also given an incomplete reading of this epigraph.

² This word is clearly so in the estampage, but the hemistich does not conform to the metre which is a variation of "هزج"; the engraver seems to have made some mistake here. Could "الملاذئينا" be the intended word ?

(3) thirsty, and presenting our goblet without water towards Thee; so please, quench our thirst.

And my cup in my hand is (nothing but) this tank; (in other words) I desire water (for the tank), O our Lord of the worlds!

(4) O You who are generous to the helpless creatures! When any helpless and thirsty (person) comes to the door of the munificent in the hope of getting some water, they pour sweet water into his pot by way of kindness and grace.

(5) (As compared to them) Thou art most capable of favouring us, O Protector of those who seek refuge!

Cause rainy water to fill this tank of mine for ever so that it remains (full) till eternity.

(6) O Generous Lord! Have mercy on Thy slave Ma'rūf, for Thou art the best of the Merciful!

I am the destitute slave standing at the door of my Lord, while Thou art Allāh, the enricher of the pauper!

(7) Sins and crimes come from the creatures while complete concealment of crimes is Thy grace.

O Master, forgive us the sinners! O my God, do not reckon strictly if we have forgotten!

Ma'rūf, entitled *Sayyidu'l-Hujjāb*¹ (the chief of chamberlains) was the son of Khwāja Waḥīd Quraishī. Both the father and the son were the disciples of Ḥaḍrat Nizāmud-Dīn Auliya. When on the birth of Ma'rūf, his father had brought him before the saint who was then performing his ablutions, the latter had put a little water into his mouth and given him the name Ma'rūf.

Ma'rūf was a pious and God-fearing man, well-versed in theology and other sciences. In the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, he was made 'Imādu'l-Mulk and was later favoured with the title of *Sayyidu'l-Hujjāb* by Firūz Shāh Tughluq who, impressed by his sagacity, sincerity and merits made him his Privy Counsellor (*nadīm*). A staunch follower of the tenets of Islam, he devoted most of his time to the perusal of the commentaries of the Qur'ān and led a pious life.²

INSCRIPTION NO. 5

The slab of granite stone³ which measures 1'10" by 3'4", was originally found half buried in the old step-well in a certain garden in the village Lado Sarai, near Delhi.⁴ It bears an inscription of twelve lines, first two of which contain the Muslim creed and *Bismillāh*, while the last has merely the word "آمین". The remaining nine lines are of historical interest. The epigraph executed in *Naskh* letters in relief is too badly damaged to admit of a correct and complete reading, but

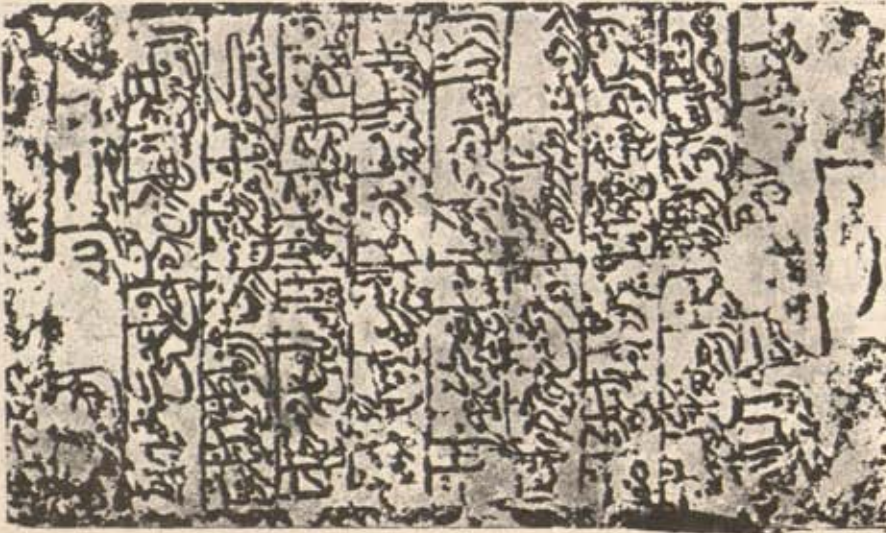
¹ For the status and duties etc., of *Sayyidu'l-Hujjāb* which was the title usually conferred upon most trusted nobles or the princes of royal blood, see Dr. I. H. Quraishi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (Lahore, 1942), pp. 59-60.

² For a detailed notice, see Shams Sirāj 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 445-51. Ma'rūf seems to have been endowed with poetic talents. The present inscription affords a specimen of his Arabic poetry while his poetical gift in Persian can be judged from the inscription from the arcaded building on the southern side of the step-well in Ḥaḍrat Nizāmud-Dīn Auliya's tomb. This inscription which confirms the fact that the name Ma'rūf was given to him by the saint, has been noticed in Zafar Hasan, *Guide to Nizamud-Din*, Mem. Arch. Sur. of Ind., no. 10, Calcutta, 1922, pp. 9-10, where a detailed account of his life is given. It is also worth-while to note that the calligraphy of both the Arabic and Persian inscriptions is the same and hence, the Arabic inscription may have been engraved in or about A.H. 781, the date of the Persian inscription.

³ Exhibit No. 40/1003.

⁴ Zafar Hasan, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 117-18.

(a) Inscription of step-well, dated A.H. 840, from Lado Sarai, near Delhi (p. 7)



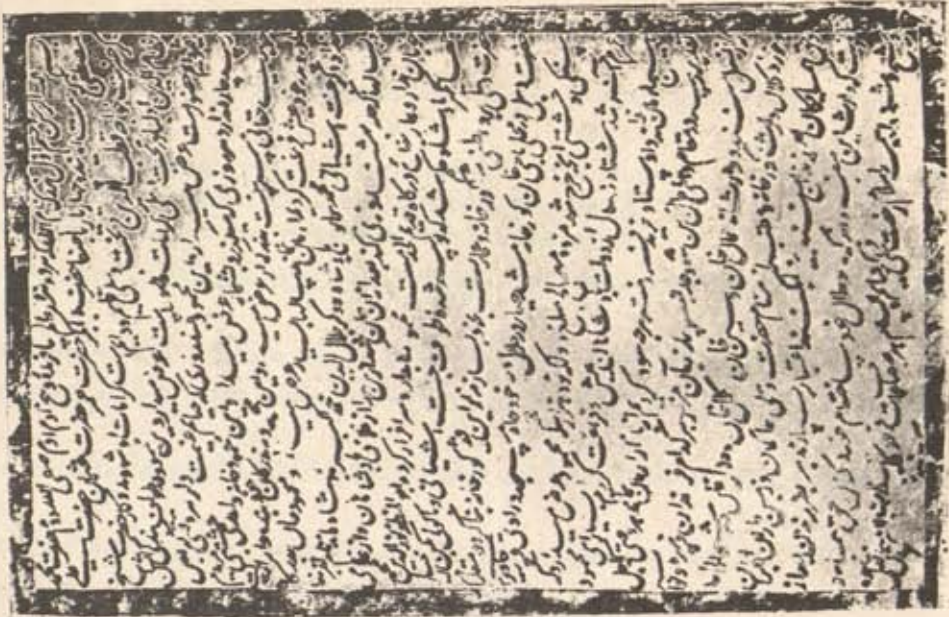
SCALE : 13

(b) Inscription of Jahāngīr's reign, from a well at Anākpur, near Delhi (p. 10)



SCALE : 14

(c) Inscription, dated A.H. 1022, from near the Dargah of Badrat Nizāmū'd-Dīn, Delhi (p. 13)



SCALE : 18

whatever could be deciphered seems to refer to the repairs carried out to the step-well at the instance of one *Khawāja Bū Sa'id*. The inscription is dated Monday, the 24th *Shawwāl*, A.H. 840 (1st May, 1437 A.D.)¹ which falls in the reign of *Sultān Muḥammad Shāh* of the Sayyid dynasty. As regards *Khawāja Bū Sa'id*, no information is available. The text has been deciphered by me as follows² :—

TEXT

Plate III (a)

- (۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
- (۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- (۳) آب این باین کے بخشد جان توان در مرده تن
- آب خضرو باد عیسی گر بخواندش رواست
- (۴) چشمه کوثر کے جاری هست در باغ بہشت
- در دعایش مرزمان طوبی لہ گویان چوماست (؟)
- (۵) چاہ زمزم وصف آن چشمہ چو از حجاج خواند
- گفت تا این باین از خاک صفا و مرحباست (؟)
- (۶) چونک اندر آئینہ (؟) صور
- در برایش عثمان
- (۷) از کرامات سعید دھر خواجہ بو سعید
- شد مرمت اینچنین چشمہ کے
- (۸) در دوشنبہ از مہ شوال بودہ بست چار
- بدور رس خواجہ بود خود راست
- (۹) کز طریقت ساختہ بود خواجہ
- شیخ ؟ مسعود را مریدے باصفاست
- (۱۰) ہصد و چہل سال و
- بودہ است از
- (۱۱) همچو لطف الله
- خیر جاری را ز لطافت ماست
- (۱۲) آمین

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 117, reads the date as 804 A.H.

² Due to the damaged state of the epigraph, it is difficult to make out the full text and give its translation.

INSCRIPTION NO. 6

This is a bilingual inscription¹ carved on a slab of black marble (2' by 1' 6") which is said to have been discovered at the village of Mubarakpur Kotla in Delhi.² The right portion of the slab contains an inscription in Persian prose engraved in embossed *Naskh* letters in seven lines assigning the construction of a well during the reign of Sikandar *Shāh* of the Lodī dynasty to one *Shaikh* Sikandar, son of *Shaikh* Bāyazīd, son of *Shaikh* Yaḥyā *Shīrānī* and Bībī Murād *Khātūn*, daughter of Dilāwar *Khān Shīrwānī* and wife of the said *Shaikh*. The construction is said to have been carried out at the instance and support of Bībī 'Āishā, daughter of Sultān Buhlūl and a disciple of the above-mentioned *Shaikh*. The epigraph, which is dated the 20th *Ṣafar*, A.H. 923 (14th March, 1517 A.D.), has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate II (b)

- (۱) بناء این عمارت چاه در عهد دولت شاه کفار شکن اسلام
 (۲) پناه المجاهد فی سبیل الله سکندر شاه بن بهلول شاه
 (۳) سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه دریافت ثواب
 (۴) این خیر جاری شیخ سکندر بن شیخ بایزید بن شیخ یحیی شیرانی
 (۵) و بیبی مراد خاتون بنت دلاور خان شیروانی اتباع شیخ مذکور
 (۶) فرمایش و دال برین خیر بیبی عائشه بنت سلطان بهلول
 (۷) مرید شیخ سکندر مذکور العشرین من صفر سنه ثلاث عشرین و تسمایه

TRANSLATION

- (1) Foundation of the construction of this well (was laid down) during the reign of the king, (who is) the conquerer of infidels, the Shelter of Islām,
 (2) Warrior in the path of God, Sikandar *Shāh*, son of Buhlūl *Shāh*.
 (3) Sultān, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in order to get reward
 (4) (for) this ever-flowing bounty by *Shaikh* Sikandar, son of *Shaikh* Bāyazīd, son of *Shaikh* Yaḥyā *Shīrānī*
 (5) and Bībī Murād *Khātūn*, daughter of Dilāwar *Khān Shīrwānī*, wife of the above-mentioned *Shaikh*
 (6-7) (and this charitable work was done at) the instance and under advice of Bībī 'Āishā, daughter of Sultān Buhlūl who is the disciple of the said *Shaikh* Sikandar. (Dated) the 20th of the month of *Ṣafar*, year A.H. 923 (14th March, 1517 A.D.).

To the left of the Persian inscription is a Sanskrit record with almost the same contents as above. The Sanskrit text which comprises fifteen lines incised on the stone in *Nāgarī* alphabet, with one line carved at the bottom of the slab, is cited below in Roman characters.³

¹ Exhibit No. 40/1009.

² Blakiston, op. cit., p. 5, No. B-14.

³ The Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, has kindly supplied, on request, the transcript of the Sanskrit version along with a note on it.

TEXT

- 1 || Symbol || Samvat 1573 varshe vasanta-ritau chaitra-mā[se]
- 2 Kṛishṇa-pakshe | saptamyām tithau | śani-bā(vā)re | mūla-naksh-
- 3 atre | Variyān nāma yoge || akhaṇḍa-ājñā-pravi(ti)pā-
- 4 laka | ma(sa) [ma]gr-aisva(śva)rya-kalita suratrāṇa-śrī-Va(Ba)ha-
- 5 lola-va(ta)naya-pātisāha-Śrī-Sikaṇḍara-vija-
- 6 ya-rājye || Sesha-Ahiā-[s]uta-Bājida-mu-
- 7 vta(suta ?)-sesha-Sikaṇḍara | Serātī-gotre | tasya bhā-
- 8 ryā bibī-Murādi-shātū śrī-Dilāvara-khāta(na)-
- 9 putrī | Saravāṇī-gotriya | Murāde-Puny-ā(ṇy-ā)-
- 10 rtham sva-puny-ā(ṇy-ā)rtham cha | bibī-śrī-Āsā pāti-
- 11 °śrī-Bahalola[h*] tat-sutā Śrī-Sikaṇḍa-
- 12 rasya-bhagnī | tayā kārāpito (kārito)=yam kū-
- 13 paḥ | ā-chandr-ārkaṇ namdatu sa-bhrārṭī(-ṭī)-bhrā-
- 14 tra(ṭī)vyo(vyā)ś=cha || Sana 923 māha Sa-
- 15 pha[ra] terika 20 || maṅgalyam bhavatu ||

Contents

"The inscription bears the dates : Vikrama Samvat 1573, Chaitra-badi 7, Saturday : Hijri San 923, 20th of Saphara, corresponding to the 14th March, 1517 A.D. It was incised during the reign of Pātisāha Sikandara, son of Suratrāṇa Bahalola. There was a person named Sekha Sikandara who belonged to the Serātī¹ family and was the son of Bājida, son of Sekha Ahiā. His wife was Murādi Khātū who was the daughter of Dilāvara Khāna of the Saravāṇī family. Lady Āsā, daughter of Pātisāha Bahalola and sister of Sikandara, caused a well to be excavated for the merit of the said Murādi (Murāde) and of herself."

While nothing is traceable in the available historical records about the different personages mentioned in the above inscription, namely Shaikh Sikandar, his wife Bibi Murād Khātūn who was the daughter of Dilāwar Khān Shīrwānī and Āisha, daughter of Buhlul Lodi, it is obvious that they belonged to the illustrious group of royalty, nobility and saintly order. Is it not surprising that even Āisha should have been ignored by contemporary and later writers ? Our inscription is thus the only record to preserve the name of this princess who seems to have been a philanthropic, God-fearing, religious-minded and generous lady of her time. Incidentally,

¹ The "ṭ" in Serātī is obviously the engraver's mistake for "ṇ".

reference to another daughter of Buhlul Lodī, namely Subhān, is found in an inscription at Sarhind in East Panjab, which gives her date of death A.H. 901 or 22 years before the date of the epigraph under notice.¹

INSCRIPTION NO. 7

This record is embossed on a sandstone slab (1'3" × 2'5")² which was originally fixed into a well in the village Arakpur, Bāgh Mochī, Delhi.³ It comprises a Persian inscription in prose in seven lines, executed in crude *Nasikh* characters. The inscription is damaged at several places, particularly in the portion bearing the date which is not clearly readable. The epigraph records the construction of a well in the reign of emperor Jahāngīr by Rām Rāi, son of Mulūk Chand of Rohtak, whose surname was Mochī, after which perhaps the garden was so named. It may be pointed out that Zafar Hasan calls the builder Rām Dās⁴ whereas the epigraph clearly names him Rām Rāi. The inscription has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate III (b)

- این چاه (۱)
 دام راے (۲)
 بن ملوکچند (۳)
 رهنکی خطاب (۴)
 موچی در (۵)
 عهد پادشاه (۶)
 جهانگیر سنه [۹۲۳] ۱۰ (۷)

TRANSLATION

- (1) This well (was constructed)
 (2) by Rām Rāi,
 (3) son of Mulūk Chand
 (4) of Rohtak, surnamed
 (5) Mochī, in
 (6) the reign of king
 (7) Jahāngīr, (in the) year 10(23 ?) (1614 15 A.D.).

¹ C. J. Rodgers, *Revised List of Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab* (Lahore, 891), p. 55.

² Exhibit No. 40/1035.

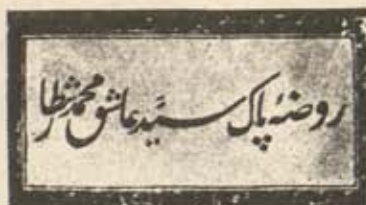
³ Zafar Hasan, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 216.

(a) Jahāngīr's inscription of a bridge, dated A.H. 1031, from Salimgarh fort, Delhi (p. 11)



SCALE : ·13

(b) Inscription of the tomb of Sayyid
'Ashiq Muhammad Shattār, from
Purānā Qal'a, Delhi (p. 16)



SCALE : ·07

(c) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1080, on a stone-vessel (p. 17)



SCALE : ·25

INSCRIPTION NO. 8

This inscription¹ is carved on a slab of white marble measuring 3' 9" by 1' 8½" which was set up on the west side of the bridge of Salimgarh, to the north of the Red Fort, before its removal to the Museum.² The epigraph is written in Persian verse and executed in elegant *Nasta'liq* letters incised on the stone. The slab is well carved and decorated, having been divided into square and rectangular panels alternately. The epigraph assigns the construction of a bridge to the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr in his 17th regnal year corresponding to A.H. 1031 (1621 A.D.), the work having been supervised by Husain Chalapī. The name of the calligraphist who designed the inscription is Sharif.

Salimgarh fort (only the rampart) was built in A.H. 953 (1546 A.D.) by Salim Shāh, son of Sher Shāh, after whom the fort derives its name.³ It is situated on the west bank of the river Jamuna at the north end of the Red Fort. The bridge referred to in the epigraph was constructed in front of the southern gate of Salimgarh and was replaced by the Railway bridge in recent times. The record reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate IV (a)

جل جلاله		بحکم پادشاه هفت کشور		(۱) الله اکبر
یا فتاح		شهنشاه بعدل و داد و تدبیر		
یا فیاض		جهانگیر ابن شاهنشاه اکبر		(۲) یا ناصر
یا حی		که شمشیرش جهانرا کرد تسخیر		
جلوس		چون این پل گشت در دهلی مرتب		(۳) سنه ۱۰۳۱
جهانگیری		که وصفش را نشاید کرد تحریر		
حسین چلبے		پی تاریخ اتماش خرد گفت		(۴) باهتمام
کتبه شریف		پل شاهنشاه دهلی جهانگیر		

۱۰۳۱

TRANSLATION

(a) Square panels.

(1) God is great, may His glory be great ! O Opener !

¹ Exhibit No. 40/1023.

² Carr Stephen, *Archaeology of Delhi*, Simla, 1876, p. 196; Sayyid Ahmad, *Ā'īn-i-Sā'adāt* (1848), ch. II, p. 42; Zafar Hasan, op. cit., vol. I, p. 7. There was another Persian inscription of Jahāngīr's reign built up on the east side of the same bridge according to Sayyid Ahmad, op. cit.

³ For references to Salimgarh which was also called Nūrgaḍh in the Mughal period (Sayyid Ahmad, op. cit., p. 41), please see Abu'l-Faḍl, *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, vol. I, Eng. trans. by Blochmann (Calcutta, 1873), p. 415; *Tārīkh-i-Firāqat*, pt. I (Lucknow, 1905), p. 230; Sayyid Ahmad, op. cit.; Carr Stephen, op. cit.

⁴ This word ought to have been "شهنشاهی".

(2) O Helper! O Bountiful! O Living!

(3) 17th regnal year of Jahāngīr (1621 A.D.).

(4) Under the superintendence of Ḥusain Chalapī (and) written by Sharif.

(b) *Main text.*

(1) By the command of the king of the seven climes, (who is) an emperor in respect of justice, equity and deliberation,

(2) Jahāngīr, son of emperor Akbar, whose sword has subdued the whole world,

(3) when in Delhi was constructed this bridge whose description cannot be given in writing,

(4) for the date of its completion, Wisdom said, '(It is) the bridge of the emperor of Delhi, *Jahāngīr*'. Year 1031 (A.H. or 1621 A.D.).¹

INSCRIPTION NO. 9

This inscription² is engraved on a slab of white marble of the size of 1'7" × 2'7", which is said to have been found lying loose near the Dargāh of Ḥaḍrat Nizāmu'd-Dīn Auliya in 1904 A.D., when the Agra Canal was dug.³ The epigraph which is cut in raised *Nasta'liq* letters comprises 23 lines of writing in Persian prose containing many grammatical mistakes. In the words of Mr. Irvine, 'the composition is rambling and confused. Much seems to be an attempt at rhyming prose and this accounts for the number of extraordinary inversions in the order of the words'.⁴

The epigraph mentions the three early Mughal emperors, viz. Humāyūn, Akbar and Jahāngīr and pretends to recount the life and activities of Maḥmūd Khān, a stirrup-holder, who lived during the reigns of the aforesaid kings. The inscription begins with *Bismi'llāh* which is followed by the praise of God, Adam, the Holy Prophet, his four Companions, Khawāja Quṭbu'd-Dīn and Nizāmu'd-Dīn Auliya, the well-known patron-saint of Delhi to whose *dargāh* Maḥmūd was greatly attached. The inscription further states that Maḥmūd Khān who was a disciple of Khawāja 'Alī Ḥaqqānī of the Chishtiya order, was in his old age asked by emperor Jahāngīr to go to Delhi, settle there, serve in the tomb of Humāyūn and also build his own tomb. Accordingly, he built a *Gor Khāna* (family grave-yard), a well, a mosque and a rest-house surrounded by four walls of stone and brick in the *maḥalla* (or place) known as Bāji Khān, the total expenditure having been 290,000 ṭankas. Maḥmūd bequeathed these buildings to his heirs, i.e. sons and grandsons, namely Jamāl Khān, Ḥusain Khān, Kamāl Khān, Jalāl Khān and Khūshhāl Khān. The copyist of the inscription is 'Abdu'n-Nabī.

The date portion after the word "هزار" is covered with one inch-broad iron nail that has fixed the inscriptional slab into the wall. The *Catalogue* reads the date "هزار و دو" (one thousand and two) which is very much doubtful as it does not fall in the reign of Jahāngīr.⁵ Personally I think, Mr. Irvine is right when he maintains that the date ought to be read A. H.

¹ For the text as well as translation of this inscription, see Sayyid Ahmad op. cit., p. 42; Carr Stephen, op. cit., p. 196; Vogel, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

² Exhibit No. 40/1022.

³ Blakiston, op. cit., p. 8, No. C-17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39. (Now that the slab has been dislodged, the reading of the *Catalogue* has been found to be correct.—Ed.)

10[2]2, as it would fall in Jahāngīr's reign.¹ At several other places also, the reading given in the *Catalogue* is not accurate. The text of the epigraph is given below :—

TEXT

Plate III (c)

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اول بزرگ نام الله که هژده هزار عالم بیافریده و بیخ آدم آدم صلی الله دوم حضرت محمد
- (۲) مصطفی که امت اویند و چهاریار با صفا حضرت ابابکر حضرت عمر حضرت عثمان حضرت علی
- (۳) ذکر حضرت خواجه قطب الدین [د] تخت دهلی قایم و دایم است کرامات او شود مددگار حضرت شیخ
- (۴) نظام الدین اولیا در تخت دهلی کرامات [ا] و ظهور [د] ست عرض میدارد [ا] بن محمود در طواف بندگی ایشان
- (۵) فقیر دایم حضور است عرض میدارد این محمود چند روزی که حیاتم غنیمت دارد هروقتی که اجل
- (۶) رسد چاره ندارد هر روزی که میگردد بشمار عرض میدا [د] این محمود خانه واحدی چشتی مریدم
- (۷) خواجه علی حقانی پیر منست بزرگوار عرض میدارد این محمود به بزرگان خود بنده وار از دولت
- (۸) مادر و پدر خود عیش فراغت کردیم ارمان نماند سالها بسیار عرض میدارد محمود خان بدرگه خدا و ذکر
- (۹) جنت آشیانی محمد همایون بادشاه و ذکر جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه ماند نام بقرنها
- (۱۰) و بسالها که حله بهشت روزی کند بعد ازان جان شد از تن جدا از غلامی پادشاهان و از غلامی
- (۱۱) خوبان ندارد عار بنده درگاه قدیم الخدمت محو [د] رکاب دار و سر افراز کرده ابوالمظفر نورالدین محمد
- (۱۲) جهانگیر پادشاه حکم شد که تو پیر شده طواف جنت آشیانی و باکولی (?) بکن اختیار

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38, f.n.

(۱۳) حضرت دهلی برو وطنی شو گورخانه و عمارت بخود بساز بنابراین ققیر گورخانه
بنا کرد در مقام

(۱۴) حضرت دهلی در محلی باجی خان گورخانه شد طیار در حلال وجه خود چاه مسجد
و راوی و چار دیواری

(۱۵) سنگی و خستای آنچه خرج شد مزد و مصالح ببلغ دو لکه نود هزار تنکه محمود
عرض میدارد که

(۱۶) عمرم آخر شد هشتادنه سال از دولت پادشاهان عیش و فراغت کردیم بسیار ای محمود

(۱۷) هیچ ارمان نماند داد ستاد خرید فروخت هرچه سود [۱] کردیم از بازار ارمان نماند
هر وقتی که اجل

(۱۸) تقدیر رسد در مقام دهلی جان از تن شود جدا بپارند بآن مزار هر کدام فرزندان
و تیره نواسه

(۱۹) که از نسل منند و وارثانند جمال خان و حسین خان و کمال خان و جلال
خان و خوشحالخان

(۲۰) و خورد و کلان وارث گورخانه و مقبره [ه] اند مقام حضرت دهلی حاکمان و
زمین داران اکابران

(۲۱) و حق همسایگان بفرزندان منند برین بکنند اعتبار بپارند بر بفرزندان بعد از

(۲۲) فوت که وارث این مقبره اند که وجه حلال خود ساخته ام خورد و کلان حق همسایه و

(۲۳) و شیخ و شیخ زاده همه را سلام رخصت دهلی گرفته ایم والسلام هرچه صاحب عمارت

فرمود کاتب الحروف [عبد] النبی همان نقل نموده

سنه هزار...

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement. Firstly, great is the name of God who has created the eighteen thousand worlds and the seed of man, Adam, the chosen (friend) of God; secondly, (the Prophet) Muhammad

(2) the chosen, whose followers are all men; and the four select friends, Ḥaḍrat Abū Bakr, Ḥaḍrat 'Umar, Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān and Ḥaḍrat 'Alī.

(3) The mention of Ḥaḍrat Khwāja Qutbu'd-Dīn in the seat of Delhi is perpetual, may his kindnesses be a source of help!

¹ One "و" is redundant.

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(4-5) (As regards) Ḥaḍrat Shaikh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Auliya in the seat of Delhi, his kindnesses are evident. Humbly says this Maḥmūd who is ever present in the performance of their service.

Says this Maḥmūd : Value the few days of the (present) life. When death

(6) approaches, there would be no remedy. Count each day which passes away. States this Maḥmūd : I am the disciple of the house of the Chishtī order.

(7) Khawāja 'Alī Ḥaqqānī is my spiritual guide. Says this Maḥmūd to his elders humbly : Through the

(8) good wishes of my father and mother I have so much enjoyed my life for so many years that no desire whatever is left unfulfilled. Humbly Maḥmūd Khān prays to the court of

(9) God : May the name of Jannat Āshyānī emperor Muḥammad Humāyūn and the name of emperor Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar be perpetuated for many centuries

(10-11) and years and may they be given the robes of paradise after the soul (has) departed from the body. This old slave of the court, Maḥmūd, the stirrup-holder, does not feel any shame in serving the kings and the good. (He) is exalted by the emperor Abu'l-Muẓaffar Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad

(12) Jahāngīr who said, 'You have grown old ; serve in the mausoleum of Jannat Āshyānī (Humāyūn) and assume the attendance (?) there ;

(13) go to Delhi, live there ; build your graveyard and house there'. (Consequently), this humble slave (Maḥmūd) built a graveyard in the capital of

(14) Delhi in the *maḥalla* of Bājī Khān ; it was built with honestly earned money together with a well, a mosque and a rest-house and four walled enclosure

(15) of stone and brick. The total amount of expenses, on labour as well as material, was two lacs and ninety thousand (290,000) ṭankas. Says Maḥmūd :

(16) Being 89 years old, I have come near the end. I have passed my life in ease and comfort, through the kindness of kings. O Maḥmūd,

(17) no wish is left unfulfilled ; after whatever giving and taking, buying and selling, (in short) all bargains we have done in the market-place (of the world), no more is to be done now. When the time of death

(18) comes near and the soul leaves the body in the seat of Delhi, the body should be interred in that cemetery. (My) sons and grandsons

(19) who are my descendants and heirs, namely Jamāl Khān, Ḥusain Khān, Kamāl Khān, Jalāl Khān, and Khūshhāl Khān

(20) and small and big will inherit the cemetery and the tomb. In the seat of Delhi, the officers, the landholders, the elders

(21) and the neighbours should respect this wish and entrust these to my sons, for after

(22) (my) death they are my heirs and deserve the possession of this tomb which was built by me with honestly earned money. The small and the big, the neighbours,

(23) the Shaikhs and the sons of the Shaikhs, to all I say my greeting and ask the permission to leave Delhi (for ever). Whatsoever the owner of the building said, the writer of the letters 'Abdu'n-Nabī has copied (on the stone).

(24) Year thousand (and twenty two ?).

INSCRIPTION NO. 10

This is a slab¹ of red sandstone (2'3"×1'3½") bearing a Persian inscription in one line executed in elegant *Nasta'liq* characters in relief. It was found among the debris during excavations at Purana Qal'a in Delhi in the year 1914.² The text of the record merely refers to the tomb of one Sayyid 'Āshiq Muḥammad Shattār and contains no date, but from the style of calligraphy, it may be assigned to the late Mughal period. As regards Sayyid 'Āshiq Muḥammad Shattār, nothing is known from available sources, but from the suffix Shattār, it is reasonable to hold that he belonged to the order of the Shattāris.³ The text of the inscription reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IV(b)

روضه پاک سید عاشق محمد شطار

TRANSLATION

The holy tomb of Sayyid 'Āshiq Muḥammad Shattār.

INSCRIPTION NO. 11

This red sandstone slab,⁴ measuring 1'×1'5", also bears a Persian inscription in six lines executed in *Nasta'liq* letters in relief. The epigraph is partly damaged in the third and sixth lines. Dated the 12th Rabi' I, A.H. 1080 (31st July, 1669 A.D.), in the 12th year of Aurangzeb's reign, the record mentions the construction of a well by a lady named Dil Pasand. No information is available regarding the findspot of the inscription and the name of the builder is also unknown. The epigraph reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate V (a)

- (۱) در عهد محی الدین محمد
- (۲) بادشاه عالمگیر مسما
- (۳) دل پسند [ز مال خود] آش چاه
- (۴) بنا نمود بتاریخ دوازدهم شهر
- (۵) ربیع الاول سنه ۱۰۸۰ هجری مطابق
- (۶) جلوس میمنت ما [نوس] سنه ۱۲ باتمام [رس]ید

¹ Exhibit No. 10/1032.

² Blakiston, op. cit., p. 10.

³ For the founder of this order, etc., please see *Adhkār-i-Abrār* (Agra, A.H. 1326), p. 285; Ghulām Sarwar, *Khasnati'l-Afīya*, vol. II (Lucknow, A.H. 1320), p. 36.

⁴ Exhibit No. 40/1033.

(a) Inscription of a well, dated A.H. 1080 in
Aurangzeb's reign (p. 16)



SCALE : .22

(b) Inscription of Aurangzeb's time, dated
A.H. 1117, from a well at Arakpur (p. 18)

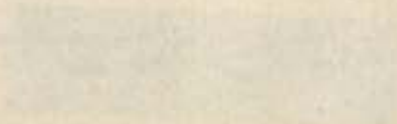
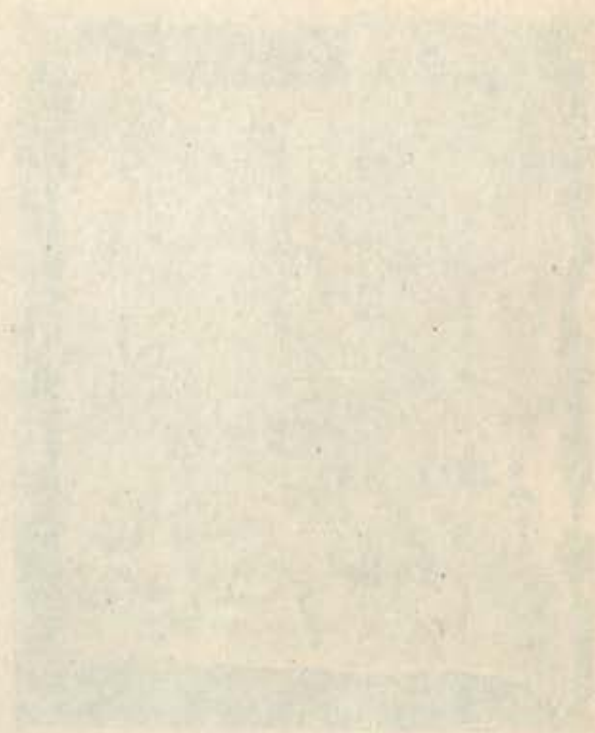
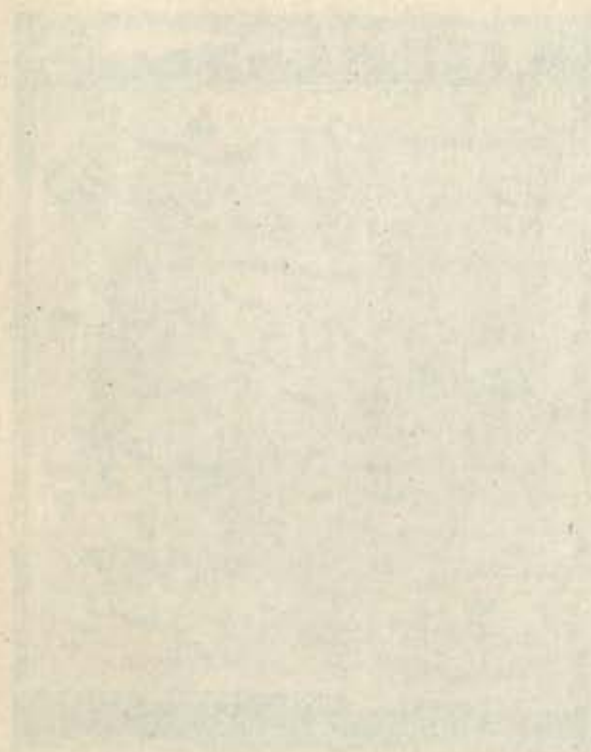


SCALE : .2

(c) Inscription on a marble
basin, from the Dargāh at
Qadam Sharif, Delhi
(p. 18)



SCALE : .9



TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of Muhyi'u'd-Din Muhammad, Aurangzeb
- (2) Bādshāh 'Ālamgīr, Musammāt (i.e. the lady named)
- (3) Dil Pasand built a well out of her own money.
- (4) On the 12th of the month of
- (5) Rabī' I, (year) 1080 of the Hijra era, corresponding to
- (6) the 12th year of the auspicious reign (31st July, 1669 A.D.), it was brought to completion.

INSCRIPTION NO. 12

The following Persian inscription in prose is carved in embossed *Nasḫī* characters around the outer border of a vessel, carved out of a single piece of stone, which is alleged to have been used for the purpose of purifying water for emperor Aurangzeb while in camp. The vessel is said to have possessed this characteristic that when it was immersed in a bucket of water, it allowed only pure water to percolate inside through its fine pores, while all impurities were carefully excluded.¹ The epigraph does not mention any such details but merely contains the name of the king and the date A. H. 1080 (1669-70 A.D.).

TEXT

Plate IV (c)

آب مقطر سنگ صافی اورنگزیب عالمگیر بادشاہ غازی
سنہ ۱۰۸۰ھ

TRANSLATION

Distilled water of the filter stone of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh Ghāzī. The year A.H. 1080 (1669-70 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 13

This ordinary sandstone slab measures 16"×19" and is reported to have been originally fixed in a well in the village Arakpur Bāgh Mochī,² another inscription from which place has been noticed above.³ It contains an inscription running into five lines executed in embossed *Nasta'liq* letters. The epigraph assigns the construction of a well in the Bāgh-i-Mochī, to Har Rām Sābū, son of Jagat Rāi who, like Dil Pasand noticed above, does not seem to have been a person of much note as nothing is traceable about him in contemporary or even later records. The inscription is dated

¹ Blakiston, op. cit., p. 17.

² Exhibit No. C-61.

³ Inscription no. 7.

the 11th Shawwāl, A.H. 1117 (15th January, 1706 A.D.), in the 50th year of Aurangzeb's reign. The text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate V (b)

- (۱) در عهد بادشاه عالم گیر غازی
 (۲) سنه پنجاه جلوسی هجری یکم هزار یکصد و هفتاد [د]ه
 (۳) هرام ساهو بن جکت راء در با [غ]
 (۴) موجی بنا این چشمه فیض نمو [د]
 (۵) یازدهم شهر شوال

TRANSLATION

- (1) During the reign of the king 'Ālamgīr Ghāzī,
 (2) (in) the 50th year of accession, one thousand one hundred and seventeenth year of the Hijra era (1706 A.D.),
 (3-4) Har Rām Sāhū, son of Jagat Rāi, built this stream of beneficence in the Bāgh-i-Mochī.
 (5) 11th of the month of Shawwāl.....

INSCRIPTION NO. 14

This is written on a basin of white marble,¹ which measures 3' × 2' at the base and is 2' 1" in height. It is said that the basin originally belonged to the Dargāh of Qadam Sharīf, situated at about a mile and half to the south of the Lahori Gate, Delhi. The inscription is written in ink. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq*, while the language is Persian. Dated A.H. 1222 (1807 A.D.), it reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate V(c)

آب قدم الشریف محمد رسول الله [سنه] ۱۲۲۲ [هـ]

TRANSLATION

Water of the holy foot-print of Muhammad, the Prophet of God. A.H. 1222 (1807 A.D.).

The basin, according to the date inscribed therein, is only 150 years old and, therefore, not contemporary with the Dargāh referred to above which was built by Firūz Shāh Tughluq in A.H. 776 (1376 A.D.). Tradition has it that the holy foot-print of the Prophet was brought from Egypt at the king's instance by Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jahān Gasht, a well-known saint and spiritual guide of Firūz Shāh Tughluq, and placed on the grave of Fath Khān, son of the latter.² According

¹ Exhibit No. 40/1026.

² For a detailed account of the tradition, see Maulavi Muhammad Umar, *Āḥādīth-u-Salāḥīn* (Delhi, A.H. 1329), pp. 57-60.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

WATER RESOURCES DIVISION

For the purpose of this report, the following definitions have been adopted: A water resource is any natural or artificial source of water, whether surface or subsurface, which is capable of being used for any purpose. A water resource may be a body of water, a stream, a reservoir, a well, or any other source of water. A water resource may be a natural resource, such as a river or lake, or an artificial resource, such as a dam or reservoir. A water resource may be a surface resource, such as a river or lake, or a subsurface resource, such as a well or aquifer. A water resource may be a renewable resource, such as a river or lake, or a non-renewable resource, such as a well or aquifer. A water resource may be a public resource, such as a river or lake, or a private resource, such as a well or aquifer. A water resource may be a federal resource, such as a river or lake, or a state resource, such as a well or aquifer. A water resource may be a local resource, such as a river or lake, or a regional resource, such as a well or aquifer. A water resource may be a national resource, such as a river or lake, or an international resource, such as a well or aquifer. A water resource may be a domestic resource, such as a river or lake, or a foreign resource, such as a well or aquifer. A water resource may be a natural resource, such as a river or lake, or an artificial resource, such as a dam or reservoir. A water resource may be a surface resource, such as a river or lake, or a subsurface resource, such as a well or aquifer. A water resource may be a renewable resource, such as a river or lake, or a non-renewable resource, such as a well or aquifer. A water resource may be a public resource, such as a river or lake, or a private resource, such as a well or aquifer. A water resource may be a federal resource, such as a river or lake, or a state resource, such as a well or aquifer. A water resource may be a local resource, such as a river or lake, or a regional resource, such as a well or aquifer. A water resource may be a national resource, such as a river or lake, or an international resource, such as a well or aquifer. A water resource may be a domestic resource, such as a river or lake, or a foreign resource, such as a well or aquifer.



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PLATE VI



SCALE : ·16

(a) Bilingual inscription of Akbar II, from a ruined temple near Purānā Qal'a, Delhi, (p. 19)

RED FORT MUSEUM—concl'd.

(b) Bahādur Shāh Zafar's inscription of a well, from a well inside the Red Fort, Delhi (p. 21)



SCALE : ·1

(c) Inscription on a stucco-Medallion, from Mehrauli, Delhi (p. 22)



SCALE : ·1

to Sayyid Ahmad,¹ there was a *kaṭehra* of white marble over the grave which was filled with water in order to wash the holy foot-print and this water was distributed among the visitors.

INSCRIPTION NO. 15

This bilingual inscription² is carved on a sandstone pillar (12×51 "), now fixed to the wall in the right hand corner of the main entrance of the Museum. Originally, the pillar belonged to a ruined temple situated at a distance of about 250 yards from the south gate of the Purānā Qal'a.³ On the top of the slab is carved a cow feeding its young one. This is followed by the Persian version consisting of nineteen lines inscribed in ordinary *Nasta'liq* letters, with the preceding eleven lines in Sanskrit. The first seven lines of the Persian text are executed in bold letters. The epigraph records endowment of twelve *bighas* of land together with two *pakka* wells therein for a temple of Lord Krishna built by Rāja Sohan La'l Bahādur Singh on the plot of land purchased by him. It also embodies certain directions for the descendants of the owner regarding the administration of the endowment in general and the control of its income and expenditure in particular. The inscription is dated the 11th of *Shahbān*, A.H. 1245, corresponding to 13th Magh-sudi, 1886 Samvat, in the 24th year of the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar *Shāh II*. The Persian version has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate VI(a)

- (۱) موازی دوازده بیگه اراضی پخته معه دو
- (۲) دهنه چاه پخته که متصل قلعه کهنه
- (۳) زر خرید منقر است و در آن
- (۴) اراضی مذکور مندر سری
- (۵) کرشن بهگوان مرتب
- (۶) کنالیده شد لهذا برای
- (۷) آل و اولاد و اقربای
- (۸) خود نوشته می شود که آنچه آملنی نقد اراضی مذکور باشد در مصارف
- (۹) مندر باید می شود مقرر از آملنی نقد پنج و بست است
- (۱۰) زیاده ؟ بر آنچه که مطلوب باشد و پرشاد سری بهگوان
- (۱۱) فهمیده بخورند مضایقه نیست و هرکس پوجاری
- (۱۲) برای سیوا و پوجا خواهد ماند اورا مناسب است
- (۱۳) که بدل مصروف شده پوجا نماید اگر پوجا خاطر خواه

¹ Sayyid Ahmad, op. cit., ch. I, p. 229.

² Exhibit No. 40/1031.

³ Zafar Hasan, op. cit., pp. 104-5, where an incomplete text of the record is also given.

- (۱۴) نخواهد کرد منقر و وارثان منقر را برای موقوفی آن
 (۱۵) اختیار است فقط تحریر تاریخ [یازد] هم شعبان سنه [۱۲۴۰]
 (۱۶) هجری مطابق ماه مدی تیره دشی سبت سنه ۱۸۸۶
 (۱۷) یوم جمعه سنه ۲۴ جلوس میملت مانوس
 (۱۸) محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی برای راجه سوهن لعل بهادر سنگه
 (۱۹) [نا] لک

TRANSLATION

- (1) (Whereas) twelve *bighas* of land together with two
 (2) *pakka* wells near the old Fort
 (3) were purchased by me, the attester, and (whereas) on the
 (4-5) said plot of land a temple dedicated to Lord Sri Krishan has been built by me, therefore
 (6-8) it is written for (the guidance of) my sons, descendants and relatives that whatever income in cash accrues from the said land, it should be spent
 (9) on the maintenance of the templetwentyfive (per cent) or the income in cash is allotted
 (10) for the things needed and treating them as the offering to Sri Bhagwān
 (11) be consumed withouthesitation. For every *pūjārī* (priest) who
 (12) is employed for service and worship (at the temple), it is essential
 (13-15) that he performs the *pūjā* whole-heartedly. If he fails to do so satisfactorily, I, the donor, and my heirs shall be competent to discontinue him. That is all. Written on the 11th of Sha'bān, A. H. 1245
 (16) Hijrī, corresponding to Māh Sudī, 13, Samvat 1886,
 (17) Friday, the auspicious regnal year 24 of
 (18) Muḥammad Akbar Shāh Bādshāh Ghāzī for Rāja Sohan La'l Bahādur Singh
 (19) Nāik.

The Sanskrit version reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate VI (a)

- 1 Śrī-Gaṇeśāya namaḥ [!]
- 2 Yat-pād-āmbuja-chañcha-
- 3 rika-matinā vitne (?)
- 4 Sīvasy-ālayam rājñā
- 5 Sohanalākana ps-
- 6 da[yoh] saukhya-pradam ch-ārpi-

- 7 tam(tam) | shaṇ-nā(ṇ-ṇa)g-āṣṭa-śa
8 śau(!) Plava su(śu)bhakare va-
9 rāhe cha Māghe tathā śukle śu-
10 kre trayodaśī-tithi-yute
11 kany-ākhyā lagne śubhe [||*]

Contents

The inscription contains a stanza in the *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita* metre. The reading of some letters is doubtful. But it seems to record the dedication of a temple by a Śaiva ruler named Sohanalāla in favour of the god Śiva in the year (Vikrama Samvat) 1886, Plava, Māgha-Śudi 13, Friday, corresponding to the 5th February, 1830 A.D.¹

INSCRIPTION NO. 16

This is a square slab of white marble,² measuring 1'10" by 1'10" by 4". It contains a Persian inscription in verse written in *Tāluq* characters in ink. The epigraph consists of two lines forming two couplets and the words "الله اکبر" written on the top and the words "محمد بیری" and the date in the centre, between and beneath the two lines respectively. The record assigns the construction of a well to Zafar. Though the inscription is not of much antiquarian interest, its importance lies in the fact that the builder is none other than Bahādur Shāh II, the last Mughal ruler (1837-1857 A.D.), firstly because the date of the inscription, viz. A.H. 1256 (1840 A.D.), falls in the period of his reign, and secondly, the poetic name Zafar also avers that the record is associated with Bahādur Shāh II who used to compose verses under that name.³ Owing to absence of any information regarding its whereabouts, it is difficult to locate the well to which the record belonged.⁴ The date is given in figures and is also contained in the chronogram occurring in the last hemistich. The inscription reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate VI (b)

الله اکبر

(۱) ظفر این چاه از ما یادگارے کہ آبش شربت قند و نباتست

محمد بیری

(۲) ازین خوشتر نباشد سال تاریخ هویدا چشمه آب حیات است

سنه ۱۲۵۶

¹ The transcript with a note on the Sanskrit portion of the inscription was kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

² No. 40/1034.

³ For other inscriptions composed by Bahādur Shāh II, see Zafar Hasan, op. cit., vol. I, p. 98; vol. II, p. 295; vol. III, p. 44, etc.

⁴ It is reported to have belonged to a well situated to the north of the *ṣammām* (royal bath) in the Red Fort, Delhi.—Ed.

TRANSLATION

God is great.

(1) O Zafar! this well is a memorial constructed by us; its water is like the syrup of sugar and candy.

Muhammad Biri?¹

(2) There could be no chronogram better than this: *The spring of the Water of Life has appeared.* Year A. H. 1256 (1840 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 17

This epigraph² is on a medallion of stucco, 1'7½" in diameter, which is reported to have originally come from Mehrauli near Delhi.³ The medallion is decorated in *Tughhrā* style and contains only the words "المملك لله" (Kingdom belongs to God only). Calligraphically, the inscription is significant for its execution in fine *Tughhrā* style which may be assigned to the Mughal period (plate VIc).⁴

¹ The word 'Biri' is very much ambiguous. The correct reading is "بیر محمدی" (*Bir-i-Muhammadi*).—Ed.

² Exhibit No. 40/1020.

³ Blakiston, op. cit., p. 7, no. C.-15.

⁴ According to the *Catalogue*, the inscription probably belongs to some early Mughal mosque. Similar stucco decoration is found in the *Khairu'l-Manzil* mosque opposite *Pūrānā Qal'a* (Indrapat) and *Moth Ki Masjid*.

A PERSIAN INSCRIPTION IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA FROM MURSHIDABAD

BY M. KHATUN

In the course of my tour of Murshidabad with the Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, in November 1956, three inscribed stone slabs were noticed above the central archway of an old dilapidated mosque at Naginabagh¹ in the Lalbagh subdivision of Murshidabad District; the mosque is situated at a distance of about a furlong from the Murshidabad Railway station. The slabs were so loose as to be on the point of falling down. On inquiry, it was learnt that the plot of land on which the mosque stood belonged to a person named Shri S. K. De, who was using it for cultivation. The inscribed slabs were then acquired from Shri De as presentation through the good offices of the District Magistrate of Murshidabad and brought to the Indian Museum in September 1957.

Of the three slabs, the central one measures 2'11" by 7½" and the other two 1'5½" by 8" each. Being of indurated shale, the slabs are not in a good state of preservation and consequently, some of the letters have flaked off. The three slabs contain one continuous Persian inscription, of five couplets carved in relief, which records the construction of a mosque by a lady mentioned only as Begam in A.H. 1136 (1723-24 A.D.). The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of clear and beautiful execution representing one of the finest examples of this style as found in the inscriptions of the later Mughal period.

The mosque to which the above inscription belongs has been referred to in some publications as the Begam Masjid, and mentioned among the places of interest along with the tomb, now a protected monument, of Nawwāb Sarfarāz Khān (1739-40) of Bengal, which is situated close by.² 'The mosque is in better preservation than the Katra one,' and is a handsome building', wrote Beveridge in 1892.³

Curiously enough, though the date is very clearly inscribed and given also in a chronogram, none of the learned authors who referred to this inscription has noted it correctly. For example, Beveridge reads it as 1146 A.H.,⁴ while P. C. Majumdar mentions it as 1131 A.H.,⁵ reasons for this wide divergence of reading being inexplicable. O'Malley in the *District Gazetteer: Murshidabad*, gives its date in Christian era as 1719,⁶ which corresponds to the Hijra year 1132; it is

¹ The place, locally known as Nektakhali or Lenktakali, lies to the east of Sahanagar thana of Lalbagh subdivision.

² H. Beveridge, 'Old places in Murshidabad', *Calcutta Review*, vol. XCIV, January 1892, p. 340; L. S. B. O'Malley, *District Gazetteer: Murshidabad* (Calcutta, 1914), p. 214; P. C. Majumdar, *The Musnud of Murshidabad* (Murshidabad, 1905), p. 161; A. Mitra, *District Hand book: Murshidabad* (Calcutta, 1953), p. 185.

³ I.e. the Katra mosque built by Murshid Quli Khān in A. H. 1137.

⁴ Beveridge, *op. cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Majumdar, *op. cit.*

⁷ O'Malley, *op. cit.*

just possible that the Arabic numeral “٦” (6) was mistaken by him for “٢” (2). Following O'Malley, Shri A. Mitra, gives the same date (i.e. 1719 A.D.) for the Begam Masjid. The description of this mosque as given by Shri Mitra is misleading and found on scrutiny to contain more discrepancies. According to him, ‘To the west of the killa Nizamat is the Begum Masjid built in 1719 A.D., a big mosque but not architecturally distinguished’. He further states that ‘it was erected by Mani Begum, west of the Mubarak Manzil, formerly called Kandil Bag’.¹ The description given above is rather confusing and it is not clear which particular mosque has been referred to here. For though the name and date of the mosque correspond to those of the Begam Masjid as described by O'Malley, the name of the builder given by Shri Mitra points to a different mosque named Chawk Masjid, situation of which has not even been described properly. Situated to the south-east of the palace, abutting the walls of the Qal'a Nizamat, is the Chawk Masjid built by Mani Begum, wife of Nawwāb Mir Ja'far; it was constructed in 1767, and not in 1719 as Shri Mitra says. It was erected on the site of the Chahal Sutūn or Audience Hall of Nawwāb Murshid Qulī Khān. Also, the Mubārak Manzil was known as Fendal Bāgh and not ‘Kandil Bag’ as Shri Mitra says, probably after John Fendal who was a Judge in 1817-19 and afterwards Chief Judge of the Sadar Diwānī ‘Adālat at Mubārak Manzil.’²

As regards the builder of the Begam Masjid no authentic information is available from any source. The inscription on it does not record any particular name and mentions only a ‘Begam’ as its builder. Popularly it is sometimes attributed to Sarfarāz Khān's mother and sometimes to his wife. Zīnatu'n-Nisā or ‘Azīmatu'n-Nisā, mother of Sarfarāz Khān, is known to be the builder of another mosque at Azimnagar in the Lalbagh subdivision. She was the only daughter of Murshid Qulī Khān, the *nāzim* and *diwān* of Bengal and was married to Nawwāb Shujā'u'd-Daula, governor of Orissa and later, successor to his father-in-law in the *nizamat* of Bengal. Her reputation as a pious lady of virtuous disposition has been mentioned by some contemporary chroniclers. Due to some domestic fray, she parted with her husband and came to reside in Murshidabad with her son Sarfarāz Khān in great splendour. It was probably, then, that the mosque in question was constructed by her.³

On the other hand, we do not have any information about Sarfarāz Khān's wife; even her name is not mentioned in chronicles. Ghulām Husain has gone so far as to say that ‘... Sarfarāz Khān had no married consort of his own rank, but only concubines.....’⁴ The author of the *Riyāḍu's-Salāṭīn*, though mentioning only casually the ‘wedded Begams’ of Sarfarāz Khān who were banished by ‘Aliwardī Khān to Dacca after Sarfarāz Khān's defeat and death at the battle of Giria, does not give any further account of them. We find the names of other prominent ladies who took active part in the politics of that period or who were reputed for their acts of munificence for the sake of religion, but the name of Sarfarāz Khān's wife is not included among them.

¹ Mitra, op. cit.

² *Ibid.*

³ For references to her, please see Charles Stewart, *History of Bengal* (London, 1813), p. 416; Ghulām Husain Khān, *Siyaru'l-Muta'akkhkhīrīn* (Lucknow, 1897), vol. II, pp. 470, 492, etc.; Ghulām Husain Salīm, *Riyāḍu's-Salāṭīn*, Eng. tr. Abdus-Salam (Calcutta, 1904), p. 321.

⁴ Ghulām Husain Khān, op. cit., vol. II, p. 499.

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a religious or philosophical passage. The text is arranged in three vertical columns, reading from right to left. The script is clear and legible.

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a religious or philosophical passage. The text is arranged in three vertical columns, reading from right to left. The script is clear and legible.

INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

- (c) Inscription, dated A.H. 1136, from a mosque at Naginabagh, Murshidabad (p. 25)



SCALE : -12

STATE MUSEUM, HYDERABAD

- (b) Inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh, dated A.H. 754, from Gulbarga (p. 31)



Scale: 1:12

The text of the inscription in question reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VII (a)

(a) Right slab.

- (۱) خلایق سجده گاه عرش طارم
(۲) بهشت آئین مقامی ساخت بیگم

(b) Central slab.

(i) 1st panel :

- (۳) تعالی الله عجایب مسجدی ساخت
(۴) که بر فرق ملائکه سایه انداخت

(ii) 2nd panel :

- (۵) چه مسجد [۱] از صفا مانند جنت
(۶) چه مسجد معنی ایجاد رحمت

(iii) 3rd panel :

- (۷) بتاریخش ز عقل امداد جستم
(۸) حدوث این نزول آباد جستم

(c) Left slab.

- (۹) خرد گفتا مکان فیض اینست
(۱۰) بنای عزت دنیا و دینست

۱۱۳۶

TRANSLATION

- (1) This empyrean-roofed place of prostration for the people of the world (and)
(2) this paradise-like place has been constructed by the Begam.
(3) Glory be to God ! What a wonderful mosque she has constructed
(4) which has thrown a shadow over the forehead of the Angels !
(5) What a mosque ! (It is) like paradise on account of purity.

- (6) What a mosque ! (It) means the improvisation of (Divine) mercy.
- (7) For its date, I sought the aid of Reason ;
- (8) I sought to know about the coming up of this abode abounding in descents (of mercy).
- (9) Wisdom said, 'This is the house of bounty ;
- (10) (this is the) *foundation of the honour of this as well as the other world*'.
- (11) (A.H.) 1136 (1723 A.D.).

The chronogram, contained in the last hemistich, yields the date given also in figures.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE STATE MUSEUM, HYDERABAD

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

Of the seventeen Arabic and Persian inscriptions exhibited in the State Museum, Hyderabad, as many as thirteen—eleven from Raichur and one each from Mudgal and Shahpur—have been previously published in this Series.¹ Three of the remaining four come from Gulbarga, now in Mysore State, and one from Bidar. While readings of the published inscriptions are complete and accurate for the most part, there have crept in at a couple of places errors either of print or through oversight. It would be worthwhile to point out these mistakes before we proceed further with the study of other inscriptions.

Taking the Mudgal inscription first, it will be seen that the name occurring in the last line of the text is “راگھوندو” and not “راگونندو”, the letter “ه” being distinct in the plate.² The rest of the reading is correct.

Of the Raichur inscriptions, the reading of the record belonging to Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī's reign needs to be corrected in two or three places. This inscription is said to have originally belonged to Shakar Bāoli near Kālī Masjid in Raichur and records the construction of the well and its adjuncts by Nūru'd-Dīn Karīm, a disciple of Ni'matu'llāh Walī.³ In line 10 of the reading of this epigraph, the first word is left undeciphered.⁴ I venture to suggest that the word is “بالحمدی” and the reading of the whole line should be “بالحمدی رسد فریاد مارا”, i.e. ‘(if a friend reads it some day), he may come to our rescue with a prayer’ (lit., with the recitation of “الحمد” the opening chapter of the Qur'ān). Again, the first word of the line 11 has been read as “تیار کنندم”, but in my opinion “بنا کنندم” should be the correct reading, as there is no trace of the letter “ز” in the plate.⁵ But these are mistakes of minor nature. However, there is a mistake of some consequence in the reading of the text engraved in the right vertical panel, which has been read thus: “من سرمست خان عشر”. The first part of this reading which is translated as ‘I am Sarmast Khān’ is difficult to comprehend, as this name stands out of context and hence, it is apparent on first sight that there is some mistake in the reading of this portion. A close scrutiny of the plate will reveal that the correct reading should be “خامس عشر من شعبان المعظم الخ”, i.e. 15th of (the month of) Sha'bānu'l-Mu'azzam. It will be observed that “من” of “خامس”, which has been inscribed above the word “من” has been misread as “مست”, while what has been read as “سر” between “من” and “من” is nothing

¹ K. M. Ahmad, ‘Inscriptions of Raichur in the Hyderabad Museum’, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1939-40, pp. 10-23; Dr. G. Yazdani, ‘Inscriptions from Mudgal’, *ibid.*, 1935-36, p. 19.

² Yazdani, *op. cit.*, pl. XI (b).

³ K. M. Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14, pl. V(a).

⁵ *Ibid.*

but the decorative motif in the form of repetition of the letter “س”, as has been done, practically throughout, in the inscription. Moreover, there is no trace of “ن” of the so called reading “خان” in the plate.¹ There should, therefore, be no doubt about the accuracy of the amended reading, suggested above, which has been checked on the stone by me in the course of one of my visits to the Museum.

In another inscription of the same king recording the construction of a mosque, the published text contains three mistakes, all of print. But no attention has been drawn to the fact that at least in two places the scribe or the engraver has been guilty of the act of omission and commission in the design or engraving of the text, which was perhaps due to the intended intricate calligraphical style. Thus, for example, in line 2, the letters “ته” beneath “نه” are superfluous, while in line 4 the words “الله هو الاول” have been left out.² Similarly, another inscription designed by the same scribe contains omission of letters or parts of words: It also belongs to the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī and records the construction of the Faṭḥ Burj. Here, as in the previous instance, the “م” of “المكرم” and either “ين” of “نظام الدين” or “ر” of “شهور” are not to be found in the plate.³ This may perhaps be due to the not so uncommon arrangement of calligraphical style whereby a single letter is made to serve the purpose of two.

Lastly, we may take up the reading of the inscription that originally appeared on the Qādiriyyah Burj. This inscription has been correctly read except that the reading of the date, viz. A. H. 1039, requires careful scrutiny. My reading of the date is not “١٠٣٩” but “١٠٤٩”. The error in the reading is due to the fact that the figure “٣” is not quite distinct on the stone, but even then it is not “٣”. A minute observation of this figure in the plate will show that the figure is really “٤”; its circular portion on the right has lost its sharpness and distinctness due to the wear and tear of time, with the result that the two fork-like sides of the portion have been merged into one thick line creating an illusion of two lines.⁴ Consequently, I have no doubt at all that the correct reading of the date is A. H. 1049 and not 1039. It is corroborated by the fact that Malik ‘Abdu’l-Wahhāb, son of Raiḥān, who is mentioned in the inscription under review as *deceased* had died not earlier than A. H. 1048, as the epitaph on this tomb at Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh tends to show.⁵

The Shahpur inscription in the Museum recording ‘the building of a mosque or some other shrine’, was published by Dr. G. Yazdani,⁶ who read it as under:—

بمهد سلطنت سلطان علی عادلشاه ثانی مملکتہ شیخ ابوالحسن بن قاضی

عبدالعزیز خت

١٠٤٨ هجری

¹ In the translation of the text in the left vertical panel, the words ‘Husain, son of’ after ‘Hājī’ have been left out in print.

² *Ibid.*, p. 15, pl. V(b).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16, pl. VI (a).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21, pl. IX.

⁵ Z. A. Desai, ‘Some Unpublished Inscriptions from Kurnool’, *Epig-Ind. Ar. and Pers. Suppl. (EIASP)*, 1959 & 52, pp. 37, 41-42. A somewhat detailed notice of ‘Abdu’l-Wahhāb will also be found there.

Yazdani, ‘Inscriptions of Shahpur, Gogi and Sagar, etc.’, *EIM*, 1931-32, p. 5, pl. IV (b).

The epigraph is badly damaged and the letters have become somewhat indistinct. However, after a few concentrated efforts, I have been able to decipher almost whole of the portion left unread by Dr. Yazdani. My reading of the inscription is this :—

بعمد سلطنت سلطان علی عادلشاه ثانی در عمل مملکت ملکه عبدالمحمد شیخ ابوالحسن ابن
قاضی عبدالعزیز قرشی ؟ تعمیر ساخت ۱۰۷۸ هجری

In this connection it might be of some interest to know that in Shahpur, there is another inscription mentioning Shaiikh Abu'l-Hasan of the last-mentioned record and also engraved in the same calligraphical style. Dr. Yazdani had also published a reading of this inscription which is unfortunately not satisfactory.¹ This inscription is fixed in the left wall of a well situated at a distance of about a furlong from the Travellers' Bungalow towards the west, and according to Dr. Yazdani, 'records the building of a tomb and a mosque by one Abu'l-Hasan in memory of a pious lady named Junaid Bi'.² This statement is true only to the extent that the building of a mosque and a tomb by Abu'l-Hasan are referred to in the epigraph. But the person in whose memory the buildings were set up is not a lady Junaid Bi by name, but a saint Bābā Sijanjal³ who was 'Junaid the second' in saintliness. The inscription also refers to the fact that the saint died on the 8th of Rabi' II of an unspecified year. Dr. Yazdani's reading runs as under :—

نبود هیچکسے راز غیب را کشف	جنید بی ما ما سجنجل آنکه
که گشته هجو... وصال خود واقف	چهار بود از مه ربیع دوم
همیشه بود از جزع ابوالحسن عاطف	ز مخلصان و فاکیش صادق الاخلاص
..... آنکه گشت معتکف ؟ واصف	بکوشش کرد روضه و مسجد
..... باب و هوای این روضه

I venture to suggest the following reading :—

نبود هیچکسے راز غیب را کشف	جنید ثانی بابا سجنجل آنکه جز او
که گشته هجو ولی از وصال خود واقف	چهار بود از مه ربیع دوم
همیشه بود از ابن شیخ ابوالحسن عاطف	ز مخلصان و فاکیش صادق الاخلاص
که آنک گشت ... ز وصف او واصف	بکوشش ته دل کرد روضه و مسجد
..... باب و هوای این روضه

It is intended to study in this short paper the remaining four inscriptions exhibited in the Museum in chronological order. Covering a period of about three hundred and fifty years, they represent the Bahmanī, Ādil Shāhī and Mughal rulers. It should, however, be remembered that these inscriptions do not originally belong to any single place but were found at Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur as will be described at their respective places.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4, pl. III (b).

² *Ibid.*

³ (The word *sijanjal* meaning a mirror is somewhat out of place here, although it is used in the well-known *qasidah* of Imra-ul-Qais.—Dr. Yazdani, *ibid.*, fn. 2.) For the saint, who was a disciple of Shāh Mirānī Shamsu'l-Ushshāq, see M. Abdul-Jabbar Khan Malkapuri, *Tadhkirah-i-Auliya-i-Dakan* (Hyderabad, A.H. 1332), p. 992.

⁴ *Ibid.*

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

This inscription, which forms the earliest record of the group, originally belonged to the mosque of Malik Saifu'd-Din Ghorī, situated at a short distance outside the Zanjirī gate of the Fort at Gulbarga. The mosque is a structure of modest dimensions built in trabeate style and is now used as a place of worship by the Hindus. The inscriptional slab which had been broken into four pieces lay at an old shrine, about a hundred yards from the mosque, before it was shifted to the Museum.

The importance of the inscription was recognised as early as in the first decade of this century, when Major T. W. Haig published a reading of its text along with a translation and a short note in the first number of this Series.¹ Major Haig, who did not publish its facsimile, commented as follows on this inscription:—

'This is, from an historical point of view, the most interesting of the inscriptions at Gulbarga. It records the foundation of a mosque by one, who was apparently, a *darvīsh* of some sanctity, but the stone on which it is cut is now broken into pieces, and lies by an old shrine just without one of the gates of the fort. It is difficult to decipher and I am not satisfied that the readings are correct in every case, but the important part of the inscription, the name and title of the king in whose reign it was cut, is clearly legible, and removes all doubt as to his correct style. The legend which connected the patronymic *Bahmanī* with the caste-name Brahman is thus shown to have no foundation in fact.'²

The reading given by Major Haig is not free from mistakes and misprints though the inscription is not as 'difficult to decipher' as he would have us believe. His statement, too, that the builder was apparently a *darvīsh* of some sanctity is purely conjectural and has no evidence in the text to support it. Moreover, since the inscription has not been illustrated so far, it is only proper to republish it and give its facsimile so that its correct reading can be duly authenticated and also, the students of Muslim epigraphy can have some idea of the script in which this earliest of the Bahmanī inscriptions is executed.

The record is in Persian prose and comprises three lines of writing engraved in relief on a piece of slab measuring 48" by 21". It records the construction of the mosque by Saif Daulatshah Zaltibiyyā in A.H. 754 (1353-54 A.D.), during the reign of the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty, 'Alāu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Bahman Shāh. The style of writing is *Naskh* in bold hand which, in general outlines, is not at all different from the calligraphy that marks the inscriptions of the Tughluq period. It is only natural that the newly created kingdom could not remain free, as in the sphere of architecture, from the traditions of calligraphy prevalent in the northern kingdom from which it had just separated itself.

¹ T.W. Haig, 'Inscriptions in Gulbarga', *EIM*, 1907-08, p. 1. A short description of the mosque, along with a somewhat better reading of the inscription than that of Haig is to be found in Bashirud-Din Ahmad, *Wāq'at-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijāpūr*, vol. III (Agra, 1915), pp. 508-09.

² Haig, *op. cit.* For Dr. G. Yazdani's views on this aspect of the well-known story, see *EIM*, 1927-28, p. 20 and *ibid.*, 1931-32, p. 11. For further contribution on the subject of the lineage etc., of the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty, see H. K. Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1953), pp. 24, 42, 48-50; Dr. S. A. Q. Husaini, 'Was Hasan (Bahman Shah) called Bahmanī?', *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad Dn., Vol. XXXII, no. 1, Jan., 1958, pp. 51-52, pl. I. The reading and interpretations of Dr. Husaini, who also published his views on the subject in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Dacca, Vol. I, no. 1 (Dacca, 1956), p. 76, pl. I, are somewhat faulty and could only be commented upon in a note at the end of this article which was written in 1957.

The correct reading of the inscription runs as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VII (b)

- (۱) این مسجد مبارک ^۱لله ^۲تعالی و تبارک بمعهد بنی مبانی ^۳خیرات و قبله اقبال سعادات
خدا یگان سلاطین
- (۲) علاؤالدین و الدین ابوالمظفر بهمن شاه عمرا ^۴دینه و دنیاه بنده امیدوار
حضرت کبریا
- (۳) ^۵سیف دولتشه زلیبیا در شهر سنه اربع و خمسين و سبعمایه عمارت کرد ^۷ابد الیابد
اباد باد بحق عامر بیت معمر و کعبه مشهور

TRANSLATION

(1) This auspicious mosque for the sake of God, the most Exalted and Blessed, during the reign of the layer of the foundations of good deeds and the altar of the good fortune of praiseworthy actions, the lord of Sultāns,

(2) 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Bahman Shāh, may God prosper his religion and his world, the creature, hopeful of the presence of the Almighty, (namely)

(3) Saif Daulatshah Zalibiyyā, constructed in the months of the year seven hundred and fifty-four. May it remain till eternity of eternities through the grace of the Great builder of the Prosperous House and the Celebrated Ka'ba.

It will be seen from the above reading that the correct name of the builder is Saif Daulatshah Zalibiyyā. It is obvious that Saif was his own name, and Daulatshah that of his father. But the term Zalibiyyā suffixed to these names is intriguing. This word is so clearly inscribed in the record that no other reading, not even Zakariyyā as commonly accepted, is admissible. We have, therefore, to accept as almost certain that Zalibiyyā⁶ was the nick-name by which Saif was known among his contemporaries.

Likewise, it is difficult to establish his true identity as we do not come across any specific mention of this name in available historical records, contemporary or later. There have been more

¹ Haig, op. cit., reads "الله".

² Ibid. has "تعلی" which is obviously a misprint.

³ Ibid. omits.

⁴ Ibid. reads "دولتدیناه".

⁵ Ibid. has "حضر", a misprint.

⁶ Ibid. reads "سیف الدوله شاه زکریا".

⁷ Ibid. reads "تا" before "ابد".

⁸ Zalibiyyā is described as a sort of fritter or pan-cake (Steingass, London, 1947), p. 620.

than one person, with names answering nearest to this nomenclature, who are to be considered contemporary with the record under study. For example, the contemporary 'Iṣāmī mentions 'Abū Qāḍī Saif, the *muqṭā'if* of Arka who, in about 1352 A.D., defected from Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh and joined 'Alāu'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh.¹ A noble, Saifu'd-Daula by name, is mentioned in an inscription, dated ten years earlier, from the Qandhar Fort in Nanded district of the erstwhile Hyderabad State.² Then there is Malik Saifu'd-Dīn Ghori, after whom the mosque where the present inscription is reported to have been originally set up, is popularly known.³ Similarly, we find at least two nobles of repute who have lived during this period and who bore the name Daulatshah: one of them is Daulatshah al-Būtahārī, a prominent noble under Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh and his son Muḥammad Shāh,⁴ while the other is Daulatshah, the *shahna-i-bārgāh* of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh himself.⁵ While thus the identity of either the son or the father cannot be established satisfactorily, it would be wrong to say that he was apparently a *darwīsh* as Major Haig is inclined to believe.

As regards the date of the record, it has been opined that the era meant is Shuhūr San and not Hijra, and hence the words "در شهور سنه" taken by Major Haig to denote the Hijra era, should in fact mean the Shuhūr era.⁶ While it is true that the Shuhūr era had made its appearance in Deccan about a decade earlier, it is not wholly beyond doubt if the present inscription was dated in that era. Consequently, I have taken it to mean Hijra era only.

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

Nothing is known regarding the findspot of this inscription except that it was brought to the Museum from Raichur. Unfortunately, this epigraph, engraved on a slab of stone measuring 34" by 28", is so badly damaged and weathered that it is difficult to make out its purport. The letters have mostly abraded and disappeared so much so that it is not possible to decipher anything save a word here and there. However, according to my reading of one hemistich, it is dated A.H. 798 (1395-96 A.D.) which falls in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī II who ruled from A.H. 780 (1378 A.D.) to A.H. 799 (1397 A.D.). This date can be safely assigned to the epigraph on palaeographical grounds also. The style of writing is practically the same as to be found in the inscriptions, mostly of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī I (1358-1375 A.D.) and his successors, to be found at Gulbarga and elsewhere.⁷ It is difficult to say anything else about this inscription, but it is fairly certain that the record belongs to the last half of the fourteenth century and represents one of the earlier Bahmanī rulers.

¹ 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Agra, 1938), pp. 553, 554, 555. A later author, 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Burhān-i-Ma'ā'ir* (Hyderabad, 1936), p. 22, however, names him Mu'īnu'd-Dīn.

² *EIM*, 1919-20, p. 21.

³ He died in 1397 A.D. Firāhta is the only historian to mention this nobleman. For a detailed account of his career, see Sherwani, op. cit., pp. 64, 78-80, 89, 91, 92, 116, etc. The grave of Malik Saifu'd-Dīn Ghori is shown at Gulbarga in one corner of the terrace on which the tomb of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh stands.

⁴ Daulatshah Muḥammad al-Būtahārī is mentioned in contemporary histories of Barani and 'Iṣāmī and also in a few inscriptions from Broach and Cambay in Gujarat (*EIM*, 1933-34, Supplement, pp. 25-27; *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1956-57, Appendix D, No. 42).

⁵ Ṭabāṭabā'ī, op. cit., p. 16.

⁶ K.M. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 12.

⁷ For example, cf. *ARIE*, 1958-59, App. D, Nos. 103, 112, etc.

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

This bilingual epigraph, originally from Bidār, is an interesting record engraved on a slab measuring 19" by 28". A little more than one third of the slab contains a Persian inscription beginning with one line of religious text in Arabic. This version is followed by a Sanskrit record in twenty-one lines incised on the stone in *Nāgarī* characters.

The Persian version contains eight lines of writing engraved in relief in *Naskh* characters with a definite tendency towards cursiveness which with the passage of time, later, took shape, in other writings, of the calligraphical form known as *Shikasta*. The writing which seems to have been originally carved in low relief has been affected considerably due to the weathering of the stone and wear and tear of time with the result that the letters have almost lost whatever prominence of relief they originally possessed. Consequently, the inscription has become difficult to decipher and that is probably the reason why this interesting record has remained unpublished till now.

The Persian record, besides the religious text in the first line, comprises two lines of prose and five lines in verse and, runs to the effect that a step-well was caused to be constructed on the 14th Jumādā II, A.H. 848 (28th September, 1444 A.D.), during the reign of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī II, by Makhdūma-i-Jahān, Bibī Shahnāz, obviously for public use. Makhdūma-i-Jahān is further mentioned in the inscription as the mother of Khān-i-Mu'azzam and Khalf-i-A'zam Maḥmūd Khān. Thus, this record mentions, besides the king, two more members of the royal family. Maḥmūd Khān is probably none other than the king's brother who was given charge, towards the close of his father's reign, of Mahur, Kullum, etc., which he is said to have held till his death.¹ If this identification is correct, Makhdūma-i-Jahān Bibī Shahnāz would be a wife of Aḥmad Shāh I, and probably, a daughter of Muḥammad Shāh II, in which case the name of this queen-mother, not mentioned in historical works, becomes known to us only through the present epigraph. It is also to be noted that the text of this inscription explicitly makes the Bahmanī kings descendants of the great Persian heroes Bahman and Dārā.

As regards the Sanskrit version, Shri R. M. Joshi, Director of Records, Andhra Pradesh, now retired, had told me in the course of my visit to Hyderabad in 1957 that quite sometime back he had prepared a reading and translation of the same. On my informing him that I proposed to edit the Persian version, he kindly agreed to send me his study on the Sanskrit counterpart which is published immediately after this article (p. 38).

The Persian version reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم فالله خير حافظا و هو ارحم الراحمين يا غفور
(۲) ذکر بناء ؟ تاريخ چهار دهم ماه جمادالآخر سنه ؟ ثمان و اربعين و امانمايه
مخدومه جهان

(۳) بيبي شهنواز والده خان معظم خلف ؟ اعظم محمود خان
(۴) شد بنا اين بائين از عون خدای کن فكان بود سال از هجرت پيغامبر آخر زمان
(۵) چهل و هشت و هيصد و عهده عادل کی بود ال بهمن شاه و دارا شاه احمد ذوالامان

¹ Tabāṭabā'ī, op. cit., pp. 54, 64, 71; Sherwani, op. cit., pp. 206, 210.

- (۶) مادر محمود خان مهوری ؟ ... شاه
 (۷) عورت صاحب سعادت پاک دامن بود تا دست داد این خیر جاری هر که بخورد آب آن
 (۸) دردعاه عاقبت خیراین سه تن در هر دمی بر کشاید از میان جان بصدق دل زبان

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. 'For, God is best as Protector and He is the Most Merciful among the merciful.'¹ O Forgiver !

(2) Account of the construction, on the 14th of the month of Jumādā II (of the) year eight and forty and eight hundred, (by) Maḥdūma-i-Jahān

(3) Bibī Shahnāz, mother of the magnificent Khān and great royal scion Maḥmūd Khān : (Verses)

(4) This step-well was constructed, through the help of the Lord of the universe ; the year, from the Hijra (exodus) of the last of the prophets, was

(5) forty and eight and eight hundred and (it was) the reign of the just king, who is directly descended from Bahman Shāh and Dāra Shāh, namely, Aḥmad (Shāh), the protector.

(6) (The builder is) the mother of Maḥmūd Khān of Maḥūr (?)king.....

(7) She was a fortunate woman and chaste ; hence, such a running bounty came into existence (through her). Whosoever drinks water therefrom,

(8) may, at every moment, loosen the tongue from the gird of soul with sincerity of heart in the prayer (i.e., pray sincerely and heartily) for the happy end of these three personages.

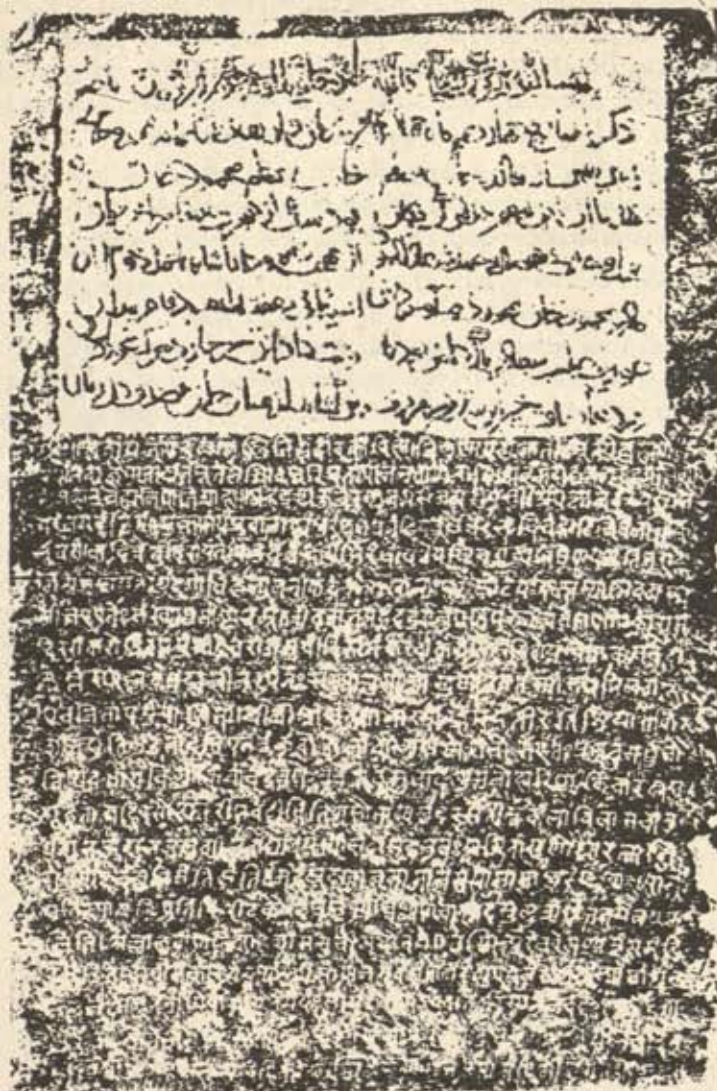
It will be seen from Shri Joshi's article on the Sanskrit version referred to above that while the Persian record bears the date equivalent to 28th September, 1444 A.D., the Nāgarī counterpart bears a date which is seven days earlier. As regards the correctness of the gist of the Sanskrit version given by Shri Joshi, I do not consider myself competent enough to say anything except that it is definitely not quite clear, which fact may perhaps be due to the damaged nature of the record.² For example, it would not be out of place to refer to a few points in Shri Joshi's article here. Firstly, it is not clear from his gist of the Sanskrit version as to whether king Aḥmad referred to therein is Aḥmad I or Aḥmad II. Likewise, the statement that 'Maḥmūd Khān had endeavoured to spoil the interests of her (queen's) son' is somewhat confusing and is not cleared by Shri Joshi's explanation quoting the incident of the rebellion of Aḥmad II's brother. For, the king's brother who revolted unsuccessfully at the instigation of Deva Rāi is Muḥammad Khān and not Maḥmūd Khān who was also another brother of the king. Lastly, the queens Zebā Chehra, daughter of the Raja of Sangameshwar and Āghā Zainab have evidently nothing to do with the queen of the inscription, as the latter was the queen-mother, i.e. wife of Aḥmad I and mother of Maḥmūd Khān whose name, according to the Persian version, as seen above, is Bibī Shahnāz.

The Sanskrit version, it will be observed, is far more detailed than its Persian counterpart, but it is a pity that a fuller reading of the same was not possible.

¹ Qur'an, ch. XII, v 64.

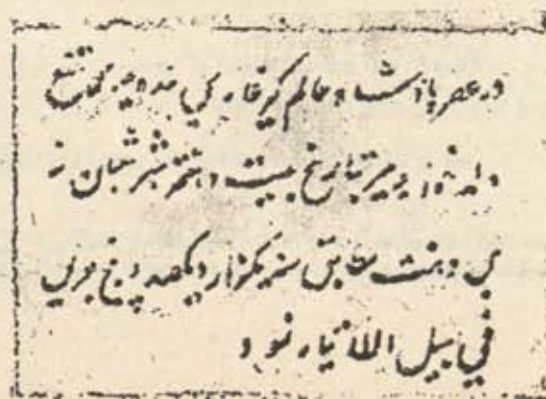
² The Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, who was referred to in the matter, informs that the reading is incorrect in many places.

- (a) Bahmani inscription of a step-well, dated ...H. 848,
from Bidar (p. 33)



SCALE : 2

- (b) Step-well inscription of Aurangzeb's reign
dated A.H. 1105, from Gulbarga (p. 35)



Handwritten text in a rectangular box, likely a list or table of contents, with several lines of script.

Handwritten text at the bottom of the page, possibly a signature or a date.

INSCRIPTION NO. 4

This inscription, the last of the present study, is from Gulbarga, where it is reported to have been found in the course of clearance of a *bāoli* (step-well) in the *Furmān Tālāb*.¹ Major Haig has included this inscription also in his article on the inscriptions of Gulbarga referred to above.² While his reading is almost accurate except in one place, the translation reads the word 'Mir' in both the places as 'Nūr'. He also reads the regnal year as "سی و هشت" instead of "سی و هفت" as will be pointed out later. Moreover, this inscription also, like other inscriptions of Gulbarga noticed by him, has not been illustrated nor has any mention been made as to the style of its writing, etc. Hence, it was deemed proper to include it also in the present article.

The record comprising four lines of writing in Persian prose is inscribed in *Nasta'liq* characters in relief on a slab of stone measuring 23" by 15". The writing has lost its sharpness of outline in most places, but from what can be judged from its present state, its calligraphy is of a fairly good order. The epigraph records the construction, obviously of the step-well, by Mir Muḥammad *Shafi'*, son of *Khawāja Mir* in the year A.H. 1105 (1694 A.D.). One Muḥammad *Shafi'*, without the prefix *Mir*, is mentioned as one of the officials of Aurangzeb in the Mughal chronicles. He was killed in a skirmish between the group of royal officers, sent by the emperor with the robes of honour etc. for Prince Mu'azzam immediately after the fall of Golconda and the troupe, headed by *Shāikh Nizām* of Hyderabad, at Mangal.³ He was then the *mushrif* of the *deorhi*⁴ and is probably the same officer who had previously held the offices of the *mushrif* of the *ghuskhāna*⁵ and of the *mīr-i sāmān* of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān.⁶ This Muḥammad *Shafi'* may have been identical with the builder of the step-well referred to in the present record.

The inscription reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate VIII (b)

- (۱) در عصر پادشاه عالمگیر غازی بنده میر محمد شفیع
(۲) ولد خواجه میر بتاريخ بیست و هفتم شهر شعبان سنه
(۳) سی و هفت مطابق سنه یکهزار و یکصد و پنج هجری
(۴) فی سبیل الله تیار نمود

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of the emperor 'Ālamgīr *Ghāzī*, the servant Mir Muḥammad *Shafi'*,
(2) son of *Khawāja Mir*, on the date 27th of the month of *Sha'bān*, year
(3) thirty and seven (of the reign), corresponding to the year one thousand, one hundred and five of the Hijra era,
(4) constructed this in the way of God (i.e. for God's sake).

¹ Bashirud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 503, where the text is probably copied from Major Haig, op. cit., p. 9.

² Haig, op. cit.

³ Sāqī Musta'id Khān, *Ma'āthir-i-Ālamgīr* (Calcutta, 1871), p. 268.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 146, where the instance of the death of two persons who had descended into the well in his *Hakeli* for taking out the bucket that had fallen and the near-to-death condition of the third man is related

Major Haig has read the regnal year as “سی و هشت”, while I prefer to read it as “سی و هفت”, for in my opinion, the rounded portion of the letter “ف” has been obliterated on the stone, thus giving the impression that the said letter is “ش”. A close scrutiny of the plate will show that there is space only for the letter “ف” with one dot above and not for the three-notched “ش”. Moreover, the regnal year thirtyseven was not yet over on the 27th Sha‘bān, A.H. 1105 (13th April, 1694 A.D.), the date of the record.

Note.

After the article was written, I was required to go in the beginning of January 1958 to Iran where I remained for about a year. In Tehran, on going through the then latest issue of the *Islamic Culture*, I found that the last to refer to the inscription of ‘Alāu’-d-Dīn Ḥasan Shāh (No. 1, ante) and in a sense to edit it is Dr. S. A. Q. Husaini, who published its text, translation with notes and plate in the course of his discussion on the title Bahmanī of the above-mentioned prince.¹

It has been the sad experience of the writer that the study of inscriptions having a bearing on some aspect of Indo-Muslim history or otherwise, as published in leading journals in our country is usually found to lack due care or exactness of details in the preparation of the reading and translation of the texts. In a few instances, the readings which are faulty are found to be insisted upon as correct while their translations also, in some cases, leave much to be desired. A few such instances have been pointed out in a previous number of this Journal.² Since quite a number of writers on the subjects connected with Indo-Muslim history are not fully conversant with Persian and Arabic and hence, are dependent on the English versions of the original sources, it is felt that Dr. Husaini’s views may be examined here in brief.

It is evident that Dr. Husaini was not aware of the fact that the inscription was quite some time back removed to the Hyderabad State Museum from Gulbarga and that it has been previously published, at least twice, first by Major Haig and subsequently, by Bashirud-Din Ahmad. Dr. Husaini may have first got his information about this inscription from Major Haig’s article in *JASB*, 1904, Extra, pp. 2-3.³ Unfortunately, not only does Dr. Husaini’s study of the epigraph under notice fail to improve materially the readings of either Haig or Bashirud-Din Ahmad, but on the other hand, it contains a few errors and misleading statements both in the reading of the text as well as in the translation and notes which should not perhaps go uncorrected in the interest of the Perso-Arabic palaeographic studies. While a comparison of Dr. Husaini’s observations with the study given above will bear this out, attention in particular is invited to the following points :—

In the first line of the text as read by him, the reading “قله” is a mistake for “قبله”. The word read by Dr. Husaini as “ازکیام” in the second line reads “زلیبیا” on the stone ; there is no trace of “الف” in the plate illustrating Dr. Husaini’s article, while the dots of “ی”, “ب” and “ی” in “لیبیا” are quite distinct in the illustration.

¹ Dr. S.A. Q. Husaini, ‘Was Hasan (Bahman Shah) called Bahmani?’, *Islamic Culture*, vol. XXXII, no. 1, January, 1958, pp. 51-52, pl. I.

² *SIAPS*, for 1955 & 56, pp. 37, 107-108, etc.

³ Husaini, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*

But, apart from this, Dr. Husaini's remarks on the phrase denoting the name of the builder which he has read as "سیف دولتشہ از کیاہ" are confusing and also ambiguous. For example, he translates the phrase as : 'Sword of the Government of the King of the Pure',¹ and adds in a foot-note that Saif 'appears to be the chief part of the name of the builder of the mosque'.² Then again in another foot-note, Dr. Husaini states that "شہ از کیاہ" usually refers to the Prophet Muhammad'.³ These observations, in my humble opinion, are vague and ambiguous and consequently, likely to create some confusion. As it is, Saif is the proper name ; Daulatshah is also the proper name which should not be normally translated.

At another place, Dr. Husaini states : 'The "رسم الخط" or the form of writing of "دولتشہ" suggests that the builder was called so. Daulat Shah was the Shahnah-i-Bargah under Bahman Shah and was probably in charge of construction of works.'⁴ The conjecture about Daulatshah's being probably in charge of construction of works, which seems to have been suggested to Dr. Husaini by the term *Shahnah-i-Bargah*,⁵ needs to be substantiated.

It will be noticed that the name of the builder cannot be properly made out from Dr. Husaini's translation of the inscription. He seems to have been also aware of this point and consequently, he stated as an alternative that the orthography of the word "دولتشہ" suggests that the builder was called so. The simple fact is that Daulatshah, like Saif, is the proper noun, and is not infrequently met with, as is pointed out above in the main text of my article. In short, Dr. Husaini has not only refrained from giving the correct meaning or significance of the words concerned, but he has, in his efforts to explain these terms, perhaps unnecessarily, made certain conflicting observations.

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, f. n. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 52, f. n. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f. n. 1.

⁵ *Bargah* means 'audience-hall'.

**SANSKRIT VERSION OF THE BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION FROM
THE STATE MUSEUM, HYDERABAD**

By R. M. JOSHI

This is a bilingual inscription carved in Arabic and Sanskrit on a rough granite. The inscription is 28.5' by 15.5' in dimension. The Arabic and Persian portion is incised over a portion of 10.5' and contains 8 lines while the Sanskrit portion occupies 18" and runs into 21 lines. This inscription was picked from the precincts of Bidar, the second seat of the Bahmani kingdom, which was first established in 1347 A.D. at Gulbarga, now included in the Mysore State. The capital was shifted to Bidar in 1422 A.D. by Ahmad Shāh Bahmani I.

Bidar is situated on a plateau, 2330 feet above the sea-level. The distance of the town from Hyderabad is 82 miles by road and 100 miles by rail. The climate of the place is bracing but there is a great scarcity of water. The town is situated on the brink of the plateau which has the upper crust formed out of laterite, a soft rock with limonitic surface. Below this crust of a varying depth of 100 to 500 feet, there is the Deccan trap, which alone can hold the rain water. Wells cannot be sunk here unless one goes to the depth of about 100 feet. This physical feature of the place is essential to understand the significance of the inscription which records the construction of a beautiful well overflowing with fresh water, the approach to which was made by steps.

The Sanskrit version relates to the reign of king 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ahmad II (17-4-1436 to 7-5-1458), the date being the 10th of the bright half of Ashwin, Shālivāhan Śaka 1366, Raktākshi cyclic year, corresponding to the 21st of September, 1444 A.D.

The writer of the text appears to have had a good knowledge of Sanskrit language and alliterated prose style which is the special feature of Sanskrit masters like Daṇḍin or Bāṇabhaṭṭa. My reading of the text is as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

- 1 Sri Ajāya jagadutpatti sthiti sanhāra Kāriṇe triguṇaegunātītā mūrtaye Brahmaṇe namaḥ
- 2 Tadājnayā jayata bhūtale Smin bhūri pratāpānala .. Ahamododya Narendra pakshi
 Śhye
- 3 -ou mahān Bahmani pāti śahah Mahendrasya Kuberasya nagari nagariyaśi apeksha
 Bedaram yasya na
- 4 garam nagaram imam muktāmayam Pradaniadyam
 puram.....Nanakam
- 5 Sundari Vaditair badhirayate tribhuvana deepti bhirandhā yate yasmin ra-viṣeṇa....
 tri-rahū
- 6 misra padmāyate yaddurgadhikrita malikam.....Kotapah Kritsnasyāhmada
 Bahma
- 7 -ni narapateḥ mam....mīṣṭe....raja mahendraKārāman.....

- 8 - diragam karoti....Śrī Devarajam Nripam..... Karoti Kah Sarvadā.
 9syahmada Bahmani narapateh....miśo gunahta bhū
 10 - pa vainta paryupasita bibī Sri Sulatānā-Ramā hemayanti Ratim Sriya..Kim
 11 Sita Dyuti mandala.....Kundollata Kaumudi.....
 mahatah prabhūta madhunā
 12 nishyanda dhārā Kimu Kinva chandra maneh sravan vasudhā Vela manoharini Kinva
 ratna sa
 13 mūhato bahirasau sphari bhava ddi dhitih soubhagya Sundara Satitva Kalā vilās chā
 14 chandrā....Suśīlam..tadā maham bhuvah.....Nau dhāra ni
 15 rohanah.....dynti manti santi Mahamood Khān ma-lisa
 16 yatismā....Kirita Koti pramrishti bhih....hmada sulutānā swatanaye.....śā
 17 -lini Allābandi patisāhe Śāsan murvim mahadadhe smin puramvare ganya tunga mandi
 18 -ra mandite Vāpi makārayadramyām bhūri sopān Sundarim.....bandhavah
 19 upavanam manute Vāpi paniyam tam payah Sāgaram garam idam chātaka.....
 Chandrah 1366 Śā
 20 -He.....Raktākshi.....
 21ā chandrārkah.

The gist of the above, as far as it is decipherable, is given below :—

"Bow to the Brahma, who is the cause of the Creation, Sustenance and Destruction of the Universe, which is full of all the three qualities and transcends all the three qualities. As ordained by Him, was born great Bahmani King by name Aḥmad. His glory could be compared with that of Lord Indra or Lord Kubera and his capital city could be matched favourably with the capitals of these great celestial kings. His capital was laden with pearls and other articles of wealth. His good deeds were advertised throughout the world with beat of drums that deafened the hearers. The transluence of his capital so dazzled as to cause blindness. This king was like a hawk among kings. He had overpowered king Deva Rāi of Vijayanagara. King Aḥmad had a beautiful queen who surpassed the goddess of beauty and love, Rati. The queen Bibī Sultāna had he surroundings made out of rich and glittering articles (which appeared) as if besmeared by the (uice of the moon's rays. Maḥmūd Khān had endeavoured to spoil the interests of her son. But when her husband, the servant of God, was ruling the world, it was not possible that any thing could take place against their interests. She, therefore, caused to be constructed, at Bidar, where the elevated towers and pinnacles of mansions beautified the sky, a well of fresh water equipped with several steps for easy access to the water therein. The water of the well was delicious and surpassed that of the ocean. The thirsty people drank it as the *chātaka* bird drinks directly from heavens. This well was constructed on the 10th Day of Ashwin, 1366 Skālivahan Śaka, Raktākshi. It will last as long as the Sun and the Moon are there."

Śrī Deva Rāi, the contemporary of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II, had to suffer reverses on account of the non-payment of the tribute and was compelled to pay 8 lacs of Huns, twenty elephants and two hundred girls adept in the art of dance and song. This campaign against Deva Rāi was led by Muḥammad Sultān, the brother of 'Alāu'd-Dīn in 1436 A.D. Deva Rāi had studied the psychology of Muḥammad Sultān in this campaign. He laid a trap and conspired against 'Alāu'd-Dīn

by persuading Muḥammad Sultān to assert his own independence and get half the kingdom for himself sharing it with his elder brother. Deva Rāi sent men and money to support the rebel prince. But 'Alāu'd-Dīn smelt the danger and suppressed the insurrection and softened his brother by giving him the jagir of Rajachal.¹ This event had certainly put the interest of the Queen and her son into jeopardy.

After his first campaign against the Vijayanagar king in 1436 A.D., 'Alāu'd-Dīn had attacked the Rāja of Sangameshwar and obtained a beautiful daughter of the latter as a consort and she was named Zebā Chehra. But this created some trouble in the harem. Āghā Zainab was the chief wife of 'Alāu'd-Dīn, whom he had given the title of Malika-i-Jahān at the time of his coronation. The father-in-law, Naḡr Khān, was held in high esteem because he was descended from the second caliph 'Umar al-Fārūq. He had received support from Aḥmad Shāh, king of Gujarat, but they could not hold their own against 'Alāu'd-Dīn. But the privileges of Āghā Zainab might have been acknowledged. The Sanskrit portion does not give the name of the Queen. But it mentions the Queen-mother. Therefore it is possible that the wife of Aḥmad Shāh I is personified therein. Her name occurs in the Persian portion. This will justify the reference to the interests of the mother and her son.

¹ Sherwani, op. cit., p. 232.

PLATE IX

AJMER INSCRIPTIONS

- (a) Inscription from Sola
Khambā, dated A.H. 1070
(p. 41)



SCALE : ·11

- (b) Inscription, dated A.H. 1094,
from Taragadh (p. 42)



SCALE : ·13

- (c) Inscription, dated A.H. 1104, from a
mosque in Dargāh Bāzār (p. 44)



(From a photograph)

- (d) Inscription, dated A.H. 1114,
from the tomb of 'Abdu'llāh
Khān (p. 46)



SCALE : ·2

PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS AT AJMER

AKBAR ALI TIRMIZI

In the last issue of this journal I studied Persian inscriptions of Ajmer belonging to the Mughal period and extending upto the reign of Shāh Jahān.¹ In the present article, which is a continuation of the same study, it is proposed to survey the rest of the Persian inscriptions which are spread over a period of about two centuries (1659-1852 A.D.), ranging as they do from the reign of Aurangzeb down to that of the last Mughal emperor of Delhi.

Behind the Shāh Jahānī Masjid and just at the back of the shrine of Shāikh Husain is an edifice called Sola Khambā. It is so called because its three domes rest on sixteen pillars. Running around the pillars, there was at one time a fretted stone parapet, whose remains are still to be seen. The Sola Khambā is rectangular in plan (40' by 20') and contains five graves. Over the middle arch of the edifice facing the east there is fixed a slab of marble, measuring 1'3" by 2'4", at a height of about 11 feet from the floor. The slab bears an inscription in Persian verse recording the construction of the tomb by Shāikh 'Alāu'd-Dīn in A.H. 1070 (1659 A.D.). The date which is indicated by the chronogram occurring in the last hemistich is also given in figure engraved at the bottom. The style of writing is Nasta'liq and the metre of verses a variant of Mujtathth. The epigraph has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate IX(a)

- (۱) پناه ملت و دین خواجہ معین الحق
(۲) کہ هست درگہ عالیشان مکہ ثانی^{*}
(۳) جوار مرقد آن شاہباز عرش نشین
(۴) کہ زیر شہپر او بیضہ مسلمانہ
(۵) بنای مقبرہ بنہاد شیخ علاؤالدین
(۶) کہ باد عاقبت او بخیر ازانہ
(۷) چو فکر در پی اتمام سال رفت خرد
(۸) بگفت روضہ مزین شمر بآسانہ

۱۰۷۰ (۹)

TRANSLATION

- (1) Khawāja Mu'Inu'd-Dīn, the asylum of Community and Faith,
(2) whose sublime mausoleum is second Mecca;
(3) in the vicinity of the sepulchre of that royal falcon whose seat is Lord's throne,

^{*} Tirmizi, 'Persian Inscriptions at Ajmer', *Ep. Ind.-A. & P. Supplement* for 1957 & 58, pp. 43-70.

^{*} The first couplet is omitted by Akbar Jahān, *Ahsanu's-Siyar* (Agra, A. H. 1320), p. 67, and Imamud-Din, *Mu'Inu'l-Auliya* (Ajmer, A. H. 1345), p. 279.

- (4) (and) under whose royal feather lies the egg of Islām,
- (5) the foundation of the mausoleum was laid by Shaikh 'Alāu'd-Dīn,
- (6) may his end be good !
- (7) When Reason sought for the year of (its) completion,
- (8) Wisdom said, 'Count with ease (the words :) adorned mausoleum'.
- (9) 1070 (A.H.)

The phrase “روضه مزيب” gives the year A. H. 1070 (1659 A. D.). According to Mr. Sarda, Shaikh 'Alāu'd-Dīn was a descendant of Khawāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn and a religious dignitary during the reign of Shāh Jahān.¹ The author of the *Mu'īnu'l-Auliya* makes him a cousin of Shaikh Husain.² But neither of the two give the source of their information. We are, however, told by Muḥammad Wārith that on the 11th Jumādā I, in the 26th regnal year of Shāh Jahān (30th March, 1653 A.D.), Shaikh 'Alāu'd-Dīn, the Sajjāda Nashīn of Khawāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī was given a robe of honour and a female elephant, and was accorded permission to return home.³ Further, when Shāh Jahān visited the Mausoleum on the 25th Dhi'l-Hijja of the next year (27th October, 1654 A.D.), he distributed ten thousand rupees and gave some to 'Alāu'd-Dīn.⁴

An inscription is engraved in relief on a marble slab (19" by 16") fixed in the wall of the house of Mr. Zakir Husain, an attendant of the shrine of Sayyid Husain Khing Sawār at Taragadh. Nothing is known regarding its original findspot. The purport of the record is also not clear. It is very likely that the inscription might have served as an epitaph on some tomb. The text which is executed in beautiful *Nasta'liq* characters comprises one Persian verse, the metre being a variant of *Khafif*. It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IX(b)

(۱) شد بدرویش فضل پاک خدا

(۲) هست تاریخ یا امام رضا ۱۰۹۴

- (1) On Darwīsh (i. e. the beggar) was bestowed the favour of the holy Lord ;
- (2) the chronogram is (found in the words) : *O Imām Riḍā ! 1094.*

The chronogram yields the year A. H. 1094 (1682 A. D.), which falls in the reign of Aurangzeb. While nothing is known about Darwīsh, it is quite likely that he professed the Shiite creed.

The mosque of Sayyid Muḥammad in the Dārgāh Bāzār bears two inscriptions of the same date. One of them is found over the arches of the facade, while the other is fixed into one of the niches in the back-wall.

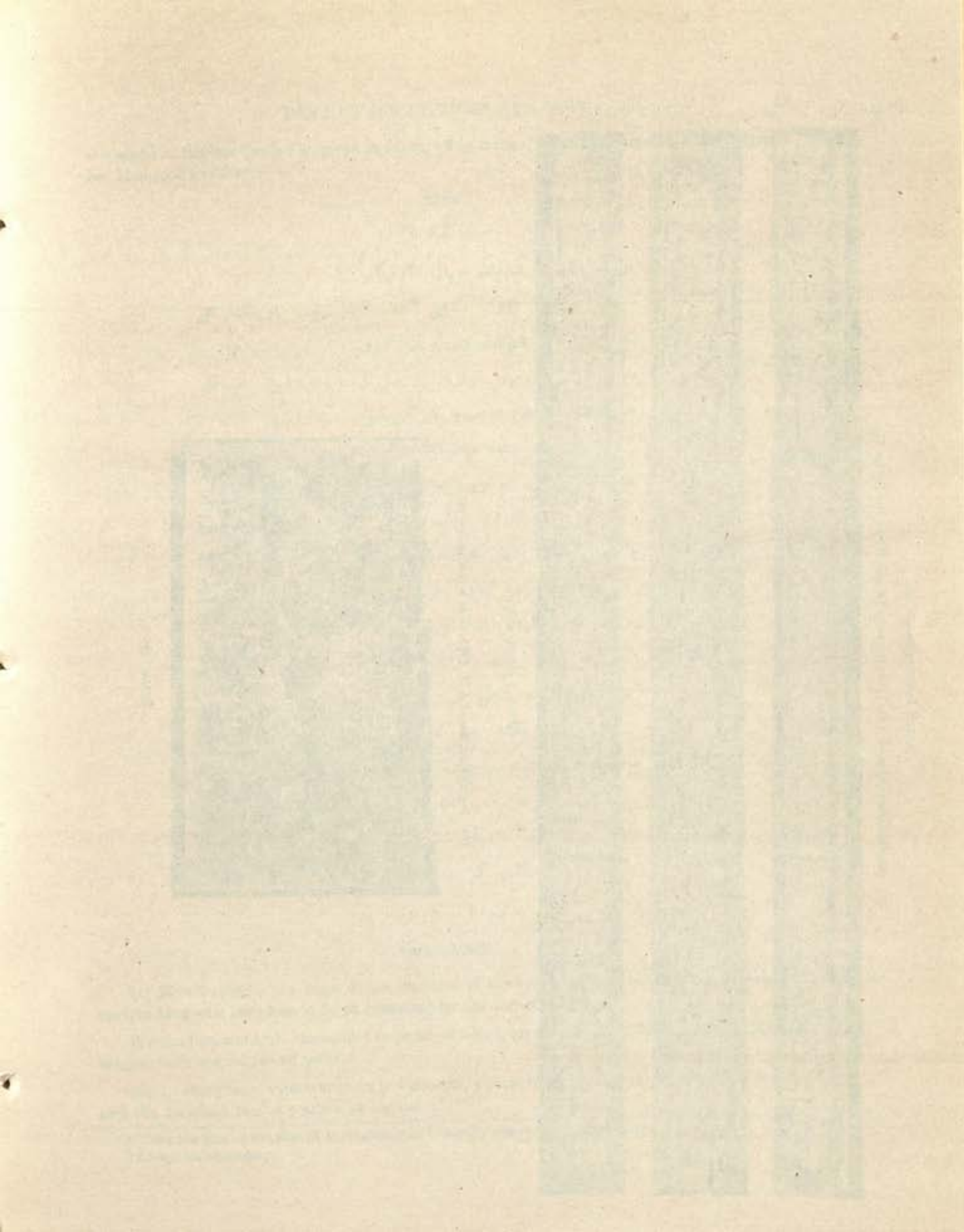
The former comprises nine verses in Persian composed in the *Ramāl* metre and records the erection of a mosque by Sayyid Muḥammad, a *locum-tenens* of Khawāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī, during the reign of Aurangzeb. The date A. H. 1104 (A.D. 1692) as offered by the chronogram

¹ Sarda, *Ajmer, Historical and Descriptive* (Ajmer, 1941), p. 97.

² *Imamud-Din*, op. cit., p. 279.

³ Muḥammad Wārith, *Paḍāshāh Nāma*, Ms. Raghurib Library, Sitamau (M.P.), vol. I, fol. 73b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. II, fol. 92a.



(a) Another inscription of A.H. 1104, from the Dargah Bazar Mosque (p. 43)



(From a photograph)

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 1115, from a mosque (p. 46)



contained in the last line is also given in figure. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq*. The epigraph has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate X (a)

- (۱) ای خوشا دور شهنشاه جهان آفاق گیر
 دادگر شاهی که آمد زیب اورنگک تھے
 (۲) خسرو عادل شهنشاه ولی والی کزو
 می تراود از در و دیوار دین مصطفی
 (۳) هر کجا شد مسجد و محراب و منبر کو بکو
 خطبه میخوانند از و الیل و الشمس و ضحی
 (۴) خاصه آن مسجد که نور دیده اهل یقین
 قدوة ارباب دین سید محمد مجتبی
 (۵) جانشین قطب ربانی معین الدین که او
 هر زمان هر وقت محبوب جناب کبریا
 (۶) رونق افزای گرامی مسند پیران چشت
 زینت آرای نگارین نقش ایوان هدیه
 (۷) کرد برپا مایه عقبی برای عالمی
 بلکه بهر عاصیان توقیع و فرمان نجی
 (۸) حاش لله بے تکلف از ملائک بگذرد
 هر که باشد اندرو یک لحظه باذکر خدا
 (۹) بود ناجی دریغ تاریخ سال او خرد
 گفت گو بیت المقدس نیک زیبا شد بنا
 (۱۰) ۱۱۰۳

TRANSLATION

(1) How happy is the reign of the emperor of the world, the conqueror of the universe, the upright king who has come to be an ornament for the throne¹ of piety,

(2) the just monarch, the saintly emperor, the lord, on account of whom the faith of *Mustafā* trickles from the doors and walls.

(3) In every lane, wherever there is a mosque, a prayer-niche and a pulpit, the night, the sun and the forenoon read a sermon in his name²;

¹ There is a pun on the title of Aurangzeb, which literally means 'bedecker of throne'.

² Accept his suzerainty.

(4) especially (in) that mosque which the light of the eye of the men of certainty,¹ chief of the devout, Sayyid Muḥammad the chosen,

(5) the *locum-tenens* of the pole-star of divinity, Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, who (latter) is all the time and every moment beloved of the Almighty Lord,

(6) (and who is) the augmenter of the grandeur of the revered seat of the *Chishtiya* saints, (and who is) the decorator of the embellished design of the gallery of guidance,

(7) raised capital of the hereafter for the whole world (by constructing the mosque), or rather (he obtained thereby) an order and mandate of emancipation for the sinners.

(8) God forbid! He who remembers God therein for a moment, surpasses even angels, to be frank.

(9) Nāji was in search of a chronogram, when Wisdom said, 'Say: *excellent and beautiful Baitu'l-Muqaddas is erected*'.

(10) 1104 (A.H.).

The whole of the last hemistich except the first two words forms the chronogram yielding A.H. 1104 (1692 A.D.) which is also given in figure.

The inscription on the niche, also assigning the construction of the mosque to Sayyid Muḥammad, is partly in Persian and partly in Arabic verse. It is carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters and comprises two verses in a variant of the *Ramal* metre. It has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate IX (c)

(۱) ساخت چون سید محمد بهر حق

(۲) مسجدی زیبا که انا نسجد

(۳) گفت هاتف سال تاریخ بنا

(۴) حسبہ لله ^۲ بنیت مسجد

۱۱۰۴ (۵)

¹ The Sufis.

² This can also be read as "بنیت" meaning 'was built' as suggested to me by Dr. Z. A. Desai, the editor of this journal. If this reading is accepted, it would neither conform to the metre nor agree with the rules of grammar, since the verb *Bunīyat* being in the feminine gender and the subject *Masjid* being in the masculine gender, the construction of the sentence would definitely be wrong. (Mr. Sayyid had originally read the word as "بیت" meaning a house and hence given the date of the record as A. H. 1059, instead of which I suggested that it should be better read as "بنیت" which would also yield the date A. H. 1104. It was then that Mr. Sayyid thought that "بنیت" was a better reading; I had made it clear to him that while I did not want to insist on the reading suggested by me as being absolutely correct, I was still inclined to prefer "بنیت" to "بیت", from the way it is inscribed, as also from the fact that "بنیت" is to my knowledge an unusual term for construction, etc., of buildings. As for the grammatical and metrical irregularity shown by Mr. Sayyid, I may only say, as I pointed out to him also, that not only in India but elsewhere too, not excluding Arab countries, inscriptions are not free from grammatical and like mistakes.—Ed.)

TRANSLATION

- (1) Since Sayyid Muḥammad constructed for the sake of God,
- (2) an elegant mosque wherein verily we offer prostrations,¹
- (3) the invisible angel, for the year of construction said,
- (4) 'For the sake of God sprouts up a mosque'.
- (5) 1104 (A.H.).

The chronogram contained in the last hemistich yields A.H. 1104 (1692 A.D.) as the date of the construction of the mosque which is also given in figure at the bottom of the inscription.

It is obvious that Sayyid Muḥammad of the present epigraph is identical with that of the previous inscription. One Sayyid Muḥammad, *Mutawallī* of the mausoleum of Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn was awarded a robe of honour, a female elephant and a present of one thousand rupees² on the 1st Shawwāl of the 4th year of Aurangzeb's reign (A.H. 1071=20th May, 1661 A.D.). The other person, Nāji, the poet who composed the chronogram, is not known to us.³

The mausoleum of 'Abdu'llāh Khān, situated on the Beawar Road just near the Allahrakha Building opposite the present Railway goods-shed, in the quarter that is being called 'Abdu'llāh-pūra after the name of Sayyid 'Abdu'llāh—father of the two famous Sayyid brothers Qutbu'l-Mulk 'Abdu'llāh Khān and Amīru'l-Umarā Hussain 'Alī Khān—is built of unpolished white marble and is square in shape with about 35 feet a side. It stands on a platform surrounded by a plinth of about 3 feet above the ground level. At the four corners are piers with half octagonal columns upon two of their sides. The columns are spanned by heavily cusped arches and the ceiling between the outer and the inner squares is flat formed of long slabs of marble. The tomb is in the centre of an inner square at the four corners of which are smaller piers and half columns with cusped arches between them. Over its northern arch in the inner face is fixed a marble slab (11" × 16") at a height of about 13 feet from the plinth. It bears an inscription, engraved in relief in *Thuluth* characters, comprising a chronogram, which incidentally forms part of a Quranic verse,⁴ followed by the date in figure. The chronogram when worked out yields the date A. H. 1114 (1702-3 A.D.), and the figure on the stone which seems to indicate A. H. 1124 (1712-13 A.D.), is obviously "۱۱۲۴", for the ten-figure looking like "۴" is nothing but the result of a scratch on the stone. The text 'and ye enter my paradise' obviously forms an epitaph which cannot be that of Sayyid 'Abdu'llāh Khān because the word "ادخل" in the epitaph must refer to the death of a lady. In the absence of any other evidence, we can only hazard a guess that the chronogram may refer to the death of 'Abdu'llāh Khān's wife whose tomb is situated on the other side of the road, just opposite to the mausoleum of 'Abdu'llāh Khān.⁵

¹ It may perhaps be better translated thus: . . an elegant mosque so that we might offer prostrations.—Ed.

² Muḥammad Kāzīm, *Alamgir Nāma* (Calcutta, 1868), p. 620.

³ He may possibly be identical with Āqā Muḥammad Hussain with the poetical name Nāji, a poet and scribe of Aurangzeb's reign. For an account of his career and verses, see Muḥammad 'Afdal Sarkhūsh, *Kalīmātu'ah-Shau'arā*, ed. S. A. Dilawari (Lahore edition), pp. 115-118.—Ed.

⁴ Qur'ān, ch. LXXXIX, v. 30.

⁵ This tomb is of white polished marble of finest quality and though small in size, is among the most elegant buildings that Ajmer can boast of. It has but few equals as far as purity of design and delicacy of workmanship are concerned. This quadrangular mausoleum which rests on a marble platform consists of the tomb surrounded by perforated screens with a parapet and *guldastas* but without any roof. The platform had a balustrade as is evidenced by the *mutakkā* holes which are still seen though the balustrade has succumbed to the ravages

The epigraph reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate IX (d)

و ادخله جنة

۱۱۱۴

TRANSLATION

And ye enter my Paradise. 1114 (A. H.)

Just behind the mausoleum of 'Abdu'llāh Khān to the west is situated a mosque, over the central *mihrāb* of which, at a height of about 12 feet from the floor, is fixed a marble slab measuring 26" by 16" and containing an inscription in Persian verse written horizontally in four panels, each containing one hemistich.

The style of writing is *Nasta'liq*. The record states that a mosque and a garden were built under the supervision of Dānīsh. According to the author of the *Aḥsanu's-Siyar*, the said mosque and the garden were built at the instance of Sayyid 'Abdu'llāh Khān by Dānīsh, who also brought a channel of water from the Ānā Sāgar into this garden.¹ The mosque has survived but the garden is no more. The inscription has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate X (b)

(۱) از اهتمام دانش تعمیر این مکان

(۲) آراسته بروی زمین باد جاودان

(۳) باغی و مسجدیت نشان از جنان عیان

(۴) تاریخ این بنای نکو روضه جنان

۱۱۱۵

TRANSLATION

(1) Under the supervision of Dānīsh, this edifice was raised,

(2) may it adorn the surface of the earth for ever !

(3) It constitutes a garden and a mosque which are manifest indications of Paradise ;

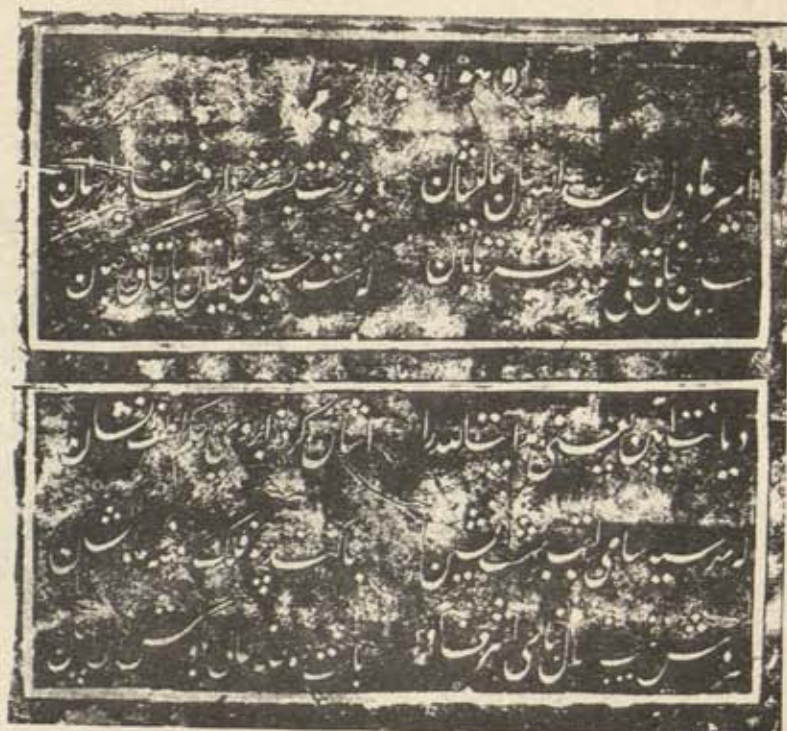
(4) (hence), the chronogram of this fine edifice is : *Garden of Paradise*. (A.H.) 1115.

The chronogram yields A. H. 1115 (1703 A. D.) which falls in the reign of Aurangzeb. The sources at our disposal do not help us in establishing the identity of Dānīsh.

¹ Akbar Jahān, op. cit., p. 105.

² This word is inadvertently engraved as "چنان" on the stone.

- (a) Another inscription from the tomb of 'Abdu'llāh Khān,
dated A.H. 1122 (p. 47)



SCALE : ·15

- (b) Inscription, dated in the fourth regnal year of Farrukh Siyar,
over the gateway of the same tomb (p. 48)



SCALE : ·12

The mausoleum of 'Abdu'llāh Khān described above bears another inscription in Persian verse which is engraved on a slab of marble (27" by 24") fixed on the outer face above the southern arch, at a height of about 18 feet from the ground level. The inscription begins with religious text in Arabic denoting the merciful and pardoning attributes of God and then follow five Persian couplets recording the construction of the tomb at the orders of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, in A. H. 1122 (1710-11 A. D.). The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* and the metre of the verse, a variation of *Mujtathth*.

The epigraph has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XI(a)

(۱) و هو الغفور الرحيم

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (۲) امير عادل عبد الله خان عاليشان | چو دخت بست ز دار فنا بدار جنان |
| (۳) حسين خلق علي جود نير تابان | که هست حسين عليخان باتفاق جهان |
| (۴) ديالت آئين يعنى هدايت الله را | اشاره کرد ز ابروی حکم لطف نشان |
| (۵) که بهر سيد سامی لقب بهشت نشين | بناکند چو فلک روضه علوانشان |
| (۶) سروش محيب ز سال بنای اشرف او | بگفت روضه عالی بکوش دل پنهان |

۱۱۲۲

TRANSLATION

- (1) And He is the Pardoner, the Merciful.
- (2) When the just noble 'Abdu'llāh Khān of high dignity packed up his chattels from the house of frailty to the mansion of paradise,
- (3) the one with Ḥusain-like nature and 'Alī-like generosity, the resplendent luminary, who is by the unanimous opinion of the world, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān,
- (4) beckoned with commanding eye-brow having the trace of favour, to the honest person, namely Hidāyatu'llāh
- (5) that for the Sayyid of lofty title who took up his abode in paradise, he might construct a mausoleum of sublime dignity like heaven.
- (6) The angel from the invisible (word), for the year of its noble construction, whispered into the ear of the heart saying, '(It is) a sublime mausoleum'. 1122 (A.H.).

The chronogram contained in the words '*sublime mausoleum*' yield A. H. 1122 (1710-11 A.D.), which is also given in figure. The occupant of the tomb 'Abdu'llāh Khān was a Sayyid Bārāha, commonly known as Sayyid Miyān. A *Hazārī* under Rūḥu'llāh, he received a *mangab* in the service of Aurangzeb on the 8th Jumādī I, A. H. 1094 (25th April, 1683 A. D.). In the 28th regnal year (A. H. 1096=1685 A. D.), he accompanied prince Shāh 'Ālam against Abu'l-Ḥāsan, the ruler of Hyderabad, and did good service in that campaign. In the course of the siege of Golconda, when Rūḥu'llāh Khān was summoned to the court, 'Abdu'llāh was left as his deputy at Bijapur, where after sometime he was made substantive governor. On Sunday, the 19th Shā'bān, A. H. 1101

(18th May, 1690 A. D.), he was made *faujdār* of Nanded.¹ Later, he is reported to have held the *ṣūbedārī* of Ajmer.² Of his many sons, two figured prominently a little later: Quṭbu'l-Mulk 'Abdu'llāh Khān and Amīru'l-Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, known to the students of Mughal history as 'Sayyid Brothers'.

It is Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, younger of the two brothers, who is mentioned in the record as having ordered the construction of the tomb of his father. He was governor of Ranthambor in the *ṣūba* of Ajmer under Aurangzeb and later he was appointed *faujdār* of Hindaun near Bayana. After an eventful career during which he, along with his brother earned the title 'King-maker', he was assassinated by Mir Haidar at Tōḍa on the 6th Dhi'l-Hijja, A.H. 1132 (28th September, 1720 A. D.). His body was brought to Ajmer and was buried in 'Abdu'llāh Ganj'.³

As regards Hidāyatu'llāh who carried out the construction of the mausoleum we have no definite data. According to Mr. Sarda, Hidāyatu'llāh was a Khwājasarā, but he does not quote the source of his information.⁴

Over the main gate of the same mausoleum appears an inscription which comprises a short text in Arabic purporting to the eternity of God and frailty of everything else and the date in Hijra as well as regnal eras. The inscriptional tablet (2'11"×1'5") which is of marble is fixed above the arch at a height of about 17 feet from the ground level. The record is inscribed in *Thuluth* style and reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XI(b)

سنة ۱۱۲۷ (۱)

الله باقى و لكل لائى (۲)

جلوس فرخ شاهى سنة ۴ (۳)

TRANSLATION

(1) 1127 (A.H.).

(2) Allāh is eternal and everything else is frail.

(3) 4th year of the Farrukh Shāhī regime.

We are told that on the 26th Jumādī II, A. H. 1126 (28th June, 1714 A. D.), Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was at Pushkar, west of Ajmer, on his way back from Medta. Again, on the 30th

¹ For details, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 489-91; Sāqī Musta'id Khān, *Ma'āthiru'l-Ālamgiri*, Eng. tr. Sarkar (Calcutta, 1947), pp. 140, 197, 202.

² Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1921), p. 203.

³ For details of his career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 321-38; Irvine, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 203-5, 213, 287, 290; *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 69.

⁴ Sarda, op. cit., p. 132, seems to have based his account on Akbar Jahān, op. cit., p. 105, who also does not disclose his source.

Rabī' I, A. H. 1127 (25th March, 1715 A. D.), he marched against Deccan by way of Ajmer.¹ It is just likely that he had ordered the construction of this gateway to the mausoleum of his father round about this time.

Just near the Chhatrl gate in the courtyard of the mausoleum of Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn lies the tomb of one Mirzā 'Ādil. The top of the marble sarcophagus is inscribed with an inscription in two parts, the first containing the words Allāh and Muḥammad in the middle and the First Creed on the right and left, while on the top is inscribed the *Bismillāh*. The formula "یا معین" is inscribed on the top and the sides nine times. The second part contains a poetic fragment of four verses commemorating the death of Mirzā 'Ādil, which took place on the 29th Shawwāl, A. H. 1182 (8th March, 1769 A. D.). The inscriptions are executed in *Nasta'liq* style of writing. The main portion of the text has been read as under² :—

TEXT

Plate XIII(a)

- (۱) تسع عشرین ز شوال دران دم بوده
 (۲) واصل رحمت حق گشت بفضل آموده
 (۳) هاتف غیب ز تاریخ چنان فرموده
 (۴) میرزا عادل باعدل بخلد آسوده

سنه ۱۱۸۲ هجری

TRANSLATION

- (1) At that moment, it was the 29th of Shawwāl,
 (2) when one stuffed with bounty joined the mercy of God.
 (3) The voice from the Unknown for its chronogram said, thus,
 (4) 'Mirzā 'Ādil, the just, is reposing in heaven'. 1182 (A.H.).

The date A. H. 1182 (1769 A. D.) given in figure is also offered by the chronogram contained in the last hemistich.

Mirzā 'Ādil was one of the Mirzas of Mandsaur in Malwa who governed Ajmer on behalf of the Sindhiās.³ When in the year A. H. 1182 he passed away, Ajmer was under Mahādji Sindhiā.

The 'Idgāh, which is situated near the Government College, has five gates and is 130 yards in length and 40 yards in width, while its enclosure is 17 yards deep. Over its central *mihrāb* is fixed a slab of marble (1'8" by 9"), at a height of 14 feet from the floor. The slab is divided into five horizontal panels, each containing a verse. The inscription, which is executed in *Nasta'liq* letters

¹ Irvine, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 290, 303.

² The total space occupied by the epitaph is 10" by 36" and the poetical fragment 10" by 16".

³ Akbar Jahān, op. cit., p. 58.

and composed in *Mutaqārib* metre, states that the 'Idgāh was constructed by Chaman Baig with the help of Shamsu'd-Dīn in A. H. 1187 (1773-74 A. D.). The epigraph has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XII(a)

(۱) شد ملک توحید خواجه معین چنین بر درش سود عرش برین
(۲) ز فیضش شد فخر و زیب جهان یگانه زمان فخر دین متین
(۳) ز لطف و کرم آن ولی اله شد شمس دین نور شرع مبین
(۴) ز عرش بنا کرد این عیدگاه چمن بیک از روی صدق و یقین
(۵) بتاریخ سالش خرد این بگفت شد آراسته معبد اهل دین
(۶) سنه ۱۱۸۷ هجری

TRANSLATION

(1) The king of the dominion of unitranianism is Khawāja Mu'Inu'd-Dīn, at whose threshold the sublime empyrean rubs its forehead.

(2) Through his (Mu'Inu'd-Dīn's) grace, he (Fakhru'd-Dīn ?) became glory and ornament of the world, unique of the age and pride of the firm Faith.¹

(3) Due to the favour and munificence of² that friend of Allāh (i.e. Fakhru'd-Dīn), he (Shamsu'd-Dīn) has become sun of Faith³ (and) light of the Manifest Law.

(4) Through his (Shamsu'd-Dīn's) help, Chaman Baig built this 'Idgāh by way of sincerity and faith.

(5) For the year of its chronogram, Wisdom said this: *The place of worship of the Faithful has become embellished.*

(6) Year A. H. 1187.

The last hemistich gives the date of the construction of the mosque as A. H. 1187 (1773 A. D.), which is also given in figure. According to the *Aḥsanu's-Siyar*, Nawwāb Mirzā Chaman Baig was the son of Mirzā 'Ādil Baig.⁴ He is reported to have sent from Ujjain one lakh of rupees to Maulānā Shamsu'd-Dīn, a disciple of Maulvi Fakhru'd-Dīn for the construction of the 'Idgāh. The Maulānā got it constructed under the supervision of Mirzā Aḥmad 'Alī Baig. Chaman Baig was the *subedār* of Malwa on behalf of Mahādji Sindhia. When he died, his body was brought to Ajmer and interred in the mausoleum of Khawāja Mu'Inu'd-Dīn near the tomb of his father and a marble sarcophagus was built over it.⁵ It bears an inscription containing four verses of didactic nature.

To the south of the mausoleum of Khawāja Mu'Inu'd-Dīn is situated the *Karnāṭakī Dālān* built in Rajah, A.H. 1207 (February-March 1793 A.D.), by Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Wālā Jāh, the Nawwāb

¹ There is probably a pun on the name Fakhru'd-Dīn.

² It is probably a case of "نک ایضاً".

³ There is pun on the name Shamsu'd-Dīn.

⁴ For Mirzā 'Ādil's epitaph, see p. 49.

⁵ Akbar Jahān, op. cit., pp. 101, 109-10.



of Karnatak. The middle arch of this *dālān*, which is of marble, bears an inscription comprising eleven verses in Persian, the metre being *Ramāl*. Then follows a line in prose giving the names of persons who looked after the construction. The text which is incised on the marble slab is inlaid with black stone. The record has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XII(b)

(۱) هو المعین

آن معین الدین شد شاهنشاهان	(۲) در حضور خواجه هر دو جهان
بحر جود و آسمان اعتقاد	(۳) چون امیر الهند کان عدل و داد
نام والا جاه عالی منزلت	(۴) یعنی آن نواب والامرتبت
بندۀ خاص خدا بیشک بود	(۵) کامران ملک کرناٹک بود
بر نهاده کرسی جامے لطیف	(۶) از خلوص نیت و صدق عقید
موجب برکات باشد بالیقین	(۷) تا بیاسایند مردم اندرین
شد مرتب این مکان با فروجه	(۸) در زمان شاه عالم بادشاه
وجد در خود کرد دل واکرد لب	(۹) سال تعمیرش زدل کردم طلب
هم بنایش موقت الهی است	(۱۰) گفت چون تعمیر والاجاهی است
باد دایم قایم این فرخ بنا	(۱۱) سال تاربخش بجو در این دعا

سنه ۱۲۰۷

(۱۲) از جلوس شاه پنج و سی طلب شد مرتب در مه پاک رجب
(۱۳) باهتمام آن فدویان والاجاهی محمد جعفر خان و قادریار خان و علی محمد خان
حصول سعادت نمودند

TRANSLATION

- (1) He is the Helper.
- (2) In the court of the lord of both the worlds—that Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, the king of emperors,
- (3) when that Amīru'l-Hind¹ (Chief of India), mine of justice and equity, ocean of generosity and heaven of devotion,
- (4) namely, that Nawwāb of elevated rank whose name is Wālā Jāh,¹ having high station,
- (5) (who) is a successful ruler of the dominion of Karnāṭak (and) who is undoubtedly a favourite servant of God,

¹ Titles conferred on Muḥammad 'Alī by emperor Shāh 'Ālam II (Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. II, p. 530).

(6) with sincerity of intention and chaste truthfulness laid the foundation of a charming edifice,

(7) with a view that people might repose therein (and thus), it may certainly be the cause of blessings;

(8) in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam (II) the king, this abode was constructed with glory and splendour;

(9) I sought from the heart the year of its construction; it got enraptured and opened its lips,

(10) saying, 'Since it is an edifice of Wālā Jāh, (and as) its foundation is dedicated to God,

(11) seek the year of its construction in this benediction: *may this blessed building endure for ever!*' 1207 (A.H.).

(12) Seek thirtyfive from the year of the king's accession, (and) it was completed in the holy month of Rajab.

(13) The devoted servants of Wālā Jāh (namely), Muḥammad Ja'far Khān, Qādir Yār Khān and 'Ali Muḥammad Khān had the good fortune of supervising its construction.

The chronogram constituted by the whole of the second hemistich of the 9th verse yields A.H. 1207 (1793 A. D.), also given in figure and corresponding to the date given in words as the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II. Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Wālā Jāh of Karnatak (d. 1795 A.D.)¹ is too well-known to need any further mention here. It appears from the letters written by the Nawwāb to Mr. Stuart and Mahādji Sindhia that during an illness he had taken a vow to carry out repairs to the sacred buildings at Ajmer and also to construct a new building there; consequently, on his recovery he sent the first two of the superintendents mentioned in the inscription at the end of 1791 A. D. for fulfilling the vow. The latter are reported to have been shown much favour and consideration by Mahādji who was then in charge of Ajmer.²

Near the Chhatri Darwāza and adjacent to the grave of Mirzā 'Ādil referred to above is a tomb which bears the following inscription executed in *Nasta'liq* characters and recording the demise of Mu'Inu'd-Daula Asadu'l-Mulk Mirzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Baig Khān Bahādur Himmāt Jang who passed away on the 8th of Rabī' I, A. H. 1214 (10th August, 1799 A. D.).³

TEXT

Plate XIII (b)

الله (۱)

محمد است (۲)

علي فاطمه حسن (۳)

حسين يا معين (۴)

(sic.) معين الدوله اسدالك (۵)

ميرزا محمد عبد (۶)

¹ For details, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 529-30; Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1884), p. 280.

² Sen, S. N., *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. IX (Delhi, 1949), 1556-57.

³ The total space occupied by the epitaph is 10" by 50".

- (a) Epitaph of 'Adil, dated A.H. 1182, near the Chhatri gate of the Mausoleum (p. 49)



SCALE : 16

- (b) Another epitaph, dated A.H. 1214, from the same place (p. 52)



SCALE : 15

117

117

117

117

117

117

(٤) الرحيم بيگ خان بهادر

(٨) همت جنگ تحرير

(٩) هشتم ٨ ربيع الاول سنه ١٢١٣ هجرى

(١٠) واصل رحمت

(١١) حق گشت

TRANSLATION

- (1) Allāh,
- (2) Muḥammad,
- (3) 'Alī, Faṭima, Ḥasan,
- (4) Ḥusain. O Mu'īn (helper)!
- (5) Mu'īnu'd-Daula Asadu'l-Mulk
- (6) Mirzā Muḥammad 'Abd-
- (7) u'r-Raḥīm Baig Khān Bahādur
- (8) Himmat Jang,¹
- (9) on the 8th Rabī' I, A.H. 1214,
- (10) joined the mercy
- (11) of God.

It is regretted that the sources at our disposal do not help us in establishing the identity of Mirzā Muḥammad 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm.

The northern *dālān* of the shrine of Sayyid Ḥusain Khing Sawār at Taragadh bears an inscription engraved on a slab of marble (2' 10" by 4") fixed into the frieze of the facade. The epigraph comprises two verses in Persian² inscribed in a panel each; in the middle are carved the phrase '*Allāhu akbar*' and the date in figure. It registers the construction, in A.H. 1222 (1807-08 A.D.), of the *dālān* by Rāo Bālā Ingliā at the instance of the saint in a dream. The date is given in figure, words, as well as in a chronogram. The style of writing of the record is *Nasta'liq*. The text runs as under :—

TEXT

Plate XII (c)

(١) از بشارت سيد الشهداء حسين خنگ سوار

کرد دالان راو بالا اینگیله پس مزار

الله اکبر سنه ١٢٢٢

¹ The word "تحرير" is left untranslated here. Could it have been the nom-de-plume of the deceased?—Ed.

² The metre is a variant of *Ramāl*.

(۲) یک هزار و دو صد و افزون ازین کن بیست دو

سال هجرت خاله بیت‌العدن آمد شمار

۱۲۲۲

TRANSLATION

(1) At the instance of the prince of martyrs, Husain Khing Sawār, Rāo Bālā Ingliā erected a *dālān* in front of the shrine. God is great! (A.H.) 1222.

(2) Add twenty-two to one thousand and two hundred of Hijra era; (Also) *the chamber of heavenly mansion*¹ came as the date. (A.H.) 1222.

The date obtained from the chronogram exceeds the one given in figure at the bottom by 1.

Bālā Rāo Ingliā was the *sūbedār* of Ajmer from A.D. 1803 to 1808 (A.H. 1218 to 1223), on behalf of Daulat Rāo Sindhia of Gwalior and is said to have founded the village of Bālāpūra.²

In the western wall of the western *dālān* in the same enclosure is fixed a marble slab (3' 8" by 1' 11") containing an inscription of four verses in Persian written in *Nasta'liq* characters. The inscription comprises two fragments of two verses each, written in different metres, the upper one in *Jadīd* and the lower one in *Hazaj*. Below their respective chronograms are carved the dates in figures. The first fragment refers to the construction of the *dālān* by Rāo Gumānjī Sindhia in A.H. 1227 (1811 A.D.), while the other probably referring to the same edifice states that when Rāo Gumānjī constructed that place, its chronogram was found in the words, 'May the enclosure endure till the day of Resurrection', yielding A.H. 1229 (1813 A.D.), which is two years later than the previous date. It is obvious that the first date is that of commencement and the latter that of completion of the *dālān*. The text of the record has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIV (a)

(۱) معدن نور منبع اسرار هست درگاه شاه خنک سوار

(۲) ساخت دالان که هست رشک بهشت راو کمانجی سندهیه بوقار

۱۲۲۷ هجری

(۳) کمانجی راو چون کرده بنای مکنی بر فرا بر کوه حکم

(۴) بی تاریخ جستم گفت هاتف احاطی [تا] تیامت باد قایم

۱۲۲۶ هجری نبوی

¹ The chronogram yields 1223.

² Jwala Sahai, *Waqā'ī-i-Rājputāna*, vol. I (1878), p. 196; Sarda, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

³ The engraver seems to have inadvertently left this word out on the stone. Without it, the chronogram would not yield the date and also, the hemistich would fall out of metre.

- (a) Inscription, dated A.H. 1229, from the western dālān in Sayyid Husain's tomb at Taragadh (p. 54) —



SCALE : 13

- (b) Inscription, dated A.H. 1239, from the Chilla of Khwāja Qutbu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (p. 55)



SCALE : 23

- (c) Inscription of A.H. 1269, from Ghanṭā Ghar Kī Masjid (p. 56)



(From a photograph)

TRANSLATION

(1) The mine of light, the source of mysteries, is the shrine of Shāh Khing Sawār.
 (2) Rāo Gumānji Sindhia, the dignified, constructed the *dālān* which is an *envy for Paradise*.
 A.H. 1227 (1811 A.D.).

(3) When Gumānji Rāo constructed a spacious building on a fortified¹ mountain,
 (4) I sought (its) chronogram; the angel from the Unknown said, 'May the enclosure endure till the day of Resurrection'! A.H. 1229 (1813 A.D.).

Gumānji Rāo alias Tāntia Sindhia was the governor of Ajmer from A.H. 1224 to 1231 (1809 to 1815 A.D.) on behalf of Daulat Rāo Sindhia of Gwalior.²

Just near the Ānāsāgar embankment opposite the western entrance to the conservatory of the Daulat Bāgh, there is a Chilla of Khawāja Qutbu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. A.H. 633=1235 A.D.), the renowned disciple of Khawāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī. It is said that the former used to stay at this place whenever he came to Ajmer to pay respects to his preceptor.

The gate to the enclosure of the Chilla bears the following inscription carved on a slab of marble (13" by 8"). Comprising two verses in Persian, composed in the *Mutaqārib* metre, it records the construction of the tomb of one Muhammad Shāh along with a mosque and a *khānqāh* in A.H. 1239 (1823 A.D.) by Maḥmūd. The date is given in the chronogram composed by one Latīf. The style of writing is *Naskh* and the text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIV (b)

(۱) بنا کرد محمود عالی نگاہ مزار محمد شہ دین پناہ

(۲) سنہ ۱۲۳۹ ہجری

(۳) ز تاریخ تعمیر گوید لطیف ز ہی مقبرہ مسجد و خانقاہ

TRANSLATION

- (1) Maḥmūd of lofty vision constructed the tomb of Muhammad Shāh, the asylum of Faith.
 (2) Year A.H. 1239.
 (3) For the date of its construction, Latīf says, 'How excellent (is the) mausoleum, mosque and monastery'.

The last hemistich forms the chronogram which gives A.H. 1239 (1823 A.D.). According to the *Aḥsanu's-Siyar*, Muhammad Shāh Khān, who is referred to in the above epigraph, was a friend of Nawwāb Amīr Khān of Tonk, while Maḥmūd, the builder, was a deputy of the former.³ Col. C. J. Dixon is of the opinion that Muhammad Shāh Khān was a dependant of Nawwāb Amīr Khān.⁴ This is further confirmed by Muhammad Asghar 'Alī Abrū who adds that the Nawwāb paid a visit to the mausoleum of Khawāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn in A.H. 1239 (1823 A.D.), the year in which the tomb, mosque and *khānqāh* were constructed.⁵ As regards Latīf, the chronogrammatist, no information is available.

¹ It would rather be more correct to take the word "محکم" as qualifying the verb instead of as an adjective of "کوه", the sense is obviously that a strong and spacious place was constructed on the mountain (Taragadh).—Ed.

² Ghulām-Qādir, *Account of Ajmer and Jodhpur* (Ms., Rajputana Museum, Ajmer), p. 73; Sarda, op. cit., p. 232; Luard C. E., *Gwalior State Gazetteers* (Calcutta, 1908), p. 96.

³ Akbar Jahān, op. cit., p. 102.

⁴ Dixon, C. J., *Sketch of Merwara* (1850), p. 17.

⁵ Muhammad Asghar 'Alī Abrū, *Tārīkh-i-Tonk* (Agra, A.H. 1319), pp. 7, 23.

The last inscription of the group is an important record inasmuch as it was composed by Mirzā Asadu'llāh Khān Ghālib¹ (d. 1869 A.D.), one of the most versatile celebrated Persian and Urdu poets India has produced. It appears over the central arch of the facade of a mosque situated just opposite to the Railway Station; it is now known as Ghantā Ghar Ki Masjid after the clock-tower situated nearby.

The marble slab bearing this inscription is divided into eight horizontal panels each containing a hemistich. The inscription thus consists of four verses, to the right and left of which are inscribed vertically the name of the calligraphist, Mīr Jalālu'd-Dīn Murāṣṣā' Raḡam and the date A.H. 1269 in figure. The epigraph records the erection of the mosque and well, which has also survived, by Mīr Sa'ādat 'Alī in A.H. 1269 (1852 A.D.). Executed in beautiful *Naskh* style and composed in *Jadīd* metre, the text reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XIV (c)

میر سعادت علی کرد در اجمیر طرح	مسجد و چاهی که هست چشمه آب بقا
آنکه ز باقر علی تا به علی میرسد	حلقه بحلقه بهم سلسله اش مرجبا
ساخته شد این مکان کرد بدل اجر آن	از ده صدق و صفا نذر رسول خدا
از بیست و نه سال نیک گفت همایون سروش	چشمه زمزم صفت مسجد کعبه بنا

On the sides.

کتبه میر جلال الدین مرصع رقم سنه ۱۲۶۹ هجری

TRANSLATION

(1) Mīr Sa'ādat 'Alī laid the foundation, at Ajmer, of a mosque and a well which is the Fountain of the water of Immortality.

(2) (He is) one whose genealogy traces through Bāqir 'Alī to 'Alī, chain by chain. Hail to him!

(3) (When) this edifice was constructed, he, in his heart, made an offering of its reward to the apostle of God by way of sincerity and truthfulness.

(4) For this auspicious year, the blessed angel of the Unseen said, 'Zamzam-like fountain, Ka'ba-like mosque'.

On the sides.

Inscribed by Mīr Jalālu'd-Dīn Murāṣṣā' Raḡam, A.H. 1269 (1852 A.D.).

Mīr Sa'ādat 'Alī, the builder, served with Rajputana Agency at Ajmer in the capacity of a Mīr Munshī.² As regards the calligraphist, Mīr Jalālu'd-Dīn, we come across one person with this name who was well-versed in writing *Naskh* and was attached to the *sarkār* of the last Mughal emperor Bahādur Shāh, when the latter was yet a prince.³ He may be identical with the calligraphist of the present inscription.⁴

¹ Ghālib, *Sabād Chīn* (Delhi, 1884), p. 28.

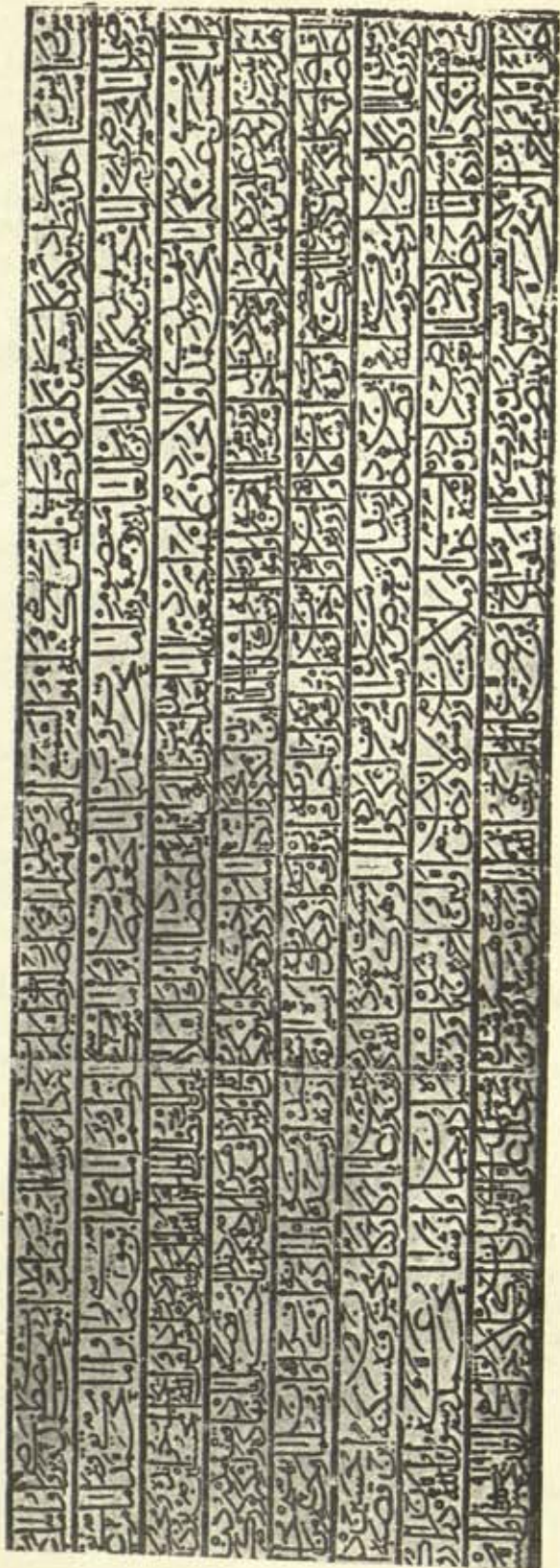
² Akbar Jahān, op. cit., p. 104.

³ Ghulām Muḥammad, *Tadhkirat-i-Khānnavān* (Calcutta, 1910), p. 129.

⁴ I owe the inspiration of this study to my friend Dr. Z. A. Desai, the editor of this journal, to whom I am also beholden for his valuable suggestions.



Qutb Shahi inscription, dated A.H. 919, from Kodangal (p. 57)



SCALE : 1/2

A QUTB SHAHI INSCRIPTION FROM KODANGAL

By Prof. H. K. SHERWANI

This interesting inscription¹ is carved on two stone slabs, measuring jointly 82" by 28", which are affixed to the southern wall of the tomb of Ḥaḍrat Nizāmu'd-Dīn at Kodangal in the Mahbubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. Before the disintegration of the erstwhile Hyderabad State in 1956, Kodangal, situated in 17°7' N. and 77°38' E., was the headquarters of the eastern-most *talūqa* of the Gulbarga district, but now it is the western-most *talūqa* of the Mahbubnagar district.

The tomb itself is a four-walled enclosure having no claim to antiquity and the inscription is not *in situ*. According to the local tradition, the tablet originally belonged to a ruined mosque, situated at a distance of about three furlongs from the village of Ḥusnābād or Ḥusainābād, but the mosque no longer exists. The record purports to be an endowment of two hamlets, Olēr Buzurg and Olēr Kūchak which were coalesced into a single town of Ḥusainābād and endowed for the purpose of providing a public kitchen for the poor and the needy in honour of the twelve Shī'ite Imāms. The endowment was made by "Malik Qutbu'l-Mulk" in A.H. 919 (1513 A.D.).

The record comprises eight lines of close writing in Persian, interspersed with Quranic verses. The calligraphy of the inscription is in the form of *Tauqī* which was generally employed in royal farmāns. However, the calligraphist does not seem to be an expert in the art as, apart from the inequality of space, there are quite a few mistakes of spelling also to be found, such as "بحبت" for "بجهت", "بزرگ" for "بزرگ", "امامت" for "امام است", "روسياه" for "روسياه", "على التقوى" for "على التقوى", etc. Some of the vowel points are also wrongly marked.

My reading of the inscription is as under :—

TEXT

Plate XV

- (۱) بیایس و ستایش احد بے نظیر کردگار بے مشیر کامگار بے ظہیر لیس کماله شی و هو
السمیع البصیر و صد هزاران هزار صلوات لطیبات بر مرکز دائره رسالت و قطب مدار نبوت محمد
مصطفی و بر وصی او امام علی
- (۲) مرتضی و بر امام حسن رضی و بر امام حسین شهید بکربلا و بر ما زین العابدین
معصوم و بر امام محمد باقر و بر امام جعفر صادق و بر امام موسی کاظم و بر امام علی ابن
موسی رضا و بر امام محمد تقی و بر امام علی نقی

¹ Also listed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1958-59, No. D, 20.

(۳) و بر امام حسن عسکری و بر امام محمد مهدی و بر اولاد محمد علیهم اجمعین باد اما بعد چون هدایت الهی راه نماینده اعتضاد الملوک و السلاطین ملک قطب الملک ابد الله ایام دولته بود و در گوش دلش و الله یحب المحسنین خوانده بودند و محبت

(۴) اهل بیت رسول در کتم عدم بدلش نهاده بصحراء وجود فرستادند خواست تا روز یفر المرء من اخیه و امه و ایبه این نیک نامی باقی ماند این لنگر بجهت (sic.) دوازده امام ساخت و دوده یکے اولیر کوچک و یکے اولیر بزرگ (sic.) هر دو را یک ده کردند و نام قصبه حسین آباد نهاده وقف لنگر مذکور کردند

(۵) تا حاصل قصبه در لنگر مذکور خرج نمایند باید که هیچ آفریده نه از شاهان و نه از وزیران و نه از خوانین و نه از ترک و نه از تاجیک و نه از بزرگ و نه از کوچک و نه از سیاه و نه از سفید و نه از بنده و نه از آزاد و نه از کافر و نه از مسلمان بهیچ وجه من الوجوه (۶) در زمین و رعایا و کارکنان و محترقه و سکنه این قصبه دخل سازند و تعرض نرسانند که وقف لنگر دوازده امامست (sic.) و هر که نعوذ بالله درین زمین و رعایا و کارکنان و محترقه و سکنه این قصبه حسین آباد

(۷) که وقف لنگر دوازده امامست (sic.) دخل سازد یا تعرض رساند در لعنة خدا و ملائکات (sic.) و رسولان و خلق اولین و آخرین باشد و روئے (sic.) سیاه دو جهان و از شفاعت محمد رسول الله در آن روز که

(۸) خلق اولین و آخرین الا محمد نفسی نفسی گویند بینصیب و روئے (sic.) سیاه باشد - تم - تاریخ این وصیت نامه با تاریخ بیت الله برابر است و بهندسه هم روشن شده

۹۱۹

مسجد اسن علی (sic.) التقوی بدل دان این کلام گرتو خواهی سال تاریخش بدانی و السلام

TRANSLATION

(1) Praise and adulation is due to the One without an equal, the Creator without an adviser, Absolute master without an assistant, "There is no creature like Him and He is the Hearer, the Seer" and hundred thousands of choice blessings be (showered) on the centre of the circle of Prophethood and the pole-star of the axis of Messengership (of God), Muḥammad Muṣṭafā as well as on his Legatee Imām 'Alī

(2) Murtaḍā, and on Imām Hasan, the one with whom God is pleased and on Imām Ḥusain, the martyr of Karbalā, and on Imām Zayn'u'l-'Ābidīn, the Innocent, and on Imām Muḥammad Bāqir, and on Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq, and on Imām Mūsā Kāzīm, and on Imām 'Alī, son of Mūsā Riḍā, and on Imām Muḥammad Taqī, and on Imām 'Alī Naqī,

(3) and on Imām Ḥasan 'Askarī, and on Imām Muḥammad Mahdī, and on the progeny of Muḥammad, all of them. Coming to the point; when Divine guidance showed the way to that mainstay of the Kings and Sultāns, Malik Qutbu'l-Mulk, may God cause his rule to last for ever and (since) the Divine adage of 'And God loveth those who are the doers of good' was sounded in the (drum of the) ear of his heart and (as) with the love

(4) of the Prophet's household having been instilled into his mind in the veil of non-existence he was sent to the expanse of existence, he desired that (his) good name should last till the day (of judgment) when 'man would flee from his own brother, his own mother and his father',² (and consequently,) he instituted this *langar* for the sake of the twelve Imāms and (ordered so that) the two hamlets, Olēr Buzurg and Olēr Kūchak were coalesced into one single town which, being designated Ḥusainābād, was endowed for the said *langar*

(5) with a view that its income be spent for the said *langar*. It is absolutely necessary that no created being, whether kings, or ministers or *Khāns*, Turks or Tājiks, great or small, black or white, slave or free, unbeliever or Muslim, for any reason whatsoever,

(6) should interfere with or come in the way of the land, the ryots, the officials, the craftsmen or the residents of the town, as it is an endowment in favour of the twelve Imāms. And whoever, God forbid, trespasses on or interferes with the land, the ryots, the officials, the craftsmen or the residents of the town of Ḥusainābād,

(7) which has been endowed in favour of the twelve Imāms, he would incur the curses of God, of the angels, of the Messengers (of God), and of all the created beings from the first to the last, and would be black of face (disgraced) in this world and the Hereafter and would be deprived of the intercession of Muḥammad, the Prophet of God, on the day (of Resurrection), when

(8) all the creatures from the first to the last, except Muḥammad, will only be concerned with (the salvation of) their own selves, and would be black of face then. And that is all. The date of this Will is the same as that of the House of God,³ and is made clear in figure as well (thus:)

*A mosque founded on piety:*⁴ know thou this verse with heart (i.e. sincerity),
if thou wisheth to know its chronogram. And peace be on thee. (A.H.) 919.

The chronogram is yielded by adding up 885 and 34, the numerical values of "مسجد اس" and "دل" respectively.

The village of Ḥusainābād, appearing in the Survey of India Map 56/G as Husnabad and in the Census of India, Hyderabad State, Gulbarga district, 1951, as Husanabad, lies in 17°3' N. and 77°39' E. Situated at a distance of about 4 miles south south-east of Kodangal, it had a population of 2,560 in 1951, of which approximately 6 per cent was Muslim. There does not appear to be any 'Ashūr Khāna sacred to the Imāms in the village. There is also a small hamlet named Aled, less than a mile south south-west of Ḥusainābād, in 17°2' N., 77°38' E., which may well be the Olēr of our inscription, as *d* and *r* are interchangeable in Telugu.

¹ Qur'ān, Ch. III, vv. 134, 148; Ch. V, v. 93 etc.

² Ibid., Ch. LXXX, v. 34.

³ This is somewhat obscure. However, it may be that the composer of the text means that the date of the endowment is the same as one obtained by the adding up of the numerical values of the letters of the (part of the) Quranic verse describing the foundation of the (Qubā') mosque as given in the next line.

⁴ Qur'ān, Ch. IX, v. 108.

The main importance of the inscription lies in the title of the first Qutb Shāhī ruler which is given as "Malik Qutbu'l-Mulk". As is well known, the title of Malik ceased to indicate exclusively the office of kingship but was affixed to the names of nobles and high officials such as Malik Maqbūl, Malik Kāfūr, Malik Muḥīth, Malik 'Ambar and the like. Here, it is not the Qutb Shāh who is endowing the property, but Qutbu'l-Mulk. This fact is in complete agreement with the inscription on the prayer-niche of the Jāmi' Masjid just outside the Bālā Hīṡār Gate in the Golkonda Fort,¹ the introduction to the official chronicle of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty, viz., *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammad Qutb Shāh*, the note in the autograph of Muḥammad Qutb Shāh himself on the fly-leaf of the *Kanzu'l-Luḡāt* in which he describes his genealogy,² and finally with the inscription on the tombstone of Qutbu'l-Mulk himself in which he is distinctly named thus.³ I have discussed this matter fully elsewhere.⁴

The endowment in favour of the *langar* is also interesting. *Langar* originally means anchor, but it has come to mean a public kitchen, endowed for pious purposes, which was like a sheet anchor ensuring the repose of the soul of its donor as well as his salvation in the Hereafter. The term was also applied to the *Khānqāhs* of celebrated saints in Persia.⁵ In Hyderabad, it used to mean a large procession of regular and irregular army and a concourse of thousands of people who followed it rejoicing, shouting and in a merry mood. This was started during the reign of Muḥammad Qutb Shāh (1520-35) and continued as an annual *mēla* till as late as 1918. It is said to have originated when a mad elephant carried Prince 'Abdu'llāh (later 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh) to the jungle to the consternation of his mother Ḥayāt Bakhshī Begam and the people of the capital. The queen vowed that if the prince returned safely, she would have a heavy chain of gold manufactured and kept in the 'Ashūr Khāna, sacred to the twelve Imāms, and also would have largessee distributed. The prince returned safely and the gold *langar* was carried to the 'Ashūr Khāna in a huge procession along with the prince. This procession was continued even after the establishment of the Āṡaf Jāhī dynasty and was a great function held every year. The present Nizam, who is proverbial for his parsimonious nature, discontinued it in 1918. The inscription under study is dated A.H. 919 (1513 A.D.), nearly a century before the institution of the *langar* procession, and it furnishes an evidence that the term *langar* used for a pious foundation existed long before.

¹ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1913-14, p. 48, pl. XIX(b).

² MS. no. 77, Salar Jang Museum Library, Hyderabad.

³ *EIM*, 1915-16, p. 27, pl. V(a).

⁴ *Journal of Indian History*, 1955, pp. 281-86.

⁵ Muḥammad Bādāḡhāh, *Farhang-i-Anund Rāj* (Lucknow, 1892), p. 115.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM CUMBUM IN ANDHRA PRADESH

By DR. Z. A. DESAI

Cumbum town in the *taluk* of the same name in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh, is situated in 15°35' N. and 19°6' E., and lies at a distance of 104 miles by rail from Kurnool on the Hubli-Bezawada section of the Southern Railway. It was formerly the headquarter of the *taluk*, but was abandoned during the last century owing to its unhealthiness attributed to the dirty water of its wells. Cumbum *taluk* was a part of Kaḍpa district until 1858 A.D. when, along with two more *taluks*, it was included in the Kurnool territories to form a separate collectorate.

Cumbum seems to have been an important place in medieval times. In 1515 A.D., it passed into the hands of Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara, when he wrested Konḍaviḍu from Pratap Rudra Gajapati of Orissa. In 1579 A.D. or in the following year,¹ Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh of Golconda, determined to punish the rājas and chiefs of Konḍaviḍu, despatched a large army under 'Imādu'd-Dīn Muḥammad entitled Haidaru'l-Mulk, to march against that place. In the course of his operations, after reducing the forts of Vinukonda and Kacherlakota, Haidaru'l-Mulk marched against Cumbum, which also fell without opposition.² Before leaving the place, he left a garrison there. Since then, Cumbum seems to have formed a part of Golconda kingdom. However, during the reign of Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, a discontented officer named 'Alī Khān revolted against the royal authority and assisted by Markur Timmana, while on his way to Konḍaviḍu, laid a siege to the Cumbum fort in an attempt to take it but was defeated.³ Except for this unfruitful attempt of 'Alī Khān, Cumbum formed a part of Golconda territories and on the final overthrow of the Qutb Shāhī kingdom, passed on to the Mughals.

'Abdu'n-Nabī Khān, a grandson of Buhlūl Khān Miṡāna, the famous nobleman of the Bijapur court, was given the *faujdarī* of Kaḍpa district which, later on, became a petty state, though tributary to Hyderabad like Kurnool, and Savnur.⁴ During the rule of his great grandson, 'Abdu'l-Halīm Khān, Haidar 'Alī Khān of Mysore overran his country in about A.H. 1191 (1777-78 A.D.), and captured 'Abdu'l-Halīm Khān himself.⁵ Haidar 'Alī annexed the Kaḍpa territories which included Cumbum to his dominions and bestowed it upon his brother-in-law Mīr 'Alī Ridā Khān. It was this 'Alī Ridā Khān who made some improvements in the dam of the famous tank at Cumbum.⁶ After his death in A.H. 1195 (1780-81 A.D.), his son Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān seems to have been appointed in his place. In 1800 A.D., the Nizam of Haiderabad ceded to the British this as well as other districts, which he had acquired from Mysore by virtue of the treaties of 1792 and 1799 A.D., concluded at the close of the second and the third Mysore Wars.

¹ The first date is given in Brigg's *Firishā*, vol. III (London, 1829), p. 436 and Heras, *Aravida Dynasty of Vijayanagara* (Madras, 1927), p. 273, while the latter, which is probably the more correct date, is given in the inscription at Aminabad, mentioning Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh's conquests in this part (Sewel and Iyengar, *Historical Inscriptions of South India*, Madras, 1932, pp. 262, 266).

² Brigg, op. cit., p. 436.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

⁴ Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), p. 58.

⁵ Husain 'Alī Khān Kirmānī, *Nishān-i-Haidarī*, Eng. tr. W. Miles under the title 'The history of Hyder Naik, etc. (London, 1842), pp. 351-65, but Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., p. 59, places the incident in A.H. 1193.

⁶ Narahari Gopalakristanamah Chetty, *A manual of the Kurnool District in the Presidency of Madras* (Madras, 1886), p. 219.

Cumbum's association with the Quṭb Shāhī rule is evidenced by only one Persian inscription, which is to be found in the local Jāmi' mosque, stated to have been constructed in A.H. 1059 (1649 A.D.), by Mīr Ḥusain Aghrafi Māzandarāni, the *faujdar* of Cumbum, during the prime-ministership of Mīr Muḥammad Sa'id, the famous general-statesman of 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh. This record has been published in a previous issue of this Series,¹ while in this short paper it is intended to study five more inscriptions from Cumbum.

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

The earliest epigraph of the group is found inscribed on the headstone of a grave in the graveyard adjoining the Jāmi' mosque of the town. It is most probably dated A.H. 973 (1565-66 A.D.), a year after the famous battle of Raksasatangadi was fought. The inscription is remarkable for its exquisite penmanship: it is excellently executed in relief in *Naskh* characters of a high order. Unfortunately, some of its letters have peeled off and a few more are in the state of further deterioration subjected as it is to the inclemencies of weather.

The record comprises the Shiite *durūd*, followed by the name of the occupant of the grave—a lady, obviously of Shi'a faith, and the date. The inscriptional tablet is arch-shaped, measuring 2'5" from apex to bottom and 1'9" in width.

My reading of the inscription is given below:—

TEXT

Plate XVI(a)

الحكم لله (١)

الله محمد على (٢)

اللهم صل على المصطفى و المرتضى و البنوة (٣)

و السبطين و العباد و الباقر و الصادق (٤)

و الكاظم و الرضا و التقي و النقي و العسكري (٥)

و الحجة القايم صلوات الله عليهم اجمعين (٦)

مقبرة مرحومه مغفوره بيجه خاتون في سنة ٩٧٣ [٩] (٧)

TRANSLATION

(1) Authority belongs to God only.

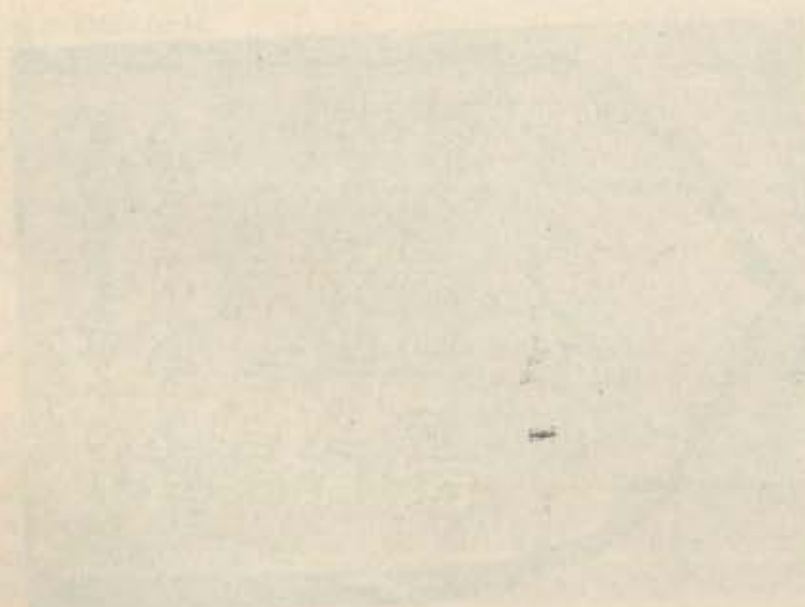
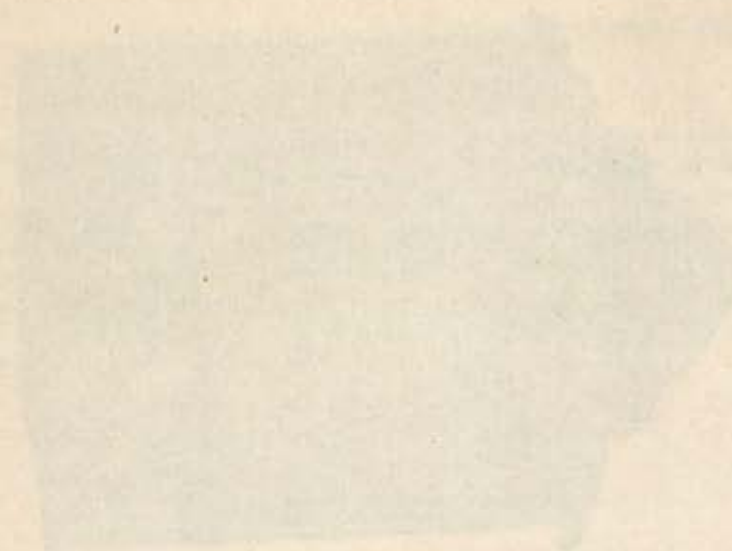
(2) God, Muḥammad, 'Alī.

(3-6) Shiite *durūd*.

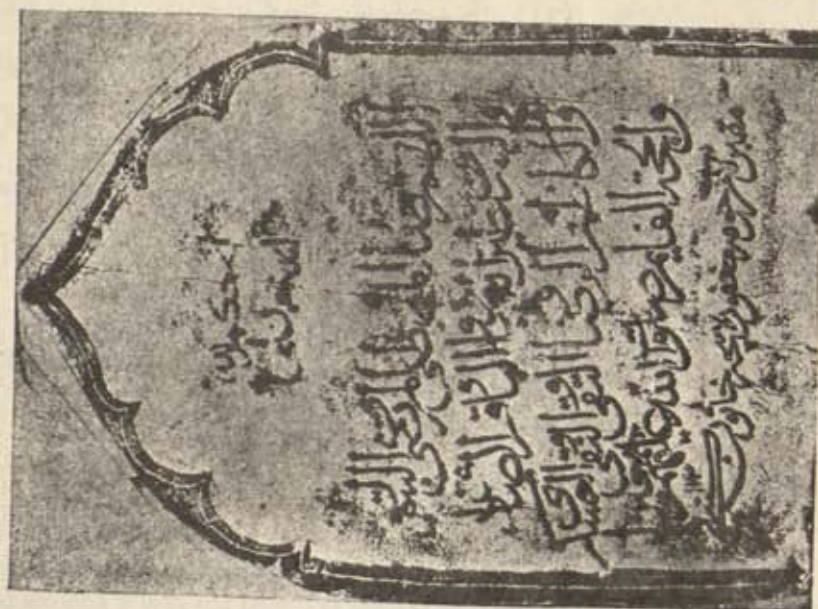
(7) The grave of Bija Khātūn, taken into His mercy and pardoned by Him, in the year (973) (A.H.=1565-66 A.D.).

The hundred figure of the date is obliterated, but a careful examination of the same on the stone itself has convinced me that it is 9, and moreover there is no space for the figures 10 or 11.

¹ Z. A. Desai, 'Quṭb Shāhī Inscriptions from Andhra State', *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement* or 1953 & 1954, pp. 32-33.



(a) Epitaph of Bija Khātūn, dated
A.H. 973 (p. 62)



SCALE : 14

(b) Epitaph of Murtaḍā Qulī Dhu'l-Qadar,
dated A.H. 1070 (p. 63)



SCALE : 13

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

The next inscription of the group is also an epitaph carved on an arch-shaped stone, now lying loose, which seems to have been disengaged from one of the many graves in the same graveyard. This record which, likewise, begins with the Shiite *durūd* registers the date of demise of one Murtaḍā Qulī, son of Ḥusain Khān Dhu'l-Qadar, viz., Jumādā II, A.H. 1070 (February-March, 1660 A.D.). The style of writing is *Naskh* without any distinctive feature. The inscriptional tablet measures 2'7" from apex to bottom and is 1'9" wide.

The epitaph has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (b)

(۱) الحکم لله واحد القهار

(۸-۲) درود

(۹) تاریخ وفات مرحومی مغفوری مرتضی قلی ولد حسین خان

(۱۰) ذو القدر در شهر جمادی الثانی فی سنة سبعین والف سنة ۱۰۷۰

TRANSLATION

(1) Authority belongs only to Allāh, the One, the Subjugator.

(2-8) Shiite *durūd*.

(9-10) The date of the death of one who was received into His mercy and pardoned by Him, namely, Murtaḍā Qulī, son of Ḥusain Khān Dhu'l-Qadar (is) in the month of Jumādā II in the year One thousand and seventy. Year 1070 (A.H.=February-March 1660 A.D.).

The name of the person referred to in the record is not traceable in available records, but like many other fellow Persian immigrants he seems to have been a man of consequence who occupied some position in the official set up of his time.

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

The next inscription is again a death record of one Khwāja Muḥammad Sharif, the *qal'adār* of Cumbum, an officer of the reign of Aurangzeb, purporting that he died on the 25th Dhu'l-Hijja of the 50th regnal year of that sovereign. It further states that the construction of the grave took place on the 25th of the month of Muḥarram, probably of the following year. The grave lies on a raised platform in a graveyard known as *Baḍā Qabristān* which is not very far from the site where the fort of Cumbum once stood. The inscriptional tablet which is arch-shaped, measures from apex to bottom 2'3" and is 1'7" wide and 3" thick.

¹ Dhu'l-Qadar is the name of 'a tribe the meaning of which in the Turkish language is an archer that never misses his aim'. (T. W. Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1894, p. 431). Quite a few members of this tribe, both in India and Iran, are found to have risen to prominence in the 16th and 17th centuries A.D.

The language of the inscription is Persian prose and the style of writing *Nasta'liq*. The reading of the epigraph runs as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVII(a)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 (۲) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ الرَّسُولُ (sic.) اللَّهُ بِتَارِيخِ بَیْسْتِ وَ پَنجَم
 (۳) شَهْرِ ذِي الْحِجَّةِ سَنَةِ پَنجَاهِ خَوَاجَه مُحَمَّد شَرِيف
 (۴) قَلْعِدَارِ كَمَمِ اَز نَوَكِرَانِ خَلْدِ مَكَانِ حَضْرَتِ عَالَمَكِيرِ غَازِي
 (۵) فَوْتِ شُدِه وَ قَبْرِ مَرْحُومِ بِتَارِيخِ بَیْسْتِ وَ پَنجَمِ مَحْرَمِ الْحَرَامِ مَرْتَبِ شُدِ

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
 (2) There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is the Prophet of God. On the twentyfifth
 (3) of the month of *Dhī'l-Hijja* in the (regnal) year 50, *Khwāja* Muḥammad *Sharif*,
 (4) *qal'adār* of Kumum,¹ a servant of *Khuld Makān* (lit. having his abode in Paradise), 'Ālamgīr
Ghāzī,
 (5) died, and his grave was constructed on the twentyfifth of Muḥarram.

In the above inscription, Aurangzeb is mentioned with the prefix *Khuld Makān*, a title by which he was officially mentioned after his death. Aurangzeb had died on the 28th *Dhī'l-Qa'd*, A.H. 1118 (20th February, 1707 A.D.), while the above-mentioned *qal'adār* is mentioned in the inscription as having died on the 25th *Dhī'l-Hijja* of the 50th regnal year, i.e. A.H. 1117 (29th March, 1706 A.D.), and the construction of his grave took place in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 1118 (28th April, 1706 A.D.). Therefore, either there is some mistake in the record in the calculation of the regnal year, or more probably, the slab was fixed after Aurangzeb had died.

Available contemporary chronicles do not make any mention of *Khwāja* Muḥammad *Sharif*. That he was the *qal'adār* of Cumbum and an officer under Aurangzeb is a piece of information I have come across only in this epigraph.

INSCRIPTION NO. 4

The next inscription which is in Persian verse belongs to the reign of Muḥammad *Shāh*, the Mughal emperor. It consists of ten couplets inscribed on a slab, measuring 1'2"2" by 2'7", which is found fixed in the west wall to the right of the central *mihrāb* of the mosque situated on the other end of the town, known today as *Gachinālā Masjid*. The mosque is so called because of its situation by the side of a *nālā* spanned by a small mortar bridge. The epigraph records the erection of a mosque in the year A.H. 1142 (1729-30 A.D.) by Muḥammad *Ṣāliḥ*, son of Muḥammad

¹ This is how Cumbum has been spelt in this inscription.

PLATE XVII

(a) Epitaph of Muhammad Sharif, Qat'adlar,
dated A.H. 1118 (p. 64)



Scale : 16

(b) Inscription, dated A.H.
1142, from the Gachnala
mosque (p. 65)

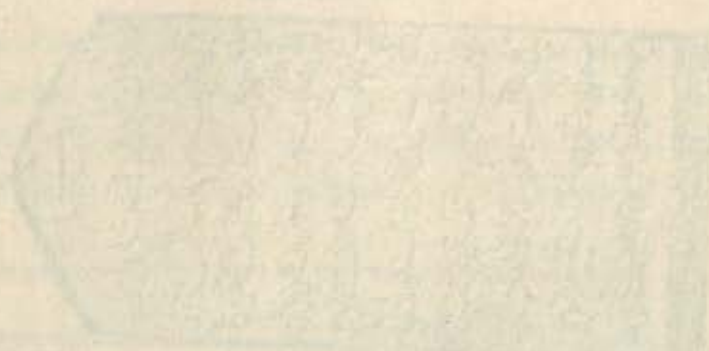
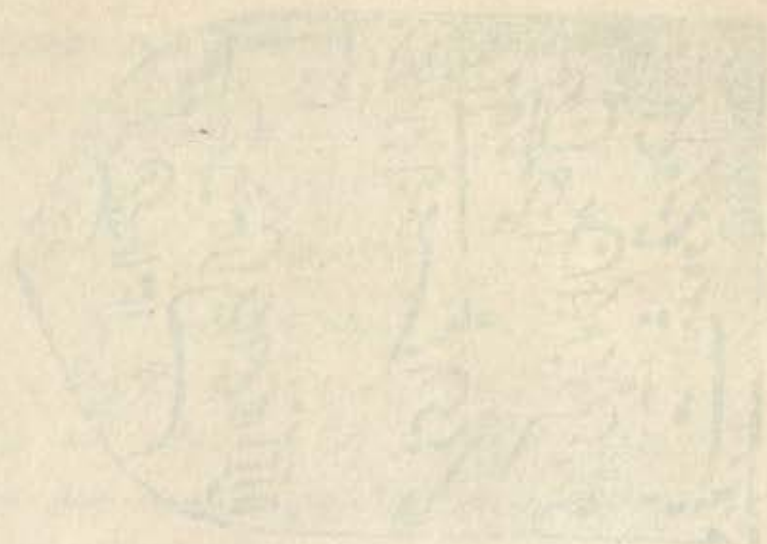


Scale : 13

(c) Inscription of a canal, dated A.H. 1193,
from the dam on the tank (p. 67)



Scale : 08



Kāzim of Tabriz, who was the governor and *nā'im* of Cumbum in that year under the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh. The inscription is important inasmuch as it makes it clear that at this date Cumbum was directly under the Delhi government and that it had nothing to do with the Kaḍpa chiefs.

The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of a high order. The quality of verses, unlike in the case of quite a few inscriptions we generally come across, is also quite satisfactory. I have read this inscription as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVII(b)

(۱) هو الله سبحانه و تعالی

(۲) در خجسته زمان شاهنشاه	بادشاه جهان محمد شاه
(۳) بود بتغاله در کهیم محکم	با حصینی متین مستحکم
(۴) خان والا قدر بلند مکان	منیع الجود معدن الاحسان
(۵) خان ذی شان محمد صالح	در صلاح امور دین فالح
(۶) ابن حاجی محمد کاظم	در کهیم بود حاکم و ناظم
(۷) از بزرگان عمده تبریز	آن مکان است بس بزرگی خیز
(۸) در شکسته بنای بتخانه	هم بتان را شکست مردانه
(۹) ساخت مسجد دران مکان لایق	بر عمارات همگنان فایق
(۱۰) سال تاریخ گفت هاتق غیب	مسجدی خوشنما بجا با زیب
(۱۱) سال هجر نبی علیه سلام	چهل و دو یک صد و هزار تمام

(۱۲) سنه ۱۱۴۲ هجری

TRANSLATION

- (1) He is Allāh, may He be Glorified, the Most Exalted.
- (2) During the august rule of the emperor, king of the world, Muḥammad Shāh,
- (3) there was a well-established idol-house in Kuhmum¹ which was strengthened and fortified by a small fortress.
- (4-5) The *Khān* of lofty dignity (and) of high position, the source of generosity and mine of beneficence, the *Khān* (who is) the master of (high) position, (namely), Muḥammad Sālīh, who prospers in the rectitude of the affairs of Faith,

¹ This is how Cumbum is spelt in this epigraph.

- (6) son of Hājī Muḥammad Kāzim was the ruler and governor of Kuhmum.
- (7) (He is one) of the select grandees of the city of Tabriz,¹ which place is celebrated for producing great persons.
- (8) (He) razed to the ground the edifice of the idol-house, and also broke the idols in a manly fashion.
- (9) (He) constructed on its site, a suitable mosque, towering above the buildings of all.
- (10) The Angel of the Unseen communicated the date of its construction in the words: *A mosque, pleasant in appearance, well founded, and elegant.*
- (11) The year of the migration of the Prophet, may peace (of God) be on him, was fortytwo, one hundred and one thousand.
- (12) Year 1142 (A.H.=1729-30 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 5

The last inscription of this group is from the dam on the great tank of Cumbum, called locally *Sailāb Kā Kaṭṭā*, which is 'by far the most noteworthy feature of this part of the country'. The magnificent tank was formed by damming gorge amidst hills, through which flows the Gundlakamma river. It ranks as one of the largest tanks in the district and is used for irrigation purposes. As regards the history of the tank, it may be summarised thus: The Hindu sage Jamadagni is said to have commenced the tank which was further improved in the fourteenth century by Gopana Udayar, a governor of the Gajapatis of Kalinga. As the embankment often gave way, two shepherd brothers were sacrificed to the goddess of water, and two villages, designated Pedda and Chinna Cumbum, were built to commemorate their names. Subsequently, after the bund was cut and the breach having remained unclosed for about fifty years, Princess Varadarāmma of the Gajapati family, who was on her way to join her husband at Vijayanagara, spent her dowry on the restoration of the tank which was from time to time repaired. Nawwāb 'Alī Ridā Khān, brother-in-law of Haidar 'Alī, mentioned in the inscription below, also made some improvements.²

The arch-shaped slab of stone bearing this inscription measures from top to bottom 3'10", is 3' wide and about 3" thick. The lettering on the stone is considerably weathered owing to its exposure to the elements of nature and moreover, the slab is fixed up in such a place that it has been quite a job to prepare its inked rubbing. The site of the epigraph is about a mile and a half from the town and at the same distance from the main dam, where the P.W.D. Inspection Bungalow is situated. The inscription records the digging of a canal by Nawwāb 'Alī Ridā Khān in the year A.H. 1193 (1779-80 A.D.). The inscription further describes various agricultural produces of the place, e.g. wheat, sugarcane, etc., and states that the canal was prepared for increasing the yield of rice. Even today, the Cumbum Valley delights the eye with its vast green fields of sugar-candy, wheat, paddy, etc. The epigraph also speaks of Cumbum as equal to Kashmir in beauty.

The inscription, apart from the *Bismillāh*, comprises five lines of Persian verse of no merit, executed in relief in *Nasta'liq* letters, which are not so elegant as they are bold. The

¹ A city, now capital of the Western Ādhar Bāyājān province of Iran.

² For a detailed description and history of the tank, see Chetty, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-19. The account has been more or less repeated in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

date is contained in a chronogram as well as in figures. The text of the record has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVII(c)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(۲) نام خدای نهری چون نهر آب حیوان
ایجاد شد ز جودی نواب علی رضا خان
(۳) خوان برنج بیرنج تا وا شود بهر کس
نان جوار نبود جزو همت بلندان
(۴) اندر فضای کهمم روید نبات گندم
کشمیر را بتوام هر چار سوی میدان
(۵) آدای شکر لطفش هر ذیجیات را شد
چون شکر حق تعالی فرض آمده بانسان
(۶) از جود تا رضاکن تحویل نام نیکو
خواهیکه تا بدانی تاریخنامه آن

(۷) سنه ۱۱۹۳

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
- (2) A canal, like that of the Water of Life, was prepared in the name of God, through the generosity of Nawwāb 'Alī Ridā Khān,¹
- (3) in order that the dishes of rice may be available in full supply to every body without any trouble since, the loaf of *jowār* does not appeal to the aspirations of the great.
- (4) In the plain of Kuhmum² grow candy and wheat; (with) plains on all sides, it is twin with Kashmir.
- (5) It is necessary for every animate being to offer thanks for his kindness, just as thanks-giving to God the Most High (for His favours) has been made obligatory for man.
- (6) Make over to good name (by practising virtues) from generosity to resignation, if you wish to know its date-scroll.
- (7) Year 1193 (A.H.=1779-80 A.D.).

The date is yielded by adding the numerical values of the letters contained in the words from "جودی نواب علی رضا" occurring in the first hemistich. These words, "جودی نواب علی رضا", on adding up the values of their letters according to *Abjad* system, give the date A.H. 1193 (1779-80 A.D.).

Mir 'Alī Ridā Khān, referred to above, is the famous officer and brother-in-law of Haidar 'Alī Khān, the sultān of Mysore; Sultān Tipū of immortal fame was born of his sister. 'Alī Ridā Khān seems to have been one of Haidar's best officers, as his son Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān was that of Tipū. Before he entered Haidar's service, 'Alī Ridā was residing with his family in Barh Mahal, after enjoying for some time the *qa'adārī* of Gurramkonda. He was summoned

¹ This phrase constitutes the chronogram, as stated in verse 6 below.

² This is how Cumbum has been spelt in this inscription.

from Barh Mahal, and the third sister of Haïdar 'Alī's first wife was given to him in marriage.¹ In about A.H. 1170 (1756 A.D.), he was appointed *faujdar* of Barh Mahal whence, on receipt of Haïdar's message, he joined him at Bangalore, where Haïdar had gone with a small force to punish an unruly poligar.² Two years later, he was left at Balapur with strict instructions to take the fort of Nandi, where the said poligar had shut himself up. He besieged the hill fort, accordingly, and subdued it within a short time. In A.H. 1175 (1761 A.D.), he was appointed *faujdar* of Serah, which he surrendered to the Marahattas in the following year, as he could not put up a sufficient defence against their attack. He also entered the service of the Marahatta chief Mādhaw Rāo, who treated him kindly, and later, appointed him in charge of Gurramkonda, when it was wrested from the hands of Haïdar's officers by Mādhaw Rāo.³ Not long after this, however, 'in consequence of his ties of kindredship with Haider', he returned reconciled to the latter, but was again taken captive in A.H. 1182 (1768 A.D.), by the Marahatta chief Trambak Māmā, a maternal uncle of Mādhaw Rāo.⁴ He was sent as a prisoner to Poona, but was ultimately released at the mediation of Nānā Fadnavis. Haïdar conferred upon him the *jāgīr* of Gurramkonda and Dindigul. In the following years, he accompanied Haïdar or his son Tipū in several expeditions at one time or the other, and was given charge of the Kadpa estate, after the same was reduced by Haïdar and its chief Ḥalīm Khān taken prisoner.⁵ In A.H. 1195 (1781 A.D.), he was killed in the battle of Muhammad Bandar deeply mourned by Haïdar.⁶

¹ Hussain 'Alī Khān Kirmānī, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79, 89.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 156.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-191.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 251, 357, 362, 365, 380.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 429.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ALAUD-DIN KHALJI FROM CHITORGADH

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

Chitorgadh, headquarters of the district of the same name in the State of Rajasthan, came into possession of the Guhila kings of Mewar in the first quarter of the eighth century A.D. The twentieth Guhila king, Śaktikumāra, was defeated by the Paramāra ruler of Malwa, Munj (974-93 A.D.), who annexed Mewar to his dominion. The latter's nephew, King Bhojadeva, is reported to have taken up residence at Chitor for sometime. The Paramāras continued to rule over the territory until the time of Naravarmā and Yashovarmā (1134-35 A.D.), during whose reign Siddharāja Jayasinhha, Chaulukya king of Gujarat (1093-1143 A.D.), brought it under his sway. It remained under the Chaulukyas till the time of Ajayapāla (1173-76 A.D.), when Rāwal Sāmantasinhha of Mewar (1171-79 A.D.) recovered it from the Chaulukyas, but before he could consolidate his hold, he was attacked and driven out of Chitor by Kīrtipāla, the Chauhāna ruler of Jalor in Marwad. Within a short time, however, Sāmantasinhha's brother, Kumārasinhha, managed to wrest his ancestral dominion from the hands of the Jalor chief with the help of the Gujarat king. Thereafter, the fortress remained in the possession of the Guhila kings for about a century and a quarter until 1303 A.D., when Rāwal Ratansinhha lost it, after a siege of about 8 months, to the Delhi Sultan, 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khālji, who named it as Khidrābād and appointed his son, Khidr Khān, as its first governor.¹

That Chitor remained directly under the authority of the Delhi Sultans throughout the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn and, at least, until the accession of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh in 1325 A.D., is a matter of difference among the modern writers on the subject.² For example, according to Haldar and Lal, 'Alāu'd-Dīn, having found it impossible to hold out Chitor against the gallant Rajputs, ordered his son Khidr Khān to vacate it—after about ten years, according to Haldar and between the years 1313 and 1315 A.D. according to Lal—and hand it over to Māldeva Songarā. The account of what happened afterwards as given by these authors is again a matter of conjecture rather than of facts based on unimpeachable sources. According to this account, Chitor remained under the direct or indirect control of the Sultans of Delhi till about 1325 A.D., after which it was conquered by Rānā Hammīr of Sisoda, while Lal asserts that after the death of Māldeva in about 1321, Hammīr became master of the whole of Mewar, and assumed the title of Mahārānā.³

These writers have unfortunately overlooked a few pieces of evidence in the course of their study. The story of Māldeva's appointment as governor is first met with in the annals of Firishṭa, who wrote at least three hundred years after the conquest of Chitor. Moreover, as Lal himself has noticed, there is some discrepancy in Firishṭa's statement about the time of Khidr Khān's evacuation of Chitor.⁴ The other source of the story is Nainsi's *Khayāt* compiled in 1650-66 A.D.—

¹ R. R. Haldar, 'Chitor and its Sieges', *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LIX (1930), pp. 163-66.

² G. H. Ojha, *Udaipur Rājya Kā Itihāsa*, vol. I (Ajmer, V. S. 1888), pp. 189-98, 233-36; Haldar, *op. cit.*; K. S. Lal, *History of the Khajjis* (Allahabad, 1950), pp. 130-31.

³ Haldar, *op. cit.*, p. 160; Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 131. Dr. Mahdi Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* (London, 1938), pp. 94-100, has also dealt with this aspect of Chitor's history at some length.

⁴ Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 130, fn. 30. In view of the inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khālji, dated 1310 A.D. (described *infra*), as well as Firishṭa's statement implying the presence of the imperial garrison in Chitor in the year 1311-12, he fixed the time of Māldeva's appointment between the year 1313 and 1315. Haldar, *op. cit.*, p. 166, also computes the period of Khidr Khān's governorship as 10 years which would give 1313 as the initial year of Māldeva's governorship. These conclusions, based as they are on unsubstantiated evidence, can at best be termed arbitrary.

about three hundred and fifty years after the event—which also, according to Lal himself, is 'not a historical work in the real sense of the term'.¹ On the other hand, the narrative of an early writer, 'Iṣāmī, concerning the events of Chitor and Gujarat during the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn and his son Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, puts the whole thing in a different perspective. At least, Lal's statement of the Sisoda chief Hammīr's becoming the sovereign of the whole of Mewar in 1321 A.D. after the death of Māldeva is proved to be utterly baseless. Fortunately, two very important records of the early Tughluq period have survived, providing extremely valuable evidence on the point. For example, the fragmentary Chitor inscription of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh's reign (1320-25 A.D.), now deposited in the Udaipur Museum, mentions Malik Asadu'd-Dīn, presumably as a governor.² The same Asadu'd-Dīn is clearly mentioned as the governor of Chitor in the other and the only surviving complete Muslim record, still to be seen at that place, which is dated the 18th September, 1325 A.D., in the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.³ It is obvious that Malik Asadu'd-Dīn, a nephew of Tughluq Shāh, who was appointed *nāib-i-bārbak* of the realm in 1320 A.D., had only succeeded a previous governor of Chitor and continued to hold the same post till at least the first year of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reign. Otherwise, if he were freshly appointed to govern Chitor, it would mean that Chitor was reconquered by Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh, some time after his accession, but such an expedition against Chitor by Tughluq Shāh, who, incidentally, is mentioned by 'Iṣāmī as having gone to that place at least twice, before his accession, to meet 'Ainu'l-Mulk Multānī with a message from Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh,⁴ is unknown to students of history. Thus, it is an established fact that at least until September 1325 A.D., Hammīr of Sisoda had nothing to do with Chitor. Moreover, the account of Hammīr's taking Chitor, his being attacked in turn by Muḥammad bin Tughluq and the latter's defeat and arrest at the hands of the former, which does not find mention in any historical work, reads more like a tale than serious historical narrative.

Considered in the light of the dearth of sufficient historical evidence, it is, indeed, a matter of great pity that the Arabic and Persian inscriptions of Chitor should have disappeared along with the buildings on which they were set up, thus depriving us of a very important source of history. The condition of the inscriptions of 'Alāu'd-Dīn's reign, which are studied below, is sufficient to indicate that there must have been originally quite a few Muslim epigraphs at Chitor which are lost to us through the combined agencies of human beings and nature.

With the exception of one, the five inscriptions that are being described in this short article were found by me in the course of my visit to Chitorgadh in July 1955. Unfortunately, all the records are fragmentary and incomplete. Two of these bear dates, while of the remaining three, two are undoubtedly remnants of historical records, and the third comprises only a Quranic verse.

The earliest of these records is engraved on a slab of white marble. Measuring in its present state 26" by 11", it was found built up into the wall of a *sedarī*, near the steps, in the house of a well-known merchant of Chitorgadh, the late Shri Hukamchandji Pokharna.⁵ The way in which the inscription was discovered is interesting and deserves mention here: I had intimated the purpose of my visit to Chitorgadh to my learned teacher, Mr. N. S. Sayyid, who happened to be posted there at that time. On inquiries from various quarters, he was informed about this tablet by a Muslim mason who had carried out repairs to Shri Pokharna's house quite sometime back. However, when the members of the Pokharna family were contacted by us, they expressed their

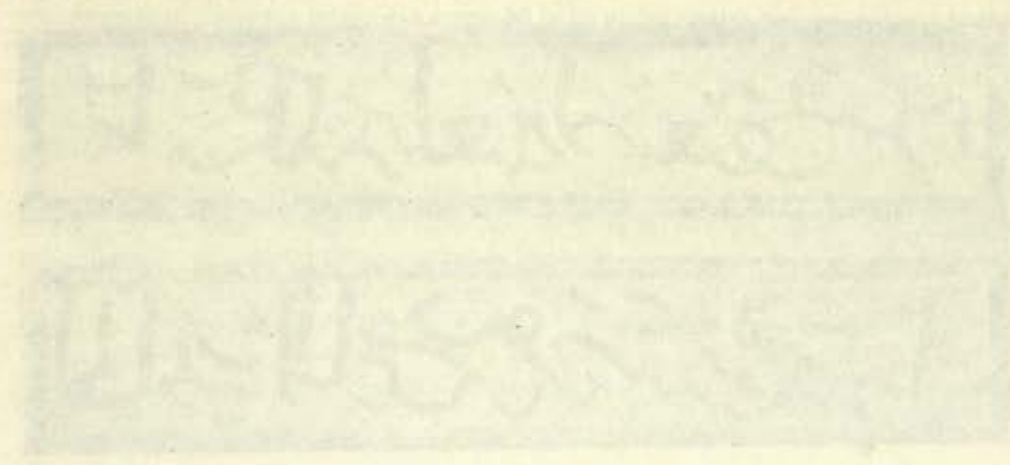
¹ Lal, op. cit., p. 405.

² Z. A. Desai, 'Inscription from the Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur', *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement* for 1955 & 56, pp. 67-70, pl. XVII(a).

³ *Ibid.*, pl. XVII (b).

⁴ 'Iṣāmī, op. cit., pp. 348-49.

⁵ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1955-56, No. C, 125.



The following text is a very faint, illegible passage, likely a continuation of the text from the previous page. It appears to be a single paragraph of text, possibly in a different script or a very faded version of the same script.

(a) Inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī, dated A.H. 704, on a slab built up in a private house (p. 71)



SCALE : .23

(b) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 709, from Ghaibī Pīr's Dargāh (p. 72)



SCALE : .13

unawareness about the whereabouts or even the presence of the tablet in the house. But when the exact spot where the tablet was supposed to lie under plaster was pointed out to them, Shri Bhanwarlal, the eldest member of the family, consented through the good offices of Shri Vishvadev, then District Magistrate of Chitorgadh, to have the slab removed.¹ This was done, and the wall properly repaired through the help of the personnel of the Chitorgadh sub-office of the Western Circle of the Department of Archaeology. To all these persons, I am deeply indebted.

On examination, the slab was found to bear an incomplete inscription in two lines belonging to the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji. The tablet bearing the first part of the text is unfortunately lost, while the surviving text contains, in addition to the benedictory phrase praying for the eternal rule of the king, the name of the builder and the date, viz. Sartiz Alp? Khānī and 8th Ṣafar, A.H. 704 (10th September, 1304 A.D.) respectively. It is difficult to say anything about the object of the record or about the building on which it was first set up. The calligraphy of the inscription is Naskh which is in general conformity with the style of writing employed in contemporary records.

The inscription is damaged and reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (a)

(۱) خلد ملکه العبد الضعیف سرتیز
(۲) الخانی (الپخانی؟) فی الثامن من صفر سنه اربع و سبعمائیه

TRANSLATION

(1) may his kingdom last for ever, (by) the weak creature Sartiz

(2) al-Khānī (Alp Khānī ?), on the 8th of the month of Ṣafar, year (A.H.) four and seven hundred (8th Ṣafar, A.H. 704=10th September, 1304 A.D.).

The writing of the inscription is considerably damaged and hence, the reading of the name of the person who had presumably carried out some construction is not distinct in the impression. To me it appears to be Sartiz. Likewise, his *nisba* seems to read clearly “الخانی” (al-Khānī) in the estampage, but it may have been the engraver's mistake for “الپخانی” (Alp-Khānī), since unlike a similar *nisba* ‘as-Sultānī’, we do not generally come across the *nisba* ‘al-Khānī’ in historical works or inscriptions and coins. Provided my reading of the name of the builder is correct, he may be identified with Malik ‘Imādu’l-Mulk Sartiz Sultānī, who is mentioned as a senior nobleman in his list of the nobles of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh’s reign by Baranī. It is very likely that Sartiz was first attached, during ‘Alāu’d-Dīn Khalji’s reign, to Alp Khān, the latter’s brother-in-law, and governor, first, of Multan and later of Gujarat. Sartiz, who was awarded the title of ‘Imādu’l-Mulk by Muḥammad bin Tughluq on his accession, had also acted as governor of Multan in the early years of that monarch’s reign, was later made the *vazīr* (minister) of Deogir in about 1345 A.D., and was ultimately killed in a battle against the then rebel Ḥasan Zafar Khān, founder of the Bahmanī dynasty of Deccan.²

¹ The slab has been since removed to the office of the Archaeological sub-overseer in the Fort.

² Ḍiyāu’d-Dīn Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firās Shāhī (Calcutta, 1863), pp. 454, 501, 515, 520; ‘Isāmī, op. cit., pp. 461, 479, 512, 516-20, etc.

The next inscription from Chitorgadh is found engraved on a tablet of black granite measuring about 55" by 20", which is fixed into the west wall of the mortuary of the tomb of Ghaibi Pir, situated at a distance of about a mile outside the Delhi gate of the town.¹ In this case also, the record being fragmentary, it is not possible to give its purport; the extant portion of the text, comprising four verses in Persian, merely contains the eulogy of the king and the date, namely, 10th Dhi'l-Hijja, A.H. 709 (11th May, 1310 A.D.). But it would not be unlikely, as discussed in the study of the next inscription, if this record originally formed part of the epigraph referring to the construction of the Jāmi' mosque of Chitor by 'Alāu'd-Dīn.

The style of writing is bold *Nasḥ* and the record reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (b)

(۱) شهریار جهان محمد شاه آفتاب زمان و ظل اله
 بوالمظفر سکندر ثانی شد مسلم پرو جهانپای
 (۲) عشر ذوالحجه موسم قربان سال بد هفصد و نه از هجران
 تا بود کعبه قبله عالم باد ملک شه بنی آدم

TRANSLATION

(1) king of the world, Muḥammad Shāh, the Sun of the Age and Shadow of God (on earth), Bu'l-Muẓaffar, the second Alexandar, to whom has been granted sovereignty.

(2) (It was) the tenth of Dhu'l-Hijja, the day (lit. time) of Sacrifice (*Qurbān*) (and) the year was seven hundred and nine from the migration (of the Prophet) (i.e., 10th Dhi'l-Hijja, A.H. 709 = 11th May, 1310 A.D.). As long as the Ka'ba continues to remain the altar of the world, may the kingdom of the lord of human beings endure.

The fragmentary black granite tablet bearing the third inscription measures 14" by 18" and contains only a small portion of the original record which appears to have related to the construction of a congregational mosque in Chitor. It is found built up into the prayer-niche of a small one-wall mosque in the graveyard situated opposite to the above-mentioned tomb of Ghaibi Pir. The surviving text barely comprises two hemistiches in Persian, but it is nevertheless important, as it speaks of the erection of a Jāmi' mosque to which it must have originally belonged. It is also interesting to note, provided of course I am not wrong in my conjectural reading of the second hemistich, that the said Jāmi' mosque was constructed at the site of a temple which was then lying in ruins. This is particularly important as showing that, not always as is generally supposed, the Hindu buildings were pulled down to provide materials for mosques and other similar monuments. Neither the name of the king nor the date appears in the record, but looking to the calligraphy of the inscription, it appears almost certain that it is contemporary with the previous record. Not only that, but it would not be unlikely if this small fragment and the larger fragment containing

¹ *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. C, 126; Ojha, *Annual Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer* (Delhi, 1923), p. 12. Lal, op. cit., p. 130, fn. 3, has quoted the text.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript is written in Arabic script on parchment. It contains a large number of lines of text, some of which are written in a larger, more decorative hand. The text is arranged in columns, and there are several large, ornate initials or headings. The parchment is aged and shows some staining and wear.



Handwritten text in Arabic script, possibly a title or a reference.

Handwritten text in Arabic script, possibly a date or a location.

Handwritten text in Arabic script, possibly a description or a note.



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- (a) Fragment of the Jāmi' mosque inscription,
from near Ghaibī Pir's Dargāh (p. 73)



SCALE : ·12

- (b) Loose fragment of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī's
inscription (p. 73)



SCALE : ·14

- (c) Inscription on a pillar built up in Sāgar Bāoli (p. 74)



SCALE : ·14

the preceding record, originally formed part of the same inscription, for, apart from the same type of stone used for engraving both the records, it will be observed that the verses in both the texts are composed in the same metre and also, the size of the panels containing a hemistich each is the same in the case of both. If this guess is correct, it would mean that 'Alāu'd-Dīn had ordered the construction, in Chitor, of a congregational mosque, which was completed on the day of the 'Id of Sacrifice, the 10th of Dhī'l-Hijja of the year A.H. 709 (11th May, 1310 A.D.). Needless to say, no trace remains of any old mosque in Chitor today.

The inscription has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIX (a)

مسجد جمعه را بنا کر ده

[بنده کده بود خر] اب افتاده

TRANSLATION

He constructed the congregational mosque.

There was a temple lying in ruins.

The fourth inscription is, likewise, a fragmentary record engraved in relief on a marble slab, measuring in its present condition 18" by 9". The tablet, whose findspot is not known, is now kept in the Top Khāna building inside the fort. The extant text only contains the name of the emperor and his title. The style of writing is Naskh of the same type as is generally met with in the inscriptions of this period. This epigraph reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIX (b)

[سکندر ثانی] ابوالمظفر محمد شاه

TRANSLATION

The second [Alexander], Abu'l-Muzaffar Muhammad Shāh

The last inscription of the present group is engraved on a pillar or beam of gray sandstone, measuring 48" by 12". The beam is built up into the wall of the water-pully stand of a step-well, called Sāgar Bāoli, in the heart of the city, at a height of about six and a half feet. It is obvious that the slab is not *in situ* and that it must have originally belonged to some Islamic monument which now no more exists. The epigraph, in its present state, comprises only a Quranic verse and hence, it is difficult to say what building it was originally intended for. The

inscription can be safely ascribed to the period of 'Alāu'd-Dīn on palaeographical ground and has been read as under :—

TEXT

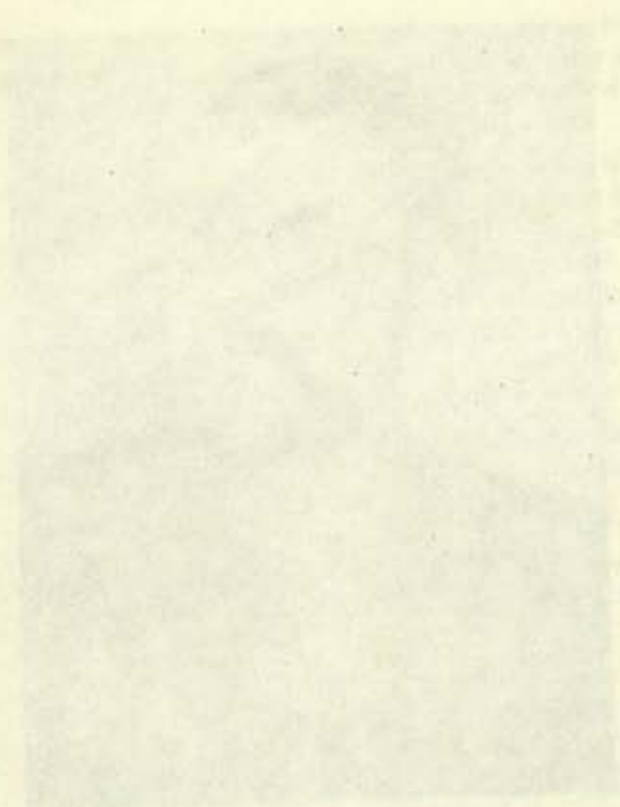
Plate XIX (c)

[ة] ل [ن] يصيبنا الا ما كتب الله لنا هو مولانا و على الله فليتوكل الموم[نون]

TRANSLATION

' Say, nothing will befall us save that which Allāh has ordained for us. He is our Master and in Allāh the faithful have trust.'¹

¹ *Qur'ān*, Ch. 12, verse 51.



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Maulavi Muhammad Ashraf Husain, M.A.
Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, 1949-1954

Born : 1st July 1895
at Bahraich,
Bahraich District,
Uttar Pradesh.

Died : 2nd December 1958
at Delhi.

MUHAMMAD ASHRAF HUSAIN

We regret to announce that Maulavi Muhammad Ashraf Husain M.A., the late Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy (Arabic and Persian inscriptions), passed away at New Delhi on the 2nd December, 1958, at the age of 63 after a long illness. The Persian and Arabic studies in general and epigraphy in particular have suffered a great loss in his death.

The late Mr. Husain was born on the 1st July, 1895, in an eminent family, at Bahraich in the Bahraich District of Uttar Pradesh. He received his early education at Mahoba, District Hamirpur, where his family had settled down permanently. Two years after passing his Entrance examination at the age of 14, he came to Agra, where by sheer hard work and merit, he passed his F.A. and B.A. examinations. He took his first M.A. degree in History with First Class honours from the Aligarh University (old Oriental College) and also received certificates of M.O.L., Maulavi Fazil, Munshi Kamil, etc., with honours. He took his second M.A. in Persian in 1928 from Agra. He was also a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

After serving as a teacher in one or two educational institutions at Agra, the late Mr. Husain entered the Archaeological Survey of India in 1922, as Gallery Assistant in the office of the Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Northern Circle, Agra and was Munshi (literary Assistant) to the Superintendent continuously from 1923 until 1946 when he was promoted as Senior Epigraphical Assistant. By his intelligence, sound scholarship and hard work, he soon became, in 1949, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy (Arabic and Persian inscriptions), which post he held until his final retirement from service in 1954.

The late Mr. Husain's study was extensive as well as intensive. He had a deep knowledge of various subjects connected with Indo-Muslim history and culture and was particularly well-versed in calligraphy, architecture, epigraphy, numismatics and painting. Apart from contributing a number of articles on different subjects, he compiled *A Guide to the Agra Fort*, *A Guide to Fatehpur Sikri* and *A Guide to the Historical monuments of Delhi*. He also edited the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* for 1949-50.

The following learned article of Mr. Husain was published in the *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement* for 1951 & 52 :—

‘Inscriptions in the Agra Fort.’

The late Mr. Husain is survived by his widow, an elder sister, four sons and two daughters.

May Allah's mercy and peace be on him ! Amen !

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

We are now in the year 1776, and the American people are about to declare their independence from Great Britain. The British government has been oppressive and tyrannical, and the American people have been suffering under its yoke. They have been taxed without representation, and their rights have been trampled upon. They have been forced to fight a war for their freedom, and they have won it. They are now free and independent people, and they are determined to remain so.

The first step in the process of independence was the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. This document declared that the United States were free and independent states, and that they were no longer bound to the British government. The Declaration was signed by the delegates to the Continental Congress, and it was a landmark event in the history of the United States. It was the first time that the American people had declared their independence from a foreign power, and it was a bold and courageous act.

The Declaration of Independence was not the end of the struggle for independence, however. The British government refused to accept the Declaration, and it continued to fight the American Revolution. The American people fought a hard and bloody war, and they finally won their independence in 1781. The war was a testament to the courage and determination of the American people, and it was a defining moment in the history of the United States.

The American Revolution was a turning point in the history of the United States. It was the first time that a colony had successfully won its independence from a major power, and it was a source of inspiration for other nations. The American people had shown that they were capable of fighting for their freedom, and they had won. They had created a new nation, and they were determined to protect it.

The American Revolution was a great achievement, and it was a source of pride for the American people. It was a testament to their courage and determination, and it was a defining moment in the history of the United States.

The American Revolution was a great achievement, and it was a source of pride for the American people. It was a testament to their courage and determination, and it was a defining moment in the history of the United States.

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DR. Z. A. DESAI



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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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1961

ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF THE RAJPUT PERIOD FROM GUJARAT

By DR. Z. A. DESAI

Twentyone inscriptions of the Sultans of Gujarat found at various places in Saurashtra, now included in the Gujarat State, were studied by me in a previous issue of this Series, where a brief reference was also made to the availability of important epigraphical material in this part of the sub-continent and want of proper efforts to tap the same.¹ In view of the apparent need of a correct and scientific study of these epigraphs, it was then stipulated to publish the available material in two more articles, one of which was to relate to the pre-Sultanate records, while the other was intended to cover post-Sultanate inscriptions of the province.² But since that article was written, a good deal of fresh material has come to light necessitating some modification in this plan.³ Consequently, it has now been found convenient to further classify the pre-Sultanate inscriptions into two groups: one of Muslim records that were set up before the Muslim conquest of Gujarat by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī in 1297-98 A.D.; and the other, of inscriptions belonging to the Delhi Sultans, on whose behalf Gujarat was governed subsequent to the establishment of Muslim rule there.

In the present article, I have dealt with nine Arabic inscriptions of the pre-Muslim period, which have been found at various places in Gujarat including Saurashtra.

These records make an interesting study primarily because they were set up in Gujarat at a time when it had still resisted Muslim authority. That the Muslims inhabited quite a few cities, especially on the coastal line of Gujarat, quite long before its final subjugation by them, is an established fact. The accounts of the Arab travellers like Mas'ūdī, Istakhri, Ibn Hauqal and others, who visited Gujarat during the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era, amply testify to the settlements of Muslims in various towns and cities.⁴ The inscriptions studied below also tend to corroborate the fact that the Muslims had continued to inhabit Gujarat until it became a part of the Muslim empire of Delhi. Moreover, they also furnish rare data for an appraisal of the condition of the Muslims under the non-Muslim rulers of Gujarat. On one hand, they indicate the extent of the permeation of Islamic influence in Gujarat at a time when it was still ruled by its

¹ Z. A. Desai, 'Inscriptions of the Sultans of Gujarat from Saurashtra', *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1953 and 54, pp. 49-77.

² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³ For example, quite a few new epigraphs of the Sultans have been found in the past few years; these have been listed in the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)* for 1954-55, Nos. C, 22, 49, 50, 51, 81, 91, 94; *ibid.*, 1956-57, Nos. D, 15, 39, 51, 54, 60, 63, 76, 94; *ibid.*, 1959-60, Nos. D, 86, 92, 94, 103, 155, etc., and will be published in due course.

⁴ For an excellent article on the subject, see Muhammad Ibrahim Dar, *Literary and Cultural Activities in Gujarat under the Khaljis and the Sultanate* (Bombay, 1960), pp. 15-22.

own Rajput princes and show that the Muslims had long penetrated into different parts of Gujarat where they lived as merchants, traders, sea-men, missionaries, etc.; these settlements were not only on the coastal regions but also in the interior as is indicated by some of these records. On the other hand, these epigraphs form a concrete and ever-living proof of the tolerance and consideration shown *vis-a-vis* their Muslim subjects by the Hindu kings who were no doubt profited by the trade and commerce carried on by these foreign settlers.

These inscriptions are to be found in different places, viz. Cambay and Patan (N.G.) in Gujarat proper and Veraval, Junagadh and Prabhas Patan in Saurashtra. Three of them refer to the construction of mosques, one registering an endowment as well, while the remaining six constitute obituary notices of persons who belonged to different professions. Almost all the persons mentioned in these records were connected, either by birth or by origin, with Persia and in fact, two of them have parental names which definitely indicate Zoroastrian lineage. These men appear to have been carrying on trade, owning ships or enjoying some administrative authority as will be discussed at the proper place. At least one of them was a man of literary taste, whose two *rubā'īs* and one *ghazal* in Persian, inscribed in his epitaph (No. VIII), are not only remarkable for their high metrical quality, but also provide the earliest available example of Persian verse in Gujarat.

Of particular interest in this group are two inscriptions: the one (No. I), from Cambay, recording the construction of a mosque in A.H. 615 (1218 A.D.), is the oldest Muslim inscription so far known, not only of Gujarat,¹ but also of the southern and eastern regions of India. Moreover, it originally belonged to a mosque constructed on the site of an earlier one, which latter was rebuilt, as will be described in details later, through the generous donation of the celebrated Chaulukya king Siddharāja Jayasinha of Gujarat. The other inscription (No. IV) has proved to be the hitherto unassigned Arabic version of the famous Harasiddha Mātā Temple inscription at Veraval.

These nine records are all composed in Arabic; No. VIII may be considered an exception in that it contains, as has been stated above, few Persian verses of the deceased mentioned in that record, but the text of the epitaph proper is Arabic.

Calligraphically too, these inscriptions are bound to prove of sufficient interest and value for the comparative study of the styles of writing or scripts employed in contemporary Arabic and Persian inscriptions of India. Broadly speaking, the calligraphy of Gujarat inscriptions may be divided into three, more or less distinct, categories: one, represented by the epitaphs included in this study;² the second, employed in some of the inscriptions of the Tughluqs and the Sultans of Gujarat; and the third, to be seen in some of the later Tughluq and very early Sultanate inscriptions. Of these, the second may be correlated to a certain extent with the 'Bow-and-Arrow variety' style of Muslim inscriptions from Bengal, a feature of Indo-Muslim palaeography that deserves close study. The Gujarat style obviously served as a model for the artists of Bengal whose imagination seems to have been stirred to such an extent that, to the exclusion of other

¹ Dr. M. A. Chaghtai, *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad* (Poona, 1942), p. 22, pl. Ia, describes what he claims is the earliest inscription of Gujarat, dated A. H. 445 (1053 A.D.), but the authenticity of that record is not established beyond doubt. Also the other two 13th century inscriptions in *ibid.*, pp. 24-25, Nos. II and III, are in fact later records belonging to the 15th century. Likewise, the text of an epitaph from Ghogha in Saurashtra, said to contain the date, A. H. 591 (1195 A.D.), has been quoted in full in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari* (CIB) (Bombay, 1889), p. 3. Here also, it is difficult to accept unreservedly the date which cannot be verified for want of an illustration. Unfortunately, the search for this tablet in the course of my visit to Ghogha in 1955 proved fruitless. The only authenticated earliest inscription of Gujarat so far was the epitaph of Shaiikh Arjun (d. A. H. 633 or 1236 A.D.) at Petlad in the Kaira district. It was published in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (EIM), 1917-18, p. 33, pl. XIb.

² There is a considerable number of epitaphs belonging to the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. which are executed in this fashion.

styles, they sought to bring it to perfection even, as is natural, at the risk of monotony. On the other hand, the Gujarat scribes attempted, simultaneously, to employ different flourishes and varieties which bear a stamp of ingenious execution. The third distinct style of Gujarat inscriptions cannot be claimed as strictly original in design and execution, but at the same time, it would be difficult to ignore the attempts of the indigenous scribes to invest it with some graceful flourishes imparting it a flavour of its own. But it is perhaps the first type which is typical of Gujarat. As already stated above, this style of writing is seen exclusively in the inscriptions on tombstones. Mainly found in Gujarat, it seems to have assumed some sort of standardization for epitaphs for about two centuries with little modification. This style, which is basically *Naskh* or *Thulth* with strong element of *Riqā'* in the main text and *Kūfī* and *Thulth* in the headings or *Bismillāh*, can be seen in an epitaph (No. VIII) included in the present study. There are many more such epitaphs, mostly at Cambay, and also at such other places as Rander in Surat district, Veraval in Junagadh district, Ahmadabad, etc. For want of sufficient data, it may not be possible at this stage to determine its source. It is clear that this style had penetrated at one time or the other from Gujarat through its borders, which were wider then than at present, into adjoining territories; some epitaphs from Paithan in Ahmadnagar district might be taken to indicate such a trend.¹ But when this infiltration took place, it is difficult to say.

It is a matter of genuine regret that these epigraphs have not so far received the attention they deserve from the scholars. The need for the study of these records was no doubt realised as early as the middle of the second half of the last century when the compilation of the district gazetteers of Bombay was started. At that time, Col. J. W. Watson, who evinced a keen interest in the history of Saurashtra and Gujarat, persuaded the ruling chief of the erstwhile Bhavnagar State to establish a Department for an Archaeological and Antiquarian Survey, the first of its kind in Saurashtra, in 1881 A.D. This Department brought out, among other things, a *Corpus* 'containing some fifty-one inscriptions in Arabic and Persian, collected from different places and extending over a period of seven centuries, viz., from 591 A.H.² to 1291 A.H.'³ But unfortunately, as has been remarked on a previous occasion,⁴ this otherwise laudable collection of epigraphs is marked by lack of extensive as well as intensive study necessary for a work of that nature. The readings given in that work are so hopelessly corrupt that scholars in the field of historical research have been misled and are likely to be further led into error. To quote only one example here,⁵ the Arabic version (No. IV) of the famous Harasiddha Mātā Temple Sanskrit inscription was stated to mention 'the conquest and capture of the town with the celebrated shrine of Somnath by Sultan Mahmūd Bigarha'.⁶

Likewise, some if not all of the inscriptions from Cambay included in this study did not completely escape the notice of the officers of the Archaeological Survey of India. In his progress report for 1918-19, the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, had pointed out that 'a preliminary survey of Muhammadan epigraphs in Cambay is needed as no attention seems to have been paid to them since the days of Dr. Burgess. There is no doubt about the fact that such a survey would throw a good deal of fresh light on the period of the early Muhammadan occupation of Gujarat'.⁷ He also added in his report for the following year that 'practically no work has been done in this (i.e. Bombay) Presidency about Muhammadan inscriptions and

¹ *EIM*, 1949-50, plates VI, VII.

² Please see n. 1 on p. 2 about this inscription.

³ *CIB*, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

⁴ *EIAPS*, 1953 and 54, p. 50.

⁵ For other examples, see *ibid.*, pp. 54, 55, 58, 61 (fn.1), etc.

⁶ *CIB*, op. cit., pp. 28-30.

⁷ *Progress Report of the Western Circle, Archaeological Survey of India (PRWC)*, 1918-19 (Bombay, 1920), p. 47.

numerous inscriptions are lying scattered all over the circle, the very existence of which is unknown to scholars and students of Indian history. The oldest inscriptions come from Cambay which is one of the earliest strongholds of the Sultans of Delhi in Western India.¹ It was during this year, i.e., during 1919-20, that about fortyfive inscriptions were copied from Cambay and briefly described in the said report.² It is, however, to be wondered why not a single inscription from the present group was included in Dr. Nazim's study of inscriptions from the Bombay Presidency to which a complete issue in this Series was devoted.³

I. MOSQUE INSCRIPTION, DATED 1218 A.D., FROM CAMBAY

This inscription⁴ is engraved on a slab measuring 22" by 12", which is now fixed above the pulpit into the west wall of the prayer-chamber of a mosque in the Sālwa Maḥalla of Cambay in the Kaira district of Gujarat.⁵ The mosque being a modern structure, the inscription, as in the case of majority of inscriptions from that town, is not *in situ*. The record comprises seven lines and refers to the construction of a Jāmi' mosque by Sa'id, son of Abū Sharaf, son of 'Alī, son of Shāpūr al-Bamāl in the month of Muḥarram A.H. 615 (April 1218 A.D.).

As has been already referred to above, this inscription is interesting in more than one respect: Firstly, it has proved to be the earliest Muslim inscription found not only in Gujarat, but also in the vast expanse of the country excluding Northern India. Secondly, it belongs to the period when Gujarat was an absolutely independent Hindu kingdom. The date of the record, 1218 A.D., falls in the reign of the Chaulukya king Bhīmadeva II (1178-1242 A.D.)⁶ who, it will be recalled, had come, on more than one occasion, into armed conflict with the Muslims before and after their permanent hold in Northern India; the last of these conflicts in the course of which Anhilapura, the capital of Gujarat, was sacked and Bhīmadeva put to flight, occurred towards the close of the twelfth century or hardly two decades before the date of our inscription.⁷ But perhaps the most interesting feature of this inscription is that it relates to that Jāmi' mosque of Cambay, which

¹ *PRWC.*, 1919-20, p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51. These include only two of the five Cambay inscriptions published in this article.

(The survey of Muslim inscriptions of Cambay has now been almost completed by the Epigraphy Branch (Arabic and Persian Inscriptions) of the Archaeological Survey, Nagpur and the epigraphs have been listed in *ARIE*, 1954-55, Nos. C, 43-46; *Ibid.*, 1956-57, Nos. D, 35-83; *ibid.*, 1959-60, Nos. D, 95-135.)

³ *EIM*, 1933-34 (Supplement). The individual efforts made by Prof. M. S. Commissariat, the author of two exhaustive volumes on the History of Gujarat and Dr. M. A. Chaghtai are also worth mention here. The latter, then working in the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, had devoted considerable time and energy to study Muslim inscriptions of Gujarat some of which have been published by him, for example, in his *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad*, loc. cit. He had informed me sometime back that he wanted to edit Cambay inscriptions of which he had prepared rubbings earlier. But so far he has not published them.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 95.

⁵ For a brief account of Cambay and its monuments, please see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VI, Rewa Kantha, Narukot, Cambay and Surat States (Bombay, 1880), pp. 240-41; M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, Vol. I (Bombay, 1938), pp. 63 ff.; J. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Bharoch, Cambay, Dholka, Champaner and Mahamudabad in Gujarat*, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, New Imperial Series, Vol. XXIII (London, 1896), etc.

⁶ It may be mentioned here that towards the later half of Bhīmadeva's long but weak reign, real political power rested with his powerful chieftains, the most prominent among them being the Vāghelās, a branch of the Chaulukyas. But the latter, though virtual masters, assumed the royal title only after the death of Bhīmadeva II. At the time of the setting up of our record, Cambay was under direct control of the Vāghelā chief Lavaprasāda of Dholka.

⁷ For the Muslim invasions of Gujarat at this period, see Commissariat, op. cit., pp. lxxvii-lxxviii; A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat* (Bombay, 1956), pp. 141-46.

was constructed, according to Muḥammad 'Awfī, the celebrated author of *Jawāmi'u'l-Ḥikāyāt*, by Sa'id, son of Abū Sharaf Bammī a few years before the former's visit to Cambay. The interesting anecdote related by 'Awfī to illustrate the high sense of justice shown by Siddharāja Jayasimha vis-à-vis the Muslim population of Cambay is indirectly corroborated by this inscription and may be reproduced here in brief.

During the rule of Siddharāja Jayasimha, the Hindus at Cambay instigated by Mugh¹ destroyed the minaret, burnt the mosque and killed eighty Muslims. The reader of Friday sermon of the mosque, *Khaṭīb* 'Alī by name, escaped and fled to the capital Anhilwāra, to place his grievance before the authorities. None of them, however, paying any heed to his tale of woe, the *Khaṭīb* managed to place his petition in the hands of the king when the latter was on his way to hunt. The king, leaving *Khaṭīb* 'Alī in charge of a trusted servant at the capital, verified the complaint by paying a personal visit in disguise to Cambay and making inquiries in the market-place, returned to his capital and held a court attended by the chiefs² before which *Khaṭīb* 'Alī was also summoned to present his case. When the latter narrated the whole affair, the courtier tried to contradict and intimidate him. But the king confirmed the complaint and said that in view of the gravity of the matter and also because the difference of religion was involved, he had made personal inquiries and ascertained that the Muslims of Cambay were made victims of tyranny and oppression. He then ordered that two of the leading people from each of the various classes of Hindus, such as Brahmins, Pārsās, Mahān (or Mahatān) Nawāla (or Borāla), Seoda and Mugh³ should be punished. He gave to the Muslims one lac of Bālotras to get the mosque and the minaret rebuilt. *Khaṭīb* 'Alī also received from the king four parasols⁴ which were preserved in the mosque until 'Awfī's visit to Cambay. 'Awfī further relates that the mosque and minaret thus rebuilt were standing until a few years before he wrote, when they were again destroyed at the time of the Malwa king's invasion of Gujarat. It was then that Sa'id rebuilt them at his own expense and erected four towers with golden cupolas for them.⁵

It is clear that the Jāmi' mosque referred to in the present inscription was the one built by Sa'id on the ruins of the mosque that was constructed through the most liberal grant of Siddharāja Jayasimha. The inscription also makes it clear that the correct name of the builder is Sa'id, son of Abū Sharaf al-Bammī and not Sa'id Sharaf Tamīn given by Elliot.⁶ Sa'id was apparently a rich member of the Muslim community then residing in Cambay. The name of his great grandfather and also his *nisba* al-Bammī suggest that Sa'id was one of the Iranians settled permanently in India. Bamm to which Sa'id was related either by birth or by origin, is a fortress town situated in the Kirmān province of Iran.⁷

¹ The exact connotation of this community has been a matter of controversy. The word in the original is *Mugh* which has been generally accepted to indicate the Zoroastrians or fire-worshippers, but Prof. S. H. Hodiwala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* (Bombay, 1939), pp. 172-73, thinks that it may refer to the Jains.

² Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, Vol. II (London, 1868), p. 163, gives 'complainants' while in the original Bankipore Manuscript of 'Awfī's work consulted by me, the word is '*mugad-dam*' meaning 'chief'.

³ Some of the names indicating the communities are so written in the Bankipore Manuscript and require proper editing.

⁴ Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., p. 164 has 'four articles of dress'. The word denoting the article appears to be *Chatr* (parasol, etc.) in the original.

⁵ Elliot's is the only work to contain English extract of this story which, however, is not free from mistakes. A complete English translation of the same prepared by me from Bankipore Manuscript is given in my article 'Muslims in the 13th century Gujarat as known from Arabic Inscriptions', *Journal of Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Baroda*, Vol. X, p. 355-57.

⁶ Elliot, op. cit., p. 164. The Bankipore and other manuscripts consulted by me variously write the *nisba* as Yamīn, Tamī, etc.

⁷ Yāqūt, *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān* (Cairo, 1906), Vol. II, under 'Bamm'.

The language of the record is Arabic. It is interesting to note in this regard that the text of the inscription appearing on the present Jāmi' mosque of Cambay constructed in A. H. 725 (1325 A. D.) during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh by Daulatshah al-Būtahārī,¹ seems to have been inspired by the present epigraph.

The epigraph is incised on the stone after the fashion of Sanskrit records, and not engraved in relief as is generally the case with the Muslim inscriptions of India. But this is not a solitary instance, since we find that, with the exception of epitaphs,² almost all the early Muslim records of Gujarat (e.g. Nos. I, IV and VII of the present study) are likewise incised. It may be that the early Muslim epigraphs of Gujarat were mostly incised on the stone,³ though the switch-over to their execution in relief was very rapid.

The style of writing in the present epigraph is *Naskh*. Its text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate I(a)

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَ إِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ اللَّهُ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى أَذِنَ اللَّهُ
(٢) إِنْ يَرْفَعُ وَيُذَكِّرُ فِيهَا اسْمُهُ يَسْبَحُ لَهُ فِيهَا بِالْغَدُوِّ وَالْأَصَالِ وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ
(٣) مَنْ بَنَى لِلَّهِ مَسْجِدًا وَلَوْ مِثْلَ مِفْحَصِ قَطَاةٍ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ هَذَا مِمَّا وَقَعَهُ
(٤) اللَّهُ وَإِعَانَهُ بَيْنَا هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ الْجَامِعَ وَعِمَارَتَهُ بِجَمِيعِهِ وَكُلِّهِ مِنْ خَالصِ مَالِهِ مِمَّا
(٥) آتَاهُ اللَّهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ وَكَرَّمَهُ خَالِصًا لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى الْعَبْدُ الرَّاجِي إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ عِزُّ وَجَلُّ
(٦) سَعِيدُ بْنُ أَبِي شَرْفٍ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ شَابُورِ الْبَيْهَقِيِّ غُفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُ وَ لِوَالِدَيْهِ وَ ذَلِكَ
(٧) فِي التَّارِيخِ مِنْ شَهْرِ اللَّهِ الْمُحَرَّمِ سَنَةِ خَمْسَةِ عَشَرَ وَسِتِّ مِائَةٍ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ أَجْمَعِينَ

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful. 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh.'⁴ Allāh, exalted be He, has said: '(In houses which) Allāh has permitted

(2) to be exalted and that His name may be remembered in them, there glorify Him therein in the mornings and evenings (men)'.⁵ Says (the Prophet), peace be on him,

(3) 'He who builds for Allāh a mosque, even if it be like the nest of a sand-grouse, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise'. This is (the result) of what Allāh has guided

(4) and helped him with, in the construction of this Jāmi' mosque and its building in *toto* and in entirety, from his personal wealth

¹ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 42; *ELAPS*, 1957 and 58, pp. 29-30, pl. IXa.

² However, one of the epitaphs, noticed in the present group (No. V), is also incised.

³ The Petlad inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalijr's and Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh's reigns are, for example, incised (*ELM*, 1915-16, pl. XIV b; *ibid.*, 1917-18, pl. XIb).

⁴ *Qur'ān*, ch. LXXII, verse 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ch. XXIV, verse 36.

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 615, from Cambay (p. 6)

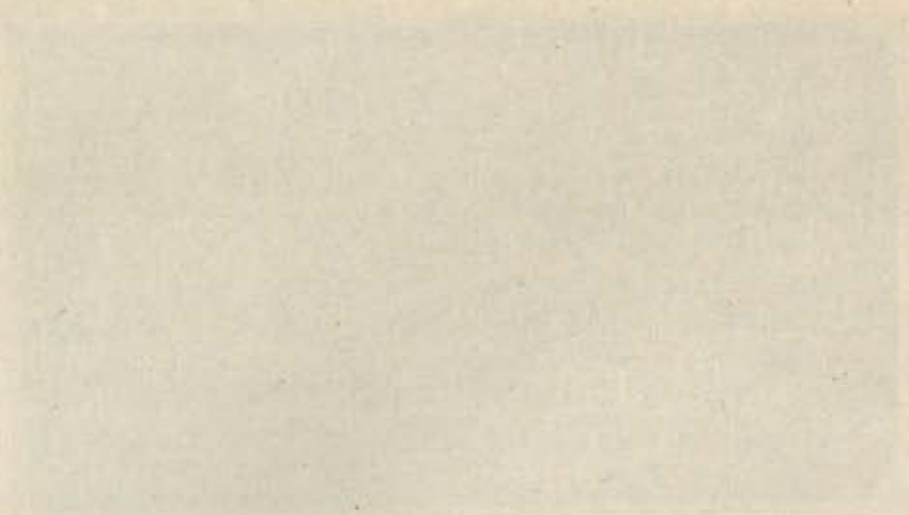


SCALE : 25

(b) Epitaph, dated A.H. 630, from the same place (p. 8)



SCALE : 25



(5) granted to him by Allāh through His benevolence and generosity, purely for the sake of Allāh, the Exalted, (by) the creature, expectant of the mercy of Allāh, may He be exalted and glorified,

(6) Sa'id, son of Abū Sharaf, son of 'Alī, son of Shāpūr al-Bammī, may Allāh pardon him and his parents. And this (construction) took place

(7) on the date in the month of Allāh, Muḥarram, (of the) year six hundred and fifteen (April 1218 A.D.). And may Allāh's blessings be upon Muḥammad and all his progeny.

II. EPITAPH, DATED 1232 A.D., FROM CAMBAY

The tombstone bearing this epitaph is attached to a grave built on a small platform in the compound of the tomb of Pīr Tāju'd-Dīn at Cambay.¹ The so-called tomb itself is an open four-walled enclosure devoid of any antiquity or architecture. It appears that the three graves contained in the said tomb originally formed part of the main graveyard of the town but were fenced off not very long ago with a small compound. The epitaph on the middle of these three graves marks it to be that of Tāju'd-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Muḥammad a'z-Zakariyyā al-Qazwīnī who had died on Monday, the 9th Jumādā II A.H. 700 (19th February 1301 A.D.).² There are four more inscriptions, all epitaphs, found embedded in the walls of this tomb³ which were only removed, obviously from the graveyard nearby, after about 1920 A.D., since they have not been noticed in the above-mentioned *Progress Report* which does mention the epitaph of Tāju'd-Dīn. One of these inscriptions has been included in this article (No. III).

Apart from being probably the second earliest Muslim inscription of Gujarat, the present record happens to be the oldest epitaph discovered so far in that region. As such, it is interesting to note that in general design as well as in style of writing, this epitaph has not much in common with the early Gujarat epitaphs, some of which are included for study in this article. Attention in particular may be drawn to its calligraphy. That the script employed is *Kūfī* is interesting in itself, because very few contemporary or even earlier records inscribed in this script have been found in India, excepting those which contain purely religious texts. But what arrests our immediate attention is that the script of the simple *Kūfī* variety employed here possesses distinct traces of *Nasḫ*.

The inscriptional tablet of white marble, measuring 16" by 20", is divided into nine horizontal panels flanked on each side by one vertical border-panel. The first three horizontal panels contain the *Bismī'llāh* and parts of Quranic verses; the fourth which is double the usual size is again out into the shape of a foiled arch across which, starting from the spandrels and ending within the foils is inscribed a slightly modified verse from the *Qur'ān* purporting to the absolute authority of God. The epitaph proper is contained in the remaining panels stating that Amīnu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Maḥāsīn, son of Ardashīr al-Ahwī died on Wednesday, the 10th of Muḥarram A.H. 630 (27th October 1232 A.D.). The two side borders are inscribed with the famous Quranic verses attesting to the unity and prowess of God and to Islam being the true religion; it will be noted that the text here reads from left top to right top, instead of right bottom to left top, a practice generally followed in all epitaphs. This was probably done because the said verses were intended to follow the *Bismī'l-lāh* inscribed horizontally at the top.

It follows that Abu'l-Maḥāsīn had lived and died in Gujarat during the reign of the Chaulukya king Bhīmadeva II. It was at about this period—about 1232 A.D.—that sovereign authority practically rested with the Vāghelā chief Lavaṇaprasāda who (and his successor Virḍhavalā), however, did not assume royal title until the death of Bhīmadeva in about 1242 A.D.

¹ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 116.

² *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 117; *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 32 of Appendix Q.

³ *ARIE*, 1959-60, Nos. D, 118-121. Also see p. 9 *supra*.

The identity of Abu'l-Maḥāsīn is difficult to establish. That as one of the many Muslim settlers in Gujarat he carried on trade and commerce with foreign countries is a matter of presumption only, but there can be little doubt about his Iranian origin. Also, his father's name Ardashīr hints at some Zoroastrian connection; it is not very unlikely that Abu'l-Maḥāsīn might have renounced his parental faith and embraced Islam. His *nisba* al-Ahwī means that his original house was at Ahwā, a town, according to Yāqūt, in Ḥajar or Yamāma, a large tract of Arabia covering Najd, Tihāma, Baḥrain and 'Umān.¹

The epitaph reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate I(b)

(a) Vertical panels.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملا [ي]كة و اولوا العلم قايمًا بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز
الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام

(b) Horizontal panels.

- (١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- (٢) كل نفس ذائقة الموت
- (٣) الله مرجعكم جميعا
- (٤) الملك لله الواحد القهار
- (٥) هذا قبر العبد الضعيف المذنب
- (٦) الفقير المحتاج الى رحمة الله تعالى
- (٧) امين الدين ابى المحاسن بن اردشير
- (٨) الاهوى توفى يوم الاربعاء العاشر من
- (٩) شهر المحرم سنة [١٠٠٠] ثلثين و ستمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) 'Allāh bears witness that there is no god but He, and (so do) the angels and those possessed of knowledge, being maintainer of justice; there is no god but He, the Mighty, the Wise.'² 'Surely, the true religion with Allāh is Islām.'³

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

(2) 'Every soul shall taste of death.'⁴

¹ Yāqūt op. cit., Vol. I, under 'Ahwā'.

² Qur'ān, ch. III, verse 18.

³ Ibid., verse 19 (part only).

⁴ Ibid., verse 184 (part only).

- (3) '(To) Allāh is your return, of all (of you).'¹
 (4) 'The kingdom belongs to Allāh, the One, the Subduer (of all).'²
 (5) This is the grave of the weak and the sinful creature,
 (6) the supplicant, the dependant on the mercy of Allāh the Exalted,
 (7) Amīnu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Mahāsīn, son of Ardashīr
 (8) al-Ahwī, (who) died on Wednesday, the 10th of
 (9) the month of Muharram, year (A.H.) thirty and six hundred (27th October 1232 A.D.).

III. EPITAPH, DATED 1249 A.D., FROM CAMBAY

This inscription is also from the enclosure of the tomb of Pīr Tāju'd-Dīn at Cambay.³ We have noticed above⁴ that in addition to the inscribed tombstone on the middle grave, the tomb possesses four more inscriptions: one is built up in the east wall, while the north wall contains three tablets, of which the one on the extreme left contains the epitaph under study.

This tablet, which is of white marble, is in the shape of an arch measuring 25" from apex to bottom and 12" in width. A narrow border running all along the tablet except at the bottom contains the *Āyatu'l-Kursī*, a portion of which has not come out in the rubbing as the tablet in that part is embedded in the wall. Within the foiled arch resembling the one in the preceding epitaph occurs the phrase 'Kingdom belongs to Allāh (only)', which is followed, in eight horizontal panels, by *Bismi'llāh*, part of a Quranic verse, and the epitaph proper, according to which, the grave belonged to Sharafu'd-Dīn Abū Sharaf, son of Abū Shams, son of Abū Sharaf al-Bammī, who departed from this world on the night of Monday, the 26th of Dhī'l-Hijja A.H. 646 (11th April 1249 A.D.). In the text, the name of the deceased is preceded by the words '*al-ghariq a'sh-Shahīd*' which most probably means that Sharafu'd-Dīn had died on account of drowning: if so, he may have died presumably in the course of one of his frequent voyages for trade or alike purposes. It is also of interest to note that he belonged to the al-Bammī family of which a contemporary member, also residing at Cambay, has been referred to above (No. I). Incidentally, a third member of the same family, Kamālu'd-Dīn Sulaimān by name, is again mentioned in another epitaph, also from Cambay.⁵

It may be noted here that at the time of the death of Sharafu'd-Dīn, Vishaldeva, the first among the Vāghelās to assume kingship (1245-1261 A.D.), was on the throne of Gujarat.⁶

The style of writing of the epigraph is *Nasḥ* resembling that of the Sālwa mosque inscription (No. I). Its text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate II(a)

(a) Border.

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الارض
 من ذى الذى [يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما خلفهم] ولا يحيطون بشئ من
 علمه الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات والارض ولا يؤده حفظهم وهو العلى العظيم

¹ Cf. Qur'ān ch. V, verse 48.

² Cf. *ibid.*, ch. XL, verse 16.

³ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 118.

⁴ See p. 7.

⁵ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 131.

⁶ Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 173, 207.

(b) *Main portion.*

(١) الملك لله

(٢) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٣) كل نفس ذايقت الموت

(٤) هذا قبر العبد الضعيف الغريق

(٥) الشهيد المحتاج إلى رحمة الله تعالى

(٦) شرف الدين أبو شرف بن أبي شمس بن أبي شرف

(٧) البني غفر الله له ولوالديه ولجميع المسلمين

(٨) في التاريخ ليلة الاثنين السادس والعشرين

(٩) من ذي الحجة سنة ست واربعين وستمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) *Āyatū'l-Kursī*.¹

(b) (1) Kingdom belongs to Allāh (only).

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

(3) 'Every soul shall taste of death.'²

(4) This is the grave of the weak creature, the drowned one,

(5) the martyr, the dependant on the mercy of Allāh the Exalted,

(6) *Sharafu'd-Dīn Abū Sharaf*, son of Abī *Shams*, son of Abī *Sharaf*

(7) al-Bammī, may Allāh pardon him, his parents and all the Muslims.

(8) (He died) on the date, (viz.) the night of Monday, the 26th

(9) of *Dhī'l-Hijja*, year (A.H.) six hundred and fortysix (11th April 1249 A.D.).

IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED 1264 A.D., FROM PRABHAS PATAN

Prabhas Patan, celebrated for the temple of Somnath, is variously called Patan, Somnath Patan, Deopattan, etc., and lies in the Junagadh district of Gujarat.³ A few inscriptions from this place including those that were removed to the Museum of Antiquities, Junagadh, were studied in two previous issues of this Series.⁴

The present inscription is incised on a slab of black granite, measuring 17" by 25", which is fixed into the right side of the facade of the mosque which is called Qāḍī's mosque after the name of the *maḥalla* in which it is situated.⁵ Since the central *miḥrāb* of this mosque bears another

¹ *Qur'ān*, ch. II, verse 255.² *Ibid.*, ch. III, verse 184.³ A brief historical and descriptive account of Prabhas Patan will be found in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII, Kathiawar (Bombay, 1884), pp. 607-11; Commissariat, op. cit., pp. lviii-lxi, lxxiii-lxxv, 54-55, etc.; H. Cousens, *Somnath and other Medieval Temples in Kathiawar* (Calcutta, 1931), etc.⁴ *EIAPS*, 1953 and 54, pp. 55, 61, 75, 76; *ibid.*, 1955 and 56, pp. 89, 91, 93, 94, 99.⁵ *AKIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 162, plate IV.

(a) Epitaph, dated A.H. 646,
from Cambay (p. 9)



SCALE : 25

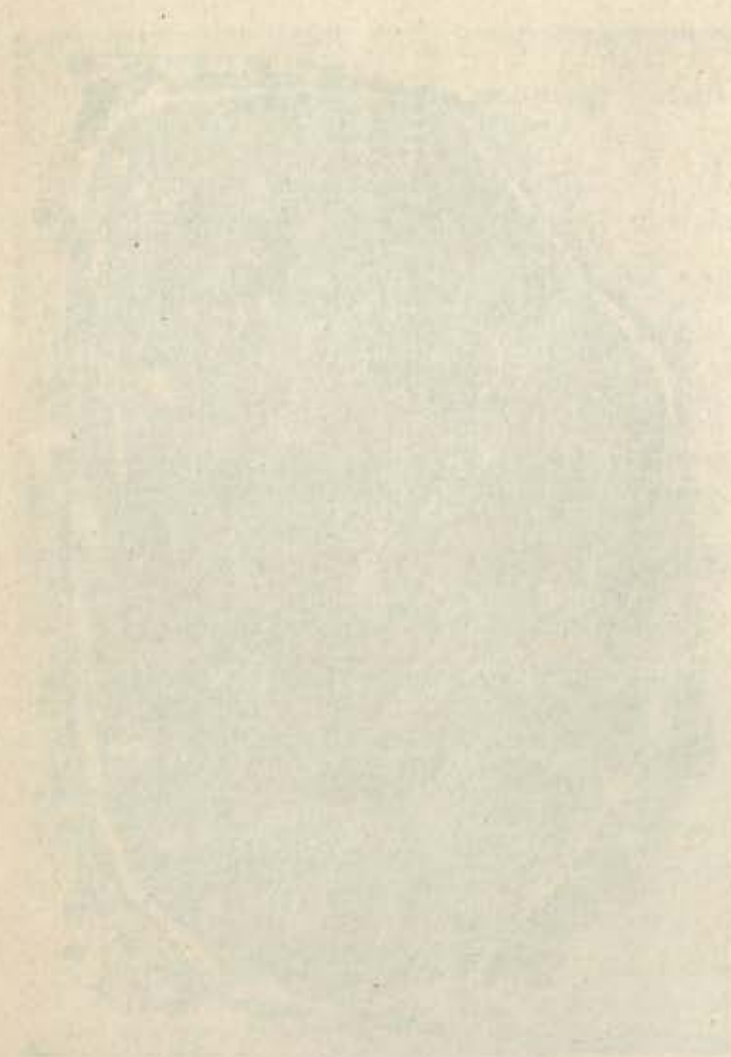
(b) Arabic version of Veraval Harasiddha Mātā Temple record,
dated A.H. 662, from Prabhas Patan (p. 12)



SCALE : 22

Hand

Hand



Handwritten text at the bottom of the page, likely a library or ownership mark, containing Arabic script.

inscription recording the building of a mosque by one Maḥmūd, son of Uṭhmān in the tenth century Hijra,¹ it is obvious that the inscription under study is not *in situ*, and was removed from its original place at some unknown date. Its exact findspot could not be ascertained.

The importance of the record lies not so much in its contents (which are fairly known to historians from a Sanskrit inscription referred to below) as in the fact that firstly, it is one of the very few early Muslim records of Gujarat and secondly, it constitutes the Arabic version of the equally or rather more important Sanskrit inscription, which must have been removed at some later date from Prabhas Patan to the temple of Harasiddha Mātā at Veraval, situated nearby, where it may be seen even today. The obscurity in which the Arabic record has remained so far is not because its whereabouts were not known. On the contrary, the inscription has been duly included in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, where, unfortunately, it was wrongly read and, hence, erroneously ascribed to the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh I of Gujarat. According to the *Corpus*, 'The inscription mentions the conquest and capture of the town with the celebrated shrine of Somnāth by Sultan Maḥmūd Bigarha. The year cannot be clearly made out as the first figure, viz., that of hundred (i.e. nine) can only be deciphered. Still it can be said from the years in which Maḥmūd Bigarha led his armies into Sorath that it must be A.H. 900 or a year or two later.'² These misleading remarks of the *Corpus*, based as they are on the incorrect text and translation given there, are mainly responsible for the obscurity of this inscription.

The Sanskrit version of this record was published with translation and notes by Dr. E. Hultzsch quite sometime back,³ but there are a few points in Dr. Hultzsch's study which appear to be doubtful. The same has been recently re-edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.⁴

To enable the reader to compare the contents of both the versions, the purport of the Sanskrit version may be summed up here.

Ship-owner Nūru'd-Dīn Pīrūz, son of ship-owner Khwāja Abū Ibrāhīm, a native of Hormuz, had come for business to the town of god Somnath during the reign of Arjunadeva, the Vāghelā king of Gujarat (c. 1261-1274 A.D.), when Amīr Ruknu'd-Dīn was the ruling chief of Hormuz;⁵ Pīrūz purchased a piece of land situated in the Śikottari Mahāyānpāl outside the town of Somnath, in the presence of the leading men like Thakkur Śrī Palugideva, Rānak Śrī Someśvardeva, Thakkur Śrī Rāmdeva, Thakkur Śrī Bhīmsiha and others and in the presence of all (Muslim) congregations, from Rājakula Śrī Chhādā, son of Rājakula Śrī Nānasiha; Pīrūz, who by his alliance with the great man Rājakula Śrī Chhādā, had become his associate in meritorious work, caused a mosque to be constructed on that piece of land; for its maintenance, i.e. for the expenses of oil for lamp, water, preceptor, crier to prayers and a monthly reader (of the *Qur'ān*), and also for the payment of expenses of the particular religious festivals according to the custom of the sailors, as well as for the annual white-washing and repairs

¹ *ARIE*, No. C, 163; *EIAPS*, 1953 and 54, pp. 76-77, pl. XXIIIc.

² *CIB*, op. cit., pp. 28-30.

³ E. Hultzsch, 'A Grant of Arjunadeva of Gujarat, dated 1264 A.D.', *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI (1882), pp. 241-45, from where evidently all the subsequent readings are reproduced; e.g. in J. Burgess and H. Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay, 1897), pp. 251-52, G. V. Acharya, *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, Vol. III (Bombay, 1935), etc.

⁴ *Epigraphia Indica (EI)*, Vol. XXXIV, part IV, pp. 141-150.

⁵ 'When the kingship of Hormuz devolved upon Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn, the last ruler of his line, who was modest and humble, Malik Ruknu'd-Dīn endowed with great ambition and profound deliberation won over many officials of the king with gifts and presents and not content with this even won over the queen, who at his behest, poisoned her husband. Consequently, in A.H. 647 he became undisputed lord of Hormuz to which he added Qabas, Bahrain and Julfa and passed away in A.H. 685 after a rule of thirty years.' (*Majma'u'l-Ansāb* quoted in Amīn Abmad Rāzī, *Haft Iqīm*, Ms., State Library, Hyderabad f. 16b.)

of rents and defects in the building, the said Pīrūz bequeathed three sources of income: firstly, a *pallāḍika*¹ (particulars regarding whose location and the owner are given in details); secondly, a *dānapala* belonging to one oil-mill; and thirdly, two shops in front of the mosque, purchased from Kilhanadeva, Lunasiha, Āsādhār and others; Pīrūz also laid down that after meeting the expenses as indicated above, the surplus income should be sent to the holy cities of Mecca and Madina; as regards the management, he desired that the various classes of Muslims such as the communities of sailors, ship-owners, the clergy (?), the artisans (?), etc. should look after the source of income and properly maintain the mosque.²

The slab bearing the Arabic version is unfortunately fragmentary and has lost some portion on the top as well as on the left, and the writing too is considerably damaged. Dated the 27th Ramaḍān of the year A.H.6[62] corresponding to the 23rd July 1264 A.D., the record agrees in main points with the Sanskrit version, though there are some minor differences between the two. For example, the Arabic inscription does not give all the details regarding the sources of income,³ the procedure for its expenditure, management, etc., which are mentioned at some length in the Sanskrit record. Also, the Arabic version mentions only the leader of prayers (*imām*), caller to prayers (*mu'adhdhin*) and the cities of Mecca and Madina among the beneficiaries. But the omission in regard to various items of expenditure to be incurred for the proper upkeep of the mosque, such as oil for lamp, etc. and matter of management, is understandable in that they were taken for granted. Likewise, no mention is made of the provision for the celebration of religious festivals as stated in the Sanskrit record. Further, in the extant portion of the Arabic record, we do not find mention of the then Vāghelā king of Gujarat, Arjunadeva, but the other personages mentioned in the Sanskrit version are mostly referred to. On the other hand, the Arabic version gives some more information regarding the status and position of Pīrūz (*Firūz*) and his father Abū Ibrāhīm. For example, Pīrūz is called therein 'the great and respected chief (*sadr*), prince among sea-men and king of kings and merchants'. He is further eulogised as 'the Sun of Islām and the Muslims, patron of kings and monarchs, shelter of the great and the elite, pride of the age', etc. Likewise, his father, Abū Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad al-'Irāqī, is also mentioned with such lofty titles as 'the great chief of fortunate position, protector of Islām and the Muslims, patron of kings and monarchs, prince among great men of the time, master of generosity and magnanimity', etc. Needless to say, all these titles are absent in the Sanskrit version.

Our inscription in its present state comprises twentyeight lines of writing in Arabic, which are cut into the stone after the fashion of Sanskrit records. This is yet another example showing that early Muslim epigraphs of Gujarat were executed not in relief but were incised on the stone. The style of writing is *Naskh* of a fairly good type and the text has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate II (b)

- (١) يعطى الله تعالى هذا لمن بنى بيتا في سبيل الله [بنى هذا المسجد ؟]
 (٢) المبارك بتاريخ السابع والعشرين من شهر رمضان [سنة اثنى و ستين ؟]
 (٣) و ستمايه من الهجرة النبويه في زمن السلطان العادل [الملك البازل ؟]...

¹ Hultzsch has not explained this term. For Dr. D.C. Sircar's comments regarding these terms, etc., see Sircar, op. cit., pp. 144-146.

² Hultzsch, op. cit., pp. 244-45; Sircar, op. cit., pp. 141-46.

³ A short phrase in line 18 of the Arabic record probably referred to the nature of endowment but that part is too damaged to yield any satisfactory reading.

- (٣) ابو الفخر ركن الدنيا و الدين معزالاسلام و المسلمين ظل الله [في العالمين؟] ...
 (٥) و ؟ المظفر على الاعناء الملك المريد ابي النصر محمود بن احمد خلد الله ...
 (٦) و اعلى امره و شانه في مدينة سومنات جعلها الله من بلاد الاسلام و ...
 (٧) الكفر و الاصنام و اوان حاكمها ^١ كند مهتر يدم و مشيره بالراى الصائب المحطه ...
 (٨) و ساعى هذا الخير و واهبه ايضا اجلهم بعد حاكمها المذكور المسمى چادا راو[ت؟]
 (٩) بن راوت نانسيه مع كبرائهم احدهم بيلك ديو و الثاني بهيمسيه تاكر و الثالث[ث]
 (١٠) سيسر ديو و الرابع رامديو و كلهم اتفقوا جميعا على تاسيس هذا المسجد المعظم الاعلى
 (١١) استعلاء لدرجات الصدر المعظم السعيد الشهيد نجم الحق و الدين احمى ؟ الاسلام
 (١٢) و المسلمين ابي الملوك و السلاطين سلطان اكبر العصر برهان افاضل الدهر ملك

ملوك العهد

- (١٣) و الوفا خاقان الجود و السخا ابي ابراهيم بن محمد العراق نور الله مرقمه و طيب

مسكنه و مضجعه

- (١٤) لامر ربى ؟ صاحب هذا الخير و هو الصدر المعظم و المكرم سلطان النواخذ ملك ملوك
 (١٥) التجار نور الدولته و الدين شمس الاسلام و المسلمين ابي الملوك و السلاطين ملجا الاكبر
 (١٦) و الامائل اقتنار العصر فيروز بن ابي ابراهيم العراق ؟ ادام الله في العز و بناء ؟ و وقف
 (١٧) على هذا المسجد المذكور المشهور في جميع الكونين و ^٢ استاجر مع حافنة ؟ جميعا لوجه
 (١٨) الله الكريم و مرضاة لربه الجسيم من ذلك معينا ؟ لعارة هذا المسجد
 (١٩) المعظم ^٣ ليكون العماره ايمانا للتبيان و انقيادا ؟ لامر الفرقان حيث قال انما يعمر مساجد
 (٢٠) الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر و اقام الصلوة و آتى الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسى
 (٢١) اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين و افادة لامامه و موذنه و الفاضل عما عهد به
 (٢٢) يرسل الى مكة حرسها الله و مدينة رسول الله صلى الله عليه حتى يصرف في
 (٢٣) مواضع الصرف فمن رام ؟ ابطال هذا الخير او سعى في افساده بقول او فعل
 (٢٤) او ايماء او اشارة يعلم الله تعالى ذلك من صميم فواده و سقيم اعتقاده [فعليه لعنة ؟]
 (٢٥) الله ولعنة اللاعنين و الملكة و الناس اجمعين فمن بدله بعد ما [سمعه]

^١ The reading of these words is extremely doubtful.

^٢ These unintelligible words seem to indicate the endowed objects.

^٣ Obviously "لتكون" is intended.

- (٢٦) فانما ائمه على الذين يبدلونه ان الله سميع عليم و ثواب [رحيم]
- (٢٧) على الله تعالى كما قال في محكم كتابه الكريم ان [الله و ملكته
- (٢٨) يصلون على النبي] صلى الله على سيدنا محمد و اله الطيبين

TRANSLATION

- (1) Allāh the Exalted may assign this (reward) to one who builds a house in the path of Allāh[This auspicious mosque was built]
- (2) on the twenty-seventh of the month of Ramaḍān, year [sixty-two]
- (3) and six hundred from migration of the Prophet (23rd July 1264 A.D.), in the reign of the just Sultān and [the generous king]
- (4) Abu'l-Fakhr (lit., father of pride), Ruknu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (lit., pillar of State and Religion), Mu'izzu'l-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn (lit., source of glory for Islām and the Muslims), shadow of Allāh in [the lands],
- (5) one who is victorious against the enemies, (divinely) supported prince, Abi'n-Nuḡrat (lit., father of victory), Maḥmūd, son of Aḥmad, may Allāh perpetuate his
- (6) and may his affair and prestige be high, in the city of Somnāt (i.e. Somnath), may God make it one of the cities of Islām and [banish ?]
- (7) infidelity and idols, and during the time of its ruler Gand Mahatrapadam? and his advisor with correct and beneficial judgment, (namely?) Mehta;
- (8) and one who made efforts for this meritorious deed and allowed it, is the greatest of them after the afore-mentioned ruler, (namely) Jādā (i.e. Chhādā) Rāw[at],
- (9) son of Rāwat Nānsih, along with their other prominent persons, one of whom is Bailak Deva (i.e. Palugideva), the second, Bhīmsih Tākur, the third,
- (10) Somesar (Someswar) Dev and the fourth, Rām Dēv, all of whom unanimously agreed to the construction of this magnificent great mosque,
- (11) for the merit of the great chief (*gadr*), the fortunate, the martyr, Najmu'l-Ḥaḡ wa'd-Dīn (lit., star of Truth and Religion), the chief protector of Islām
- (12) and the Muslims, father of kings and monarchs, prince among the great men of the age, proof among the accomplished of the time, king of the kings of covenant
- (13) and fulfilment, master of generosity and liberality, Abū Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad al-'Irāqī, may Allāh illuminate his grave and make his (final resting) place and bed agreeable to him,
- (14) in obedience to the order of our Lord! The master of this good deed is the great and the respected chief (*gadr*), prince among sea-men, king of the kings of
- (15) merchants, Nūru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn (lit., light of the State and Religion), son of Islām and Muslims, father of kings and monarchs, shelter of the great
- (16) and the prominent, pride of the age, Fīrūz, son of Abū Ibrāhīm al-'Irāqī, may Allāh perpetuate his glory; he built and endowed
- (17) for the above-mentioned mosque which is celebrated throughout the universe.....
.....for the sake of

(18) Allāh, the Generous and by way of seeking the pleasure of the Great Lord for the building of this great mosque

(19) so that (its) building may serve as a proof of faith in the Manifest Scripture and in utmost accordance with the injunction of the Discrimination between Truth and Falsehood (i.e. the *Qur'ān*) where, for example, (it is) said, 'Only he shall visit the mosques

(20) of Allāh, who believes in Allāh and in the Final Day (i.e. day of Judgment), establishes prayers, gives alms and fears none but Allāh ; so (as for these)

(21) they would be among the followers of the right course',¹ (and) for the benefit of the Imām (i.e. leader of prayers) and its *Mu'adhdhin* (i.e. caller to prayers) ; and the balance (of the amount, after the obligations are discharged,

(22) will be sent to Mecca, may Allāh guard it and the city of the Apostle of Allāh (i.e. Madīna), may Allāh's salutations be on him, so that (the said amount) be spent there

(23) in proper places. As for those who will seek to nullify this good deed or try to defeat its purpose either by word or deed,

(24) or intention or demonstration, Allāh the Exalted will know it from the sanctity of his heart and the weakness of his belief, and he will be liable to the curse of Allāh,

(25) and (also), the curse of the cursers, of the angels, of the people and, in short, of everybody, will be on him. 'Then whoever alters it after he has heard of it,

(26) the sin of it then is only upon those who alter it ; surely, Allāh is Hearing and Knowing'² and Relenting and Merciful'.

(27) the Exalted Allāh, as He says in his Mighty Invincible Book (i.e. the *Qur'ān*), Verily, Allāh [and the angels

(28) send their blessings on the Prophet].³ And salutations of Allāh be on our chief Muḥammad and on his noble descendants.

V. EPITAPH, DATED 1282 A.D., FROM PATAN (N.G.)

Patan, headquarters of the taluka of the same name in the Mehsana district in north Gujarat, is now shorn alike of its antiquity and former splendour of the capital of the Chāvḍā and Chaulukya dynasties of Gujarat. Also variously known in the past as Anahilavāda, Anahillapūrā, Anahilapātaka, Nahrwāla⁴ and now as Paṭṭan or Pāṭan, the town lies on the left bank of the Sarasvatī river in latitude 23°51' N. and longitude 72°11' E., about 65 miles north by west from Ahmadabad.

Patan continued to be the capital of Muslim governors first, under the *Khaljis* and *Tughluqs* and later under the independent sultans of Gujarat, until 1412 A.D., when the capital was shifted to the newly founded city of Ahmadabad. The present town, unfortunately, does not possess any monument of outstanding architectural interest except perhaps Rānī Vāv, a stepwell ascribed to Udayamatī, consort of the Chaulukya king Bhīmadeva I, and the excavated remains of the Sahastralinga lake. The Muslim remains also have not completely survived the ravages of time.

¹ *Qur'ān*, ch. IX, verse 18.

² *Ibid.*, ch. II, verse 181.

³ *Ibid.*, ch. XXXIII, verse 56 (part only).

⁴ Nahrwāla was the name by which it was known to Arab travellers and Muslim historians. It is mentioned among others by Mas'ūdī, Idriṣī and Al-Birūnī. For other references to Patan including those of the European travellers and its history, see J. Burgess & H. Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, New Imperial Series, Vol. XXXII (London, 1903), pp. 33 ff.; G. H. Desai and A. B. Clarke, *Gazetteer of the Baroda State*, Vol. II (Bombay, 1923), pp. 570-89, etc.

The inscription studied below is incised on an arch-shaped tablet measuring about 12" by 17", which is now let into the west wall of a mosque in the Kālī Bāzār of the town.¹ The record being an epitaph, it is evident that it does not originally belong to the mosque. It purports to mention that Fakhr'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm, son of 'Abdu'l-Malik a'sh-Shahrzūrī, the merchant, died in the month of Muḥarram A.H. 681 (April-May 1282 A.D.). This means that Ibrāhīm had died during the reign of the Vāghelā king Sārangadeva (c. 1274-1296 A.D.). Within our present state of knowledge, this is the only record at Patan which is dated in the pre-Muslim period of Gujarat furnishing evidence of the settlement, or at least the presence, of Muslims in the very capital of the Rajput rulers. Fakhr'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm is mentioned in the record as originally belonging to Shahrzūr, near Babylon, in modern Iraq.²

The text comprising seven lines of writing is executed in *Naskh* which resembles the script of the previous two records and reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate III (a)

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 (٢) يَبْشُرُهُمْ رَبُّهُمْ بِرَحْمَةٍ مِنْهُ وَ رِضْوَانٍ
 (٣) وَ جَنَّاتٍ لَهُمْ فِيهَا نَعِيمٌ مُقِيمٌ هَذَا قَبْرُ
 (٤) الْعَبْدِ الْفَقِيرِ الرَّاجِي رَحْمَةَ رَبِّهِ الْكَرِيمِ
 (٥) فَخْرُ الدِّينِ ابْنِ أَبِي رَاهِيمٍ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ بْنِ الصَّدِيقِ التَّاجِرِ
 (٦) الشَّهْرَزُورِيِّ تَعَمَّدَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِرَحْمَتِهِ
 (٧) تَوَفَّى فِي الْمَحْرَمِ سَنَةِ إِحْدَى وَ ثَمَانِينَ وَ سِتْمِئَةٍ

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
 (2-3) ' Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself and (His) good pleasure and gardens, wherein lasting blessings shall be theirs.' This is the grave of
 (4) the needy creature, hopeful of the mercy of his Gracious Lord,
 (5) Fakhr'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm, son of 'Abdu'l-Malik, son of Siddiq, the merchant,
 (6) of Shahrzūr, may Allāh the Exalted cover him with His Mercy.
 (7) He died in (the month of) Muḥarram, year six hundred and eightyone (of the Hijra) (April-May 1282 A.D.).

¹ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D. 97.

² *Yāqūt*, op. cit., Vol. V (Cairo, 1906), under 'Shahrzūr'.

³ *Qur'ān*, ch. IX, verse 21.

PLATE III

(a) Epitaph, dated A.H. 681, from Patan, N. G. (p. 16)



SCALE : 32

(b) Epitaph, dated A.H. 683, from Cambay (p. 17)



SCALE : 22

VI. EPITAPH, DATED 1284 A.D., FROM CAMBAY

This epitaph commemorating the demise of Sharafu'd-Dīn Murtaḍā, son of Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Ḥussainī al-Astarābādī, who died on Thursday¹ in the month of Rabī'u'l-Ākhar A.H. 683 (June-July 1284 A.D.), is to be found on a grave without the *dargāh* of Parwāz Shāhid.² The inscriptional tablet, which is of white marble, measures 16" by 25".

No information is available regarding the identity or activities of the deceased, Sharafu'd-Dīn Murtaḍā, originally of Astarābād in Persia. The date of his death also falls in the reign of the Vāghelā king Sārangadeva.

The record is executed in *Riqa'*-mixed *Naskh* style of writing showing an expert hand. The border around the three sides is inscribed with a Quranic verse, while the main portion comprises seven lines, the first containing the First Creed, the second, another verse from the *Qur'ān* and the remaining five, the text of the obituary. The full text of the record runs as follows :—

TEXT

Plate III (b)

(a) Along the border.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قايما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز
الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذين اوتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم بغيا
بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

(b) Main portion.

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) كل من عليها فان و يبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال و الاكرام

(٣) هذا قبر السعيد الشهيد الحبيب النسيب المنقول من دار الفنا

(٤) الى دار البقا الراجى رحمة ربه و غفرانه شرف الدين مرتضى

(٥) بن محمد بن الحسن الموسوى الحسينى الاسترabadى تغمده الله برضوانه بؤه

(٦) مقاعد الصدق من جنانه وقع الانتقال مستقبل يوم الخميس من شهر

(٧) ربيع الاخر سنة ثلث و ثمانون و ستاياه من الهجرة و الصلوة

(٨) و السلام على سيد الانام محمد و اله المصطفين الاخيار

TRANSLATION

(a) 'Allāh bears witness that there is no god but He, and (so do) the angels and those possessed of knowledge, being maintainer of justice ; there is no god but He, the Mighty, the Wise. Surely, the true religion with Allāh is Islām, and those to whom the Book had been given did not show opposition but after knowledge had come to them, out of envy among themselves ; and whoever disbelieves in the communications of Allāh—then, surely Allāh is quick in reckoning.'³

¹ The date of the month is not given in the record.

² *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 130.

³ *Qur'ān*, ch. III, verses 17-18.

- (b) (1) There is no god but Allāh ; Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh.
- (2) 'Every one on it must pass away. And there will endure for ever the person of your Lord, the Lord of glory and honour.'¹
- (3) This is the grave of the fortunate, the martyr, of lofty rank and lineage, the one who departed from the house of transitoriness (i.e. this world)
- (4) to the house of permanence (i.e. the next world), hopeful of the mercy of the Lord and His pleasure, Sharafu'd-Dīn Murṭadā,
- (5) son of Muḥammad, son of al-Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Ḥusainī of Astarābād,² may Allāh cover him with His pleasure and lodge him in
- (6) the parlours of Truth in His paradises. The departure took place in the early hours of Thursday of the month of
- (7-8) Rabi'ul-Ākhar, years six hundred and eightythree of the Hijra (June-July 1284 A.D.). May salutations and peace be on the chief of the mortals, Muhammad and upon his chosen and excellent descendants.

VII. INSCRIPTION, DATED 1286-87 A.D., FROM JUNAGADH

The next inscription recording the construction of a mosque in A.H. 685 (1286-87 A.D.) comes from Junagadh, capital of the erstwhile state of the same name in Saurashtra region of Gujarat. Junagadh, situated in 21°31' N. and 70°36' E., is one of the most picturesque towns in India, while in antiquity and historical interest also it yields to none. Until 1472 A.D., when it was conquered by Maḥmūd Shāh I of Gujarat, who named the city as Muṣṭafābād, Junagadh was a Rajput state ruled by chiefs of the Chuḍāsamā tribe. It became a dependency of Delhi under the immediate authority of the Mughal viceroy of Gujarat during the reign of Akbar. About 1735 A.D., Sher Khān Bābī established his own rule.³

The present record⁴ is carved on the lintel of a thirty-pillared small mosque, about 39 feet long, situated near a large cave known as the *sthāna* of Māi Ghāḍeḥī near the Dhārāgadh gate of the town.⁵ It records that the construction of the mosque was ordered by 'Afīfu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim, son of 'Alī al-Īrajī in A.H. 685 (1286-87 A.D.). The mosque was thus built during the time of Sārangadeva. About Abu'l-Qāsim, the builder, we do not possess any information, but the record invests his name with high titles like 'the benevolent chief, the great benefactor, prince of chieftains and shipmasters, the prop of the pilgrims to the holy cities of Mecca and Madina', etc. These titles may be taken to suggest that Abu'l-Qāsim, possibly an influential merchant conducting business in that part, was associated in some way with liason work between the state and its Muslim population. The record also indicates that there was a considerable number of Muslim population residing at Junagadh, which necessitated the building of a prayer-house and that some of the Saurashtra ports used to clear the traffic of Haj pilgrims from Gujarat and possibly from outside too.

¹ *Qur'ān*, ch. LV, verses 26-27.

² Name of a city in the Māzandarān province of Iran.

³ *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIV (Oxford, 1908), pp. 236-239; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII, op. cit., pp. 487-502. A detailed history of Junagadh State in Urdu by G. A. Shaikh was published at Bombay in 1931 under the title *Mir'ās-i-Muṣṭafābād*.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 121. Shaikh, op. cit., p. 180, foot-note 1, has given the text and Urdu translation of the inscription.

⁵ For a description of the mosque, see Burgess and Cousens, op. cit., p. 244.

This inscription, as in the case of some of those included in this article (Nos. IV and V) is incised on stone. The style of writing is *Naskh*. The text which is inscribed in one line covering a space of 96" by 4" to 2-1/2" reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate V (a)

امر ببناء هذا المسجد المبارك الصدر المفضل المعظم المريد المكرم ملك الصدور
و النواخذ عماد الحاج و الحرمين عفيف الدنيا و الدين ابوالقاسم بن على الايرجى راجيا من الله
رضوانه تقبل الله منه و غفر له و لوالديه فى سنة خمس و ثمانين و ستمائة

TRANSLATION

This auspicious mosque was ordered to be constructed by the generous, magnificent, benevolent, (divinely) supported and respected chief, prince of chiefs and shipmasters, mainstay of the *Hājj* (pilgrims) and the holy cities (Mecca and Madina), 'Afīfu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim, son of 'Alī al-Īrajī (of Īraj), in the hope of earning the pleasure of Allāh, may Allāh accept it from him and pardon him and his parents, in the (Hijra) year six hundred and eightyfive (1286-87 A.D.).

Abu'l-Qāsim was thus originally a Persian, Īraj being one of the impregnable fort-towns in the Fārs province of Iran.³

VIII. EPITAPH, DATED 1287 A.D., FROM CAMBAY

The arch-shaped marble tablet bearing this epitaph measures in its present state 29" in height and 17-1/2" in breadth and is fixed up, third from left, into the southern wall of the above-mentioned tomb of Parwāz *Shahīd* at Cambay.³ The slab is fragmentary, having lost only a small fragment from the top. The language of the epitaph proper is Arabic, but a considerable portion of the inscribed matter is in Persian as will be described shortly. The epitaph refers to the demise, which took place on the 23rd *Dhī'l-Hijja* of A.H. 685 (9th February 1287 A.D.), of Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī, son of Sālār al-Yazdī.

This epigraph is extremely interesting since, apart from belonging to the pre-Muslim times of Gujarat — its date falls in the reign of Sārangadeva as in the case of the previous two records — it contains, instead of the religious texts in the main portion of the slab so usual in similar epitaphs, Persian verses composed by the deceased himself.

The border, of course, contains the famous Quranic verse commonly found in epitaphs. The topmost portion of the extant tablet is cut into two vertical panels, flanking a miniature foiled arch in the middle. These are inscribed with a *rubā'ī* of which few words are missing, that portion of the slab being broken and lost.⁴ Below this are cut nine horizontal compartments, the first seven of which contain a *ghazal* in Persian. These seven compartments have been further divided alternately into two and three panels: the two panelled compartments contain two verses each, but in the three-panelled ones, only the middle panel contains one verse, the remaining two being decorated with geometrical or floral patterns. The *ghazal* thus comprises a total number of eleven verses. The text of the epitaph proper is given in the remaining two compartments.

³ The size of the letters is uneven, being 4" in some portions and about 2-1/2" in the remaining.

⁴ Yāqūt, op. cit., Vol. I, under 'Īraj'.

⁵ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 81. This epigraph was thus noticed under No. 11 of the *PRWC*, 1919-20 (Bombay, 1921): 'On the tombstone of Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī ibn Sālār, ibn 'Alī al-Bardī, died Sunday 13th Zil-hijja, 785 A.H.'

⁶ In the case of one, the words missing at the end, constituting the *radīf*, could be easily supplied.

It is a pity that this inscription, which has preserved unto us one of the few earliest specimens of Persian poetry in India and probably the earliest in Gujarat should have remained obscure so far.¹ It is all the more deplorable that nothing is known regarding the deceased, who also composed these verses namely, Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī with the poetical name Sālārī. Anyway, it is at least gratifying that the epitaph has preserved his name.

It is obvious that Zainu'd-Dīn, who had selected his poetical name Sālārī after the name of his father, was a man of some distinction: he appears to have been a poet of no mean order and also, if the title Sultānu'l-Muḥaqqiqīn (Prince of the Truthful) prefixed to his name in the text means anything, a mystic of some eminence. The *ghazal* and the two *rubā'is* contained in the record are remarkable for purity of thought and sublimity of mystic exultation, testifying to his high ability as a poet. Their style is marked throughout by chasteness of language, clarity and fluency of expression and above all, by refreshing vigour and surging exuberance of divine love that makes a highly thrilling reading.² It is most unfortunate that the remaining poetical output of Sālārī, which must have been considerable, has been lost to us.

The style of writing of the epigraph is partly *Nasikh* with strong *Thulth* flourishes and partly *Thulth*. It has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate IV

(a) Border.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قايمًا بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز الحكيم
ان الدين عند الله [الاسلام و] ما اختلف الذين اتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاء هم العلم بغيا بينهم
و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

(b) Vertical panels.

i. Right side

- (۱) دل ماست
(۲) مکان و لا مکان منزل ماست
(۳) موالید فلک
(۴) جمگی حاصل ماست

ii. Left side

- (۱) ما بهر نظام کائنات آمده ایم
(۲) با ذات قدیم در صفات آمده ایم
(۳) نور همه نور سایه سایه ماست
(۴) تو سایه مبین که ما بذات آمده ایم

¹ A reading of this inscription, supplied by me, was published in Dr. A. A. Hekmat, *Nagḥ-i-Pārsi Bar Ahjār-i-Hind* (Tehran, A. H. 1337 Shamsi), pp. 56-57.

² The greatest mystic poet of Persia, Maulānā Rūmī (d. 1273 A. D.) has also composed one *ghazal* in the same metre and *radif* but with a different *qāfiya*, which begins thus:

ما بسلیمان خوشیم حور و پری گومباش حسن تو از حد گذشت شیوه کری گومباش
(*Dīwān-i-Kabrī Ya Kulliyāt-i-Shamsi*, Vol. III, ed. B. Z. Furuzanfar, Tehran, A. H. 1338 Shamsi, p. 112).



(c) *Main portion.*

- (۱) مقصد جان رو نمود جان بمیان گومباش دل چو همه حال کشت قال لسان گومباش
 (۲) بی مدد صوت و حرف کشف شد اسرار غیب کام و زبان گو بریز شرح و بیان گومباش
 (۳) از صدف تن چو یافت جان گهر سرعشق
 در همه جا از صدف نام و نشان گومباش
 (۴) چون لب جان نوش کرد جرعه جام بقا منزل دار فنا در ره جان گومباش
 (۵) از سقر و جنتست خوف و امان همه ما چو ازان فارغیم خوف و امان گومباش
 (۶) مایه سود و زیان دنیا و عقیاء تست
 هر دو چو در باختی سود و زیان گومباش
 (۷) روح چو از باغ عشق نو بر وحدت گرفت ابر یقین گومبار کشت گمان گومباش
 (۸) چون کے فرود آمدیم در حرم کبریا شهپر روح الامین جلوه کنان گومباش
 (۹) جمله صحرا و کوه نور تجلی گرفت
 ما بتجلی خوشیم حور و جنان گومباش
 (۱۰) زبده هر دو جهان کفل (؟) حیات همست تنگ در آغوش ماست هر دو جهان گومباش
 (۱۱) ذات تو سالاریا روح مکانست و کون دور و زمان گو نکرد کون و مکان گومباش
 (۱۲) هذا قبر الصدر الكبير المرحوم سلطان المحققين زين الملة و الحق و الدين
 (۱۳) علی بن سالار بن علی الیزدی توفي يوم الاحد الثالث عشرين ذوالحجه سنة خمس
 و ثمانين و ستمایه

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, ch. III, verses 18-19.¹

(b) i. (1-2).....our heart.....the spot and the space are our abode.

(3-4) the heavenly bodies.....all are our gain.

ii. (1-2) We have come for the order of the universe; we have come into Attributes along with Eternal Essence.

(3-4) The Light of all light is the Shadow of our shadow; do not look at the shadow, for we have come with Essence itself.

(c) (1) The object of Soul has manifested itself; let there (now) be no soul in the midst, When the heart has attained the perfect state of ecstasy (*ḥāl*), let there be no dissipation (*qāl*) by the tongue.

¹ For translation of this Quranic verses, see p. in *infra*.

(2) (Since) mysteries of the Unseen have been revealed without the media of sound and word, it does not matter if the palate and tongue cease to function (and) there is no interpretation and explanation.

(3) Since the soul has acquired the pearl of Love's secret from the shell of body, it matters little if there is no trace of shell at any place.

(4) When the lips of Soul have drunk a draught from the cup of Immortality, what does it matter if there is no stage of the abode-of frailty (i.e. the world) in its way ?

(5) The fear and hope (lit., security) of everybody is only on account of hell and heaven. As we are altogether above the two, what do we care if there is no fear and hope ?

(6) The sum-total of benefit and loss rests on the world and thereafter for you. When you have staked both, it is immaterial if there be no benefit or loss.

(7) When the Spirit plucked the new fruit of Unity from the garden of Love, who cares if the cloud of certainty does not rain or the sown field of doubt does not exist ?

(8) Now that we have alighted in the holy precincts of Divine Majesty, let the wings of the Faithful Spirit (arch-angel Gabriel) not indulge in display.

(9) The whole of the plains and the hills are bathed in the light of Manifestation (of Divine beauty). We are content with this Manifestation ; we do not care if there is no Paradise or its maiden damsels.

(10) The cream of both the worlds is the custodian ? of every life. Since it is confined within our embrace, if there be no both the worlds, it does not matter.

(11) O Sālārī ! Your essence is the Spirit of the world and creation ; (therefore), it matters little if the revolutions and Time cease revolving and if there is no world and creation (for you).

(12) This is the grave of the great chief (*sadr*), one who is called unto Allāh's mercy. Sultānu'l-Muḥaqqiqīn (lit., king of the Truthful, i.e. *gūftas*), Zainu'l-Millat wa'l-Ḥaqq wa'd-Dīn (lit., ornament of the religious fraternity, Truth and Religion),

(13) 'Alī, son of Sālār, son of 'Alī al-Yazdī (i.e. of Yazd) who died on Sunday, the 23rd Dhī'l-Hijja, year (A.H.) six hundred and eightyfive (9th February 1287 A.D.).

IX. EPITAPH, DATED 1291 A.D., FROM CAMBAY

The headstone, bearing this inscription, the last of the group, is also built up, third from right, into the east wall of the tomb of Parwāz Shāhid, at Cambay.² Engraved in relief in *Naskh* characters with strong *Thulth* flourishes, it records the demise of Ḥājī Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Alī of Irbil, popularly called Fatolia, who died on Friday in the middle of the month of Jumādā II A. H. 690 (15th June 1291 A. D.). The date of this record also falls during the rule of Sārangadeva of the Vāghelā dynasty. As regards the deceased, nothing is known from other sources, but from the text of the record it transpires that Ḥājī Ibrāhīm, originally from Irbil, a town near Mosul in modern Iraq,³ was one of the wealthy merchants of Cambay in his time since, apart from quite a few other honorific titles, he is mentioned in the text as the 'chief of merchants and the prince of shipmasters'. But of particular interest perhaps, from philological point, is the *alias* or '*urf*' by which the Ḥājī is called in the text : Fatolia, the Ḥājī's *alias* appears to me to be the Arabic

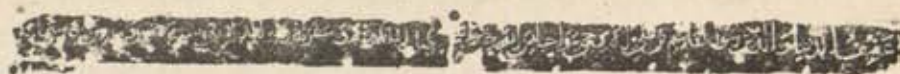
¹ A famous city in the Kirmān province of Iran.

² *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 77.

³ *Yāqūt*, op. cit., Vol. I, under 'Irbīl'.

PLATE V

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 685, from Junagadh (p. 19)



SCALE : 1

(b) Epitaph, dated A.H. 690, from Cambay (p. 23)



SCALE : 3

way of writing the vernacular word *Fatolia* (फटोलीया), which seems to be a Gujarati word.¹ It may be pointed out that *Fatolia* is not the nick-name of *Hājī Ibrāhīm* himself or any other particular individual of his family, but it seems to have been the name by which the whole family was known, since another epitaph at Cambay mentions one more member of the *Irbili* family, namely, *Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad*, son of *Abū Bakr* (d. A. H. 736=1336 A. D.), with the same nick-name.² We also know of one more member of this family, *Hājī Abū Bakr*, son of 'Ali, son of *Abū Bakr Irbili* (d. A. H. 710=1310 A. D.), who had died at Cambay.³

The inscriptional tablet in the present case also is arch-shaped, measuring 16" from apex to bottom and 13" in width. It is fragmentary and not whole, with the result that a large portion of the Quranic verse in the borders and the first few lines in the main section comprising the religious texts and the usual phrase meaning 'this is the grave of', etc., are lost.⁴ The text of the epitaph has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate V(b)

(a) Border.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو والملايكة و اولوا العلم قايما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز
الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذين اتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم بغيا
بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب صدق الله العظيم

(b) Main section.

- (١) المغفور الصدر المعظم صاحب الامجد الاعظم ملك
- (٢) التجار سلطان النواخذة عز الدنيا و الدين ناصر
- (٣) الاسلام و المسلمين الحاجي [١] ابراهيم بن محمد بن علي الارزلي
- (٤) عرف فتوليه تغمده الله بالرحمة و الرضوان و اسكنه بحبوة
- (٥) الجنان توفي يوم الجمعة منتصف جمادى الاخر سنة تسعين و ستماية

¹ *Fatol* (फटोल) is stated in the *Gujarati Jodni Kosh* of the Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmadabad, to mean 'soft', etc., in relation to betel-nuts.

² *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 122. The upper portion of the first letter in the word 'Fatolia' is slightly flaked off in the tablet of the inscription under study, but there is no doubt about the reading *Fatolia* which is clearly inscribed in the epitaph under reference.

³ *Ibid.*, No. D, 123.

⁴ It is obvious that when a tablet is broken by accident, etc., it does not take the exact arched shape as in the present case. One possible explanation is that the fragment was given this shape at the time of letting it up into the wall. On the other hand, we have instances of the back side of a tablet being used for a fresh inscription. Whether the same is the case with the present tablet or not, it is difficult to say. The exact position can only be ascertained when the tablet is dislodged from its present place, but the perfect arched shape of the tablet points to the possibility of a subsequent epitaph having been engraved on the back side.

⁵ The missing portion is supplied here within brackets.

⁶ A considerable portion comprising religious texts, etc. preceding these lines is lost.

TRANSLATION

- (a) *Qur'ān*, ch. III, verses 18-19.¹
- (b) (1) the pardoned, the magnificent chief, the great and glorious master, king
 (2) of merchants and prince of shipmasters, 'Izzu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Nāṣir-
 (3) u'l-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn (lit., glory of the State and the Religion, helper of Islām and the Muslims), al-Ḥājī Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Alī Al-irbilī,
 (4) commonly known as Fatolia, may Allāh cover him with (His) mercy and pleasure and grant him abode in the centre of
 (5) the Paradise. He died on the day of Friday, middle of Jumādā II, year (A.H.) six hundred and ninety (15th June 1291 A.D.).

¹ For the translation of the Quranic verses, see p. 17 *infra*.

SOME TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR

By DR. Z. A. DESAI

An excellent essay on Bihar during the Turko-Afghan period, based mainly on epigraphs some of which were recently discovered by him in his home province has been written by my friend Prof. S. H. Askari of Patna.¹ The learned professor has surveyed in his article all the Arabic and Persian inscriptions, that have come to light so far, of the pre-Mughal period of Bihar's history. A few early records of Bihar pertaining to the governors of the Mamlūks and to the early Sultans of Bengal, contemporary with the Khaljis of Delhi, have been already published in previous issues of this series and elsewhere.² No inscription of the Khaljis has been found as yet in this province which was then under the authority of the contemporary Bengal rulers.

Under the Tughluqs, Bihar was again annexed to the Delhi kingdom as is evidenced by their inscriptions. It is proposed to publish in this paper readings and translations of these records and illustrate them with their reproductions. As Professor Askari has given a very enlightening account of Bihar's history under the successive dynasties including the Tughluqs, it is not necessary to preface this article with any historical background, the same having now been incorporated into another recent publication.³

The Tughluq inscriptions studied below number eleven and cover a period ranging from A.H. 747 (1346 A.D.) to A.H. 810 (1407 A.D.). Of these, the earliest and his only inscription is that of Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq Shāh, originally found in north Bihar. Of the remaining, seven are dated in the reign of Firūz Tughluq and three in the reign of his grandson Maḥmūd Shāh; except for one inscription of the latter, which is from Kako in Gaya district, all the remaining records are from Bihar Sharif, capital of the region during the pre-Mughal period.

The first of these inscriptions has been now shifted to the Patna Museum, Patna. The huge inscriptional tablet measuring about two feet square and one foot thick was originally found inside a domed building, long used as a temple, in the Bediban village of Motihari district in north Bihar. The inscription was got removed by Shri S.V. Sohoni, then Commissioner of the Muzaffarpur Division to Muzaffarpur (where I got their rubbings prepared through the courtesy of Shri Sohoni) and later to Patna to be preserved in the local Museum.

Major-General Cunningham was the first to notice this inscription of which he also gave an illustration. Unfortunately, the stone, long worshipped as the 'Foot-print of Bhagwān' by the Hindus, received liberal daily libation of ghee and water thus affecting the writing, originally carved in relief. Consequently, Cunningham could not get the record deciphered correctly and hence, wrongly assigned it to Maḥmūd Shāh Sharqi of Jaunpur.⁴ It was Professor Askari who, from the estampages of this inscription prepared by Maulavi Fasihud-Din Balkhi and Shri Vishnu Shastri,

¹ S. H. Askari, 'A Review of Bihar during the Turko-Afghan Period', *Current Studies* (Magazine of the Patna College, Patna), 1954, pp. 5-22.

² *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1913-14, pp. 17 (pl. V), 25 (pl. IXa); 1917-18, pp. 22 (pl. VIb), 35 (pl. XIIb); *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1955 and 56, pp. 9 (pl. IIa), 10 (pl. IIb), 11 (pl. IIc); *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (JASB)*, Vol. XLII (1873), pp. 245, 247, 249, 250, 251, 299, 301, 303, 304, etc. A few more later inscriptions from Bihar have been published in *EIM*, 1923-24, p. 29, pl. XIIIc; *EIAPS*, op. cit., p. 11, pl. IIIa, etc.

³ R.R. Diwakar, ed. *Bihar Through the Ages* (Orient Longmans, 1959), pp. 380-399.

⁴ A. Cunningham and H.B.W. Garrick, *Report of Tours in North & South Bihar in 1880-81*, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. XVI (Calcutta, 1883), pp. 25-26, pl. IV B.

assigned it correctly to the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh. While the learned Professor's reading is a great improvement, I differ from him in some points, the most important being that relating to the object of construction.¹ Subsequently, Shri Sohoni published his comments on this inscription from the reading of Professor Askari.²

According to my reading, the inscription refers to the construction of a well which was completed during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh and governorship (*naubat-i-in'ām*) of 'Izzu'd-Dīn, Qāḍī-i-Muḥr-i-Khāṣṣ, under the superintendence of Maḥmūd, son of Yūsuf, on the 20th Rabi' I A. H. 747 (11th July 1346 A.D.).³ The text, inscribed in seven lines of Persian prose in *Naskh* of an ordinary type in relief, reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate VI (a)

- (۱) تمام شد این چاه از فضل الله د [ر]
 (۲) عهد مبارک شاهنشاه گیهانپناه محمد
 (۳) بن تغلقشاه لازالت ملکه نوبت
 (۴) انعام ملک الامراء عزالدولته و الدین
 (۵) قاضی مهر خاص مکنه الله بکار
 (۶) فرمائی بنده محمود یوسف الملقب بلقب...
 (۷) بیستم ؟ ماه ربیع الاول سنة سبع و اربعین و سبعماية

TRANSLATION

- (1) This well was completed through God's grace, during
 (2) the auspicious reign of the emperor who is the shelter of the world, Muḥammad
 (3) son of Tughluq Shāh, may his kingdom continue for ever, during the governorship
 (4) of Maliku'l-Umarā 'Izzu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn
 (5) Qāḍī-i-Muḥr-i-Khāṣṣ, may God strengthen his position, under the super-
 (6) vision of the humble slave Maḥmūd, son of Yūsuf, entitled.....
 (7) on the 20th ? of the month of Rabi' I A.H. 747 (11th July 1346 A.D.).

The second inscription of the group is a record of Firūz Shāh. It was discovered by Professor Askari in the northern wall of the *hujra* of the *Sajjāda Nashīn* of the *Dargāh* of Shāh Qumais⁴ at Bihar Sharif in the Patna district. The epigraph is fragmentary, but the surviving text, consisting of two couplets inscribed in two lines, contains the information that in A.H. 761 (1359-60 A.D.), during the reign of Firūz Shāh, a domed *dargāh* was constructed. It is not possible to say over whose remains the *dargāh* mentioned in the inscription was built, but as Professor Askari has

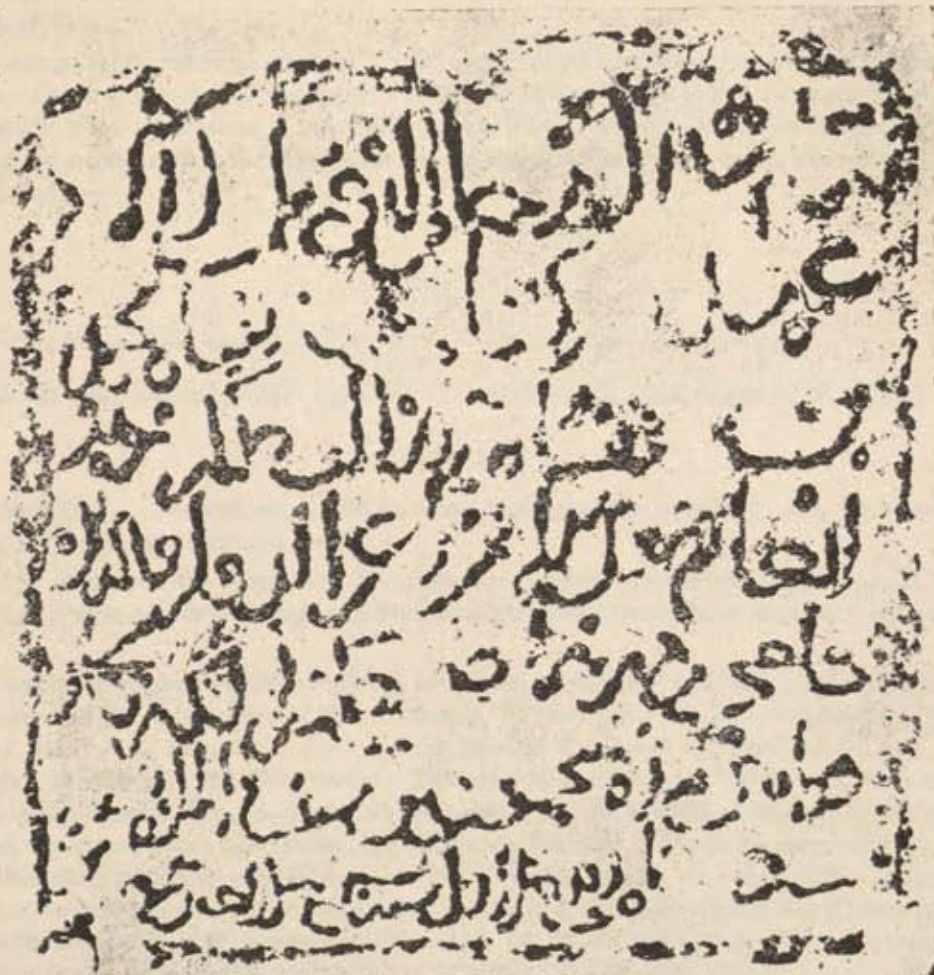
¹ Askari, op. cit., p. 12, where in foot-note 7, he has given English transliteration of the text as read by him. The translation of his reading will be found in S.V. Sohoni, 'Inscription of Mohammad-Bin-Yusuf at Bedīban', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XLI, part 2, 1955, p.3. According to this, the object of construction is 'Halqatul-Aqtabul-Akbar' translated as 'compound of one of the great saints'.

² Sohoni, op. cit., pp. 1-5.

³ *Annuaire Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1955-56, No. D, 68.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1953-54, No. C, 96. An inscription of the time of Ialām Shāh Sūr, appearing on the modern mosque attached to this *Dargāh*, has been published in *FIM*, 1923-24, p. 29, pl. XIIIc (vide, *ARIE*, op. cit., No. C, 97).

(a) Inscription of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, dated A.H. 747, from Bediban (p. 26)



SCALE : 32

(b) Fragmentary record of Firūz Tughluq, dated A.H. 761, from Bihar Sharif (p. 27)



pointed out, it could not have been Shāh Qumais Qādirī to whose memory the present imitation shrine is dedicated, since the saint flourished at a later period, having died in 1594 A.D. during the reign of Akbar.¹

The extant tablet measures about 30" by 15" and contains a record of two couplets in Persian. The style of writing is beautiful *Tauqī*-like *Thulth* with decorative flourishes, which reached a high watermark in Bihar inscriptions of the eighth century Hijra. Almost all the inscriptions of Firūz Shāh and his successors in Bihar Sharif have been executed in this elegant style. The text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VI (b)

(۱) او بر اعدا چون علم فیروز باد باد درگاهش همیشه ملجا هرخاص و عام
(۲) [بود] از تاریخ هجرت شست یک بافتصد کاینچنین گنبد بوقت سعد اختر شد تمام

TRANSLATION

(1) May his.....be victorious, like (his) standard, over the enemies! May his court be always a shelter for the high and the low!

(2) The date from the (Prophet's) Migration was sixtyone over seven hundred (A.H. 761= 1359-60 A.D.), when such a tomb was completed at an auspicious time (lit., at the time of auspicious stars).

The second inscription of Firūz Tughluq, also dated in A.H. 761 (1359-60 A.D.), is engraved on the reverse of the bi-inscriptional slab containing the inscription of Shamsu'd-Din Firūz Shāh of Bengal, dated A.H. 709 (1309 A.D.),² and not the one of the same monarch, dated A.H. 715 (1315 A.D.), as stated by H. Blochmann.³ This confusion arose out of the fact that there were two inscriptional tablets, one containing an inscription of Firūz Shāh of Bengal and the other containing the inscriptions of the same monarch on one side and of his Delhi name-sake⁴ on the other; Blochmann mixed up one inscription of the Bengal king with the other. Thus according to him, the inscriptional tablet then attached to the group of buildings called Hātim Khān's palace contained the inscription of the Bengal king dated A.H. 709 and the inscription of the same monarch contained on the tablet in the Chhoṭī Dargāh was the one dated A.H. 715. But the fact is otherwise. Either Blochmann had got his notes mixed up or he was misinformed.⁵ Consequently, his statement about the inscription, dated A.H. 709, being from the Hātim Khān's palace is not authentic. Professor Askari was aware of this confusion but he too was caught unawares and accepted the position that the tablet bearing the A. H. 709 epigraph, now found in the Chhoṭī Dargāh, must have been originally shifted from Hātim Khān's palace.⁶ The fact is that the tablet which was attached to Hātim Khān's palace when Blochmann wrote is evidently the one shifted to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, while the other, bi-inscriptional, tablet is still in the Chhoṭī Dargāh where it was lying in the time of Blochmann.

¹ Askari, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 14, fn. 5, supplies these words: *Aftab-i-Adl-i-(ū Hamchū)*.

³ *JASB*, Vol. XLII (1873), p. 249, no. 5; pl. VIII in *ibid.*, Vol. XL (1871). It was edited in *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 22, pl. Vīb.

⁴ *JASB*, Vol. XLII (1873), p. 250, no. 6. It was edited in *EIM*, op. cit., p. 35, pl. XIIb.

⁵ *JASB*, Vol. XLII (1873), pp. 302-03.

⁶ It is perhaps incorrect to say that Blochmann personally saw these inscriptions at Bihar Sharif as stated in *EIM*, 1917-18, pp. 22, 34 and Askari, op. cit., p. 9.

⁷ Askari, op. cit.

The Tughluq record under study runs into six couplets of Persian inscribed in three lines in elegant *Thuluth* of the Bihar variety. It purports to mention the renovation of an auspicious building which took place in A.H. 761 (1359-60 A.D.) during the reign of Fīrūz Tughluq through the efforts of the Royal Reporter of the province. The verse intended to give the name of the Reporter is not very intelligible, but before it is discussed, the reading of the text may be quoted first. The tablet containing the record measures 63" by 21" by 3".

TEXT

Plate VII (a)

(۱) مجدد گشت این میمون عمارت	بعهد بادشاه عدل پرور
شهنشاه جهان فیروز شاه آنک	ازو آباد شد محراب و منبر
(۲) بسعی و التماس بنده خاص	برید خطه اندر دور داور
ملک سیرت ملک کافی کفایت	فهیم نامور در هفت کشور
(۳) گذشته هفصد از تاریخ هجرت	فزوده بود یک بر شست دیگر
همیشه باد شه برتخت دولت	چو نام خویش فیروز و مظفر

TRANSLATION

(1) This auspicious building was renovated in the reign of justice-entertaining monarch, the emperor of the world, Fīrūz Shāh, one through whom niches and pulpits (i.e. mosques) flourished,

(2) through the efforts and at the instance of the favourite servant, (who is) the Reporter of the province in the period of the just king,

angel-natured Malik of perfect competency, Fahīm, (who is) illustrious in the seven climes (i.e. the whole world).

(3) Seven hundred from the date of the (Prophet's) Migration had passed and besides, one added to sixty (A.H. 761=1359-60 A.D.).

May the king remain on the throne of good fortune for ever, as victorious and successful as his name.

Blochmann does not attempt to give the name of the renovator at all; he takes the word 'Fahīm' (lit., endowed with wisdom) as an adjective; Professor Askari, on the other hand, considers the renovator and the Reporter of the province to be two different persons and states that the inscription records the renovation of the building at the instance of a Barid or Reporter of the district by Malik Kāfi.¹ This is not warranted by the text, according to which, the building was renovated by the Reporter himself, whose name was either Kāfi or Fahīm. I have interpreted the above two verses in line no. 2 to indicate that the renovator's name was Malik Fahīm.

The third inscription of Fīrūz Tughluq and fourth of the group, was also discovered by Professor Askari on a slab of black basalt fixed below the *chirāghdān* in Amber at Bihar Sharif.² The importance of this record has already been pointed out elsewhere by me in my study of another inscription from the same town.³ The record assigns the construction of a mosque in A.H. 765

¹ Askari, op. cit., p. 14.

² *ARIE*, 1953-54, No. C, 92; Askari, op. cit., p. 16, where in f.n.7, its reading is given in roman characters.

³ *ELAPS*, 1955 and 56, p. 8.



SCALE : ·1

(b) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 765, from the same place (p. 29)



SCALE : ·17

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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(1363 A.D.) to Khawja Bengāl Khānī, a typical name in itself. But the most important aspect of this record is its mention of the governor of Bihar at this time: he is 'the great Khān, Asadu'l-Haq wa'd-Dīn Dā'ūd Khān'. This Dā'ūd Khān was, as stated elsewhere, most probably a son of Malik Ibrāhīm Bayyū, Firūz Tughluq's governor of Bihar, who had died, according to the inscriptions on his tomb on Pir Pahadi at Bihar Sharif, in A.H. 753 (1353 A.D.). If it be so, Dā'ūd Khān, son of Bayyū, who is mentioned among the grandees of Firūz's kingdom in the *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī*, must have succeeded his father in the governorship of Bihar which he held at least until the date of the present inscription. Dā'ūd Khān appears to have died prior to 30th Muḥarram A.H. 767 (17th October 1365 A.D.), since an inscription from the same town bearing this date mentions Khānzāda Sulaimān, son of Ulugh Dā'ūd Khān (probably identical with Dā'ūd Khān of our record) as the governor.¹ As regards Bengāl Khānī, however, no information is available.

The present record is engraved in three lines of Persian prose on the slab which measures about 38" by 19". The style of writing is elegant decorative *Thulth*. The text of the epigraph has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate VII (b)

(۱) بنی کرد عمارت این مسجد مبارک بنیاد و محراب بر مثال کعبه نهاد در عهد
خدا یگان جهان و بادشاه سلیمان نشان الواتی بالتائید الرحمان (sic.)
(۲) ابو المظفر فیروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه و در ایالت خان کبیر اسدالحق و الدین
الغ اعظم داود خان اعز الله انصاره
(۳) بنده امیدوار حضرت ربانی خواجه بنگال خانی احسن الله اجره فی الغرة من ربیع الاول
سنة خمس و ستین و سبعماية

TRANSLATION

(1) The building of this mosque of blessed foundation and arch built like Ka'ba was constructed in the reign of the lord of the earth and king of Solomon's insignia, one who is confident of the support of the Merciful (Allāh),

(2) Abu'l-Muẓaffar Firūz Shāh, the Sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, and during the governorship of the great Khān, Asadu'l-Haq wa'd-Dīn Ulugh A'zam Dā'ūd Khān, may Allāh honour his helpers,

(3) by the creature (who is) hopeful of the (favour of the) Mighty Lord (Allāh), namely, Khawja Bengāl Khānī, may Allāh recompense him with a fine reward, on the 1st of Rabī'u'l-Awwal, year five and sixty and seven hundred (1st Rabī' I A.H. 765=8th December 1363 A.D.).

The credit of discovering the fifth inscription of this study, also belonging to Firūz Shāh's reign, goes again to Professor Askari.² The inscriptional tablet is fixed over the door of a chamber in a private house, situated opposite the *Sughra Waqf Estate* at Bihar Sharif.³ Unfortunately, the tablet is fragmentary, a considerable portion having been lost; in its present condition, it

¹ For details regarding the identity of these personages and inscriptions mentioning them, please see *EIAPS*, op. cit., pp. 6-9.

² Askari, op. cit., p. 16, f.n. 8.

³ *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 85.

measures about 20" by 10". From the surviving text of two lines, which only contains the name of the king and the date, it is not possible to say anything about the purport of the epigraph; moreover, its exact findspot is also not known.

The style of writing, as in the case of the previous three records, is elegant *Thulth*. The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

(۱) ان الواثق بتأييد الرحمن ابوالمظفر فيروز شاه السلطان

(۲) الخامس عشر من شهر شوال سنة اربع و سبعين و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(1) confident of the support of the Merciful (Allāh), Abu'l-Muzaffar Firūz Shāh, the Sultān

(2) fifteenth of the month of Shawwāl, year four and seventy and seven hundred (15th Shawwāl A.H. 774=9th April 1373 A.D.).

The sixth and seventh inscriptions of the group also belong to the time of Firūz Shāh. Their texts are carved on the two sides of a huge fragmentary slab of black basalt (30" by 21"), which is originally said to have been recovered from the tank excavated at Bihar Sharif by Ḥabīb Khān Sūr during the reign of Shāh Jahān and is now lying in the Sughrā Waqf estate.¹

These two inscriptions are very interesting, but unfortunately, the slab being fragmentary and damaged and writing quite intricate, it has not been possible to decipher completely the text, especially in the second line of the obverse; the undecipherable portion seems to contain the names of a couple of places. The texts are composed in Persian prose, the one on the obverse mentioning the construction of a gateway and an arch and the commander-in-chief of the forts of Jalāwlā and other places; the reverse contains the name of Firūz Shāh and also, immediately preceding the date of which the year is lost, the statement to the effect that (the builder ?) 'was the chamberlain for the Hindus of the kingdom'.

The style of writing of both the records is bold *Thulth* of the Bihar variety, resembling in particular to that of the Sakūnat inscription of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, also from Bihar Sharif.²

The text on the obverse has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IX(a)

(۱) بود بتجديد عماراة اين دروازه خجسته فر و آن طاق ميمون اثر در ايام خلافت و

اعوام [سلطنت] ...

(۲) سلطانه و ملکه ؟ "حصار جلاولا ؟

و دوازده برج سماوى بازو ؟

¹ *ARIE*, 1953-54, Nos. C, 89-90; Askari, op. cit., p. 12, f.n.5 and p. 16, f.n. 6.

² *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 292, no. 20.

³ The reading of this and the following words is tentative.

(a) Fragmentary record of Firūz Tughluq, dated A.H. 774, from Bihar Sharif (p. 30)



SCALE : .27

(b) Another fragmentary record of the same king, from the same place (p. 32)



SCALE : .22

PLATE IX

(a) Fragmentary inscription on loose slab, from Bihar Sharif (p. 30)



SCALE : 19

(b) On the reverse of the above slab : record of Firūz Tughluq (p. 31)



TRANSLATION

(1) The renovation of the buildings of this gateway of auspicious dignity and arch of blessed sign took place in the days of the caliphate and years [of the sultanate of]

(2) fort of Jalāwlā? ..

The text on the reverse reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate IX(b)

..... [س] لطان عالمینہ الوائقی بتائید الرحمن فیروزشاہ السلطان (۱)

..... حاجب ہندوان ممالک بود فی السابع من ربیع الآخر سنۃ (۲)

TRANSLATION

(1) .. Sultān who is the shelter of the world, one who is confident of the support of the Merciful (Allāh), Firūz Shāh a's-Sultān

(2) .. was the chamberlain for the Hindus of the kingdom. On the 7th Rabi' u'l-Ākhar, year ..

There are one or two points regarding these two records which are worthy of our attention. The style of writing in both these records is strikingly similar, which makes it not unlikely that both might be parts of one inscription only. Some confirmation for this view is lent by the fact that each of the two lines on the reverse seems to be in immediate continuation of the corresponding line on the obverse as may be judged from the following text arranged in that order :—

(۱) بود بتجدید عمارۃ این دروازہ خجستہ فر و آن طاق میمون اثر در ایام خلعت و

اعوام [سلطنت] [س] لطان عالمینہ الوائقی بتائید الرحمن فیروزشاہ السلطان

(۲) سلطانہ و ملکہ حصار جلاولا ؟ و دوازده برج سماوی بازو حاجب

ہندوان ممالک بود فی السابع من ربیع الآخر سنۃ

If so, it would mean that the writing on both the sides constitutes one inscription only. But in that case, it would be difficult to visualise the position in which the slab was originally set up especially when we remember that it was meant for a gateway and an arch. It is also worth noting that the spacing of letters in the writing on the reverse slightly differs from that in the obverse.

The eighth inscription of our study is yet another fragmentary inscription of Firūz Shāh also discovered by Prof. Askari. The surviving tablet bearing this record measures 18" by 14" and is built up in the north wall of the shrine of Shāh Faḍlu'llāh Gosā'in, an open four-walled tomb, in the Bāradari Mahalla of Bihar Sharif.¹ The present record is apparently a small part of a larger inscription.

¹ *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 76; Askari, op. cit., p. 15 and f.n. 3. It is to be noted that in the tomb of Shāh Faḍlu'llāh Gosā'in, who died in A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.), are found three more inscriptions which were obviously fixed there to save them from destruction (*ARIE*, 1955-56, Nos. D, 77-79).

As the extant text only comprises one hemistich of Persian verse containing the name of the monarch, it is difficult to state the exact purport of the record. The style of writing is elegant *Thulth* of the Bihar variety. The reading of the epigraph is as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII(b)

(۱) شد بعهد دولت شاه جهان فیروزشاه

..... (۲)

TRANSLATION

(1) took place during the reign of king of the world Firūz Shāh.

(2).....

The last three inscriptions of the present group pertain to the rule of Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluq, a grandson of Firūz Shāh. The first of these is now lying loose in the courtyard of the house of Sayyid Zaka Husain at Bihar Sharif, where it was removed from the Chhoṭā Takia containing the tomb of Shāh Dīwān 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb.¹ The inscription must have belonged to a *Khānqāh*, since it is recorded therein that 'this *Khānqāh*, which may be a shelter for the weak, was constructed by the governor of the province, Diyāu'l-Ḥaq, and completed in the year A.H. 799 (1396-97 A.D.), during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh'.

As Blochmann has rightly remarked, the inscription forms an important document to show that Bihar did not acknowledge the sovereignty of Nuṣrat Shāh, the rival of Maḥmūd Shāh for the Delhi throne.²

The record consists of two verses in Persian, executed in elegant *Thulth* of the Bihar variety on a slab measuring 45" by 9" by 4" and reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate X(a)

(۱) کرد اندر عهد سلطان جهان محمود شاه حاکم خطه ضیاء الحق بنا این خانقاه

(۲) هفتصد نه با نود از سال هجرت رفته بود شد تمام این خانقه بادا ضعیفانرا پناه

TRANSLATION

(1) The governor of the province, Diyāu'l-Ḥaq constructed this *Khānqāh* during the reign of the king of the world Maḥmūd Shāh.

(2) Seven hundred and ninety-nine had passed from the year of (the Prophet's) Migration (A.H. 799=1396-97 A.D.), when this *Khānqāh* was completed; may it be a shelter for the weak!

¹ *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 86; Askari, op. cit., p. 17; *JASB*, Vol. XLII (1873), p. 304.

² *JASB*, op. cit.

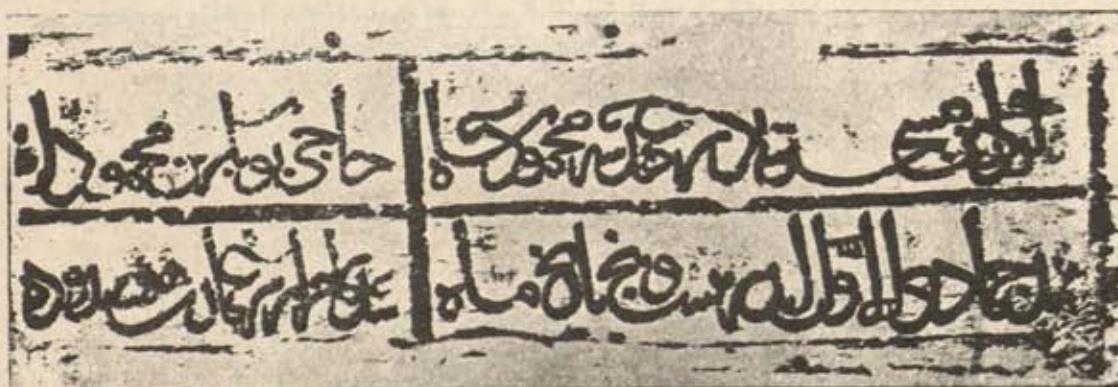
³ The slab in this portion, as will be seen from the plate, shows three large cavities caused by the constant rubbing of the same by people who believe that it is endowed with some magical properties. Same is the case with some other inscriptional tablets of black basalt from Bihar.

(a) Inscription of Maḥmūd Tughluq, dated A.H. 799, from Bihar Sharif (p. 32)



SCALE : ·125

(b) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 810, from the same place (p. 34)



SCALE : ·2

(c) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 799, from Kako (p. 33)



SCALE : ·25

10. 2. 1702	10. 2. 1702
10. 2. 1702	10. 2. 1702

10. 2. 1702	10. 2. 1702
10. 2. 1702	10. 2. 1702

10. 2. 1702	10. 2. 1702
10. 2. 1702	10. 2. 1702
10. 2. 1702	10. 2. 1702
10. 2. 1702	10. 2. 1702

Another inscription from Bihar Sharif, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, mentions the construction of a mosque in A.H. 792 (1339-90 A.D.), during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluq by Khwāja Diyā, son of 'Ulā.¹ Blochmann thinks that this Khwāja Diyā and Diyāu'l-Haq of the present inscription are identical.²

The second inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh is from Kako, in Gaya district. The tablet bearing this record is now built up in the eastern wall near the entrance of the tomb of Bibī Kamālo. Cunningham who had noticed this epigraph and given a lithographed plate in one of his reports, believed it to belong to Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh of Bengal and consequently assigned to the tomb a date in that monarch's reign.³ It was again Professor Askari who deciphered the inscription correctly and assigned it to the rule of Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluq.⁴

The inscriptional tablet, which measures 26" by 13", is unfortunately badly damaged with the result that the writing, especially in the portion containing the name of the builder, is difficult to decipher. The epigraph records the building of a mosque by 'Izzatu'd-Dīn ?, during the governorship of Khān-i-Mu'azzam A'zam Khān who is described in the record as 'a saint clad in tunic and cap' (official dress). The mosque with its dome of lofty door was completed on the 10th of the month of Allāh (Ramaḍān ?) in the year A.H. 799 (1397 A.D.).

The text of the inscription is read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate X(c)

(۱) قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا مثله في الجنة
 (۲) عهد گردون پناه ؟ ظل الله شاه محمود بن محمد شاه
 وقت خان معظم اعظم خان در قبا و کله ولی الله
 (۳) عزة دين ؟ عمارت مسجد کرد امیدوار عفو گناه
 یارب از فضل خود بیامزش بنده تو بتو گرفته پناه
 (۴) قبه و گنبد و بلند درش در روده ز فرق چرخ کلاه
 سال در هفصد و نود و نه بود شد مرتب بعشر شهر الله

TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, may peace be on him his said, 'One who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh will build for him a house like it in Paradise'.

(2) In the reign of (the king, who is) the shelter of the sky, shadow of Allāh, Shāh Maḥmūd, son of Muḥammad Shāh

(and) during the governorship of the magnificent Khān, A'zam Khān (who is) a saint (lit., friend) of Allāh in tunic and cap,

(3) 'Izzatu'd-Dīn ?, (who is) expectant of the pardon of (his) sins, built this mosque.

O Lord ! Forgive him through your bounty ! Thy creature has sought shelter with Thee !

¹ JASB, op. cit., p. 303; EIAPS, 1955 and 56, p. 10, pl. IIc.

² JASB, op. cit.

³ Cunningham and Garrick, op. cit., pp. 36-39, pl. X (top), where also an account of the town of Kako, the tomb of the Bibī, etc. will be found.

⁴ Askari, op. cit., p. 17, fn. 4, where a reading of the text is given in roman characters.

(4) Its vault, dome and lofty door have snatched away the cap from the forehead of heaven (i.e. excelled it in height).

The year was seven hundred and ninety-nine when it was completed on the tenth of the month of Allāh (10th Ramaḍān ? A.H. 799=7th June 1397 A.D.).

About the two personages mentioned in this valuable inscription, viz. Khān-i-Mu'azzam A'zam Khān, the governor and 'Izzatu'd-Dīn ?, the builder, we do not possess any information.

More important than the preceding two inscriptions is another record of Maḥmūd Shāh, the last of the group, also engraved in elegant Thulth of the same type, as in the previous epigraphs. Now fixed over the central mihrāb of a mosque in the Chāndpūra Maḥalla of Bihar Sharif,¹ the inscriptional tablet of black basalt measuring 32" by 10" is fragmentary, but the portion of the text lost does not appear to be much. The epigraph records the construction of a mosque on the site of an old one by Hājī Bū Bakr, son of Maḥmūd, in A.H. 810 (1407 A.D.) during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluq.

The record is very important as it shows that at a time when the Tughluq authority was wrought with dangers of dissensions and had practically collapsed, this far away eastern province of the Delhi empire was still recognising the sovereignty of Maḥmūd Shāh provided, of course, that the inscription under study is *in situ*. It will be remembered that at this period the Jaunpur kingdom under its ruler Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī was asserting its authority and the proof that Bihar or at least some parts thereof were under Sharqī authority is afforded by inscriptions ranging from A.H. 806 (1402-03 A.D.) from Darbhanga in north Bihar to A.H. 892 (1486-87 A.D.) from Bihar Sharif itself.² There is also another inscription of Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī at Bihar Sharif which is dated A.H. 807 (1404-05 A.D.).³ This would mean that sovereignty of two independent kings, Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluq of Delhi and Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpur, was acknowledged practically during the same period and in the same place, which is difficult to explain unless, as is more probable in view of its findspot, the Sharqī inscription is not *in situ* and was brought from elsewhere.⁴

The present record, which consists of two verses executed in the beautiful Thulth style of the Bihar pattern, has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate X(b)

(۱) کرد این مسجد بنا در عهد شه محمود شاه حاجی بوبکر بن محمود ..
 (۲) بد جمادی الاول اندر بیست و پنج تاریخ ماه شد تمام از سر عمارت هیصدوده ..

TRANSLATION

(1) Hājī Bū Bakr, son of Maḥmūd erected this mosque during the reign of the king Maḥmūd Shāh.

(2) It was on the 25th day of the month of Jumādā I of the year eight hundred and ten when it was completed afresh (25th Jumādā I A.H. 810=28th October 1407 A.D.).

Nothing is known about the builder. The mosque seems to have been constructed by him on the site of an old one.

¹ *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 80. The credit of spotting this inscription also goes to Professor Askari (op. cit., p. 17, f.n. 6).

² Askari, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

³ *Ibid.*; *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 82; *EIAPS*, op. cit., p. 11 (where due to misprint, A.H. 809 is given).

⁴ *EIAPS*, op. cit., p. 11 and f.n. 4.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SULTANS OF BENGAL FROM BIHAR

By A. A. KADIRI

In the medieval period, the province of Bihar had no independent status : it only served as a bone of contention between the kingdoms of Delhi and Bengal, in their struggle for supremacy over it. Consequently, the history of Bihar under the Muslims has to be mainly pieced together from mural records only. After its conquest by Bakhtiyār Khaljī in 1199 A.D., Bihar, along with Bengal, seems to have quietly passed on to the Sultans of Delhi who exercised their authority over the region through their governors, some of whom came into clash with the central authority for asserting independence. The collapse of the Mamlūk rule at Delhi witnessed the establishment of independent kingdom of Bengal, which also then included Bihar, but under Ghiyāth'd-Dīn Tughluq and his successors, Delhi could again assert its authority over Bihar for about a century.¹

After the Tughluqs, the Sharqī kings of Jaunpur ruled over Bihar upto 1486 A.D. The political situation of the eastern provinces during this period was complicated and Bengal was once again eclipsing Bihar, different parts of which acknowledged the rule, at one time or the other, of the Sharqīs, the Sultans of Bengal and the Lodīs, until its final subjugation by the Mughals. The following study of eleven inscriptions belonging to the Sultans of Bengal, which have been found at various parts of Bihar, is of particular interest as it helps us to determine the political position of the province at different times.

Of these eleven records, one is an additional record, recently discovered in north Bihar, of Ruknu'd-Dīn Kaikā'ūs (1291-1301 A.D.), a grandson of Balban. It is, incidentally, the earliest epigraphical record of that king found so far. The second inscription is dated in the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd I (1442-1459 A.D.) of the later Ilyās Shāhī dynasty, and was found at Bhagalpur. From the same place comes the third record which was inscribed in the reign of Shamsu'd-Dīn Muẓaffar Shāh (1491-93 A.D.), the Abyssinian ruler of Bengal. The next seven inscriptions, from Patna and Saran districts, belong to the time of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh (1493-1519 A.D.), the minister of Muẓaffar Shāh, who replaced his master. The last epigraph of the group is an undated record of Ḥusain Shāh's son and successor, Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh (1519-32 A.D.), from Begusarai in north Bihar. Some of these inscriptions have been noticed or published elsewhere, as will be mentioned in their proper place, but not always they have been illustrated.² Since due illustration of an inscription constitutes an important aspect of epigraphical studies, the same are also included for study.

The earliest inscription of this group is dated A.H. 692 (1293 A.D.) in the reign of Ruknu'd-Dīn Kaikā'ūs,³ grandson of Ghiyāth'u'd-Dīn Balban, who ruled as an independent king of Bengal ; it is also the earliest inscriptional record of this king. Kaikā'ūs' place in history is only determined by his coins bearing the dates between A.H. 691 and 702 and his three inscriptional records discovered in the last century, dated A.H. 697 and 698.⁴ The present record, which was set up on the last day of the month of Muḥarram A.H. 692, thus confirms the numismatic evidence.

¹ The inscriptions of the Tughluqs from Bihar have been studied at pp. 25-34, *infra*.

² Professor S.H. Aakari, 'A Review of Bihar during the Turko-Afghan Period', *Current Studies* (Magazine of the Patna College, Patna), 1954, pp. 1-20, where almost all the known Bihar records of Bengal monarchs have been surveyed. The same has been included in R. R. Diwakar, ed. *Bihar Through the Ages* (Calcutta, 1959), pp. 383 ff.

³ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1955-56, No. D, 62 and pp. 9-10.

⁴ Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XV (Calcutta, 1882), p. 172 ; *JASB*, Vol. XLII (1872), p. 103 ; *ibid.*, Vol. XLII (1873), pp. 247-48 ; *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1917-18, pp. 11, 12 ; Shamsud-Din Ahmad, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. IV (Rajshahi, 1950).

The huge inscriptional tablet, which at the time of copying the inscription was lying in the sub-divisional office at Begusarai in the Monghyr District, was recovered from the banks of the Burhi Gandak at Thānā Maheshwārā in the same sub-division and measures 6'3" by 1'4".¹ The text consists of two lines of Arabic prose, executed in beautiful *Thulth-u-Naskh* characters in relief and records the construction of a strong fort by Ikhtiyārū'd-Dīn Abu'l-Ma'ālī Firūz Aitigīn Sultānī, entitled Khān-i-Khānān. Firūz Aitigīn is also mentioned in the Lakhisarai record of Kaikā'ūs, which shows him to be the governor of the western part of the Bengal kingdom. He was evidently one of the two noblemen left behind by Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn Balban to assist his son Nāgīrū'd-Dīn Bughtrā Khān in the government of Bengal.² The surmise that Firūz Aitigīn of these inscriptions later assumed the kingship of Bengal under the name Shamsu'd-Dīn Firūz Shāh is almost a fact.³

The text of the inscription has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XI(a)

- (١) امر بناء هذا الحصن الحصين في عهد سلطان السلاطين ركن الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر
كيكوس شاه السلطان بن السلطان بن السلطان يمين خليفة الله ناصر امير المؤمنين
(٢) الخان الكبير العالم العادل باختيار الحق و الدين المخاطب بخان خانان ابوالعالى
فيروز ايتكين السلطان ضاعف الله قدره في السلخ من المحرم سنة اثنى و تسعين و ستمائة

TRANSLATION

(1) This strong fort was ordered to be built in the reign of the king of kings, Ruknu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Kaikā'ūs Shāh, the Sultān, son of the Sultān, son of the Sultān, the right arm of the vicegerent of God, the helper of the prince of the Faithful,

(2) by the great Khān, the learned, the just, Ikhtiyārū'l-Haq wa'd-Dīn, entitled Khān-i-Khānān, Abu'l-Ma'ālī, Firūz Aitigīn Sultānī, may God multiply his dignity, on the last day of Muḥarram in the year (A.H.) 692 (10th January 1293 A.D.).

The next inscription of this group is engraved on a loose slab, measuring 19" by 14", which was found lying uncared for in Kohin's Bāgh at Bhagalpur, headquarters of the district of the same name. It is a hitherto unnoticed record of Nāgīrū'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Bengal and records the construction of a bridge in the reign of that monarch on the 5th Šafar A.H. 854 (20th March 1450 A.D.).⁴ This epigraph clearly indicates that Bhagalpur was included within Bengal territories at this period.

Since the inscriptional tablet remained exposed to elements of weather, one does not know for how long, it is not surprising that the writing, which seems to have been originally carved in low relief, has been pretty badly worn out. However, the record is easily decipherable save in the

¹ Prof. R. K. Chaudhary, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona*, Vol. XXXVI (1955), p. 166, edited this inscription with a facsimile, but as Dr. Dani has rightly observed, it is badly published (Dr. A. H. Dani, *Bibliography of the Muslim inscriptions of Bengal*, Dacca, 1957, p. 4). It has been also included in Shamsud-Din Ahmad, op. cit.

² Igāml, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Agra, 1938), p. 166.

³ J. N. Sarkar, ed. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II (Dacca, 1948), p. 93; Askari, op. cit., p. 10.

⁴ Shamsud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 12, has 'السلطان'

⁵ *Ibid.*, has 'التاريخ'.

⁶ *ARIE*, op. cit., No. D, 55 and p. 11. Another inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh from Bhagalpur, recording the construction of a mosque by Khurshīd Khān in A.H. 850, has been published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 280.

(a) Record of Ruknu'd-Din Kaika'us, dated A.H. 692, from Begusarai (p. 36)

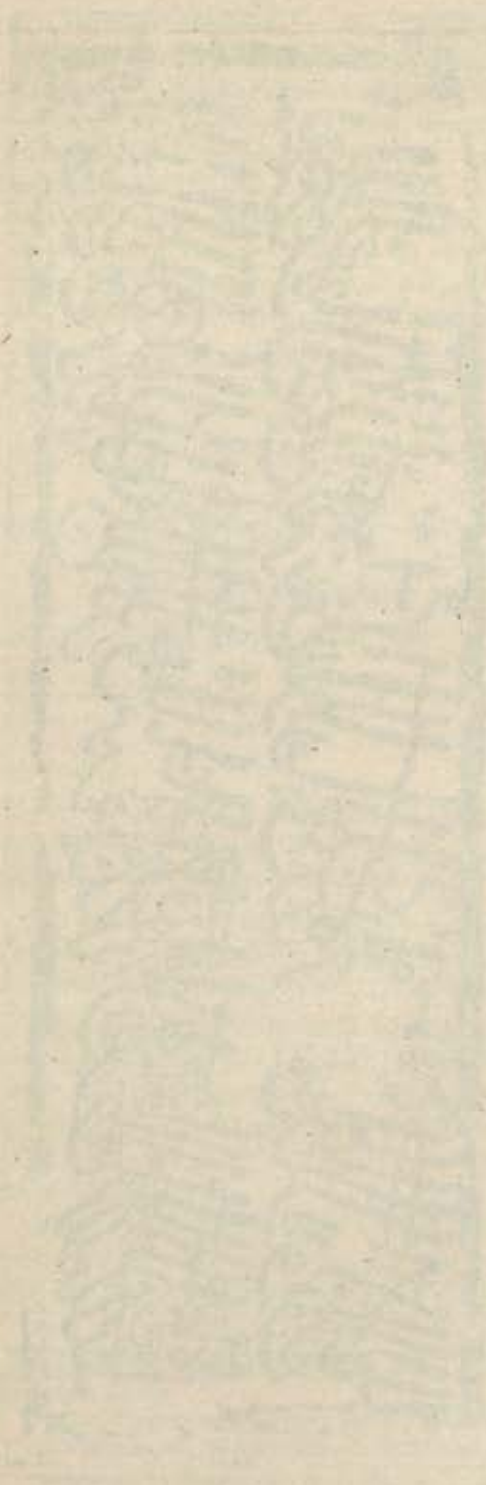


SCALE : '1

(b) Record of Muzaffar Shāh, dated A.H. 897, from Champanagar (p. 37)



SCALE : '3



decade portion of the date given in words. The word is either "خمسين" (fifty) or "ستين" (sixty). I have preferred the former, which would make the date A.H. 854.¹

The record consists of four lines of Arabic prose inscribed in *Naskh* characters resembling the style of Bārbak Shāh's inscription from Tribeni in the Hooghly district of Bengal.² It has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XII(a)

(١) بنا هذا القنطرة في زمن الملك العادل المويد
(٢) بتأييد الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجة و البرهان
(٣) ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه السلطان
(٤) في الخامس من شهر الصفر ختم الله بالخير و الظفر سنة اربع و خمسين و ثمانماية

TRANSLATION

(1) This bridge was constructed in the reign of the just king, one who is strengthened
(2) by the support of the Merciful, the vicegerent of Allāh by all arguments and demonstrations,

(3) Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd Shāh, the Sultān,

(4) on the 5th of the month of Ṣafar, may Allāh end it with bounty and victory, of the year (A.H.) 854 (20th March 1450 A.D.).³

The next inscription in chronological order of this collection is a recently found new record of Shamsu'd-Dīn Muẓaffar Shāh, the last of the Abyssinian kings of Bengal.⁴ The other extant records of this king number only four bearing the dates between A.H. 896 and A.H. 898.⁵

The loose tablet bearing this inscription measuring 29" by 10" is now preserved in the Jāmi'-Masjid at Champanagar, a suburb of Bhagalpur. The writing on the tablet is somewhat damaged. The record consists of two lines of Arabic prose purporting that a mosque was constructed by Mu'tabar Khān, an official of the king, in the reign of Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'n-Naṣr Muẓaffar Shāh, on the 10th of Muḥarram A.H. 897 (13th November 1491 A.D.). The style of writing employed is *Naskh*. The text of the record reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XI(b)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجداً في الدار الدنيا بنى الله
له في الآخرة [سبعين] قصرًا في المعالكة الوائق بتأييد الرحمن

¹ If it is "ستين", the date would be A.H. 864, which would make this inscription carry forward the date of Maḥmūd's rule to 5th Ṣafar, A.H. 864. It may be remembered that the established date of his son Bārbak Shāh's earliest inscription is 1st Jumādā, A.H. 864 (Dani, op. cit., p. 22).

² *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1953 and 54, p. 20, pl. VIIa.

³ *ARIE*, op. cit., No. D, 59. The credit of discovering this inscription goes to Prof. Askari (op. cit., p. 19, fn. 5).

⁴ Three have been published in *EIM*, 1929-30, pp. 11, 13 and *JASB*, Vol. XLII (1873), p. 290. The fourth is the Kalna record assigned to Maḥmūd II, which has been proved to belong to Muẓaffar Shāh (*EIAPS*, 1955 and 56, p. 19, pl. Vb). Shamsud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 143-48, gives four but not the Kalna one.

⁵ Shamsud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 144, reads here 'المويد'.

(۲) شمس الدنيا و الدين ابوالنصر مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه باني خير خان
اعظم معتبر خان كارفرمان ^۱ بازورای هت ؟ مورخانی العاشر من المحرم سنة سبع و تسعين
و ثمانمائه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful. The Prophet, may peace of Allāh be upon him, says, 'He who builds a mosque in this world, God builds for him seventy palaces in the next world'. [The mosque was built] in the dominion of one who is confident of the support of the Merciful (Allāh),

(2) *Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'n-Naṣr Muẓaffar Shāh*, the Sultān, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty. The builder of this charitable building (is) *Khān-i-A'zam Mu'tabar Khān*, the *Kārfarmān* (Agent) of *Bāzurāi Hat*?, on the 10th of Muharram in the year 897 (A.H. = 13th November 1491 A.D.).

The reading of the name of the place which was in charge of Mu'tabar Khān, the builder, is not quite certain, but *Bāzurāi Hat* seems to be the only reading supported by the rubbing. Also, the records at our disposal do not contain any information about Mu'tabar Khān, who seems to have been a noble of first rank.

Of the seven inscriptions, which incidentally form the largest number of the group, belonging to the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain Shāh of Bengal, the earliest, dated A.H. 903—the fourth year of his reign, is fixed into the left side of the facade of Shāh Nāfa's tomb, situated inside the fort area at Monghyr, headquarters of the district of that name.² This inscription has been already noticed but it has not been illustrated.³

The inscriptional tablet measures 30" by 10" and contains a record of two lines of Arabic prose, executed in ordinary *Nasḥ* script, mentioning the construction of the tomb in the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain Shāh, by prince Dānyāl in A.H. 903 (1497-98 A.D.). Dānyāl was the eldest son of Husain Shāh who had entered into a treaty with Sikandar Lodī at Barh in Patna district, on behalf of his father.⁴

The epigraph reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XII(b)

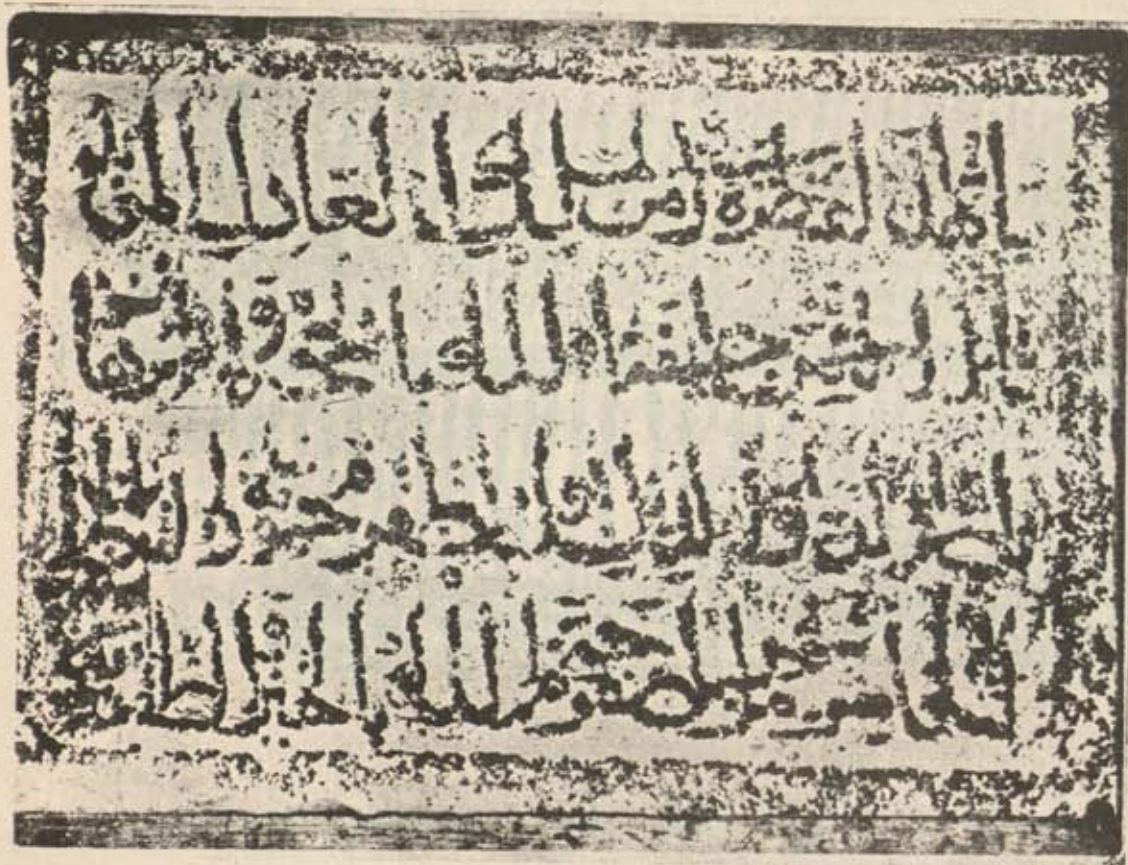
(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ نَصْرٌ مِنْ اللَّهِ وَ فَتْحٌ قَرِيبٌ وَ بَشْرٌ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ بِنَاءُ هَذَا الْكَعْبَةِ
فِي عَهْدِ سُلْطَانِ الْعَادِلِ سَيِّدِ السَّادَاتِ
(۲) مَجْمَعُ السَّعَادَاتِ عَلَاوَالدُّنْيَا وَ الدِّينِ أَبُو الْمَظْفَرِ حُسَيْنِ شَاهِ سُلْطَانِ خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكَهُ وَ
سُلْطَانَهُ بَانِي خَيْرِ دَانِيَالِ شَاهِزَادَهُ سَلَّمَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى فِي الدَّارَيْنِ سَنَةَ ثَلَاثٍ وَ تَسْعَمَائِهِ

¹ Shamsud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., reads 'بازوران' and translates: valiant.

² *ARIE*, 1953-54, No. C, 88.

³ *JASB*, Vol. XLI (1872), p. 335, where a traditional account of Shāh Nāfa is also given Askari, op. cit., p. 19; Shamsud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 153.

⁴ Sarkar, op. cit., p. 145.



SCALE : '35

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 903, of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain Shāh, from Monghyr (p. 38)



SCALE : '2

PLATE XIII

(a) Fragmentary record of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain Shāh, dated A.H. 906, from Salimpur (p. 39)



SCALE : 25

(b) Inscription of the same ruler, dated A.H. 907, from Bhagalpur (p. 40)



SCALE : 13

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful. 'Help is from Allāh and victory near; and deliver good news to the faithful.'¹ This tomb was erected in the reign of the just Sultān, the Sayyid among the Sayyids.

(2) receptacle of auspiciousness, 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Husain Shāh, Sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty. The builder of this religious edifice is prince Dānyāl, may the exalted Allāh keep him safe in both the worlds, in the year (A.H.) 903 (1497-98 A.D.).

The second inscription of Husain Shāh, dated A.H. 906 (1501 A.D.), comes from Salimpur in Saran district.² The slab bearing the inscription is unfortunately fragmentary and the extant tablet measuring 26" by 14" which apparently represents only half of the original is now fixed on the facade of the local mosque. It does not appear to be *in situ*.

An unillustrated reading of this inscription stated to be from Ismailpur in the same district, was published by Blochmann from a rubbing sent to him by Mr. J. R. Reid from Azamgarh.³ Blochmann's reading is for the most part correct and our reading differs from him only in one or two places.

The surviving text comprises two lines of writing in Arabic executed in *Thulth* characters, with a *Tughra* flourish, of a fairly good type. Since it merely contains the titles of the king and of the builder along with the date, it is difficult to determine the object of construction. The epigraph reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIII(a)

(۱) و هو السلطان الاعظم المعظم و الامام الغالب المكرم المجاهد على
اعداء الله المظهر لكلمة الله المنسوب الى حضرت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
(۲) بانيه رفيع مجلس المجالس الملقيب بسبحاندىل ؟ لازالت سخاوته باقية الى
يوم الدين و ثابتة الى ان ياتيه اليقين في شهر النبي الشعبان سنة ست و تسعمائة

TRANSLATION

(1) and he is the great and illustrious Sultān, the victorious and generous Imām, the fighter against the enemies of Allāh, the upholder of the word (religion) of Allāh, who is descended from the Prophet of Allāh, may Allāh's blessings and salutations be upon him!

(2) the *Majlisu'l-Majālis*, entitled *Saiḥān-Dil*?, may his generosity continue for ever, lasting till the day of Judgment and enduring till the Certainty (i.e. death) comes to him, in the month of the Prophet, *Shā'bān*, year 906 (February-March 1501 A.D.).

¹ *Qur'ān*, ch. LXI, verse 13.

² *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D. 34. Shamsud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 157, follows Blochmann, op. cit.

³ *JASB*, Vol. XLIII (1874), p. 304, foot-note. The inscription is now found at Salimpur, which is not far from Ismailpur.

⁴ Blochmann, op. cit., omits these words.

⁵ *Ibid.*, reads the title of the *Majlis* as "سحابندل" (*Sahāb-Dil*).

The reading of the name or rather the title of the *Majlisu'l-Majālis* mentioned in the record as builder cannot be correctly established owing to the absence of diacritical marks. Blochmann read it as *Saḥāb-Dil*, *Saḥāb* meaning a 'cloud' and *Dil*, 'heart' and translated it as "Shower-heart". A glance at the word in the plate will show that this reading is not supported by the rubbing; there is one more notch after the "س" which means that there is one more letter between the "س" and the "ح". I think the title intended is 'Saiḥān-Dil' (that is, one as large-hearted as the river Saiḥān¹), which, though quite unusual and intriguing, appears to be the only plausible reading.

The next inscription of Ḥusain Shāh is from Bhagalpur. The inscriptional slab measuring 57" by 12" is fixed over the main gate of the tomb of Ḥaḍrat Shāhbāz.² The credit of discovering this inscription goes to Professor Askari who also published its reading in roman characters.³ The text, written in one line in bold *Naskh* characters in relief, records the construction of a mosque in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ḥusain Shāh, by *Sarlashkar*, *Majlis* Maḥmūd, son of Yūsuf, on the 12th of Rajab A.H. 907 (21st January 1502 A.D.).

The language of the record is Arabic and it reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIII(b)

بنی هذا المسجد فی عهد السلطان علاوالدینا و الدین ابو [ا] لمظفر حسین شاه سلطان و
بناء سرلشکر مجلس محمود بن یوسف فی [ا] لتاریخ اتلی عشر منه رجب سنة سبع و تسعمایه

TRANSLATION

This mosque was built in the reign of the Sulṭān, 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ḥusain Shāh, Sulṭān, and it was constructed by *sarlashkar*, *Majlis* Maḥmūd, son of Yūsuf, on the date 12th of Rajab, year (A.H.) 907 (21st January 1502 A.D.).

The next inscription of Ḥusain Shāh was found at Cherand in Saran district.⁴ It has also been published by Blochmann without plate from a rubbing sent to him by Mr. J. R. Reid.⁵ The inscriptional slab measures 25" by 17" and is fixed on the upper portion of the facade of the Jāmi' mosque at Cherand. The text comprises three lines of writing in Arabic executed in beautiful *Thulth* characters and mentions the construction of the mosque by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh in the year A.H. 909 (1503-04 A.D.). It has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIV(c)

(١) قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنی مسجدا لله بنی الله له بیتا مثله فی الجنة بنی

هذا المسجد الجامع

¹ Saiḥān is stated to be a river in Syria, another in Basrah (Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, London, 1957, p. 715).

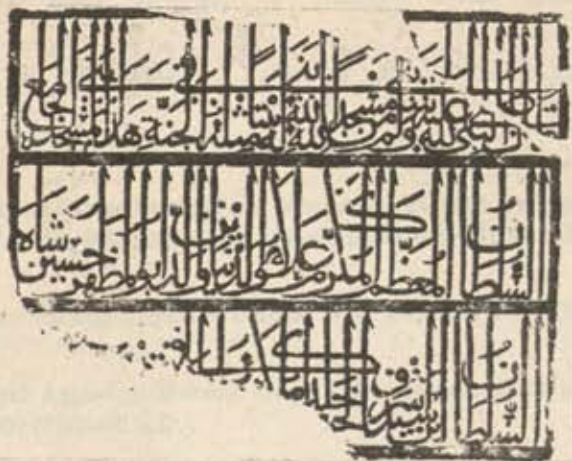
² *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 54; Shamsud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 160.

³ Askari, op. cit., p. 19, where the date is inadvertently read as 9th Rajab, A.H. 912.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 33.

⁵ *JASB*, Vol. XLIII (1874), p. 304; *PASB*, 1870 p. 112; Askari, op. cit., p. 19; Shamsud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 164.

- (a) Inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Husain Shāh, dated A.H. 909, from Narhan (p. 41)



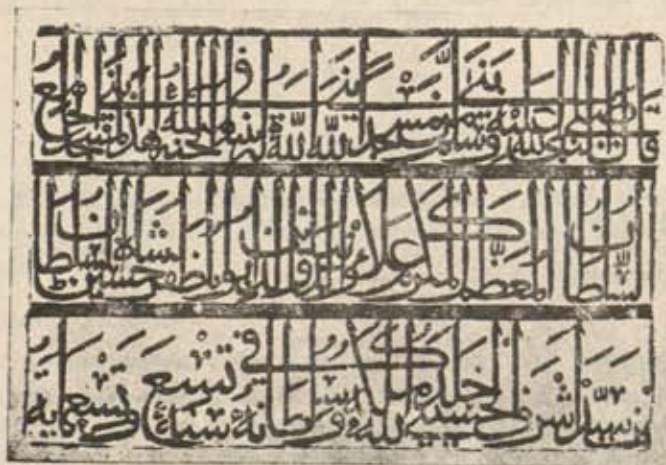
SCALE : ·15

- (b) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 916, from Patna (p. 43)



SCALE : ·125

- (c) Record of the same king, dated A.H. 909, from Cherand (p. 40)



SCALE : ·16



(۲) السلطان المعظم المكرم علاؤالدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان

(۳) ابن سيد اشرف الحسينى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه فى سنة تسع و تسعايد

TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, may the blessings and salutations of Allāh be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh builds for him a similar house in Paradise'. This Jāmi' mosque was built

(2) by the illustrious and respected Sultān, 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Ḥusain Shāh the Sultān,

(3) son of Sayyid Ashraf al-Ḥusainī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in the year (A.H.) 909 (1503-04 A.D.).

Yet one more inscription of Ḥusain Shāh from Saran district, also dated in the same year, may be seen in the local mosque at Narhan.¹ The inscriptional tablet is unfortunately fragmentary, the portion at the left bottom containing the date having been lost² and measures 24" by 20". The record consists of three lines of Arabic prose and the style of writing is *Thulūṭh* of a fairly high order. It mentions the construction of a Jāmi' mosque by the king in A.H. 909 (1503-04 A.D.).³

The epigraph which is hitherto unpublished, has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIV(a)

(۱) قال النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا مثله فى الجنة بنى

هذا المسجد الجامع

(۲) السلطان المعظم المكرم علاؤالدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه

(۳) السلطان ابن سيد اشرف الحسينى [خلد الله] ملكه [و سلطانه] فى سنة تسع

و تسعايد

TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, may the blessings and salutations of Allāh be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh builds a similar edifice for him in Paradise'. This Jāmi' mosque was constructed

¹ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 35.

² A bit of the stone containing the words "فى سنة تسع" and "سلطانه" is now lost, but it was still there in about 1906, when its rubbing was first taken. This rubbing is on record in the office of the Superintendent, Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, but could not be illustrated as, being old, it is somewhat worn out. The date of the inscription is supplied from the said rubbing.

³ It will be observed that the text of this inscription is identical with that of the previous record,

(2) by the illustrious and respected Sultān, 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ḥusain Shāh.

(3) the Sultān, son of Sayyid Ashraf al-Ḥusainī, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in the year (A.H.) 909 (1503-04 A.D.).

Another unnoticed record of Ḥusain Shāh comes from Barh in the Patna District.¹ The inscriptional slab measuring 38" by 17", is set up in the exterior of the western wall of the compound of the mausoleum of Shāh Shams Baḍh Ḥaqqānī in Muhammadpur Nawada near Barh. The otherwise well-preserved tablet has been rubbed off on the left side by credulous people seeking cure to their maladies and consequently, the writing in that part has been obliterated. Fortunately, however, the text can be read in full. Comprising two lines of Arabic prose inscribed in *Thulūṭh* characters of an elegant type, the record commemorates the construction of a Jāmi' mosque by the king in the year A.H. 916 (1510-11 A.D.). Its full text is given below.

TEXT

Plate XV(a)

(١) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا مثله في الجنة بنى
هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان المعظم المكرم
(٢) علاؤالدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلده الله
ملكه و سلطانه في سنة ست عشر و [تسعا] به

TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, may the blessings and salutations of Allāh be on him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh builds a similar edifice for him in Paradise'. This Jāmi' mosque was constructed by the illustrious and respected Sultān,

(2) 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ḥusain Shāh, the Sultān, son of Sayyid Ashraf al-Ḥusainī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in the year (A.H.) 916 (1510-11 A.D.).

It will be observed that the text of the inscription is the same as that of the previous two records except in the date.

Another inscription of Ḥusain Shāh, also dated in the year A.H. 916 (1510-11 A.D.),² is to be found in Patna itself. The inscriptional slab measures 32" by 16" and is set up in the facade, above the roof of the front-court, of the Begū Hajjām's mosque in Machchī Hāṭa quarter of the city. This inscription has been published but not illustrated in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.³ Running into two lines of Arabic prose written in excellent *Thulūṭh* style, the epigraph records the construction of a mosque in the reign of Ḥusain Shāh by one Khān-i-Mu'azzam Nāzir Khān.⁴ I have failed to trace any reference to Nāzir Khān in contemporary records.

¹ *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 73; Also see Shamsud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 186. The information about this epigraph was given by Prof. Askari.

² *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 92; Shamsud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 187. Askari, op. cit., p. 19, fn. 11, reads the date as A.H. 926.

³ *JBORS*, Vol. XVI (1930), parts III and IV, p. 340.

⁴ This record seems to have given rise to some speculation regarding the exact nature of Bengal's authority over this part of Bihar. The question has been discussed in *ARIE*, 1955-56, p. 11.



SCALE : 18

(b) Undated inscription of Nuṣrat Shāh, from Begusarai (p. 43)



SCALE : 23

The inscription reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIV(b)

- (١) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا مثله في الجنة بنى
هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان علاؤالدنيا
(٢) و الدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان خلدالله ملكه و سلطانه و بانيه خان معظم
ناظر خان دام علوه في سنة ست عشر و تسعمائة

TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, may the blessings and salutations of Allāh be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh builds a similar edifice for him in Paradise'. This Jāmi' mosque was built in the reign of the Sultān, 'Alāu'd-Dunyā

(2) wa'd-Dīn, Abu'l-Muḡaffar Ḥusain Shāh, the Sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, and its builder is Khān-i-Mu'azzam Nāḡir Khān, may his glory last for ever; (it was built) in the year (A.H.) 916 (1510-11 A.D.).

The last inscription of this group is an undated record of Nāḡir Shāh, son of Ḥusain Shāh. The inscriptional tablet measures 26" by 13" and is now preserved in the Patna Museum where it is reported to have been brought from Begusarai.¹

This inscription is remarkable both for its script and its contents. The text comprising three lines of Arabic prose has been inscribed in indifferent hand in crude *Naskh* characters. It represents perhaps a rare example of the inscription of a Bengal king executed in such poor fashion. But the inscription is far more remarkable for its use of the title of the king Nugrat Shāh, whose name is given here as Nāḡir Shāh. Instead of the usual title Nāḡiru'd-Dīn, commonly found on the coins and inscriptions of that monarch, his name Nāḡir Shāh, also somewhat unusual in his epigraphs, is preceded by the title Quṭbu'd-Dīn.² Also worth noting is the fact that the inscription does not contain the year. The composition of the record is also quite hopeless.

The epigraph has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XV(b)

- (١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم نصر من الله و فتح قريب
(٢) هذا المسجد الجامع المعظم قطب الدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر (sic.)
(٣) ناصر شاه ابن حسين شاه سلطان خلدالله ملكه في سنة

¹ *ARIE*, 1953-54, No. C, 103; Askari, op. cit., p. 20.

² This fact seems to have escaped Professor Askari's notice (op. cit.).

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful. 'Help is from Allāh and victory near!'¹
- (2) This magnificent Jāmi' mosque [was constructed by] Quṭbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar
- (3) Nāṣir Shāh, son of Ḥusain Shāh, Sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, in the year.

¹ Qur'ān, ch. LXI, verse 13.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL SULTANS FROM UTTAR PRADESH

By W. H. SIDDIQI

Kharid, situated on the right bank of the Ghaghra at about 26 miles north of Ballia town, though now a small village in the Ballia district of Uttar Pradesh, was formerly an important place. Tradition makes it a site of a former large city, named Ghazanfarabad, which as is evident from the mounds found on both sides of the river, apparently representing former inhabited sites,¹ may have been destroyed by the river. However, available records contain no information regarding the old city, which, if one can judge from the existing mounds and ruins, may have extended for a considerable distance between Sikandarpur and Turtipar.²

Likewise, little is known about the early history of Kharid.³ The place is, however, reported to have come into Muslim contact as early as in the 12th century A.D. It is believed that Qutb'ud-Din Aibek passed through this tract in 1194 A.D., after the capture of Banaras on his way to Bihar and built a fort on the spot now known as Qutbganj⁴ on the bank of the Ghaghra in the vicinity of Kharid and Sikandarpur. Since then, it presumably lay within the kingdom of early sultans of Delhi. It must have been included in the Jaunpur territories first under the later Tughluqs and subsequently under the independent Sharqi rulers. At any rate, the latter appear to have exercised their authority on Kharid,⁵ until A.H. 900 (1494 A.D.), when the last Sharqi king, Husain Shāh, was finally overthrown by Sikandar Lodi and Kharid was brought again under Delhi authority. It was during this period that Sikandar founded Sikandarpur, situated at a distance of about four miles from Kharid, after his own name.⁶ However, the Lodi authority over the town appears to have been short-lived. Presumably, the confusion in the eastern provinces of Delhi kingdom soon offered an opportunity to Husain Shāh, the ambitious king of Bengal, who turned his attention westwards. The Bengal king entered into a non-aggression agreement with Sikandar Lodi through his son Dānyāl in A.H. 901 (1495 A.D.), which was followed by delimitation of the frontiers. At what lines the two frontiers met is nowhere mentioned, but the Bengal occupation of the whole of north Bihar including the trans-Gandak area upto Kharid is proved by Husain Shāh's inscriptions at various places in north Bihar and at Kharid. This may have taken place soon after, either in accordance with the terms of the treaty or as a result of military operations started immediately on Sikandar's withdrawal from the above regions.⁷

In A.H. 935 (1528 A.D.), Bābur also tried to occupy Kharid during the rule of Nugrat Shāh, son of Husain Shāh, king of Bengal, but having realised the superior strength of the Bengal king, he was obliged to enter into an agreement with Nugrat Shāh. According to this settlement, Kharid remained under Bengal authority.⁸ It was finally annexed to the Mughal empire during

¹ A. Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), Vol. II, p. 193.

² H. R. Nevill, *Ballia District Gazetteer* (Allahabad, 1907), pp. 139-40.

³ Kharid finds mention in historical records during the Afghān rule and the Mughal period. For example, see Bābur, *Memoirs of Bābur*, ed. A. Beveridge, Vol. II (Oxford, 1921), pp. 263, 393-94.

⁴ Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

⁵ *JASB*, Vol. XLII (1873), part I, p. 221. No monument of the Sharqi period has survived at Kharid.

⁶ Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

⁷ J. Sarkar, ed. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II (Dacca, 1948), p. 146.

⁸ Bābur, *op. cit.*

the early years of Akbar's reign by 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān, governor of Jaunpur,¹ and formed a *maḥāl* in the *sarkār* of Jaunpur in the *sūba* of Allahabad.² According to Abu'l-Faḍl, Kharid had a brick fort³ on the bank of the river, but at present no trace of this fort is to be found.

In November 1801 A.D., Kharid became a British possession when the districts of Banaras, Ghazipur and Azamgarh were ceded to the British.⁴

There are two inscriptions at Kharid which belong to the Sultans of Bengal,⁵ and hence, are extremely important. The earlier of the two is an unnoticed record of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh but unfortunately, it is fragmentary, approximately one fourth of the tablet having broken and disappeared. The surviving portion is also broken into two pieces which, measuring jointly 16" by 12", are now kept in the Jāmi' mosque in the Shāikhpur maḥalla of the town. It is reported to have originally belonged to an old mosque which once stood at the site of the said Jāmi' mosque. The extant text refers to the construction of a mosque during the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh. The mosque was built, in all probability, by one Maṅṣūr.

The inscription is an important record inasmuch as it indicates the extension of Bengal authority up to Kharid in the west during Ḥusain Shāh's reign itself and not during the time of his son and successor Nuṣrat Shāh, as is generally believed on the basis of the latter's inscription from the same place, also included in the present study. In the absence of the portion bearing the date of construction, it is not possible to say anything definite about the time of this penetration.

The language of the record is Arabic and the style of writing *Naskh* in relief.

The text has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVI(a)

(١) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجداً [أ] في الدنيا بنى الله له سبعين قصرًا في الجنة

(٢) بنى هذا المسجد في عهد السلطان علاؤالدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه بن سيد

اشرف خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه

(٣) باني خير اين مسجد منصور؟

TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, upon him be the blessings and peace of Allāh, has said, 'Whoever builds a mosque in this world, Allāh will build for him seventy palaces in paradise'.

(2) This mosque has been constructed in the time of the Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn] Abu'l-Muzaḥḥar Ḥusain Shāh, son of Sayyid Aḥraf, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and kingship.

(3) The benevolent founder of this mosque is Maṅṣūr.....

¹ Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthirul-Umarā*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), p. 625.

² Abu'l-Faḍl, *A'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), p. 348.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

⁴ H. H. Dodwell, ed. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V (Cambridge, 1929), p. 353. Kharid was then included in the Azamgarh district.

⁵ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1959-60, Nos. D, 181-82.

(a) Fragmentary record of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh, from Kharid (p. 46)

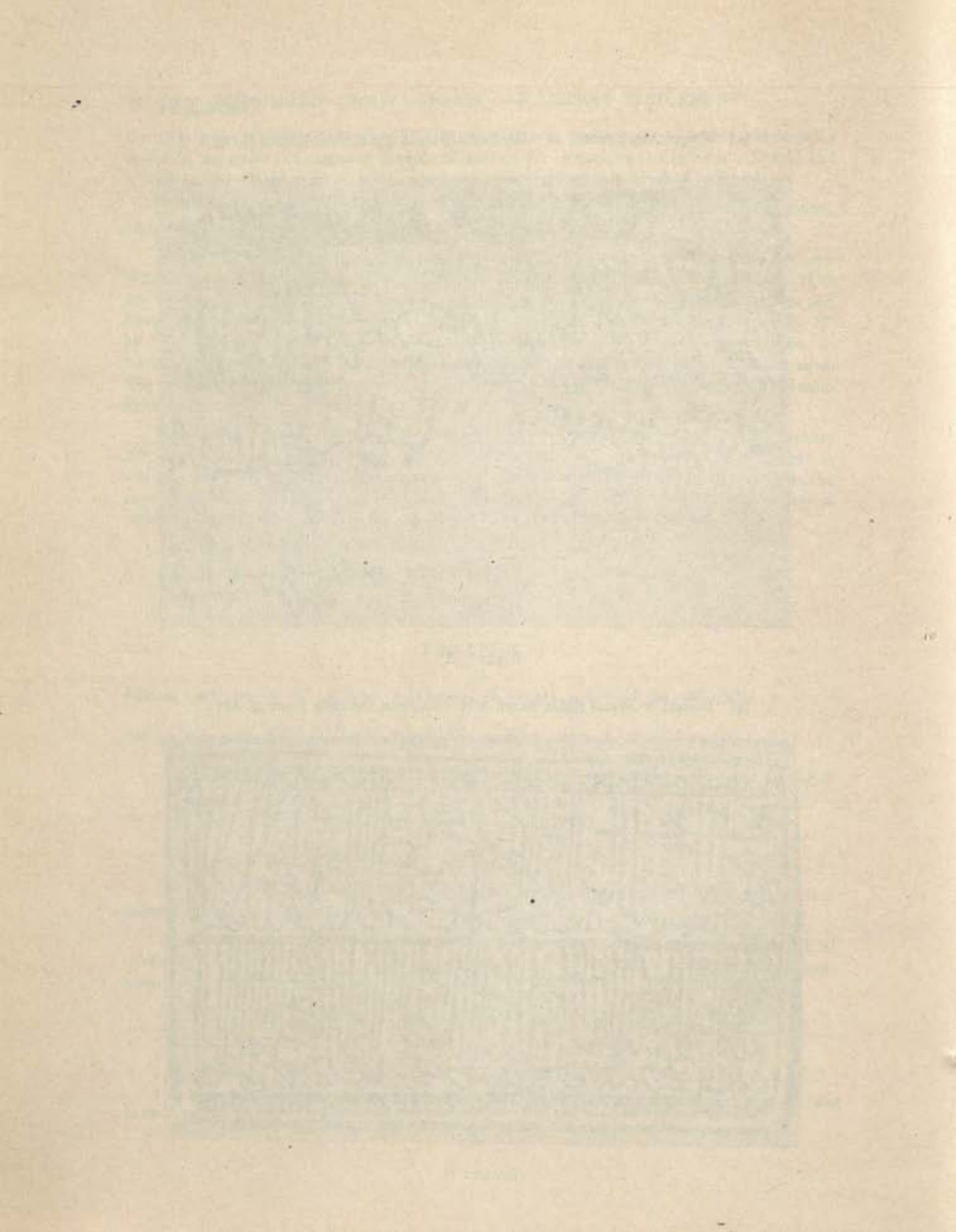


SCALE : 3

(b) Record of Nusrat Shāh, dated A.H. 933, from the same place (p. 47)



SCALE : 1



The next inscription belongs to the reign of Husain Shāh's successor, Nugrat Shāh. The inscriptional tablet is fixed on a small wall near the tomb of Ruknu'd-Dīn Shāh at Kharid. The epigraph is not *in situ* since it is said to have been found loose on the bank of the Ghaghra about ninety years ago.

The record is engraved on a slab of black basalt measuring 29" by 17" which is in a fairly good state of preservation. Consisting of two lines of writing in Arabic, it mentions, as builder of a mosque, Khān-i-A'zam Mukhtyār Khān, commander of the valley of Kharid on the 27th of Rajab A.H. 933 (29th April 1527 A.D.) during the reign of Nāgīru'd-Dīn Nugrat Shāh.

This inscription is also important both from historical as well as from palaeographical points of view. According to Blochmann, who had published its text, 'the inscription confirms the histories, according to which Nugrat Shāh extended his authority over the whole of Bihar, and as Kharid lies on the right bank of the Ghaghra, Nugrat Shāh must have temporarily held sway in the Azamgarh district'.¹ But in view of the evidence of the inscription of Husain Shāh studied above, it is apparent that Nugrat Shāh's authority over Kharid was not temporary but was in all probability established from sometime during the reign of his father, as stated in the preceding lines. In any case, Kharid's association with Bengal dates prior to the reign of Nugrat Shāh.²

Palaeographically too, the inscription which is executed in *Thulth* characters with *Tughra* flourish is interesting. The style conforms to the Bengal variety and contains distinctive features of artistic calligraphy.

Below is quoted the text of the epigraph :—

TEXT

Plate XVI(b)

(١) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى مسجداً في الدنيا

بنى الله تعالى له سبعين قسراً في الجنة

(٢) المتأسس لهذا المسجد في عهد الملك العادل ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر نصرشاه

بن حسين شاه السلطان جعل الله^٣ الرب المجيد في اعز اعيانه و هو خاناعظم مختيار خان

سرلشكر دره خريد في ٢٤ شهر الرجب سنة ثلث و ثلثين و تسعمائة

¹ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (JASB)*, Vol. XLII (1873), pt. 1, pp. 296-97. It may be pointed out that when Blochmann wrote, Kharid was included in the Azamgarh district.

² Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 212, records a local tradition to the effect that Khān-i-A'zam Mukhtyār Khān fulfilled a difficult condition of a saffron merchant who would only sell the entire lot of his commodity if paid in coins minted in a single year and that when the news of this transaction reached Husain Shāh of Bengal, the latter, being pleased with his officer, changed the name of the place to *Kharid* which literally means 'purchased'. If this story be true, Mukhtyār Khān must have continued to be in charge of Kharid from the time of Husain Shāh down to the reign of Nugrat Shāh. But it is not unlikely that this story found currency on the basis of the present inscription of Nugrat Shāh.

³ Blochmann, *JASB*, *op. cit.*, p. 296, reads "زمره عباد الله المجيد" and translates '(may God place him among) the number of his servants'; taking "الرب" of "الرب المجيد" to be "الغ", he translates it as '(the great) Ulur [Ulugh]'. This reading is followed in Shamsud-Dīn Ahmad, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. IV (Rajshahi, 1960), p. 221.

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh ; Muḥammad is the prophet of Allāh. The Prophet, may blessing and peace of Allāh be on him, says, 'He who builds a mosque in this world, Allāh will build for him seventy palaces in paradise'.

(2) The builder of this mosque, in the reign of the just ruler Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muḡaffar Nuḡrat Shāh, son of Ḥusain Shāh, the Sultān, may Allāh the Glorified Lord make him (i.e., the builder) one of his most favourite grandees, is Khān-i-A'zam Mukhtyār Khān, the commander of the valley of Kharīd on the 27th of Rajab A.H. 933 (29th April 1527 A.D.).

It may be noted that the first part of the name of the builder of the mosque is clearly inscribed on the stone as *Mukhtyār*, though the correct Arabic form is *Mukhtār*. It appears that the form *Mukhtyār* became current among the masses, through ignorance or otherwise, for in certain parts of the country including Uttar Pradesh, we do come across even today with this name in this form.

It has not been possible to trace Khān-i-A'zam Mukhtyār Khān in available historical works. That he was an officer of first rank and in charge of the valley of Kharid is known from the present record. It has been seen above that a local tradition associates him with the naming of the town as Kharid by Ḥusain Shāh.

Recently, Dr. A. H. Dani, while commenting on the text of this record as published by Blochmann, has made following remarks : 'It is strange that Nuḡrat Shāh does not bear any title of Sultān at all. He is simply called Malik. The phrase "جعل الله في زمرة عبادہ" (may God place him among the number of his servants), used in place of the usual "خدا الله ملكه و سلطانه", throws further doubt on the real position of Nuḡrat Shāh.'

Needless to say, there is not much substance in Dr. Dani's contention, for there is no question about the real position of Nuḡrat Shāh ; he is definitely intended as the king. That the use of the title 'Malik' is meant for the king, especially in Bengal inscriptions, has already been shown elsewhere.² Also, in view of the statement of emperor Bābur confirming the jurisdiction of the Bengal monarch over Kharid,³ there should be no doubt at all about Nuḡrat Shāh's position there. The rather inadvertent than otherwise omission of the benedictory phrase "خدا الله ملكه و سلطانه" alone should not be taken as implying any doubt about the royal position of Nuḡrat Shāh.

¹ A. H. Dani, *Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal* (Dacca, 1957), p. 70.

² *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1953 and 54, p. 20, f.n.1.

³ Bābur, op. cit., p. 363.

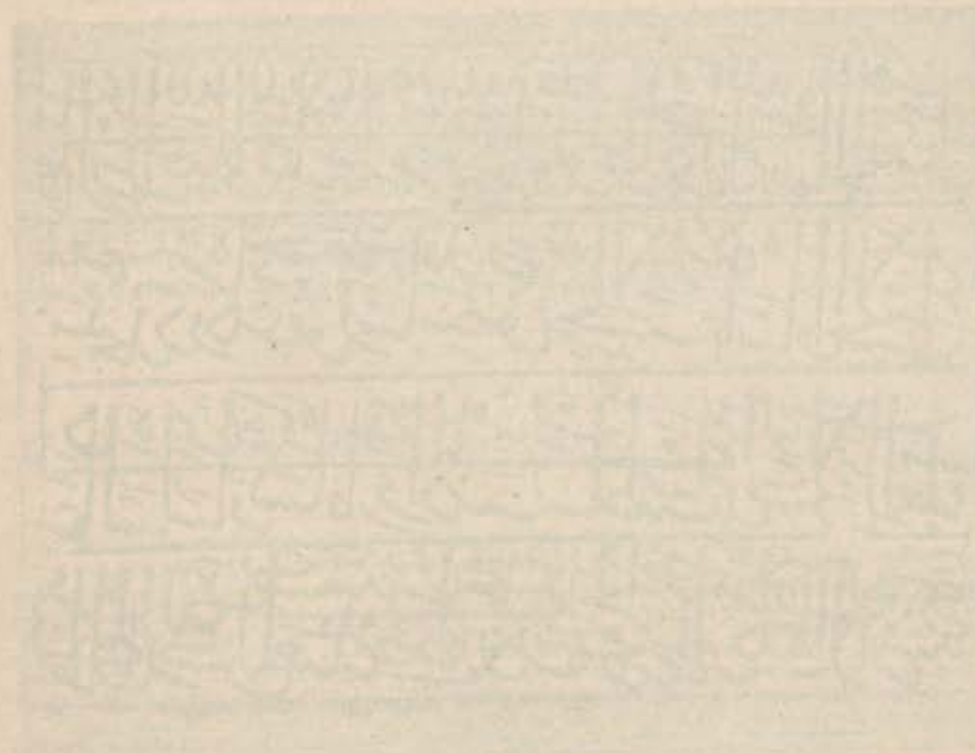
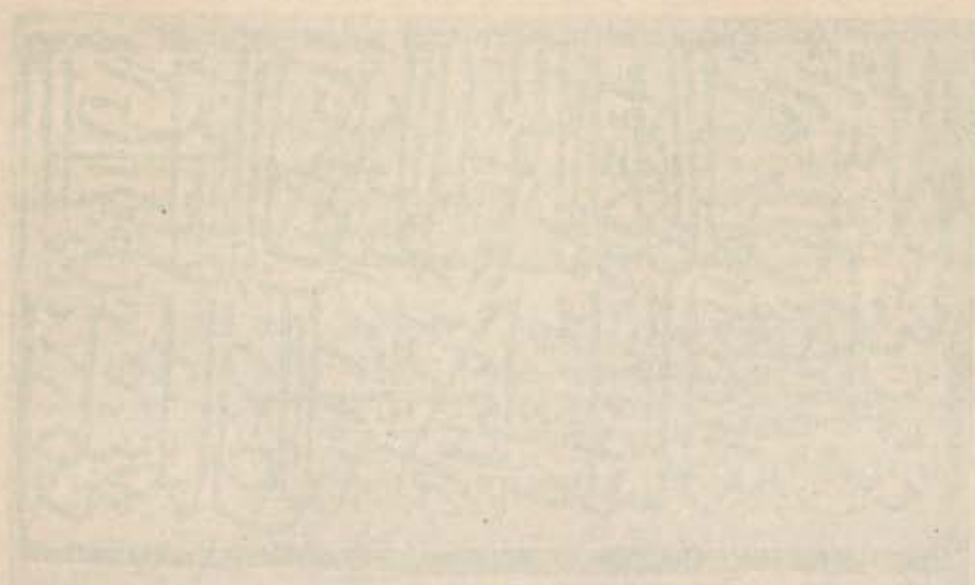


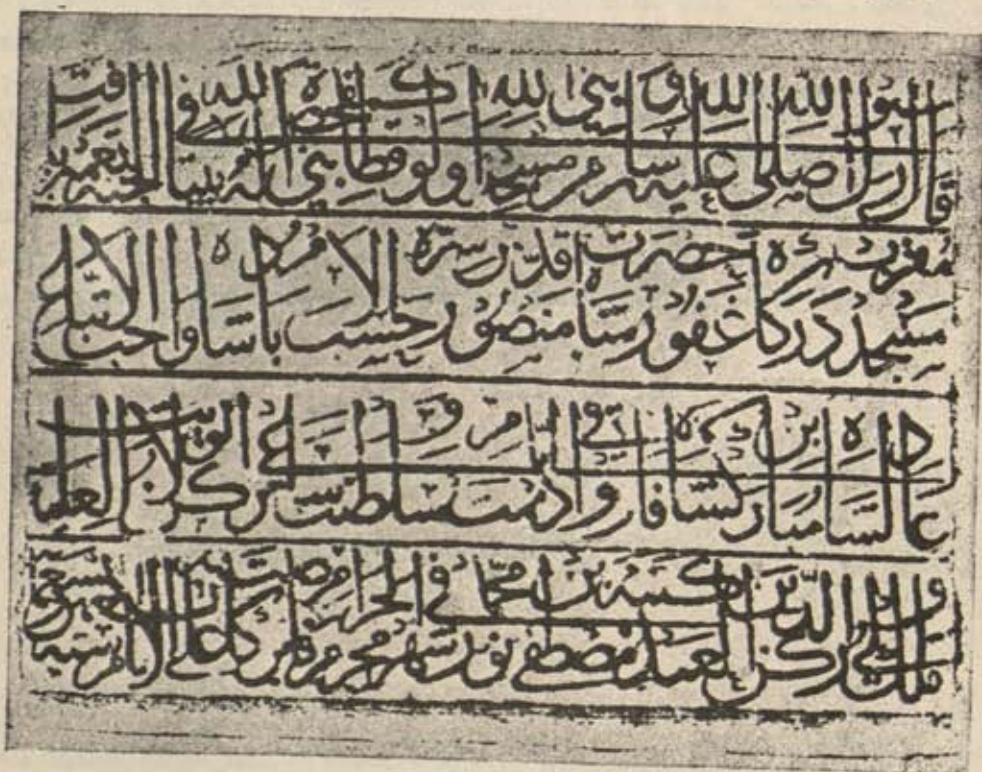
PLATE XVII

(a) Record of 'Ādil Khān II, dated A.H. 877, from Burhanpur (p. 49)



SCALE : 22

(b) Inscription of 'Ādil Shāh IV, dated A.H. 990, from the same place (p. 52)



SCALE : 26

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE FARUQI KINGS FROM BURHANPUR

By S. A. RAHIM

Burhanpur, which was once capital of the Fārūqī kings of Khandesh for nearly two hundred years, is now reduced to a small city in the West Nimar district of Madhya Pradesh. It is originally said to have been founded in 1399 A.D. by Malik Naṣir Fārūqī at the behest of the famous saint, Shāikh Zainu'd-Dīn, and named after another divine, Shāikh Burhānu'd-Dīn who lies buried at Daulatabad.¹ Prior to the foundation of Burhanpur, the capital of the Fārūqī rulers was at Thalner.

The Fārūqī dynasty (1382-1609 A.D.) produced in all seventeen rulers of whom the most prominent are Naṣir Khān (1399-1437 A.D.) and 'Ādil Khān II (1457-1501 A.D.). Constantly engaged with the more powerful Malwa sultans on one side and the Ahmadnagar kings on the other, they managed to maintain their rule mostly through the help of the Gujarat kings with whom some of them were related by birth. Khandesh was ultimately annexed to the Mughal territories in A.H. 1009 (1600-1601 A.D.) by Akbar.²

Comparatively speaking, there are very few monuments of the Fārūqī kings to be found in Khandesh. Among these are the royal tombs at Thalner and the Jāmi' mosque, the Bibī's mosque and the royal tombs at Burhanpur. Likewise, very few inscriptions of these kings have come to light. It is, therefore, hoped that the following study of five inscriptions from Burhanpur belonging to this dynasty will not be found without some interest.³

The earliest two inscriptions of the Fārūqī kings, dated in the same year, A.H. 877 (1472-1473 A.D.), come from the enclosure of the *Dargāh* of Shāh Bahāu'd-Dīn Bājan, a celebrated saint of Burhanpur, who is said to have died on the 14th Dhī'l-Qa'da A.H. 912 (28th March 1507 A.D.).⁴ The buildings within the enclosure of the *Dargāh* include the tomb of the saint and a mosque. There are in all two inscriptions on the buildings, one of which is fixed on the main gate of the enclosure, while the other is let into a niche made within the massive pier of one of the arches of the mosque.

Both these inscriptions pertain to the mosque. According to the inscription over the gate, Taj, son of Kīlā, constructed the mosque in A.H. 877 (1472-73 A.D.) during the reign of 'Ādil Khān II (1457-1501 A.D.). This epigraph comprises two lines of Arabic prose executed in *Thuluth* characters of a fairly high order on a slab measuring about 23" by 13". Its text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVII(a)

(۱) بنی هذا المسجد فی زمن خان الاعظم و خاقان المعظم عادل خان زاد الله علوه تاج

ابن کيلا حسبه لله

¹ For details, see Firsihta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishā* (Kanpur, 1884), p. 279.

² Firsihta, op. cit., pp. 278-291, has devoted a whole chapter to the history of the Fārūqī rulers, but his account, though detailed, is not free from mis-statements. Hājji Dabir, *Zafaru'l-Walāh bi Muṣaffar wa Alāh* (London, 1928), pp. 51-87, has given a brief but far more correct account which he has borrowed from Husām Khān, author of the now extinct *Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhī*. The history of the Fārūqī kings, based on different sources, particularly Hājji Dabir's account, will be found in Lt. Col. T. W. Haig, 'The Fārūqī Dynasty of Khandesh', *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVII (1918), pp. 113-124, 141-149 and 178-186. A history of Burhanpur written by Khalilur-Rahman was published in A.H. 1316 at Burhanpur under the title *Tārīkh-i-Burhānpūr*.

³ These and other inscriptions from Burhanpur have been listed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)* for 1956-57, Nos. D, 123-137.

⁴ For an account of the saint, see Khalilur-Rahman, op. cit., pp. 131-33.

(۲) و رجا عليه قال عليه السلام من بنى مسجداً لله بنى الله قصراً في الجنة في شهر سنة
سبعو سبعين و ثمانماية

TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was constructed during the reign of the great Khān and the illustrious Khāqān, 'Ādil Khān, may Allāh increase his eminence, by Tāj, son of Kīlā, for the sake of Allāh

(2) and hoping for His (favour), (for, the Prophet), may peace be on him, has said, 'One who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh builds for him a palace in paradise, in the months of the year eight hundred and seventyseven (A.H. 877=1472-73 A.D.).

The second of the above-mentioned two inscriptions, built up into the niche of the mosque, purports to be an order of endowment for the mosque issued by the same king. It comprises seven lines of text in Persian prose in cursive form of *Nasikh*, with definite traces of *Shikasta* writing. There is one more line at the top inscribed in *Tughra* style. The intricate way in which the text of the inscription is written as also the effect of wear and tear have rendered the decipherment of the record difficult. However, after several efforts, the text has been read satisfactorily except in a couple of places. According to this reading, an order was issued in A.H. 877 (1472-73 A.D.) by A'zam Humāyūn (who is obviously 'Ādil Khān II) granting the endowment of a few shops which originally belonged to Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik Tāj Kīlā for the sake of the people responsible for the maintenance of the mosque constructed by the said Maliku'sh-Sharq. The text of the order exhorts the tenants of the shops and the officers of the revenue department to see that the order is strictly carried out and not to tolerate any hindrance in the execution of the same.

The inscriptional tablet measures 15" by 30" and the text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII

.....¹ (۱)

(۲) این مثال واجب التعظیم از بندگی حضرت اعظم حمایتون اعلیاً تا اصحاب مستاجر
و عهده

(۳) داران وزارت دامت تائیدهم بعزیز داند چند دوکانان ازان ملک الشرق ملک

(۴) تاجکیلا بجهت ارباب مسجد کے بقاء جدید ملک الشرق مذکورست انعام عاطفت فرموده

(۵) سبیل عهده داران دیوان وزارت و اصحاب مستاجر آنک امروز باز گرد و پیرامون بازار

(۶) مذکور نگردند و یا بے وجه تشویش و مزاحمت ندهند هرچه حاصل بازار مذکور

باشد در هر ساله در موجب جایز؟

(۷) داده دارند؟ بمزید تاکید محتاج نگردیده حکم پروانه معظم و مثال مکرم توجه

کنند تا پسندیده افتد

(۸) سال سنه سبعو سبعین و ثمانماية

¹ This appears to be a monogram, probably containing the name and titles of the king.

Royal order, dated A.H. 877, of 'Adil Khān II,
from Burhanpur (p. 50)



TRANSLATION

- (1)
- (2) This order, worthy of obedience, (is issued) by His Majesty A'zam Humāyūn, the illustrious, so that the tenants and the officials
- (3) of the revenue department, may their support last for ever through God's grace, may know (that) a few shops belonging to Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik
- (4) Tāj, (son of) Kīlā have been kindly granted for the persons (responsible for the maintenance?) of the mosque which is a recent construction of the said Maliku'sh-Sharq.
- (5) It is the duty of the officials of the revenue department and the tenants that from today onwards they should not interfere with the said *bāzār*
- (6) or should not, without any reason, cause hardship or hindrance ; and whatever income accrues from the said *bāzār* should every year be spent in the proper way (?).
- (7) Without needing any further exhortation, they should abide by (this) great *parwāna* and illustrious order, so that the same may be appreciated of them.
- (8) Year (A.H.) eight hundred and seventyseven (A.H. 877=1472-73 A.D.).

Thus, this order seems to have been issued immediately after the construction of the above-mentioned mosque by Malik Tāj. Unfortunately, nothing is known about Malik Tāj who is mentioned in the inscription as Maliku'sh-Sharq, a title reserved for nobles of distinction. Also, it is difficult to establish the correct pronunciation of the name of Malik Tāj's father, the same having been inscribed in the text without vowel marks. It can be read both as Kīlā or Kailā. I have preferred the former form, since Kīlā is even current today in Gujarat.¹ Likewise, it is worth noting that the title A'zam Humāyūn is used for the ruling Fārūqī king 'Ainā 'Ādil Khān II, by whom the order was issued. Historical works do not record this title for 'Ādil Khān II ; we are told that it was 'Ālam Khān 'Ādil Shāh III (A.H. 914-926) who received this title from his mother's father, Maḥmūd I of Gujarat, when the latter secured for him the kingdom of Khandesh.² But the present inscription decidedly calls 'Ādil Khān II as A'zam Humāyūn, which has to be accepted as a fact at least until evidence is found to the contrary.

The next inscription of the Fārūqī kings is to be found in the mosque of Shāh Mangūr situated in the Khairātī Bāzār Maḥalla of the city. Inscribed on a slab fixed into the niche in the east wall, it states that the mosque of Shāh Mangūr was ordered to be constructed by 'Ādil Shāh IV, son of Mubārak Shāh Fārūqī in A.H. 990 (1582-83 A.D.). The person who strove for its construction was a noble of prominence, Malik Walī Ruknu'd-Dīn by name.

Shāh Mangūr, for whom the mosque was constructed, was a famous saintly person of his time. He was a disciple of another celebrated saint of Burhanpur, Ḥaḍrat Shāh Nizāmu'd-Dīn popularly called Shāh Bhikhārī. The former is reported to have been the son of Malik Jalāl, a minister of 'Ādil Shāh II. He used to compose verses in Persian.³ He appears to have been a saint of great

¹ Cf. Kīlā Chand.

² Ḥājī Dabir, op. cit., p. 57.

³ Khalilur-Rahman, op. cit., pp. 140-43, where one of his *ghazals* is reproduced. Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazīnat-e-Afīyā* (Kanpur, 1902), pp. 431-32.

repute in his days and a story is related how Muḥammad Shāh, king of Khandesh (1520-35 A.D.) went in A.H. 934 (1527-28 A.D.) to him on the eve of an expedition soliciting an omen.¹ Shāh Mansur is said to have died in A.H. 958 (1551 A.D.).²

The present inscription comprises four lines of writing in Arabic engraved in *Nasikh* characters on a slab measuring about 18" by 13". The text of the record is cited below :—

TEXT

Plate XVII(b)

(١) قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجداً لله ولو كمفحص قطاة بنى الله له بيتاً في الجنة تعمير يافت

(٢) مسجد مقرب درگاه حضرت غفور شاه منصور قدس سره حسب الامر بادشاه واجب الاتباع

(٣) عادلشاه بن مبارکشاه فاروقی اديمت ایام سلطنته و ساعی رکن الولايت العلی

(٤) ملک ولی رکن الدین کتبه العبد مضطفی بن نور محمد فی شهر محرم الحرام فاضله

برکاته علی الایام سنة تسعين و تسعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) The Apostle of Allāh, may Allāh's blessings and salutations be upon him, has said, 'One who builds a mosque for Allāh even if it be (as small) as the nest of a Qaṭāt bird, Allāh will build for him a house in paradise'. Constructed was

(2) the mosque of the favourite of the court of the Holy Pardoning Lord, Shāh Maṣṣūr, may his secret be sanctified, at the orders of the king commanding obedience (lit., one whose obedience is obligatory),

(3) 'Ādil Shāh, son of Mubārak Shāh Fārūqī, may the days of his rule last for ever. And one who strove (for its construction) is the pillar of the lofty kingdom,

(4) Malik Walī, Ruknu'd-Dīn. (This) was written by the humble creature, Muṣṭafā, son of Nūr Muḥammad in the holy month of Muḥarram, may its blessings be spread over the times (in the) year (A.H.) nine hundred and ninety (Muḥarram A.H. 990=January-February 1582 A.D.).

Historical works are silent regarding Malik Walī Ruknu'd-Dīn who is mentioned as one of the leading nobles of the empire. The scribe of the present record, Muṣṭafā, son of Nūr Muḥammad, also designed the Arabic inscriptions on the Jāmi' mosques at Burhanpur and Asirgarh, as we shall mention later.³

¹ Hājji Dabtr, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 150-51. Ghulam Sarwar, op. cit., relates a similar story of Mughal emperor Humāyūn's meeting with the said saint and seeking an omen for his Gujarat expedition. Hājji Dabtr's account is apparently far more trustworthy.

² Khalilur-Rahman, op. cit., p. 143. But Ghulam Sarwar, op. cit., p. 432, places his death in A.H. 947 (1540-41 A.D.).

³ See p. 54 *supra*.

The next two inscriptions are from the Jāmi' mosque of Burhanpur, which possesses sufficient architectural interest. Built in the usual mosque plan of open courtyard surrounded on four sides by cloisters and prayer-hall with the latter on the west, it is of large dimensions. Its prayer-hall, five bays deep, has fifteen pointed arches in the facade with a tall minaret at each corner. There is nothing very particular nor anything original about its design and construction, but the whole building is remarkable for the perfect proportion and symmetrical arrangement of its various constituent parts including the arcaded cloisters around the courtyard.

About the exact date of construction of the mosque, no definite information is available. That its construction was started in A.H. 997 (1588-89 A.D.) is proved beyond doubt by the two inscriptions on the mosque studied below, while as regards its completion, according to the *Nimar District Gazetteer*, 'it is recorded (in the inscriptions) that the building was completed in exactly one year';¹ this, however, is not the case, as the inscriptions do not contain any such information.

There are in all three inscriptions on the mosque, two of which were originally set up at the time of the construction, while the third was engraved on the foot of the southern minaret by the well-known Mir Muḥammad Ma'gūm Nāmi of Bhakkar during Akbar's time.² The two Fārūqī inscriptions are almost similar in their contents with this difference that one of them gives the full genealogy of the king who had built the mosque.

All the three Jāmi' mosque inscriptions have been previously noticed elsewhere, but nowhere they have been properly studied. A. Cunningham was probably the first to draw attention to the inscriptions of which he had sent rubbings to H. Blochmann, who, however, could not publish them.³ Subsequently, R. B. Hiralal published, with translation and notes, the Sanskrit inscription carved below the Arabic record on the northern-most niche in the west wall.⁴ He had also referred to the central *miḥrāb* inscription in his *List* published a few years later.⁵ Similarly, the texts and translation of the central *miḥrāb* as well as the minaret inscription of Akbar were published by M. A. Suboor in one of the *Bulletins of the Central Museum, Nagpur*.⁶ All these notices, apart from being scattered, are not complete in themselves and hence it was considered advisable to include the two Fārūqī inscriptions of the Jāmi' mosque in this article.

The first of these two records is engraved on an arch-shaped tablet which is fixed over the central *miḥrāb* of the mosque and comprises nine lines of Arabic text executed in *Thulth* characters in relief. The style of writing is similar to the one employed in the Jāmi' mosque inscription of Asirgarh set up in A.H. 992 (1584 A.D.) by the same king, 'Ādil Shāh IV (1576-96 A.D.).⁷ These sets of two inscriptions from the Burhanpur and Asirgarh Jāmi' mosques are not only similar in style of writing—which is not to be wondered at, since the scribe of these records is one and the same person, viz. Muṣṭafā, son of Nūr Muḥammad—but are also similar in text to a considerable extent.

¹ R. V. Russell, *District Gazetteers of the Central Provinces*, Nimar District, Vol. A (Allahabad, 1908), p. 217; R. B. Hiralal, *Epigraphia Indica (EI)*, Vol. IX, pt. VII (July, 1908), p. 306, also held this view which he reiterated in his *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the C. P. & Berar (DLIC)* (Nagpur, 1916), p. 71.

² For this inscription, see *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 125.

³ A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX (Calcutta, 1879), p. 117.

⁴ Hiralal, *EI*, op. cit., pp. 306 ff.

⁵ Hiralal, *DLIC*, op. cit., p. 71.

⁶ M. A. Suboor, *Bulletins of the Nagpur Museum*, No. 1 (Allahabad, 1920), pp. 7-9.

⁷ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1925-26, pp. 1-3, plate I.

The present epigraph begins with a Quranic verse and sayings of the Prophet and states that the mosque was constructed by 'Ādil Shāh, son of Mubārak Shāh Fārūqī. It also specifies that the building commenced in A.H. 997 (1588-89 A.D.).¹ The text and translation of this inscription have been given by Mr. Suboor whose reading is not free from errors.²

Below is given the text of this record :—

TEXT

Plate XIX(a)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(٢) وَ أَنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْمَوْثِقِ الْمَطَاعَاتِ الْمَعِينِ

(٣) بِفَضْلِهِ عَلَى الْعِبَادَاتِ وَالصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ عَلَى أَشْرَفِ الْخَلْقِ مُحَمَّدٍ الَّذِي حَرَّضَ الْعِبَادَ

عَلَى الْعِبَادَةِ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ الَّذِينَ قَامُوا

(٤) بِوَأَجِبِهَا وَزِيَادَةٍ وَبَعْدَ فَنَ أُولَى مَا يَنْفَقُ فِيهِ شَرَائِفُ الْأَحْوَالِ الْقُرْبَاتِ اللَّتِي يَعُودُ

نَفْعُهَا فِي الْمَالِ وَ مِنْ أَجْلِ ذَلِكَ الصَّدَقَةُ الْجَارِيَةُ فَإِنْ أَبَوَاهَا مَدَى الْأَزْمَانِ سَارِيَةً وَقَدْ وَرَدَتِ السَّنَةُ

بِأَنْ يَصْرِفَ إِلَيْهَا

(٥) الْأَعْنَةُ مِنْ وَلايَةِ أَنْ بَنَى الْمَسَاجِدَ مِنْ شِعَارِ الدِّينِ وَ قَمَعَ الْمُتَمَرِّدِينَ لَمَّا يَتَرْتَبِ مِنْ

بَنَائِهَا مَزِيدَ الثَّوَابِ وَ أَنْ بَانِيَهَا مُلْهِمٌ لِلصَّوَابِ حَيْثُ وَرَدَ عَنْهُ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَ سَلَّمَ أَنَّهُ قَالَ مَنْ

بَنَى لِلَّهِ مَسْجِدًا وَ لَوْ كَمَفْجَصِ قِطَاةٍ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ فَلِذَلِكَ

(٦) أَمْرُ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ الْخَاقَانِ الْمَكْرَمِ الْفَائِقِ بِفَضْلِهِ عَلَى سُلَاطِينِ الْعَرَبِ وَ الْعَجَمِ

عَادِلِشَاهِ ابْنِ مَبَارَكِشَاهِ الْفَارُوقِ خَلَّدَ مُلْكُهُ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ الَّذِي هُوَ بِالْوَصْفِ جَدِيرٌ لِأَنَّهُ قُلٌّ أَنْ يَوْجِدَ

لَهُ نَظِيرٌ خَالِصًا لَوَجْهِهِ

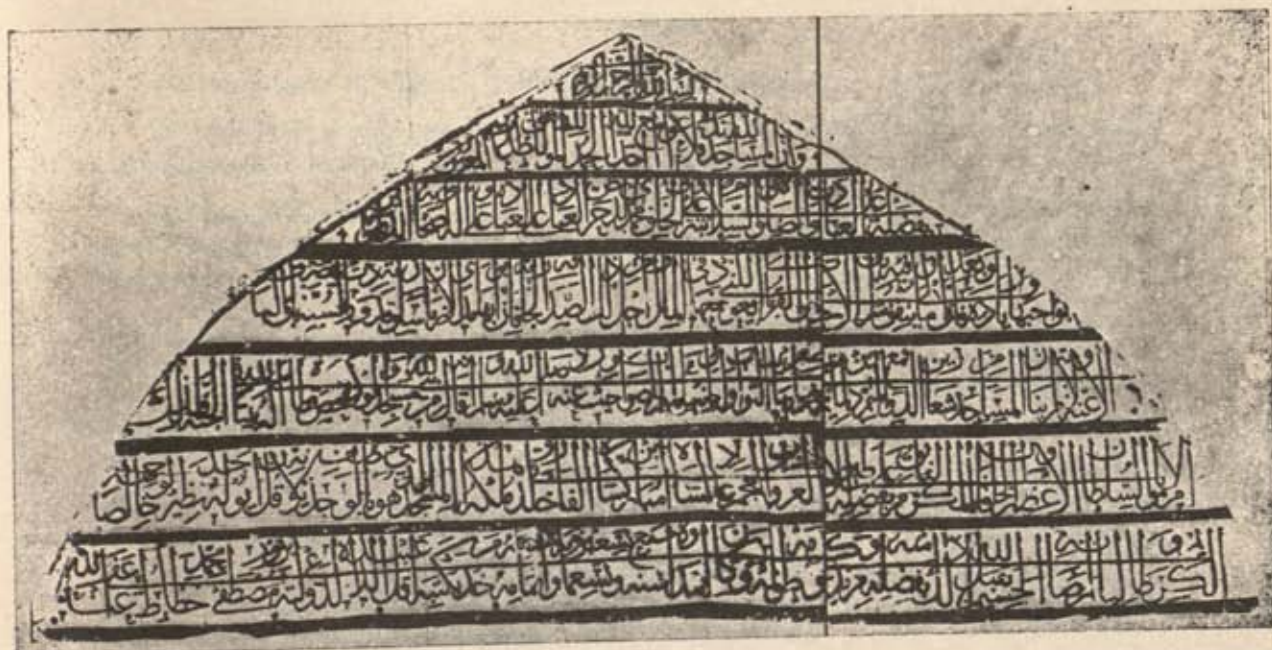
(٧) الْكَرِيمِ وَ طَالِبًا لِمَرْضَاتِهِ الْجَسِيمِ تَقَبَّلَ اللَّهُ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُ بِفَضْلِهِ وَ مَزِيدَ كَرَمِهِ وَ طَوْلِهِ وَ

كَانَ ابْتِدَاؤُهُ سَنَةَ سَبْعٍ وَ تَسْعِينَ وَ سَنَةِ اِتِّمَامِهِ وَ خَدَمَ بِكِتَابِهِ أَقْلَ عَبِيدِهِ الدَّاعِي لِدَوْلَتِهِ

مُصْطَفَى بْنِ نُورِ مُحَمَّدٍ خَطَّاطٍ عَفَى اللَّهُ عَنْهُ

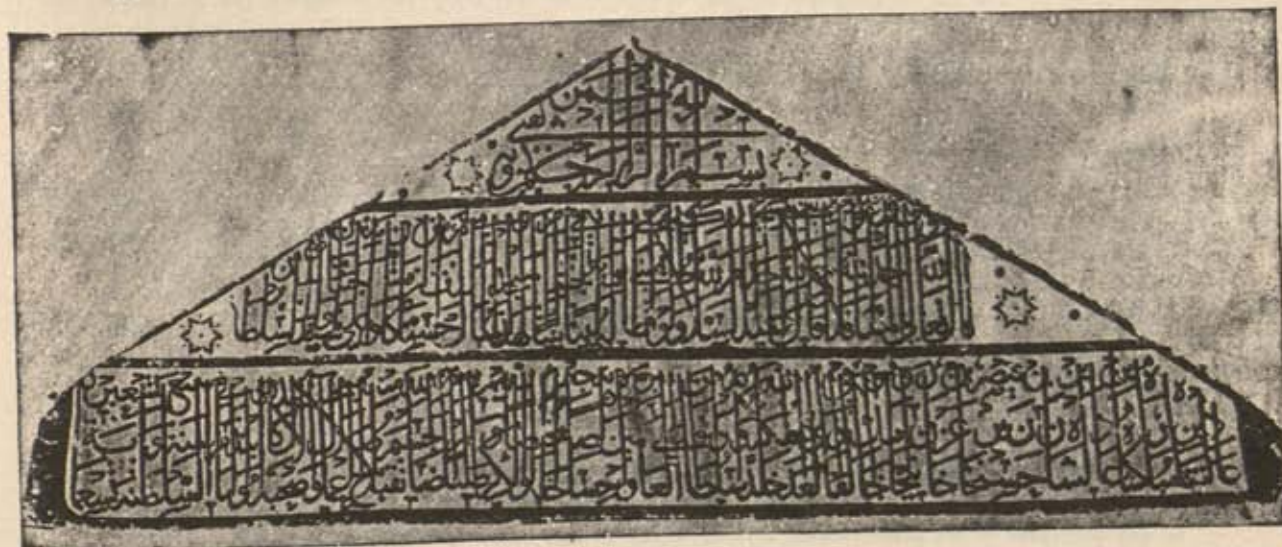
¹ The text of this inscription may be compared with that of its Asirgarh counterpart quoted in *ESIM*, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

² Suboor, op. cit., pp. 7-8, has illustrated his reading with a photographic reproduction which is not very clear.



SCALE : .07

(b) Another inscription of the same king, dated in the same year, from the same place (p. 56)



SCALE : .1

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Compassionate.
- (2) 'And verily the mosques are for Allāh ; (hence), invoke not anyone else along with Allāh.'¹ All praises are for Allāh who assists (us) in prayers (and) helps (us) in worship
- (3) through His favour. And may peace and salutation be upon Muḥammad, the noblest of the creatures, who induced (Allāh's) creatures to worship and (also) upon his descendants and companions who performed
- (4) the obligatory as well as optional prayers. And now, verily, the best for which a man of good circumstances spends money are the holy offerings (to Allāh) whose benefit accrues in the end. And in this category falls a permanent good deed, for its doors remain open (to public benefit) throughout the times, and it has been stated in the tradition (of the Prophet) that
- (5) the attention of the kingdom should be given to such deeds (of public utility). Verily, the building of mosques is one of the signs of Religion and eradication of the unbelievers, so that by their construction, great merit is achieved and verily, its builder is inspired with propriety, just as it is related of the Prophet, may peace and salutation be upon him, who has said that one who builds a mosque for Allāh, even if it is as small as the nest of a Qaṭāt bird, Allāh builds for him a house in paradise. In accordance with (these dictates),
- (6) our lord, the great Sultān, honourable king, superior in accomplishment among the kings of Arabia and Persia, 'Ādil Shāh, son of Mubārak Shāh al-Fārūqī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, ordered for the construction of this mosque which is worthy of praise since its like is rare, purely for the sake of His most Generous Face
- (7) and by way of seeking His boundless favours, may Allāh accept it of him with His bounty and further generosity and munificence. And the beginning of its (construction) took place in the year nine hundred and ninetyseven (A.H. 997=1588-89 A.D.) and the year of its completion is And the service of its writing was rendered by his (king's) most humble slave, a good-wisher of his kingdom, Muṭafā, son of Nūr Muḥammad Khattāt (calligraphist), may Allāh forgive him.

From the above text, it is clear that while the inscription gives the date of the commencement of the construction, it does not contain the year of its completion. The portion of the record above the word "اتمامه", as may be seen from the plate, is somewhat smudgy in the original, but it is almost certain that the figure for the year was not engraved on the slab when it was set up. For, in the other inscription of the mosque studied below, the date of completion is likewise not inscribed. Also, same is the case with the Asirgarh Jāmi' mosque inscription where the portion indicating the date of completion has been left blank in one inscription.² It is, therefore, clear that the inscription was only set up at the time of commencement and the date of completion was intended to be engraved later, but could not be done for some reason or the other.³ In any case, the text of the inscription cannot be interpreted to mean that the mosque

¹ Qur'ān, ch. LXXII, verse 18.

² *ELM*, op. cit. However, in the other Asirgarh inscription, the date of completion is also given, but in the second Burhanpur epigraph, noticed in the following lines, it is not given.

³ It has been suggested that the construction of the Burhanpur mosque could not be completed due to Akbar's invasion of Khandesh (Cunningham, op. cit., p. 117).

was completed exactly within one year.¹ A chronogram quoted in a modern Urdu work on the history of Burhanpur, works out the date of construction to be A.H. 1002 (1593-94 A.D.). But since the author of that work has not quoted his source, its evidence cannot be accepted without reservation.²

The other Fārūqī record, fixed above the extreme right *mihrāb* in the west wall of the Jāmi' mosque, is a bilingual inscription in Arabic and Sanskrit. Of the total nine lines, the first three are in Arabic and the rest in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit version has already been edited by R. B. Hiralal.³

The Arabic record contains no fresh information regarding the date of the completion of the mosque, but it provides a very important document on the genealogy of the Fārūqī kings, to which we shall refer later. It is written in *Naskh* with *Tughra* flourishes. It may be pointed out that in some places, a single letter has been used to serve the purpose of two. The text of the Arabic record reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIX(b)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَ بِهِ تَقَى

(٢) قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَ إِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا وَ قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَنْ بَنَى

لِلَّهِ مَسْجِدًا وَ لَوْ كَفَحَ قَطَاةُ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ أَمْرَ بِنَاءِ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ الْمُبَارَكِ الَّذِي هُوَ مِنْ

حَسَنَاتِ الزَّمَانِ وَ كَالشَّامَةِ عَلَى وَجْهِ الْحِمَانِ سَيِّدِنَا وَ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانِ

(٣) عَادِلْشَاهُ بْنُ مَبَارَكْشَاهُ بْنُ عَادِلْشَاهُ بْنُ حَسَنِ بْنِ قَبِيصِرْ خَانَ بْنِ غَزْنِيْخَانَ بْنِ

رَاجَا مَلِكِ الْفَارَوَقِي الْعَدَوِي خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ وَ سُلْطَانُهُ وَ أَفَاضَ عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ بَرَهُ وَ إِحْسَانَهُ خَالِصًا

مُخْلِصًا لَوَجْهِ اللَّهِ الْكَرِيمِ وَ طَلِبًا لِمَرْضَاةِ اللَّهِ الْجَمِيمِ تَقَبَّلَا مِنْهُ صَالِحَ الْأَعْمَالِ بِمُحَمَّدٍ وَ صَحْبِهِ وَ آلِهِ

كَانَ ابْتَدَأَ فِي أَيَّامِ السُّلْطَانَةِ سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَ تَسْعِينَ وَ تَسْعِمَايَةِ

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Compassionate. In Him is my trust.

(2) Allāh the Exalted, says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh (only); hence, invoke not anyone else with Allāh. And the Prophet, may peace be upon him, says, 'One who builds

¹ Russell, op. cit. ; Hiralal, op. cit.

² Khalilur-Rahman, op. cit., p. 22.

³ Hiralal, *NI*, op. cit.

a mosque for Allāh, even if it be as small as the nest of Qatāt bird, Allāh builds for him a house in paradise'. This auspicious mosque, which is one of the bounties of the time and like a mole on a beautiful face, was built by the order of our lord and our master, the Sultān,

(3) 'Ādil Shāh, son of Mubārak Shāh, son of 'Ādil Shāh, son of Ḥasan Khān, son of Qaiṣar Khān, son of Ghaznī Khān, son of Rājā Malik al-Fārūqī al-'Adawī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and kingship, and spread all over the world his goodness and bounty, purely and sincerely for the sake of Allāh, the Bountiful and for having His boundless favours, in the hope that it is accepted of him as a pious deed, through the grace of Muḥammad, his companions and descendants. The beginning (of its construction) took place in the year nine hundred and ninetyseven (A.H. 997=1588-89 A.D.), during his reign.

It is to be pointed out that as in the case of the previous epigraph, the text of this inscription also is practically same as the one in the inscription over the northernmost *mihrāb* of the Jāmi'-Masjid at Asirgarh; the only notable difference is that in the Asirgarh inscription,¹ the genealogy of the king is not traced in full as is the case here. The portion for the year of construction has been, likewise, left blank in the inscription under reference, though the other inscription of the Asirgarh Jāmi' mosque gives the date of completion also.²

As has been stated above, the present inscription along with its Sanskrit version furnishes an important document for the genealogy of the Fārūqī rulers. Firishṭa and other Persian chroniclers of India have presented a very confused pedigree of the Fārūqīs. It was R. B. Hiralal who first tried to formulate a correct genealogy on the basis of the Sanskrit inscription. But the table of genealogy prepared by him is also not without mistakes, since he had to reconcile the information contained in the said record with that given in Firishṭa and others.³ Unfortunately, when Hiralal wrote, Hājji Dabīr's famous Arabic History of Gujarat had not come to light. It was Lt. Col. T. W. Haig who utilised the account of Hājji Dabīr in his history of the Fārūqī kings and prepared, chiefly on its basis, a table of genealogy of the Fārūqī rulers.⁴ It is, however, surprising that Lt. Col. Haig should have omitted to make any reference to the bilingual inscription under study. Needless to say, Hājji Dabīr's account of Fārūqī chiefs, based as it is on the now lost *Tārīkh-i-Bahādūr Shāhī* of Ḥusām Khān⁵ is by far the most correct, as far as the historical works are concerned. But the genealogy recorded in both the Arabic and Sanskrit inscriptions differs from the one given by Hājji Dabīr in one step. According to the epigraph, Ghaznī Khān was the son of Malik Rājā, while Hājji Dabīr makes Ḥasan Khān a son of the latter and Ghaznī Khān, a son of Ḥasan Khān. Hira Lal tried to reconcile the epigraphical evidence with the information contained in Firishṭa and others by identifying Ghaznī Khān with Naṣir Khān, the elder son, according to other authorities, of Malik Rājā Fārūqī. This seems to be incorrect since, Hājji Dabīr has explicitly stated that Malik Rājā had another son born to him after Naṣir Khān, the former having finally settled in Gujarat where he and his progeny married into the royal family. Thus Hājji Dabīr's genealogy, which is also given in full in his account of Bahādūr Khān, the last of the Fārūqīs, is definitely preferable to Hiralal's. At the same time, the evidence of the inscription under study highlights the discrepancy referred to above in Hājji Dabīr's genealogy which is difficult to explain. For, on one hand Hājji Dabīr's information is

¹ *ETM*, 1925-26, p. 1, where the inscription is not illustrated.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3, pl. I.

³ Hiralal, *ET*, op. cit., p. 310.

⁴ Haig, op. cit., pp. 184-85.

⁵ Hājji Dabīr, op. cit., p. 51.

copied from an earlier source and hence has a claim to authenticity. But on the other hand, the evidence of the inscription is far more weighty. Therefore, either Hājji Dabir has been led into some error on this one point or there is some inadvertent mistake in the inscription, which seems less likely. In any case, the problem merits further examination and scrutiny.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE AUHADIS

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

Major-General Arthur Cunningham had, in the archaeological report of his tour in Eastern Rajputana, reconstructed the history of the Auḥādī family,¹ who ruled at Bayana and later, simultaneously, at Hindaun for nearly a century. He derived his information from the inscriptions in the Bayana fort and from the historical works, namely, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* and *Tārīkh-i-Firishā* with the help of which he also formulated a genealogy of the Auḥādīs.² But since two of the three inscriptions studied below (Nos. II and III) were not known to him, and the remaining (No. I) was wrongly read for him particularly in the date, Cunningham's account can be supplemented and corrected to some extent. Incidentally, Cunningham was the first and the last person to engage his attention to the history of this minor line of rulers who have escaped attention of our historians. Therefore also, the following study will not be found without some interest.

The first two inscriptions come from Bayana, situated in 26°55' N. latitude and 77°18' E. longitude, close to the left bank of the Gambhir river. Bayana was the headquarters of the *tehsil* of the same name in the erstwhile Bharatpur State and is now the chief town of a sub-division in the Bharatpur district of Rajasthan.³ It had come under Muslim authority almost with its establishment and ever since remained an important town which accounts for a number of Arabic and Persian inscriptions there. It is a pity that most of these inscriptions along with the buildings on which they were set up were destroyed in recent times, but fortunately the inscriptions of the *Khaljī* Sultans of Delhi from this place were studied in a previous issue of this Series.⁴ The other extant Muslim records from Bayana have been also copied and listed.⁵

I. INSCRIPTION FROM THE TALETI MOSQUE

The Taleti mosque is situated within the great hill fort of Bayana, called Vijayamandirgarh. It is a plain building of two aisles with seven openings in the front and measures about 55 feet in length by about 22 feet in breadth inside. The tablet bearing the inscription is now lying loose inside the mosque. Measuring about 41" by 19", it contains an inscription in Persian verse, comprising four lines, which is executed in *Naskh* characters in relief. The record mentions the construction of a mosque and a well during the time of the great *Khān* Auḥād *Khān* by the illustrious noble Muhtaf (?) *Khānī* in the month of Ramadān A.H. 823 (September-October 1420 A.D.). Cunningham, who published the text and translation of this inscription along with its facsimile, gives the date as A.H. 820 and the name of the builder as *Timūr Khān*.⁶ Also, he

¹ A. Cunningham, *Report of a tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882-83*, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. XX (Calcutta, 1885), pp. 63-65.

² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³ For the history of Bayana and an account of its buildings, see *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VII (Oxford, 1908), p. 137; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-88.

⁴ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1917-18, pp. 19 (pls. Va), 39 (pls. XIIIa and XIIIb), 41 (pl. XIIIc), etc. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, also noticed quite a few inscriptions.

⁵ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)* for 1955-56, Nos. D, 113-125.

⁶ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 83, pl. XVII, No. 1. The text given by him is correct except in the reading of the date, but quite a few mistakes of print have crept in; his translation also is neither complete nor perfectly correct.

was of the opinion that the inscription refers to the construction of the *Dargāh* and of a well¹ and could not belong to the mosque, which in view of a short Hindu inscription of Samvat 1578 or 1528 A.D. found engraved on one of its pillars, belongs to a much later period.² Now, even according to the reading given by Cunningham, the epigraph refers to the construction of a mosque; in the text, the building is called 'such a place of worship of God' which cannot be interpreted for anything but a mosque and Cunningham himself has translated the phrase as 'this house of prayer'.³ Moreover, there is no mention at all of any *Dargāh* in the inscription. There is no doubt that the inscription refers to the construction of a mosque and a well. Though it cannot be definitely asserted as to whether the mosque intended is the Taleti mosque or not, it must be stressed that the mere presence of the Hindu inscription does not absolutely mean that the construction of the mosque was carried out at a later date; it is very likely that the said inscription was carved later.

The text of the record reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XX(a)

(۱) پناه جملہ جہان سرور زمین و زمان	(۱) بعہد دولت خان کبیر اوحد خان
(۲) بنا بکرد چنین جای طاعت رحمان	(۲) ملک معظم ^۴ مہتف (?) خانے از سر صدق
(۳) قبول باد بدرگاہ خالق حنان	(۳) بنزد او ^۵ چہ زمزم صفت ز خالص مال
(۴) دگر ^۶ سد سال ہماہ معظم رمضان	(۴) ز ہجرت نبوی سال بود ہیصد و بیست

TRANSLATION

(1) In the time of the rule of the great *Khān*, Aḥḥad *Khān* (who is) the shelter of the whole world and lord of the earth and the age,

(2) the illustrious lord Muhtaf (?) *Khānī* built, out of truthful intention, such a place for the worship of the Merciful (Allāh)

(3) (and) near it a Zamzam-like¹⁰ well out of his personal property. May it be accepted (of him) in the court of the Bountiful Creator!

¹ Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 82, 83.

² *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Cunningham was perhaps misled by the word *dargāh* occurring in the phrase '*dargāh-i-khāliq-i-ḥannān*', (court of the Benevolent creator) in the second hemistich of the third couplet.

⁵ *Ibid.* reads "تیمور خان"

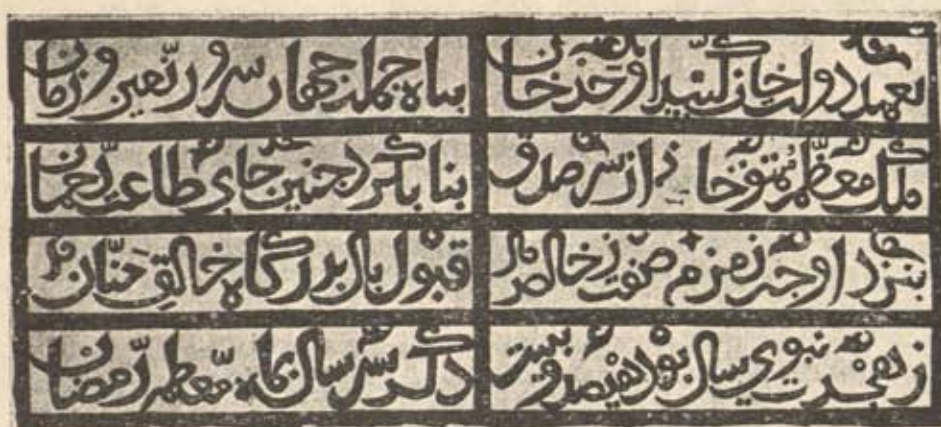
⁶ *Ibid.* has "چین", evidently a misprint.

⁷ *Ibid.* has "نبرد", a misprint.

⁸ *Ibid.* has "جب".

⁹ *Ibid.* reads "سر"

¹⁰ Hagar's well at Mecca.



SCALE : 13

(b) Epitaph of Auḥad Khān, dated A.H. 824, from the same place (p. 61)



SCALE : 2

(c) Record of Yūsuf Auḥadī, A.H. 842, from Hindaun (p. 63)



SCALE : 16

(4) From the Hijra (lit., Flight) of the Prophet, the year was eight hundred and twenty with three more, in the illustrious month of Ramaḍān (Ramaḍān A.H. 823=September-October 1420 A.D.).

The above inscription thus provides a date later by three years than the last date A.H. 820 assigned to Auḥad Khān by Cunningham in his genealogy of the Auḥadī family owing to the wrong reading of the date of the inscription.¹ Auḥad Khān who inherited the throne of Bayana from his brother Shams Khān in about A.H. 803, when the latter was assassinated by Mallū Iqbāl Khān,² ruled until his death on the 15th Ramaḍān A.H. 824 (13th September 1421 A.D.), that is to say, within almost a year of the construction of the mosque. The above-mentioned date of death of Auḥad Khān is fortunately provided by the inscription which is studied next. The name of the builder could not be deciphered satisfactorily. It reads like Muḥtaf Khānī, which may be a corruption of Maḥtāb Khān. In any case, nothing is known about him.

II. EPITAPH OF AUHAD KHAN FROM BAYANA

This epigraph is found carved in *Naskh* characters in relief on two slabs at the footside of a grave in the Abū Qandshār graveyard situated to the west of the town.³ The slabs jointly measure about 34" by 9". The penmanship of the record is far from satisfactory and moreover, the letters have been adversely affected by the inclemencies of weather and wear and tear of time.

The epigraph consists of two verses purporting to the effect that on Sunday, 15th of Ramaḍān A.H. 824 (13th September 1421 A.D.), Auḥad Khān, whom powerful chiefs used to obey, received the call of Death. Evidently, Auḥad Khān is none other than the Bayana chief mentioned above. Thus the present inscription is a very important record, since it has preserved for us an important date in the history of the Auḥadis of Bayana, especially when it is remembered that the dates of this family are sparsely given in historical works. The record also helps us to fix the period during which Mubārak Khān, a brother of Auḥad Khān, enjoyed authority. It may be pointed out that Cunningham in his table has assigned no dates to Mubārak Khān who was assassinated by his nephew, Amīr Khān, a son of Auḥad Khān, in about A.H. 825 (1421-22 A.D.), within a short time of the former's accession.⁴ Mubārak Khān must have, thus, ruled hardly for about one year.

The epitaph is composed in Persian verse which appears to have been an ill-feigned attempt at versification by some one lacking in elementary knowledge of prosody as will be seen from the following text:—

TEXT

Plate XX(b)

(۱) چهارده طاسی ز شنبه پانزده از مه صیام سال هیصد بیست چهارم کز اجل آمد پیام
(۲) شد اسیر خاک تربت اوحد خان جهان کز امورش سرکشان کردند اطاعت دوا

¹ Cunningham op. cit., p. 63.

² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

³ *ARIE*, op. cit., No. D. 117.

⁴ Yabyā Sarhīndī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1931), p. 202, while narrating the events of Jumādā I and II, A.H. 826, says that a son of Auḥad Khān, who had assassinated his uncle Mubārak Khān, rebelled against Mubārak Shāh Sayyid of Delhi. The assassination must have, therefore, taken place in A.H. 825 or in the early part of A.H. 826. It may be pointed out that the name Amīr Khān is given by Firishita only, vide *Tārīkh-i-Firishita* (Kanpur, 1884), p. 165, where Amīr Khān is stated to be a son of Dā'ūd Khān, son of Shams Khān.

TRANSLATION

(1) Fourteen hours had passed from Saturday, the 15th of the month of Fasting (i.e. Ramaḍān) in the year eight hundred and twentyfour (15th Ramaḍān A. H. 824=13th September 1421 A.D.), when the call of Death came ;

(2) in the dust of the grave became captive Auḥad, the Khān of the world, whose orders champions always used to obey.

III.—INSCRIPTION OF YUSUF KHAN FROM HINDAUN

Hindaun, situated in latitude 26°44' N. and longitude 77°3' E., on the Delhi-Ratlam section of the Western Railway, was formerly the headquarters of the *nizamat* and *tahsil* of the same name in the erstwhile Jaipur State. Now included within the Sawai Madhopur district of Rajasthan, Hindaun was once an extensive city which Ibn Battūṭa had visited in the course of his travels. It was an important place under the Turk and the Mughal kings but suffered from the devastations of the Marathas.¹ Hindaun has several buildings of the Mughal period, of which Bāra Khambā is the most prominent. There are quite a few Arabic and Persian inscriptions at Hindaun including one of the time of Muḥammad bin Tuḡluq Shāh.²

The inscription under study is another new record of the Auḥadīs. It is fixed over the central *miḥrāb* of the Rangrezon-ki-Masjid, a small plain building without any architectural merit, situated on the western bank of the tank. It states that the mosque, constructed by Malik Khairu'd-Dīn during the rule of *Majlis-i-ʿAlī* Yūsuf Khān, son of Mubārak Khān, was completed on the 10th of Ramaḍān A. H. 842 (24th February 1439 A.D.).³

This epigraph is also an important historical document which throws fresh light on certain aspects of the history of the Auḥadī family. First of all, it provides valuable information about the parentage of Yūsuf Khān Auḥadī. Historical works do not ignore Yūsuf Khān completely but they do not contain any information regarding the name of Yūsuf Khān's father. Cunningham had in his genealogy shown him to be a son of Auḥad Khān himself.⁴ Our record for the first time proves that Yūsuf Khān was the son of Mubārak Khān, a brother of Auḥad Khān. Secondly, this new piece of information contained in the present inscription helps to explain away satisfactorily a fact which has been passed over by historians without any comment. We are now in a position to say that when, as stated above, Mubārak Khān was killed and succeeded to the Bayana chiefship by his nephew Amīr Khān, son of Auḥad Khān towards the end of A.H. 825 (1422 A.D.) or in the beginning of A.H. 826 (1423 A.D.), one of the sons of Mubārak Khān, probably Yūsuf Khān himself, had occupied Hindaun and set up a rival government there. The first mention of Yūsuf Khān occurs in historical works in connection with his march from Hindaun to fight Rānū who was despatched to take possession of the district of Bayana by his master Sudhipal. Rānū was ultimately defeated and killed.⁵ Yūsuf Khān is further mentioned as one of the nobles who paid homage in person to Muḥammad

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIII (Oxford, 1908), p. 135; Ibn Battūṭa, *The Reḥla*, Engl. tr. Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain (Baroda, 1953), p. 160; Abu'l-Faḍl, *ʿĀ'in-i-Akbarī*, tr. Jarett, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1894), p. 183, etc.

² *ARIE*, op. cit., Nos. D, 156-171; *EIM*, 1923-24, p. 24, pl. XIIb; *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1967 and 58, p. 34, pl. IXc.

³ *ARIE*, op. cit., No. D, 171.

⁴ Cunningham, op. cit., p. 65.

⁵ Yabā Sarhindī, op. cit., pp. 238-39; Cunningham, op. cit., p. 65.

Shāh Sayyid at Delhi in Rabī'u'l-Ākhar A.H. 842 (September-October 1438 A.D.).¹ Since A.H. 830 (1427 A.D.), Bayana was ruled over by Muḥammad Khān Auḥadī, a son of Auḥad Khān and a cousin of Yūsuf Khān. Muḥammad Khān's last known date is A.H. 850 (1446 A.D.) and he must have died shortly afterwards, since the inscription on the Minār in the Bayana Fort, dated A.H. 851 (1447 A.D.), mentions Dā'ūd Khān, his son, as being in authority at Bayana.²

The inscription under study comprises three lines in Persian verse whose composition is not only mediocre but faulty. The style of writing is *Naskh* of an ordinary type. The inscriptional slab measuring about 36" by 16" is slightly built up in the wall on the right and consequently, a couple of letters in the beginning of each line have not come out in the rubbing.

The text of the record reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XX (c)

(۱) [بانی] مسجد ملک هست خیرالدین	عهد مجلس دام عالی هست این
(۲) [یوسف خان بن مبارکخانست این	عاشر رمضان شده اتمام این
(۳) [در] سنه بودست اثنی اربعین	و ثمان از مایه بودست همین

TRANSLATION

(1) The builder of this mosque is Malik Khairu'd-Dīn ; this is the time of the government of *Majlis 'Ālī*, may he remain for ever !

(2) who is Yūsuf Khān, son of Mubārak Khān. Its completion took place on the 10th of Ramaḍān,

(3) and the year has been fortytwo and eight hundred itself (10th Ramaḍān A.H. 842-24th February 1439 A.D.).

¹ Yabyā Sarhindi, op. cit., p. 243 ; Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

² Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 66, 78, 83-85.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE KHUSRAW BAGH, ALLAHABAD

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

Khusraw Bāgh, a well-known garden in the city of Allahabad in the province of Uttar Pradesh, is situated in the mahalla Khuldābād at a distance of about a mile from the Railway Station and about two miles, on the west, from Akbar's famous fort. The garden is a quadrangle of about forty acres, surrounded by embattled walls with a road running around. An underground path is said to have been constructed between the garden and the fort for inter-communication,¹ but this is not borne out by any authority.

This extensive, pleasant and magnificent garden was used as a pleasure resort in the past, as is done even today. Many princes, nobles, governors and other distinguished personages have in the past visited and used it as a place for recreation. Akbar used it as a garden, whereas Prince Dānyāl stayed there during the period of his governorship.² Jahāngīr mostly lived here during the period he was in rebellion against his father,³ and it was only here that he received his mother Salma Sultān Begam when she had come to attempt reconciliation between the father and the son.⁴ Jahāngīr had also received in this very garden the head of Abu'l-Faḍl from Rājā Narsing Deo.⁵ Shāh 'Ālam II had also used it for recreation during his stay at Allahabad upto 1771 A.D.⁶ A great *Darbār* was held here in honour of Prince of Wales in 1873 A.D.⁷

Nothing is traceable in contemporary Persian records as to why it is called Khusraw Bāgh; whether it was so named after the ill-fated Sultān Khusraw⁸ whose tomb it contains or because of his confinement there after expulsion from Agra, it is difficult to say. According to one account, during Jahāngīr's governorship of Allahabad, Shāh Jahān and Khusraw were born there in 1588 A.D. and the garden was so named after the last mentioned.⁹ But this does not appear to be correct, since Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ḥamid Lāhorī, the court historian of emperor Shāh Jahān, explicitly states that both Shāh Jahān as well as his elder brother, Sultān Khusraw, were born in Lahore.¹⁰ Likewise, contemporary records are silent about the founder's name and the actual date of its foundation but it is commonly believed that the garden was founded as long back as Akbar's fort.¹¹ If so, the date of its foundation would be the 21st regnal year of Akbar, corresponding to A.H. 984 or 1576 A.D.

The garden is also important from historical and epigraphical points of view. In its enclosure are a few tombs containing the remains of royal personages like Khusraw, his mother Shāh Begam, his sister Sultānu'n-Nisā, Tambulan Begam and others. Some of these tombs

¹ Maqbul Ahmad, *Tārīkh-i-Ilāhābād*, Urdu, Vol. I (Allahabad, 1938), p. 49.

² Khwāfī Khān, *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1869), p. 224.

³ Mu'tamad Khān Bakshī, *Jahāngīr Nāma* (Lucknow, 1898), p. 8.

⁴ Khwāfī Khān, op. cit., p. 323.

⁵ Ghulam Husain Tabātābā'ī, *Siyaṣat-i-Muta'akkhkhīrīn*, Vol. I (Lucknow, 1897), p. 308; Sayyid Ahmad Khan, ed. *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Ally Gurh, 1864), pp. 9, 10.

⁶ H. R. Nevill, *District Gazetteer, Allahabad* (Allahabad, 1911), p. 178.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ For some fresh information regarding Khusraw's death, please see S. H. Hodiwala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Vol. I (Bombay, 1939), p. 616 and *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Calcutta Session, 1939, p. 95.

⁹ Maqbul Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 28, 29, but he does not name his source.

¹⁰ 'Abdu'l-Ḥamid Lāhorī, *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1867), pp. 15-16.

¹¹ H. R. Nevill, op. cit., p. 166.

bear dated inscriptions which furnish to some extent short but authentic information regarding the occupants of the tombs. The texts of some of these inscriptions have been published previously,¹ but the published readings are not absolutely correct and moreover, their facsimiles are not given. Hence, it is intended to make a proper study of these inscriptions in this short article.²

Apart from the historical importance of the inscriptions, their calligraphical aspect also merits special mention. The inscriptions which are designed by the court calligraphist of Jahāngīr, namely, Mir 'Abdu'llāh Mushkīn Qalam and also by Sultān Sarhindī are remarkable for their elegant, refined and exquisite designs and as such, they can easily rank among beautiful specimens of *Nasta'liq* writing on stone.

INSCRIPTION NOS. 1-2

These two inscriptions are from the tomb of Shāh Begam, who was the daughter of the celebrated Rājā Bhagwān Dās of Akbar's Court. Shāh Begam was married to Prince Salīm, later emperor Jahāngīr, in the 29th year of Akbar's reign (A.H. 993 or 1585 A.D.).³ It is surprising that her original name has not come down to us; Jahāngīr is reported to have given her the name Shāh Begam when she gave birth to Prince Khusrāw.⁴ She is also said to have been addressed by her husband as Ārām-i-Jān (comfort of the soul).⁵ Shāh Begam ended her life by taking opium, according to Jahāngīr, on the 6th May 1605 A.D., on account of the bad behaviour of Khusrāw as also of one of her own brothers.⁶

The tomb is a three-storeyed building, the ground storey containing the original mortuary which comprises a square chamber enclosed on four sides by verandah, two aisles deep. The central chamber, originally constructed on arches, has undergone extensive repairs replacing the stone arches by masonry buttresses. The imitation grave, worked exquisitely in marble, is situated on the topmost of the three terraces that go to make up the uppermost storey. The roof of the cenotaph is supported on multifaced pillars, three on each side, in the beam and bracket style, with profusely but elegantly carved bases and capitals.

There are in all two inscriptions on the tomb. The northern and two side facets of the sarcophagus of marble are inscribed against a background of floral patterns with *Yā Fattāh* and one quatrain in Persian respectively. The quatrain refers to the death of Shāh Begam who is praised in glowing terms. There is another inscription also, which is engraved in relief on the arch-shaped marble slab fixed at the head of the grave. Beginning with the phrase *Allāhu Akbar*, it contains another quatrain which forms the chronogram for the death of the Begam. A similar marble slab richly carved with exquisite floral designs is, for reasons of symmetry, set up at the footside, but it does not contain any inscription.

Both these inscriptions are beautifully engraved in chaste and elegant *Nasta'liq* letters in relief. At least, the text of the headstone is stated therein to have been composed and

¹ Maqbul Ahmad, op.cit., pp. 133, 189; H. Beveridge, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (JRAS)*, London, 1907, p. 604; *ibid.*, London, 1909, p. 746; T. W. Beale, *Miftāhu't-Tawārīkh* (Agra, 1849), p. 335, etc.

² I am thankful to Shri I. A. Omeri, who worked for sometime in my office, for tracing out some of these references.

³ Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1886), pp. 450-51.

⁴ Sayyid Ahmad Khan, op. cit., p. 26.

⁵ Nizami Badayuni, *Qāmūsul-Maḥabbīn*, Vol. II (Badayun, 1926), p. 3.

⁶ Sayyid Ahmad Khan, op. cit.

engraved by Mir 'Abdu'llāh Mushkīn Qalam, the celebrated calligraphist of Jahāngīr's time.¹ The style of writing of the other inscription is identical and it seems almost certain that it was also composed and designed by the same calligraphist.

The inscriptions on the sarcophagus, occupying a writing space of (a) 21" by 7", (b) 66" by 7" and (c) 66" by 7", have been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXI (a)

(a) On the head side of the cenotaph proper.

یا قنّاح

(b) On the left side of the cenotaph proper.

بیگم که ز عفت رخ رحمت آراست اقلیم عدم ز نور عزت آراست

(c) On the right side of the cenotaph proper.

سبحان الله زهی کمال عفت کز حسن عمل چهره جنت آراست

TRANSLATION

(a) O Opener

(b) The Begam who adorned the cheek of mercy through her chastity bedecked the realm of non-existence through the light of glory.

(c) Glory be to God! What perfect chastity (she possessed) that by good conduct, she (even) decorated the face of Paradise!

The inscription on the slab fixed at the head of the grave, measuring 73" from apex to bottom and 22" in width, reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXI (b)

(۱) الله اکبر

(۲) چون چرخ فلک ز گردش خود آشفست

(۳) در زیر زمین آئینه مه بنهفت

(۴) تاریخ وفات شاه بیگم جستم

(۵) از غیب ملک بخلد شد بیگم گفت

(۶) لکانبه عبدالله مشکین قلم جهانگیر شاه

¹ Mir 'Abdu'llāh Tirmidhi was a celebrated calligraphist of the reign of Jahāngīr who had bestowed upon him the title of Mushkīn Qalam. He was also endowed with fine poetical talent and composed poetry under the nom-de-plume Wasfi. Among the inscriptions engraved by him is the famous inscription at Ajmer appearing on the lofty archway of a building at Chahama-i-Nūr (EIAPS, 1957 and 58, p. 56, pl. XIV). He died in A.H. 1035 (1626 A.D.) and lies buried at Agra where his tomb and mosque still exist. There are two inscriptions on his tomb giving chronograms of his death and one more on the mosque. All the three epigraphs were composed by Mir 'Abdu'llāh's son, Muhammad Sālib, himself a poet with the nom-de-plume Kashfi. For the text of these inscriptions, see *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874, pp. 162-63.

(a) Inscriptions on the grave of Shāh Begam in Khusrav Bagh, Allahabad (p. 66)

(i)



(ii)



SCALE : .09

(c) Inscription from the tomb of Sultān Nithār Begam in the same place (p. 68)



SCALE : .18

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 1012, on the headstone of the same grave (p. 66)



SCALE : .09

TRANSLATION

- (1) God is great !
- (2) When the wheel of the sky got fed up with its revolutions,
- (3) it concealed the mirror of the moon under the earth.¹
- (4) (When) I sought the date of Shāh Begam's death,
- (5) an angel from the Invisible world replied, ' *The Begam went to Heaven*'.
- (6) Composed by its writer, namely, 'Abdu'llāh Mushkīn Qalam Jahāngīr Shāhī.

The chronogram contained in the words '*The Begam went to Heaven*' yields A.H. 1012 (1603-04 A.D.) as the date of demise of Shāh Begam.

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

The tomb of Sultān Nithār Begam² which does not contain any grave lies between the tombs of her brother Sultān Khusrāw and their mother Shāh Begam, at a distance of nearly thirty steps from each. It is a double-storeyed building situated in the very heart of the garden just opposite to the main gate. Its mortuary chamber which is surrounded with a verandah is profusely ornamented with paintings and inscriptions, the latter being didactic in nature.³ The raised platform in the centre does not now contain any grave, nor is there any cenotaph on the upper storey. This has given rise to some speculation as to whether any burial took place here at all, but there seems to be little doubt about it in view of the inscription under study. The princess was the first issue of Jahāngīr and Shāh Begam and elder sister of Khusrāw. She was born in A.H. 994, but the date of her death is not definitely known. It is a pity that the inscription also does not throw any light on the date of her death.

Around the frame of the door of the tomb, on the slabs with which the facade wall is faced, is carved an epigraph in Persian verse which is executed in bold and beautiful *Nasta'liq* style in relief. The record consists of three couplets, written into three arch-shaped panels, each containing two hemistiches. It occupies a total writing space of 140" by 11". The first line of the record has been too mutilated and effaced to admit of complete decipherment. The remaining two couplets which are quite clear and readable refer to the construction of the tomb of a lady whose name is not clear in the epigraph, but it is probably implied by the word '*Nithār*' occurring in the second line of the inscription.⁴ Beveridge is evidently wrong in stating that 'according to the chronogram she died in A.H. 1034 (1624-25 A.D.)',⁵ since the chronogram contained in the inscription is meant for the date of construction of the tomb and not of the death of Sultān Nithār Begam as will be seen from the text quoted below. Moreover, according to some, the Princess had died on the 4th Sha'bān A.H. 1056 (5th September 1646 A.D.).⁶ The chronogram occurring in the last line in the

¹ Beveridge, op. cit., p. 605, reads "آئینه مهر" and doubtfully translates the hemistich thus: 'The sun's mirror hid itself under the ground'. He has further tried to explain this rendering which was not necessary at all. The subject of the verb "بهنفت" which is transitive here is "چرخ" of the first hemistich.

² About her name, etc., see Maqbul Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 187-93; Beveridge, op. cit., p. 608, f.n. 1.

³ These do not contain any historical information. Their text is quoted in Beveridge, op. cit., p. 607 and Maqbul Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 159, 190-193.

⁴ See also Beveridge, op. cit., p. 608, f.n. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Maqbul Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 191-193, etc.

words *Rauḍa-i-Pāk* ('the holy tomb') yields the date of the construction of the tomb. The inscription has been designed by Sultān Sarhīndī and reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXII (a)

(۱) خجسته روضه چو از صدق ز بلندی بگنبد افلاک
(۲) برو ملایک رحمت همیشه نور نثار ز هی نمونه خلد برین بحرکز خاک
(۳) خرد ز سال بنایش بصفحه فکرت نوشت با قلم اختراع روضه پاک
کتبه فقیر سلطان سرهنده

TRANSLATION

(1) The auspicious tomb, when through truthful intention.....in height with the dome of heaven.

(2) On it (i.e. on the tomb), the angels of Mercy always shed light. How excellent is the model of the highest heaven in the centre of the earth!

(3) For the year of its construction, Wisdom, on the page of thought, wrote with the pen of invention (the words): *the holy tomb*. Written by the humble (one, namely) Sultān of Sarhīnd.

INSCRIPTION NO. 4

Beneath the above inscription occurs another epigraph comprising one quatrain. It is engraved immediately below the above inscription on four stone panels, two of which are in the left and right sides of the projection from the facade forming the porch, and two, one each on right and left, in line with the architrave of the door. The total writing space occupied by the text of this epigraph is about 55" by 11".

Unfortunately, with the passage of time the writing especially in the right side portion has been worn out completely. The letters originally carved in relief have peeled off with the result that the first couplet of the quatrain is almost illegible, though with concentrated efforts I have been able to read a portion, if not the whole, of it. The inscription purports to eulogise the building and express the excellence and chasteness of the tracery and painting work of the tomb.

The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of a fairly high order, and the text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXI (c)

(۱) این روضه اقدس [و گنبد] مینا رنگ
(۲) از دانش بس نیک آهنگ
(۳) هر نقش که نقاش بزد بر سر سنگ
(۴) افکند حیا ز دست مانی بیرنگ

TRANSLATION

(1) This pious tomb and azure-coloured dome

(2) through knowledge.....of extremely perfect harmony.

(3) (On account of) every picture, which the (skilled) artist has painted on the stone,

(4) Shame threw out the sketch from the hand of Mānī.¹

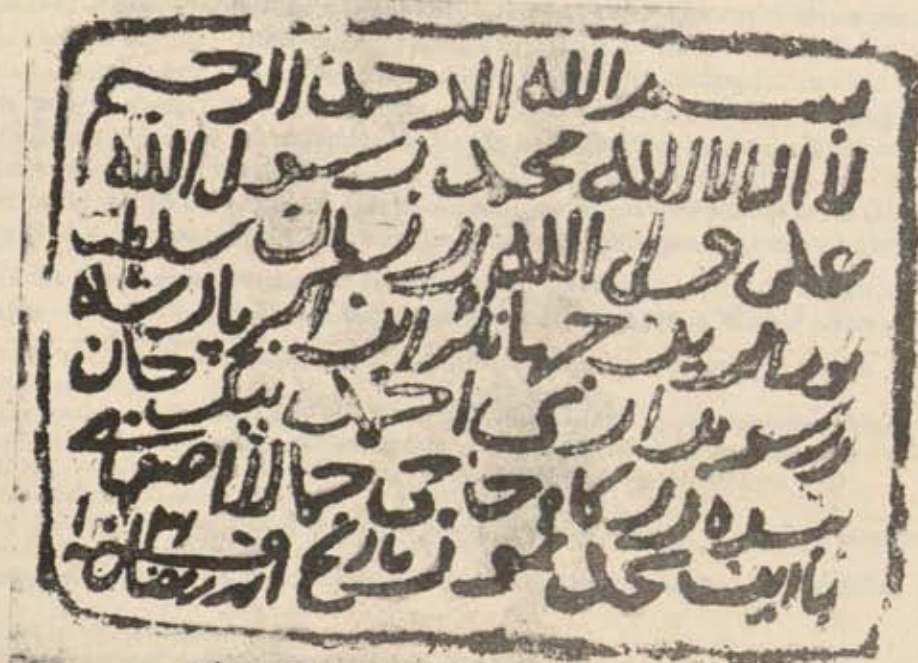
¹ Mānī was a great painter who is said to have flourished in the reign of Shāpūr, the Iranian emperor, in the third century A.D. and earned a matchless mastery and proverbial fame in the art of painting.

(a) Another inscription from the tomb of Sultān Nithār Begam in Khusrāw Bāgh, Allahabad (p. 68)



SCALE : 15

(b) Inscription of Jahāngir, dated A.H. 1031, from Kesari (p. 70)



SCALE : 33

THREE MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM KESIARI, WEST BENGAL

By W. H. SIDDIQI

Kesiari, situated 16 miles north-west of Kharagpur, though now a small village in the Midnapur sub-division of the district of the same name, is a place of great antiquity. Ample traces are even now discernible to prove that once upon a time a flourishing and thickly populated town extended from Gaganeshvara to the outskirts of the present village. On one side of this ancient town was located Gaganeshvara Mahādeva and on the other, the big temple of the goddess Sarvamangala. According to the genealogical list of Pacchatyavaidika of Bengal, written on palm leaves about three hundred and fifty years ago, the royal Sena dynasty ruled from a place called Kashipuri, situated on the banks of Suvarnarekha. This capital of the Sena kings has been identified with Kesiari, which is the corrupt form of Kashipuri. When and how the ancient city was destroyed is not known. Tradition has it that its inhabitants took to excessive opium-eating which consequently brought them ruin.¹

Under the Mughals, Kesiari appears to have been a town of importance, having at least retained traces of its former glory when a large number of people resided there.² It formed a *maḥāl* under Akbar.³ It appears to have been an important Mughal *tahsil* forming a *pargana* in the *sarkār* of Jaleswar, near which ran the old Pādshāhī road.

Kesiari was also an important centre of the tusser silk industry. As far back as 1676 A.D., it was noted that the waters of "Casharry" gave the most lasting dye to tusser silk.⁴

Of the ruins that are to be seen in the present village, those of the Kurumverā or temple-enclosure of Gaganeshvara are the most notable. Inside the enclosure and at the eastern extremity of it is a temple of Śiva. Diametrically opposite to this, i.e. at the western extremity, there is to be found a mosque also.⁵ To this mosque is said to have belonged the inscription which is included in the present study. (p. 70). Mosques and stone houses erected by the Mughals are still extant in the Mughalpara quarter of the town. An allegedly stone figure of a Muhammadan king or saint,⁶ with a Persian inscription on it (p. 71), was reported sometime back to be lying on the ground in the middle of the ruins.⁷ The above two inscriptions were noticed in the *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja*, where their incomplete translated readings are given with plates.⁸

All the three inscriptions studied below belong to the Mughal period.⁹ The earliest of these epigraphs is a hitherto unpublished record pertaining to the reign of Mughal emperor Jahāngīr.

¹ N. N. Vasu, *The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1911), pp. 122-23.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 123-24.

³ The printed text of Abu'l-Faḍl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), p. 410, has *Siyāri*, which is apparently intended for Kesiari, the first syllable 'Ka' having been omitted in the print or by the scribe.

⁴ L. S. S. O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteer*, Vol. 26, Midnapore (Calcutta, 1911), pp. 196-97.

⁵ For details, see Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁶ In view of the fact that making of images is strictly prohibited in Islam, it is difficult to believe that the image is of a Muslim saint or king.

⁷ O'Malley, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-97. The image is now reported to be lying near the house of Shaikh Panjāwali, a tailor.

⁸ Vasu, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-27.

⁹ The estampages of these inscriptions were forwarded to the office of the Superintendent, Persian and Arabic inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, by the Government Epigraphist for India and have been listed in *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1953-54, under Nos. C, 85-87.

It is carved on a slab, measuring 16" by 12", which is now kept in the house of Shaikh Panjawali, a tailor, but is reported to have been originally fixed into a stone structure locally known as *Ham-mām*.

The record consists of seven lines of which the first two and a half are in Arabic comprising *Bismillāh* and the First Creed of the *Shi'as*, while the rest are in Persian recording the construction of a mosque by one *Hājī Jamālā Isfahānī*, during the governorship of *Aḥmad Baig Khān* on the 9th of *Ramaḍān* A.H. 1031 (8th July 1622 A.D.). The style of writing is crude *Nasta'liq*.

The text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXII (b)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
 (۲) لَا اِلهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُولُ اللّٰهِ
 (۳) عَلٰی وَلِیِّ اللّٰهِ دُرْ زَمَانِ . مُلْطَنَتِ
 (۴) نُورِ الدِّیْنِ جِهَانْگِیْرِ اَبْنِ اکْبَرِ پادشاه
 (۵) دُرْ سُویداری (sic.) اَحْمَدِ بَیْگِ خان
 (۶) بَنَدِه دُرْگِه حَاجِی جَمَالَا اصفهانِ
 (۷) بَنَا اَبْنِ مَسْجِدِ نَمُوْدَ تَارِیْخِ ۹ شَهْرِ رَمَضَانَ سَنَه ۱۰۳۱

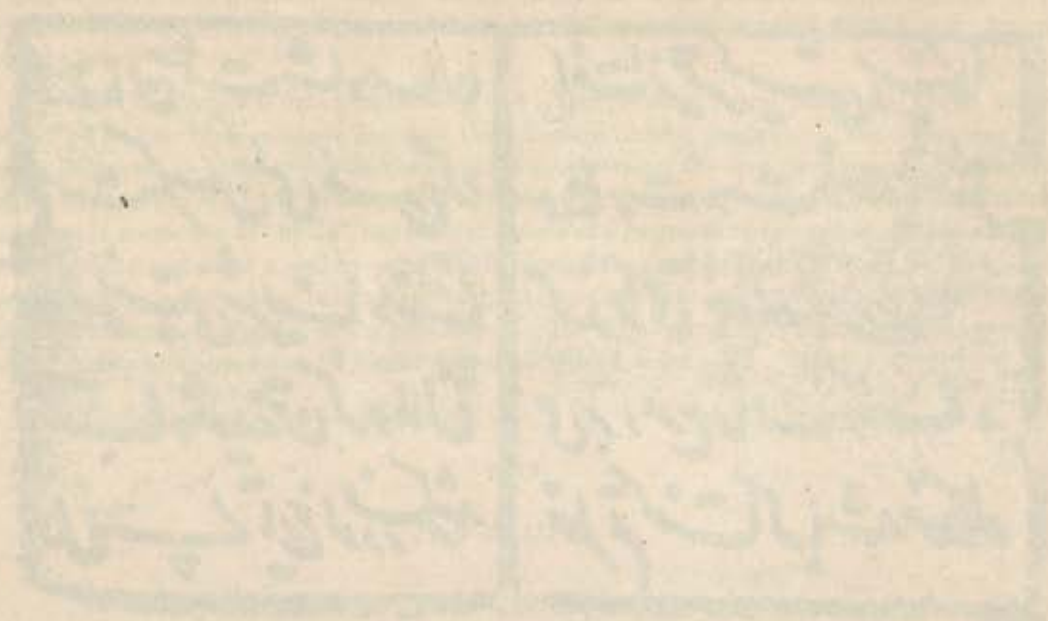
TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
 (2) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh (and)
 (3) 'Alī is the friend of Allāh. In the period of the rule of
 (4) Nūru'd-Dīn Jahāngīr, son of Akbar, the king (and)
 (5) during the governorship of Aḥmad Baig Khān,
 (6) the servant of the (royal) court, Hājī Jamālā Isfahānī
 (7) constructed this mosque, on the date 9th of the month of Ramaḍān (in the year A.H.) 1031 (8th July 1622 A.D.)

Aḥmad Baig Khān, mentioned in the inscription as the governor, was a son of Muḥammad Sharif, and grandson of Nūr Jahān's father Mirzā Ghīyāth Baig entitled I'timādu'd-Daula.¹ Jahāngīr appointed him as governor in Orissa in A.H. 1030 (1620-21 A.D.) with an increase of rank and the high title of Khān.² As regards Hājī Jamālā Isfahānī, the builder of the mosque,

¹ Abu'l-Faḍl, *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Eng. tr. Blochmann (Calcutta, 1939), p. 576.

² Jahāngīr, *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Ally Gurh, 1884), pp. 332-33. Also Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir-i-Umarā*, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), p. 367, where it is stated that Aḥmad Baig Khān was governor's deputy at that time.





SCALE : 23

(b) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1102, from the same place (p. 72)



SCALE : 12

nothing is known from available records. But from the text of the present record, it appears that he was an official, very likely, in charge of the town. That he was a staunch Shi'a is also obvious from the text.

The other inscription is found on the back of a grotesque stone image, mentioned above, which is stated to be now lying near the house of the aforesaid Shaikh Panjawali. The image was originally discovered in the immediate vicinity of Mughalpara on the spot on which stood a *dargāh* (tomb), built in the reign of Shāh Jahān, which was later destroyed by the Marathas.¹ Written over a space measuring 26" by 15", the record consists of a fragment of five verses in Persian registering the construction of a well by one Sharifā, during the reign of emperor Shāh Jahān.² The mass of stone appears to have been considerably damaged with the result that the writing is effaced and the text rendered illegible in the second half. The style of writing, judging from the present state of the writing appears to be *Nasta'liq* of a fairly high order.

The inscription has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (a)

یافت از تعمیر گیتی دستگاه	(۱) در زمان حشمت شاه جهان
در عمارت	(۲) همت هر کس بنائی طرح کرد
کرد چاهی	(۳) [داد] توفیقی شریفا را خدای
می برد موج	(۴) آب او شوید ز تن گرد ملال
فطرتم گفتا که باشد	(۵) دل بے تاریخ او در فکر شد

TRANSLATION

(1) During the glorious rule of Shāh Jahān, the world received splendour through building activities.

(2) Everybody, in proportion to his aspiration and means, laid foundation of some structure. In the building.....

(3) Sharifā was blessed with Divine guidance (and consequently), he constructed a well.....

(4) Its water washes off the dust of sorrow from the body, while the waves carry.....

(5) The heart plunged into contemplation for (finding out) its date. Nature told me, 'It is.....'

The phrase containing the chronogram intended to give the date does not admit of clear decipherment.

It is difficult to establish the identity of Sharifā, the builder of the well. But we do get mention of one Sharifā among the officials of Shāh Jahān. When the latter in the course of his

¹ Vasu, op. cit., pp. 126-27.

² An English translation of this inscription has been published without its Persian text, in Vasu, op. cit., p. 127, pl. No. 78A, where the name of the builder of the well has been omitted; also the translation is faulty.

rebellion against his father, emperor Jahāngīr, reached Burhanpur in A.H. 1032 (1622-23 A.D.), he sent this Sharifā with a letter to Mīr Ḥusāmū'd-Dīn Injū, later Murtaḍā Khān, then in charge of the fort of Asir on behalf of Jahāngīr, and succeeded in intimidating him into submission, whereupon Sharifā was entrusted with the charge of the fort.¹ This Sharifā is likely to be identical with Sharifā of the present record. It is just possible that Shāh Jahān, on his accession to the throne, had assigned to him some responsible post in Kesiari or its neighbourhood.

If the above identification be correct, the well was presumably excavated during the early years of Shāh Jahān's reign.

The third inscription belongs to the reign of emperor Aurangzeb. The inscriptional tablet, measuring 42" by 17", is now fixed into the eastern wall of the above-mentioned ruined structure called *Ḥammām*. But the slab apparently belonged to a mosque, which in all probability is identical with the one, stated by Vasu in his survey of antiquities of Kesiari, to be near the temple of Śiva.² But when Vasu wrote, the slab was fixed above the entrance of a ruined *dargāh*.³ Whether the ruined *dargāh* is identical with the present ruined structure called *Ḥammām*, it is difficult to say. But in the event of that not being the case, it may be presumed that at a later date, the slab having been dislodged from the ruined *dargāh* was brought and fixed into its present place.

The epigraph contains a record of nine lines in Arabic, executed in relief.⁴ The slab is cut into three panels, of which the uppermost one runs across the whole length and contains the *Bismillāh*, while the lower part, cut into two panels by means of a vertical dividing line, contains five lines of writing in each. The whole of the right panel and the first two lines in the left panel contain extracts from the *Qur'ān* and the First Creed, while the remaining three lines of the latter constitute the main text recording the construction of a mosque by Muḥammad Tāhir al-'Alawī in the reign of Aurangzeb. The date of completion of the mosque is given in the chronogram yielding A.H. 1102 (1690-91 A.D.). The date is also given in figure, but the writing being very small in that place, the figure has not come out very distinct on the rubbing.

The style of writing of the record is *Naskh* of a fairly good type.

The reading of the inscription runs as under:—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (b)

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 (٢) قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَ مَنْ يَطْعِ اللَّهَ
 (٣) وَ رَسُولَهُ يَدْخُلْهُ جَنَّاتُ
 (٤) الْمَسْجِدِ الْعَالِيِّ فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ
 (٥) مَنْ يَقُولُ يَعْزِبُهُ عَذَابُهَا الْيَمِينِ
 (٦) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ بَنِي
 (٧) أَوْ رَنْكَزِيْبٌ خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ مُحَمَّدٌ طَاهِرُ الْعُلُوِي
 (٨) وَ تَارِيخُ اِتْمَامِهِ كَانَ وَسِيْلَةً اِلَى الْجَنَّةِ
 (٩) سَنَةِ ١١٠٢

¹ Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., Vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 383-84.

² Vasu, op. cit.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ This epigraph is also published in *Ibid.*, p. 127, pl. 78B, where the date of the construction is wrongly given as A.H. 1082. The translated text is also not free from mistakes.

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
- (2) Allāh, the Exalted has said, 'Whoever obeys
- (3) Allāh and his Messenger, He will make him enter the Paradise,
- (4) where streams flow ; and
- (5) whoever turns away, He will chastise him with severe punishment'.¹
- (6) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh.
- (7) The lofty mosque has been constructed in the reign of the king
- (8) Aurangzeb, may God perpetuate his kingdom, by Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-'Alawī.
- (9) And the date of its construction is (contained in the words :) *it is a means of approach to Paradise*. Year (A.H.) 1102 (1690-91 A.D.).

Nothing is known about Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-'Alawī in available records. An inscription from the mosque at Inchala Bazar, in Burdwan district of West Bengal, mentions one Sayyid Ṭāhir, without the first part of his name Muḥammad and the *nisba* al-'Alawī, as having constructed the mosque also in the reign of Aurangzeb, in A.H. 1115 (1703 A.D.),² only thirteen years after the date of the inscription under study. As both the epigraphs belong to two places in the same part of the country and almost to the same period, it may strike as likely that the builder of the mosques at Inchala Bazar and at Kesiari was one and the same person, while however, the names Sayyid Ṭāhir in one case and Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-'Alawī in the other, point to the fact being otherwise. In the same way, according to an inscription in the fort of Kaulas, in the Nizamabad district of Andhra Pradesh, one Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭāhir constructed a bastion in A.H. 1082 (1671 A.D.).³ But as the *nisba* al-'Alawī is not mentioned along with his name, it is doubtful to assert his identification with the builder of the mosque at Kesiari.

¹ Qur'an, ch. XVII, verse 48.

² *EIM*, 1935-36, pp. 59-60, pl. XXXVIII b.

³ *AKIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 1.

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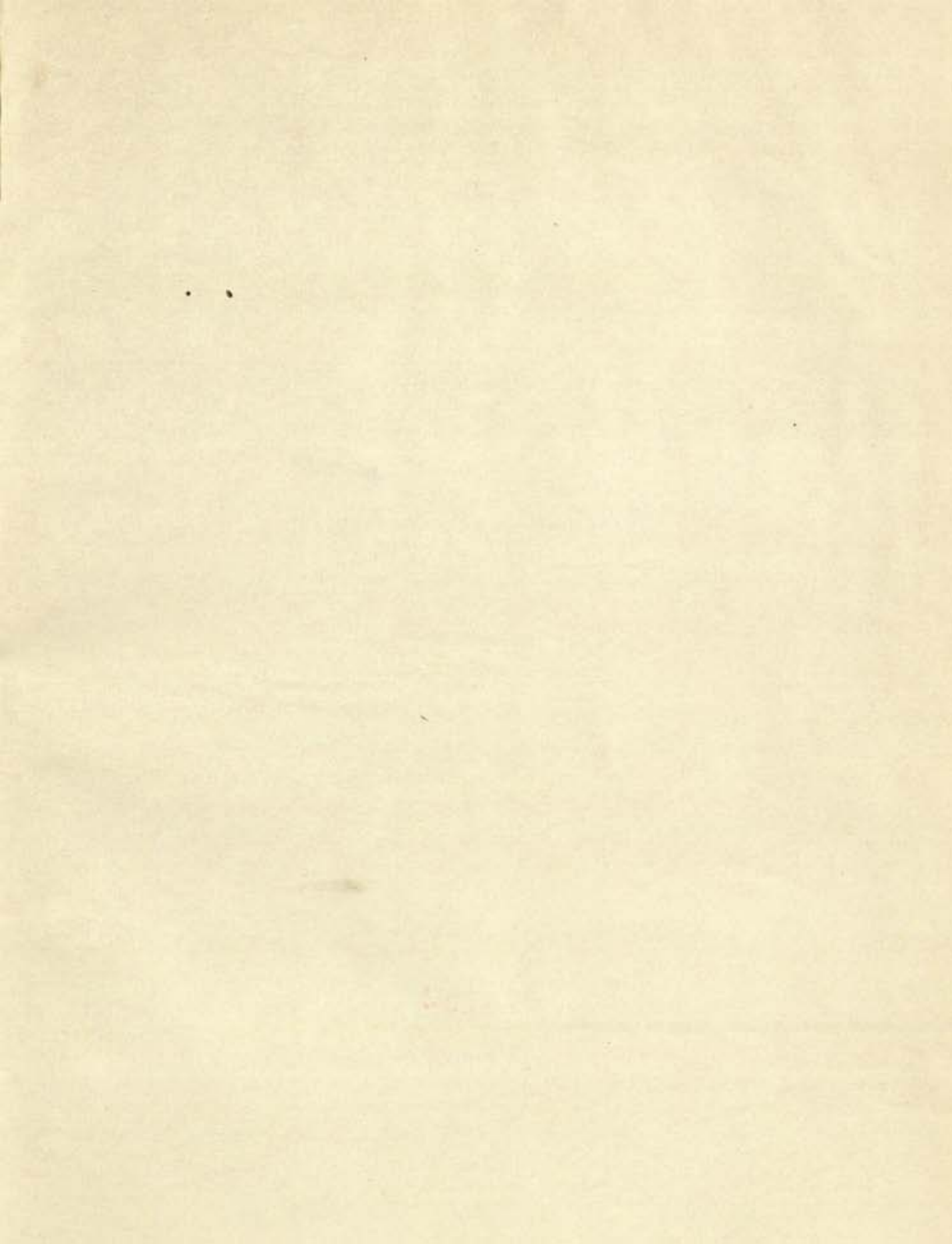
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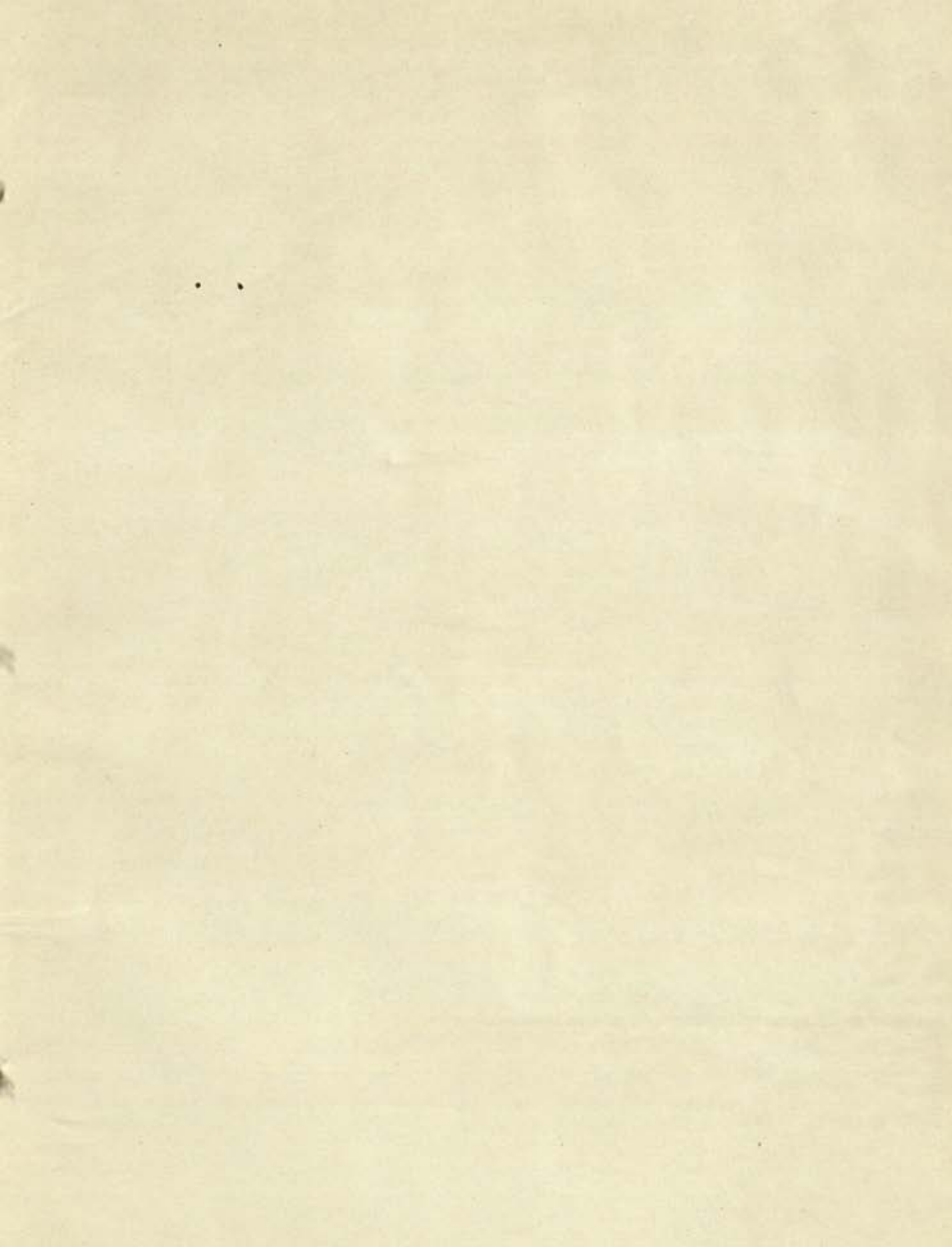
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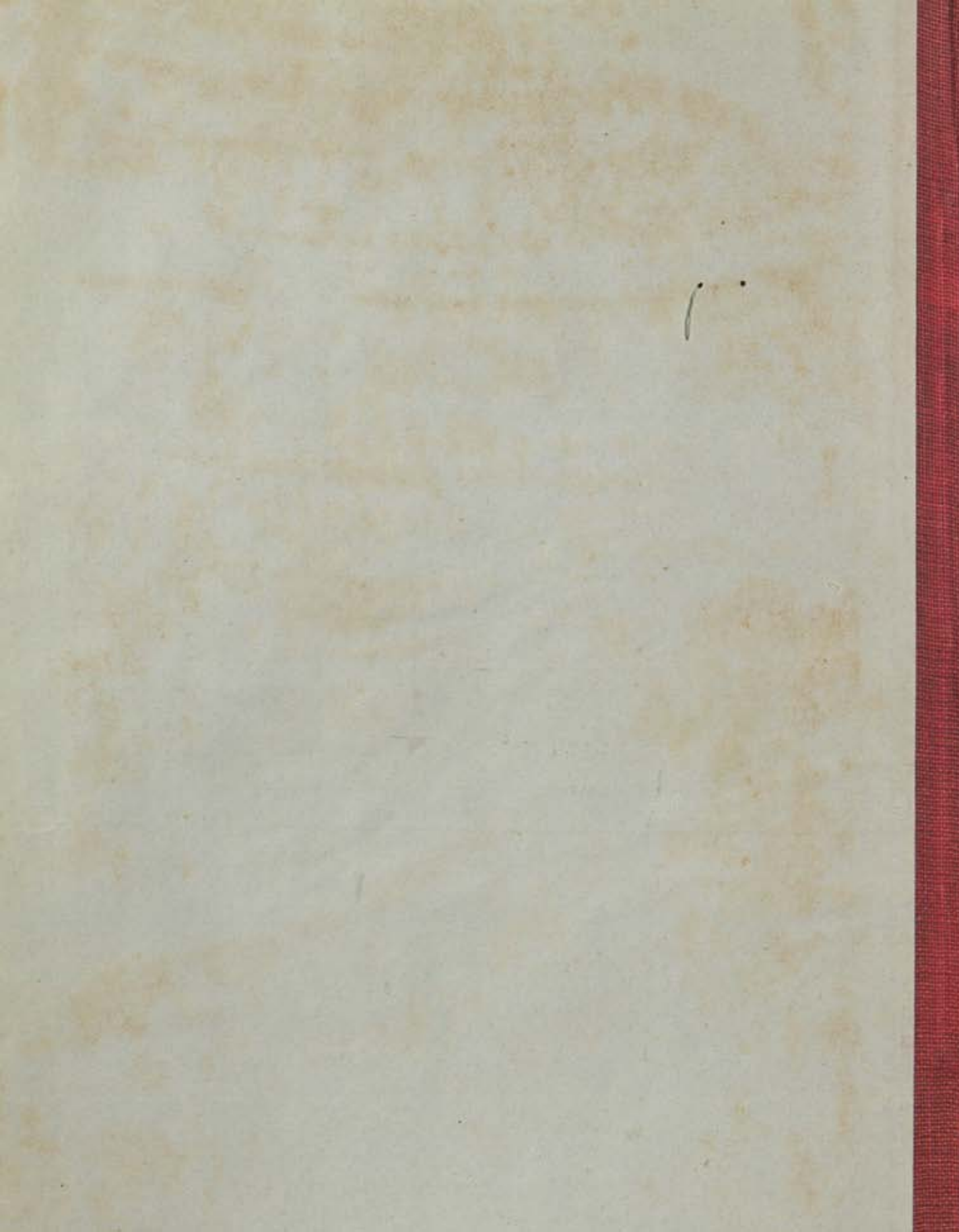




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