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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 9th 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)

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KHALJI AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUJARAT

By Dr. Z. A. DESAI

I propose to publish in this article, the third containing my study of Gujarat inscriptions,¹ twenty-four epigraphs copied from various places in Gujarat (including Saurashtra) which belong to the time of the governors appointed from Delhi, first under the Khaljís and later under the Tughluqs. Of these records, three belong to the reigns of 'Ala'ūd-Dín Khaljí and his son and successor Qātbul-Dín Mubārak Shāh, while the remaining twenty-one were set up in the names of the Tughluq rulers Fīrūz Shāh and Nasir Shāh.²

These records constitute an important source for the history of the pre-Sultanate period—lasting for about a century—of Gujarat. The history of the outlying provinces as a rule never received any detailed treatment from the contemporary historians who were mainly concerned with the central kingdom. Consequently, a detailed history of its pre-Sultanate period has yet to be properly written.³ It is, therefore, hoped that the present study will be of some use if an attempt is made to fulfill this need. Also, these inscriptions may be found interesting by the students of palaeography. Being remarkable for their execution in diverse and varied flourishes of Naskh and Thulth scripts, they represent some of the fairly good specimens of calligraphic art as practised in the mural records in Gujarat.⁴

I-III. INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KHALJÍS

Hardly within a couple of years of his coming to power, 'Ala'ūd-Dín conquered Gujarat and put it in charge of a governor with his seat at Anhilwād Pātan (Nahrwāla of the Muslim writers). Patan, formerly included in the erstwhile Baroda state and now a taluka town in the Mehsana district, had for centuries been the capital of the province, which status it continued to enjoy for more than a century (1298-1407) until the overthrow of the Tughluq dynasty.⁵ Even the first two sultânas

¹ The previous two articles have appeared in Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS) for 1953 and 54, pp. 49-77; and ibid., for 1961, pp. 1-24.
² Only one inscription of 'Ala'ūd-Dín Khaljí from Gujarat is so far known (Epigraphia Indo-Moolenica) (EIM), 1917-18, p. 33, pl. Xlb). The Gujarat inscriptions of Ghayāḥūd-Dín Tughluq Shāh and his son Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh have been studied in EIM, 1915-16, p. 17 (pl. XIVb); ibid., 1933-34, Supplement, p. 26 (pl. XIVb), p. 28 (pl. XIVc), p. 27 (pl. XVa), p. 37 (pl. XXIb); and EIAPS for 1957 and 58, pp. 29-30 (pl. IXa), pp. 36-37 (pl. IXc), p. 38 (pl. Xa), p. 41 (pl. Xc). Only one inscription of Fīrūz Shāh from Gujarat has been so far published in EIM, 1939-40, pp. 2-3 (pl. Ia).
³ A work originally written in Urdu by the late Maulâni Abū Zafar Nadîvi was published in Gujarati in 1949 A.D. by the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmadabad, under the title Gujarât-no-Ithâs.
⁴ For a brief outline of the calligraphic aspect of Gujarat inscriptions, see EIAPS, 1961, pp. 2-3.
⁵ For references to books containing an account and history of the town of Patan, see EIAPS, 1961, p. 15 f.n.4.
of Gujarat administered their new kingdom from this ancient city; it was only in the time of Ahmad Shāh I that the capital was shifted to his newly founded city of Ahmadabad in A. H. 813 (1411 A.D.).

But in spite of its long political association, Patan contains very few records of the pre-Sultanate period; whatever inscriptions have been found are not dated prior to the reign of Firdūs Tughluq. ¹ It is difficult to explain the non-existence of the buildings or inscriptions of the Khalijis and the early Tughluqs except on the ground that these must have disappeared due to the various obvious reasons including the hand of the vandal, the latter, perhaps, being responsible for the loss of a beautiful inscription of which two fragments were recently found by me in two different parts of the town. The first of these is lying loose in the Kansadā gate mosque² and the other is built up into the western wall of the ḥujra in the enclosure of Makhbūm Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn.³

These two fragments possess more than antiquarian interest. The surviving text contained therein is fragmentary, and hence it is not possible to determine its full purport. Nevertheless, these fragments are valuable as they contain an inscription of ‘Alā’ud-Dīn. Calligraphically, they are remnants of a beautifully carved inscription. Bold in execution, its style which is a mixture of Thulū and Nashā, reveals grace and symmetry of the curves and straight lines of letters that please the eye. Far more interesting is the similarity between the style and execution of this inscription and that of a few contemporary inscriptions of Bihar and Bengal. The writing appears to be in Arabic.

There is little doubt that the epigraph belongs to the reign of ‘Alā’ud-Dīn. The two fragments if placed side by side contain a continuous text with the name and title, ‘Alā’ud-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn [Abu’l-Muṣaffar Muḥammad Shāh a’s-Sulṭān’ in the first line and the title Alp Khān in the next. Malik Sanjar entitled Alp Khān, a brother-in-law of ‘Alā’ud-Dīn and father-in-law of the latter’s son, Khudr Khān, was appointed as the first governor of Gujarat in 1300 A.D. A capable and popular officer who administered Gujarat for about sixteen years,⁴ he was recalled to Delhi in 1316 A.D. by the emperor and ordered to be poisoned at the instigation of Malik Kāfūr.⁵

Alp Khān is also credited with the construction of the Jāmi’ mosque of white marble at Patan. This great mosque no longer remains but it is reported to have survived until the middle of the eighteenth century and its site can still be seen outside the Kansadā gateway of the town. It was evidently destroyed during the political disorders that followed the Marāṯhā invasions in the second half of the eighteenth century and served as a quarry for building material. The present buildings where our tablets are now found—the mosque within the Kansadā gate and the enclosure of Makhbūm Ḥusāmu’d-Dīn—are situated near the original site of Alp Khān’s Jāmi’ mosque. Therefore it is very likely that the present epigraph formed part of the inscription that was set up on the said mosque.

¹ However, an epitaph of the pre-Muslim period, dated 1282 A.D. falling in the reign of Sārangadeva Vāghela, has been found in the town (ETAPS, 1961, p. 16, pl. IIIa).
³ Ibid., No. C, 96.
⁴ Alp Khān’s benevolent rule has been mentioned in contemporary Jain records, e.g. Samar-Bāṣa-Maḥā-Kāvya and an inscription from Cambay, dated V. S. 1366 (Jinavijaya, Prāchīna Jainā Lekhāvamgraha, Bhavnagar, 1921, p. 276, no. 447).
(a) Epitaph, dated A.H. 698, from Cambay (p. 3)

(b) Fragmentary record, on two slabs, of 'Alau'd-Din Khalji, from Patan (p. 3)
The text of this inscription on the two slabs, which measure about 50 by 34 and 37 by 30 cm respectively, reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

(a) On the first slab.

(1) [علاء] و الدنية و الدلٰٰن[.]  
(2) فلك أطماع فجلب ؟ إعا[.]  

(b) On the second slab.

(2) المعاطي يخطب البلدان خلد؟  

**TRANSLATION**

(a) (1) [‘Alā‘]u’d-Dunyā wa’Dīn.  
(2) the sky of eminences, pole-star.  

(b) (1) [Abu’l-Muṣaffā]r Muḥammad [Shāh], the sultan, Nasir[.-]i Amlīr[.-]l-Mu’mīnīn.  
(2) one who is favoured with the title of Alp Khan.  

The second inscription, an epitaph, is carved on the headstone of a grave now built up, first from right, into the north wall of the enclosure of the tomb of Pir Tājū’d-Dīn² at Cambay,² District Kaira. The epigraphical tablet is arch-shaped measuring about 57 cm. from apex to bottom and 28 cm. in width. According to the epitaph proper, Shihābū’d-Dīn Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, son of Yahyā expired in 1299 A.D. The deceased is further mentioned in the text as the governor at Kimbāya (Cambay).

The main excuse for including this inscription in the present study, even though it does not specifically mention the name of the then ruling monarch ‘Alā‘u’d-Dīn, is that it designates the deceased as the governor of Cambay. It may be safely presumed that Shihābū’d-Dīn Aḥmad was appointed to this office under orders from the provincial governor or the Delhi sultan. The inscription thus furnishes the rare information regarding one of the earliest officials of the recently established Muslim authority in Gujarat.

The style of writing employed in the record is Nasīḥa of the conventional type.

The text has been read as follows:—

**TEXT**

(a) In the border.

شهد الله إنه لا إله إلا هو المطلقنا و أولوا العلم قابعا بالخلق لا إله إلا هو العزيز  
الحكم إن الذين عند الله الإسلام وما اختلف الذين اختلفوا الكتاب الأدنين بعد ما جاءهم هم العلم  
بنينهم و من بكثر بيات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

¹ ARIE, 1959-60, No. D, 120. Of the five more tombstones to be found in the said enclosure, two have been published in EIAPS, 1961, p. 8 (pl. Ib), p. 9 (pl. Ila).
² For the history and account of the buildings of Cambay, see Bombay Gazetteer (BG), vol. VI (Bombay, 1880), pp. 240-41; Commissariat, op. cit., pp. 63-66; EIAPS, 1957 and 58, p. 29.
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.'

(b) (1) There is no god but Allāh; Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh.
(2) 'Every soul shall taste of death.'
(3) This is the grave of the weak creature, the dependant on the mercy of Allāh,
(4) the Exalted, Shihāb ud-Dīn Ahmad, son of Muḥammad, son of Yaḥyā,
(5) the governor (al-ḥākim) at Kimbāya (Cambay), may Allāh cover him with his pardon.
He died on
(6) Wednesday the 5th of the most righteous month of Allāh (i.e.) Rajab
(7) (A.H.) eight and ninety and six hundred (5th Rajab A.H. 698=8th April 1299 A.D.).

The third inscription pertains to the reign of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh and is set up above the main entrance to the tomb of Barkat Shāhid at Dholka, District Ahmadabad. The inscription may not originally belong to the tomb, since it refers to the construction of a mosque. The text of the record is in Persian except in the portion comprising religious texts and consists of two lines of writing engraved in Naṣḵā characters in relief on a tablet measuring 1·15 m. by 16 cm. Its object is to record the construction of a mosque by the great and generous noble, Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Alī, the amīr-i-kū in 1318 A.D. during the reign of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Mubārak Shāh.

The epigraph has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate II (a)

 Böyle الرحم الفرحج قال الله تعالى و أن المساجد فلا تدعوا مع الله احبا بناء
این مسجد در زمان خداگان سلطانان خليفة روى زين قطب الدنيا و لذين ابن المظهر مبارك شاء

1 Qur'ān, chapter III, verses 17-18.
2 Ibid., chapter XXIX, verse 57 (part only).
In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Says Allāh, the Exalted, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; therefore invoke not any one else with Allāh.' The construction of this mosque (took place) in the reign of the lord of the monarchs, the Khalīfa (vicegerent of Allāh) on the surface of the earth, Quṭbu’d-Dunyā wa’d-Din Abu’l-Muẓaffar Mubārak Shāh.

The sultān, son of the sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty. The builder of this auspicious edifice is the great and the generous noble, Shamsu’d-Dīn ‘Alī, the amīr-i-kū (i.e. prefect of roads), may his dignity last for ever, on the fifth day of the month of Safar, may Allāh end it with bounty and victory, of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and eighteen (5th Safar A.H. 718 = 8th April 1318 A.D.).

Apart from the fact that only six inscriptions of this king have come to light so far, this inscription happens to be his only record in Gujarat. Moreover, it furnishes us with the name of a high dignitary, Malik Shamsu’d-Dīn ‘Alī, the builder of the mosque, who does not find mention in historical records of the period. Also interesting is the fact that the Malik is designated in the record as amīr-i-kū or the Prefect of the roads, whose duty was to maintain peace and order and also look to the safety of the residents of the city.

IV-XXIV. INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TUGHLUQS

The Tughluq dynasty is represented by twenty-one inscriptions found at distant places such as Patan (N.G.), Parantij and Cambay in Gujarat proper and Ghogha, Mangrol and Una in Saurashtra. Eighteen of these records belong to the reign of Firūz Shāh, two mention Nusrat Shāh and the remaining one does not specify the name of the king. No new inscription of the two early rulers of the dynasty, viz. Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn Tughluq Shāh or his son Muḥammad Shāh has been found.

The first record of Firūz Shāh and the fourth of this group comes from Cambay. Built up into the west wall of the Mughal mosque situated opposite the Veterinary hospital of the town, the inscriptive tablet, slightly damaged in its right side, measures 80 by 37 cm. But except for the cracks and the obliteration of two or three words in the last two lines, the writing has escaped damage.

It will be noticed from the plate that the left side of the tablet contains a later inscription, dated A. H. 1145 (1732-33 A.D.), recording the construction of a mosque by Mas‘ūd, son of Mu‘min Khān to which indicates that the present building is not very old. The presence of a later inscription by the side of an earlier one on the same face of the slab is not as inexplicable as it is unusual. A reasonable explanation may be that the original tablet was inscribed with the Tughluq inscription in its middle, and its two plain portions on the sides were wedged into the wall so that on its dislocation at a later date, the tablet was subjected to damage resulting in the loss of the portion

1 Qur'ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
5 This epigraph consisting of two verses written in four lines in Nastā'īq characters in relief has been noticed in ARIE, 1956-57, No. D, 37.
at the right. When the mosque was reconstructed, the left portion was engraved with the later inscription. In any case, there is no doubt about the genuineness of the Tughluq record.

The text comprises seven lines of writing and states that a mosque was constructed in 1354 A.D. in the reign of Firūz Shāh by the ḫuwāyār of Khambāyat (Cambay), whose name is lost but whose title Qur'ān-Khwān is clearly legible. It ends with an imprecation against one who seeks to destroy the mosque or misappropriate the endowment. The language of the record except for the religious texts which are in Arabic is Persian and the style of writing Nāshī. The total area occupied by this epigraph on the stone is 52 by 37 cm.

The inscription has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate II(b)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم إنما يعمر مسجد الله من آن باخذ و اليوم الآخر
(2) و إقام الصلوة و آتى الزكوة و لم يخليه إلا الله فمسجداً ان يكونوا من المهتدين
(3) وقال النبي عليه السلام من بنى الله سجداً يبكي به وجه الله بنى الله له مثله في الجنة بنى المسجد المبارك
(4) مما يوقئ الله تعالى في عهد السلطان العادل الواثق بنايذ الرحمن فيروش شاه السultan
(5) خلاص الله ملكه و سلطانه العيد الضييف النجيف الرافي إلى رحمة الله تعالى
(6) ... 관련ون كروتال كهتبايت بنى خاص غفر الله له ولجميع المومنين في التاريخ الغرب من
(7) ... [شهر رمضان] قدمنه خمسين و سبعاء فيه سنة في هده و علم

Translation

(1) In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'Only he shall visit the mosques of Allah, who believes in Allah and in the Final Day (i.e. day of Judgment),

(2) establishes prayers, gives alms and fears none but Allah; so (as for these) they would be among the followers of the right course.'

(3) And the Prophet, may peace be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allah aspiring thereby to the Face of Allah, Allah builds for him a like thereof in the paradise.' The auspicious mosque was constructed

(4) out of what Allah the Exalted favoured him (i.e. the builder) with, in the reign of the just king, the confident of the support of the Benign lord, Firūz Shāh the king.

1 Qur'ān, chapter IX, verse 18.
(5) may Allâh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, by the weak and infirm creature, 
hopeful of the mercy of Allâh the Exalted,

(6) ... Qur'an-Khwân, the kütwâl of Khambâyât (Cambay) (who is) the (king's) favourite 
slave, may Allâh forgive him and all the believers, on the date, the first of

(7) [Rajab], may its dignity increase, of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and fiftyfive (1st 
Rajab A. H. 755=22nd July 1354 A.D.). As to one who endeavours to demolish it or appropriates 
its endowment, the curse of Allâh, the angels and the people, all of them, will be on him.

It will be observed that the proper name of the builder of the mosque is lost making it difficult 
to establish his identity. Barani in his list of Firûz's nobles mentions Malik Qâbul Amîr-i-Majlis 
with the title Qur'an-Khwân but does not give any details.1 Another contemporary historian, 
Shams Sirâj 'Affî, furnishes the only additional information that Malik Qâbul was the muqti' of 
Samana.2 But a slightly later author Yahyâ supplies a few more details. According to him, 
Malik Qâbul bore the designation of a sarparadâr and was despatched against the Mongols towards 
the end of A. H. 759 from Samana by Firûz Tughluq.3 He seems to have continued as the muqti' 
of that place until A. H. 781 for, we are told that when Firûz went to Samana in that year, Malik 
Qâbul Qur'an-Khwân Amîr-i-Majlis-i-Khâb, the muqti', paid obeisance to the king.4 In the 
following year, he was given the iqta' of Badayun.5 This Malik Qâbul is also reported to have 
composed a pamphlet on the art of Quranic recitation for the king.6 The surviving title Qur'an-
Khwân in our record makes it very likely that the builder of the mosque is identical with this Malik 
Qâbul sarparadâr in which case it would follow that in A. H. 755, the date of the present 
record he was the kütwâl of Cambay.

Also, it is interesting to note the spelling of the name of the town which was a big city in those 
days: We have seen above (p. 4) that in an earlier Arabic record it is written Kumbâya, a term 
used by Arab writers. Here it is written Khambâyât, obviously a local pronunciation which has 
corrupted into modern Khamshât. It may also be mentioned here that this is the earliest record 
known so far in Gujarat of Firûz Tughluq.

The fifth inscription of the present study and second of Firûz Tughluq is fixed over the doorway 
of a tomb in the locality called Ganj-i-Shahidân at Patan.7 No information is available regarding 
the occupant of the tomb which is not without antiquarian interest. But the epigraph does not 
appear to belong to this tomb since it records the construction of a mosque in 1357 A. D. by 
one Hussain. The tablet measuring 1.6 m. by 35 cm. contains, besides Bismillâh, a poetical 
fragment of five verses inscribed in conventional Naskh.

TEXT

Plate II(c)


1 Barani, op. cit., p. 527.
2 Shams Siraj 'Affî, Tarikh-i-Firûz Shâhî (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 454-55.
3 Yahyâ Sarhindi, Tarikh-i-Mubârak Shâhî (Calcutta, 1921), p. 127.
4 Ibid., p. 134.
5 Ibid., p. 135.
6 Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, February, 1947, p. 44.
TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. And Him do we beseech for help.

(2) Thousand thanks are due to God that through auspicious omen, the construction of such a heaven-like mosque has taken place

in the period of the rule of Firūz Shāh, the shadow of God, whose lofty court is the altar of good fortune.

(3) By the grace of the Bait-i-Muqaddas (at Jerusalem) and the reverence of Ka'ba (at Meca), may God be its preserver in all contingencies.

The hopeful of the bounty of God, the creature Ḥusain, made efforts through the guidance of the Most High (and) Omnipotent Lord.

(4) It was completed in the month of Fasting (i.e. Ramadān) and the reckoning of the date was the year (A.H.) seven hundred and fifty-eight (Ramadān A. H. 758-August-September 1357 A.D.).

It is difficult to satisfactorily establish the identity of Ḥusain, the builder of the mosque. The inscription of the Jāmi' mosque in the same town (which is being studied hereafter) dated in the following year mentions the celebrated minister of Firūz Shāh and his governor of Gujrat Malik Nizām-ul-Mulk, whose original name was also Ḥusain. There is yet another record at Patan, dated A. H. 784 (1382 A.D.), 1 which mentions Ḥusain, son of Ismā'īl, as the builder of a mosque. Whether Ḥusain of the present record is identical either with Nizām-ul-Mulk or with Ḥusain, son of Ismā'īl, it is difficult to ascertain.

The third record of Firūz Shāh and sixth of the group also comes from Patan. Inscribed on a tablet measuring about 68 by 45 cm. which is fixed over the main gate of the Jāmi' mosque, it runs into three lines and records the construction of the mosque by Ḥusain, son of Amïr-i-Mirān Balkhi in the year A. H. 759 (1357-58 A.D.). 2 The language of the record, except in the first line containing a Quranic verse, is Persian. The script employed is bold Nāshī with strong Thulth flourishes reminiscent of the style of writing in contemporary inscriptions of Bihar.

Its text is quoted below:

TEXT

Plate III(a)

(1) و ان المساجد فلنا ندعو مع الله احدا

(2) تمام شد عمارة این مسجد در عهد خداوند عالیم فيروز شاه السلطان

1 ARIE, 1954-55, No. C, 80. The date of this inscription falls in the reign of Firūz Shāh, but it does not mention that monarch.
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(3) خلد أئمpositions on stratum B and C. PorphyrCaglar and Hussain Effendi Mian presented to the author.

TRANSLATION

(1) 'And verily, the mosques are for Allah (only); hence invoke not anyone else with Allah.'

(2) The building of this mosque was completed in the reign of the master of the world, Firuz Shah the king.

(3) May Allah perpetuate his kingdom, at the hands of the creature, hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, Husain, son of Amir-i-Mir'an Balkhi in the months of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and fifty-nine (A.H. 759-1357-58 A.D.).

The builder of the mosque is identical with Malik uz-Sharq Malik Niğāmu'l-Mulk Husain, 2 son of Amir-i-Mir'an Balkhi, the celebrated minister of Firuz Shah. He was among the nobles who declared their loyalty to Firuz when Khwaja Jahān set up a rival to the throne of Delhi on the death of Muhammād bin Tughluq Shah and was made in A.H. 753 the mustaif-i-mamālik. He was also appointed governor of Gujarāt from which post he was removed by the king during the latter's stay in the province in about A.H. 757 after the failure of his first expedition to Thatta for the reason that Niğāmu'l-Mulk had failed to send supplies to the king. 3 After a short time he was appointed the deputy waṣir of the kingdom which post he held until his death. He was also married to the sister of the king and enjoyed on this account the privilege of taking a seat along side the waṣir in the audience-hall. 4 The date of death of Niğāmu'l-Mulk is not known. From the rambling account of Shams, it appears that he died sometime between A.H. 783, the date of appointment of Shams ud-Din Abū Raja as mustaif-i-mamālik and A.H. 785, the date of the latter's dismissal. 5

The next three records of Firuz Shah pertain to the same building, viz. the Tanku-Masjid or the old Jami' mosque at Dholka. 6 There is a fourth inscription in the mosque, over the prayer-niche of the women's gallery, but it only contains the famous Quranic verse pertaining to mosques (Qur'an, chapter LXXII, verse 18).

The inscription over the central mihrāb forming the seventh record of this study is in Arabic. 7 Engraved on a slab measuring about 1.6 m. by 45 cm., it runs into three lines of writing and records the construction of the said Jami' mosque in 1361 A.D. during the reign of Firuz Shah by the great Malik Ikhtiyaru'd-Daulat wa'd-Din Mufarraf Sulṭān, the royal dawidār. The style of

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1 Qur'an, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
2 Yahya, op. cit., p. 120, has 'Hasan' instead of 'Husain', a misprint.
3 Ibid., p. 124. Baran, op. cit., p. 582, has Istikharu'l-Mulk.
4 I prefer this date to the generally accepted A.H. 762. See Hidivwala, op. cit., p. 322.
5 Shams, op. cit., pp. 219-20; Yahya, op. cit., p. 131; Hajji Dahir, Zafar u'l-Walih bi-Muzafrur wa Alih, vol. III (London, 1928), p. 898, where perhaps due to misunderstanding of Shams's language, the name of Niğāmu'l-Mulk is wrongly given as Niknām, son of Amir Ḥasan.
6 Shams, op. cit., pp. 283, 419.
7 Ibid., pp. 461, 464, 465, 481, 488, 497, 498. According to Hajji Dahir, op. cit., p. 901 and Firuzhta, Tarif-i-Firuzhta (Lucknow, 1865), p. 150, Amir Hussain, a son-in-law of Firuz, was put to death in A.H. 790 on account of his partisanship of Prince Muhammad Shāh. It is difficult to say if these two are one and the same person.
8 For a brief description of the mosque and texts and translations, which are faulty, of these inscriptions, see J. Burgess, The Muhammadan Architecture of Broach, Cambay, Dholka, etc. (London, 1896), p. 33; H. Cousens, Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency (Bombay, 1897), pp. 325-26; Commissariat, op. cit., pp. 69-71, where there seems to be some confusion about the actual provenance of the inscriptions; etc.
writing is Naskh of the conventional type and though far from being crude, does not come up to the high standard of calligraphy characteristic of some of the epigraphs studied in this article.

The text of this record reads as under:

**TEXT**

Plate III(b)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم شهد الله أنه لا إله إلا هو و لا إله إلا هو المولى و هو أدرد الرحم.
قائماً بالقضية لا إله إلا هو الوحي الذي كتبه إن الذين يذكرون الإسلام السباع هو الله و الفصل.
رسول الله و القرآن كلام لله و الجنة رضوان الله

(2) خبر عن هذا المسجد النبوي في عهد السلطان المكرم
ظل الله في الأرض على السنة و الفرض الواقف بتاج من الرحم فيروز شاه السلطان خد الله ملكه و
أبد دولته

(3) من خالص مال الملك المعتمد متحمل السيف و القلم و خالص المعلم و العلم مشتر
الخواص اختيار الدولة و الذين مفرح السلطان و دوائر خاص مكنته الله طلبا للثواب و كان ذلك
في العاشير من ربيع الآخر سنة الثالثة و سنتين و سبعاً

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of Allah, the Beneficient, the Merciful. ‘Allah 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 Allah is Islam.” The deity is Allah, the Muṣṭafā (lit. chosen one) is the apostle of Allah, the Qur’ān is the word of Allah, and the Paradise is the pleasure of Allah;

(2) This noble Jāmi’ mosque was built in the reign of the great king and the respected champion of the shadow of Allah on earth, the reviver of the voluntary and obligatory commands, the reliable on the support of the Beneficent Lord, Firūz Shāh the king, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and make his fortune last for ever,

(3) from (his own) personal money to seek (His) reward by the illustrious Malik, the lord of sword and pen, the possessor of the standard and knowledge, Mas‘ūd, Khawāṣṣ Ikhtiyārū’d Daulat wa’d-Din Mufarrāh a’s-Sultānī the royal dawādār, may Allah strengthen his position. And this was on the tenth of Rabī’l-‘A'ṣahr year (A.H.) seven hundred and sixtytwo (10th Rabī’ II A. H. 762=17th February 1361 A.D.).

The second inscription in the Ṭankā mosque, the eighth of the present group, is fixed over the southern entrancea and consists of three Persian fragments containing three, four and five verses respectively. Corresponding in purport to the epigraph given above, it contains a few interesting details: It mentions the name of the town as Dholqā and supplies a valuable piece of information, namely, that the builder, Malik Mufarrāh, held the post of the nāib-i-iqtād of the city of Cambay.

This epigraphical tablet measures 1.1 m. by 38 cm. The style of writing is Naskh representing a somewhat better specimen than the one employed in the previous record.

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1 Qur’ān, chapter III, verse 17 and part of verse 18.
(a) Inscription of Firuz Tughluq, dated A.H. 759, from Patan (p. 8)

(b) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 762, from Dholka (p. 10)

(c) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 762, same place (p. 11)
The complete text of the epigraph is quoted below:

**TEXT**

*Plate III(c)*

(1) بنا كرد ست اين مسجد زفیض فضل یزدانی
بهمد دولت شام جهان فیروز سلطان.
زمال خالص خود مفخر الخواس و الامرا
مفرح بنهد فیروز شاه اسمکندرو دهان
دهم رفت از ربع الآخر این جامع مرتضی شد
بسال هفصد و هشت و دو از تائید رحمان

(2) بهمد اسمکندرو زمان شهر یاد جهان گیر فیروز شاه اسمکندرو
یک مکرمی خاسته نیکه نام مفرح ملک شاه را دوتدار
بناکرد به دهولته مسجده بتوانيان آن قادر کردگار

(3) ز هجرت به هفصدوست ودود که این خیر شد در جهان پابادر
جز این مقام مقدس چنین عمارت خوب
ننیدم دیده گنی و جرخ سرگردان
پدر دولت فیروز شاه روى زیمن
که هست درگاه او سجده مکمل بهشان

(4) وقت نایب اقتاع شهر کهنبایت
در خص دوتدار بنهد سلطان
ملک مفرح اعظم بیوجد حاتم طی
پرقم متم تان بهدل نوشتروان
تمام گشت ز فضل الاش از هجرت
بدست هفصد و هشت و دو از دیوان

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This mosque has been built through the bounty of Divine grace in the period of the reiga
of the king of the world Firuz Sultan,

from his personal property by the pride of the elite and the nobles, Mufarrab, (who ia) the
servant of Firuz Shâh the second Alexander.
Ten days had passed from Rabi' II (when) this Jāmi' (mosque) was constructed in the year (A.H.) seven hundred and sixtytwo, through the support of the Merciful.

(2) In the reign of the Alexander of the time, the king, the world-conquering illustrious Firūz Shāh,

one noble of good name appeared (viz.,) Malik Mufarrah, the dawtdār (royal inkstand-bearer) to the king.

He constructed in Dholqa a mosque through the grace of the Omnipotent Creator.

(3) It was (A.H.) seven hundred and sixtytwo from the Migration (of the Prophet) when this bountiful place was established in the world.

Except this holy place, such a beautiful building has not been seen by the eye of the world and the wandering sphere.

In the time of the rule of Firūz, the king of the surface of the earth whose court is the place where all the kings make prostration

(4) (and) in the time of the nāšib (deputy) of the īqṭā' (district) of the city of Khambāyat (Cambay) (who was) also the chief (lit. the most favoured) dawtdār (inkstand-bearer) (and) slave of the king,

(viz.) Malik Mufarrah the great, (who is) Hātim-i-Tayy in generosity, Rustam in warfare (and) Naushīrwān in justice,

(this mosque) was completed through Divine favour (when) from the Migration (of the Prophet) seven hundred and sixtytwo years (A.H. 762-1361 A.D.) had passed from the time.

The third inscription on the mosque, also in Persian verse, forms the ninth record of this study and is built up to the left of northern entrance.\(^1\) The tablet measuring 1.16 m. by 41 cm. contains a fragment of six verses with one more verse inscribed in small letters at the bottom of the slab. The contents of this record are same as those in the previous two epigraphs with the difference that it gives a poetic description of the material—brick, clay and mortar (gāch) used in the construction. The poetical fragment of the text was composed by one Ya’qūb as stated in the last line inscribed in minute characters. The style of writing is same as in the last record but here the letters are bigger.

The text reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate IV (a)*

\[
(1) \text{بغد دولة فيروز شاه اسكندر ثانی}
\]

\[
	ext{مفرح خواص خاص السلطان}
\]

\[
	ext{مصفا مسجد جامع بنا در دهوند کر}
\]

\[
	ext{زمال خالص و خاصه بفضل الله رزا}
\]

\(^1\) *ABIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 10.
(b) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 765, from Patan (p. 15).
KHALJI AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUJARAT

(2) يعترفخشید پروردگر، گلست از مشکه تاجتکه
گلست از کافور خام امده زه فرخته، پاچه
مروح همچون فردوس است و مردم اندرش خورم
به یکه اوقات مشغولند یکه طعات راپان
(3) ربع الآخر از مه بود عاشر تا مرتبہ شد
زهرت هنصد و شست و دو بود از لیبش یزدانی
مبارک باد برایتی بنامه تا که محشر
همه دشوار رد گردید شود پس جمله آنان
(4) نیشته بنامه یعقوب این صفات مسجد جامع
پسحد دولت قرور شاهنشاه، سلطان

TRANSLATION

(1) In the period of the reign of Firuz Shah the second Alexander, Mustarakah, the pride of the elite, the favourite of the favourites of the king,

constructed in Dholqa a refined Jami' mosque; exclusively out of his personal money through the bounty of Allâh the Nourisher.

(2) (Its) brick (is) treated with ambergris, its clay is of Tartary-musk (and) its mortar (is) of raw camphor. How fortunate is the builder!

It is refreshing like paradise and people are happily busy therein offering devotion to the Glorified Lord five times (a day).

(3) The month was Rabi' II and (it was) tenth (day), (and) seven hundred and sixty-two from the Migration (of the Prophet) (10th Rabi' II A.H. 762-17th February 1361 A.D.), when it was completed by the bounty of God.

May its construction be auspicious for the builder till the time of Resurrection! May all the difficulties be removed and everything be then easy (for him)!

(4) The creature Ya'qub has composed (this fragment containing) the praises of the Jami' mosque, during the time of the rule of the emperor Firuz Sulțânî.

Malik Mustarakah Sulțânî mentioned in the above three records figures prominently in the history of Gujarat. We first hear of him in connection with his appointment to the deputy governorship of Gujarat in A.H. 778, consequent to the death of Shamsu'd-Dîn Dâmghânî.1 He is reported next to have killed Malik Ya'qub Sikandar Khân, the newly appointed governor, who came to

1 Yahyâ, op. cit., p. 133. But Shams, op. cit., p. 497, puts the date of the revolt of Dâmghânî in A.H. 782. Also Commissariat, op. cit., p. 46. Nâdvi, op. cit., p. 175 and others have stated that Malik Mustarakah was appointed governor of Gujarat which does not seem to be correct. Yahyâ who is the primary source for the event uses the word ""تیمات"" which does not convey the sense of governorship. It appears that Zafar Khân son of Zafar Khân Farsî, continued as governor of Gujarat until his death in Rajab A.H. 789. It was only then that Malik Ya'qub was given the title of Sikandar Khân and sent to Gujarat as governor to succeed Zafar Khân. Häjjî Dâbir, op. cit., p. 998, while narrating the events of A.H. 778 in connection with Dâmghânî's death clearly states that Zafar Khân was the governor of Gujarat at that time.
Gujarat in A.H. 789. He was subsequently confirmed in the governorship and continued to hold that high office until his death in A.H. 793 in the battle with Zafar Khan, son of Wajhlu'l-Mulk, who was sent to supercede him. Yahya also mentions him as Amir of Cambay.

The three epigraphs quoted above and a few more that will be described later supply important data for the career of Malik Mufarrah. From the above records it is clear that Malik Mufarrah was already a noble of first rank in A.H. 761. His laqab which is not mentioned in historical works was Ish-tiyar-ul-Daulat wa'd-Din and he held the office of royal david Dar or david Dar (inkstand-bearer). He was then the deputy muqisi of the city of Cambay. According to another inscription he was the muqisi of the iqqa of Cambay (p. 19) in A.H. 782; evidently, he was promoted to that office before the date of this record. He is also mentioned therein with the titles ra'is-i-mamalik and david Dar-i-khassa. Another inscription dated in the following year mentions him as the 'prop of the kings and ministers', ra'is-i-mamalik, david Dar-i-khassa (p. 21). A third inscription, also from Cambay, records a few more honorific phrases and titles like Malik-i-Mulki'i-Sharq, sipah-kash-i-zaman, Farhatul-Mulk, etc. Now since these data indicate that Malik Mufarrah was the muqisi of the iqqa of Cambay in A.H. 782, how could he have succeeded to the governorship of Gujarat in A.H. 778 as stated by the above-mentioned writers? Also Yahya is apparently misinformed when he states that Malik Mufarrah was also awarded the title of Farhatul-Mulk in A.H. 778. If that were the case, the Cambay record of A.H. 782 mentioning him as the muqisi of the iqqa of Cambay would have certainly used that title. From the epigraphical data it appears that the title Farhatul-Mulk was conferred on Malik Mufarrah sometime after A.H. 782 if not in, A.H. 787, the date of the third Cambay record. Also the fact that Malik Mufarrah enjoyed the exalted position of the david Dar-i-khassa right from A.H. 761 is not mentioned in historical records.

The above versified inscriptions also help us to establish the correct pronunciation of Malik Mufarrah's name which has been transcribed as Malik Mufri by Sir Denison Ross. Incidentally it may be pointed out that none of these records refer to the title Rasti Khan alleged to have been conferred upon Malik Mufarrah. Likewise, the name Niizam-i-Mufarrah used for him in later works is also not corroborated by the epigraphical evidence.

The tenth inscription of the group is a new record of Firoz Shah found at Patan (N.G.). The marble tablet bearing this epigraph measures 50 by 28 cm. and is built into the west wall of the Kali-Bazar mosque in the town. The inscription is evidently not in situ.

1 For details of his career, see Yahya, op. cit., pp. 138, 142; Haji Dabir, op. cit., pp. 900-01; Commissariat, op. cit., pp. 46-49.
2 Yahya, op. cit., p. 138.
3 An epitaph on a loose slab at Rajpuri in Kolaba district of Maharashtra (ARIE, 1961-62, No. D, 154) refers to the demise in A.H. 768 (1366 A.D.) of a young son of Malik Mufarrah, 'Alau'd-Din 'Ali. If this tablet belongs to that place it would mean that Malik Mufarrah had, if he did not actually belong to Konkan, some association with that region.
4 Firozha, op. cit., p. 148; Commissariat, op. cit., p. 46. Haji Dabir, op. cit., p. 898, explicitly says that Malik Mufarrah was given the lease of the revenue of Gujarat but the governor was Darya Khan entitled Zafar Khan. In other words, he was the deputy of the latter.
5 Yahya, op. cit., Firozha, op. cit.
6 According to Hodinwala, op. cit., vol. II (Bombay, 1957), p. 150, as 'Mufarrah signifies exhilarating and is also used for any cordial or stimulant like wine, this man may have been the Sultan's cup-bearer or sharf Dar (Butler). But this seems to be far-fetched.
8 Ibid., pp. 901, 903; Sikandar, Mirdat-i-Sikandar (Baroda, 1961), pp. 14, 15.
10 ARIE, 1961-67, No. D, 98. The mosque contains another inscription of the Rajput period (p. 2, f.m.1, infra).
Its text consists of four lines of writing in Persian purporting that the mosque was constructed by Malik-i-Mu'azzam Fakhrū'd-Daulat wa'd-Din, son of Khān-i-A'zam Sher Khān Maḥmūd Bek in 1364 A.D. This inscription is thus another valuable record furnishing an important link in the chain of major officials of Gujarat. Malik Fakhrū'd-Din's father Sher Khān Maḥmūd Bek, a noble of eminence under Firuz Shāh,1 is mentioned in the text as 'deceased', thus indicating that he had died before the close of the year A.H. 765, the date of our record. Also, the use of the titles Malik-i-Mu'azzam and Khān-i-A'zam for the son and father respectively is worth notice.

The epigraph is executed in Naskāh style of writing which resembles the script of the Tānka mosque inscriptions studied above but is not so refined. It reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

Plate IV (b)

1) عمارت كردن سجد را در عهد خداوند عالماناه
2) ابو المظفر فیروز شاه السلطان خالد الله ملکه
3) ملکک معظم فخرالدوله و الفدین بن خان اعظم شیر خان عمود بکه
4) مرحوم طيب الله ثراه في الراح و العترين من ذي الحجسن خس و ستين و سبعمايه

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This mosque was constructed in the reign of the lord, the shelter of the world,
(2) Abu'l-Muẓaffar Firuz Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom,
(3) by Malik-i-Mu'azzam Fakhrū'd-Daulat wa'd-Din, son of Khān-i-A'zam Sher Khān Maḥmūd Bek

(4) the deceased, may Allāh sanctify his grave, on the twentoforth of Dhi'l-Hijja, year (A.H.) seven hundred and sixtyfive (24th Dhi'l-Hijja A.H. 765=22nd September 1364 A.D.).

The eleventh inscription of this study is from Una, a village in the Junagadh district.2 The inscriptional slab is now fixed into the outer face of the east wall of the small tomb adjoining the water tank (hauf) in the enclosure of Hādhrat Shāh Pir's Dargāh.3 There is also a mosque in the compound said to have been reconstructed on the site of an ancient mosque to which very likely our inscription belonged.

The epigraphical tablet measures 67 by 44 cm. and seems to have been subjected to inclemencies of weather for a long time, since the writing is badly damaged. The text is in Persian verse and comprises a fragment of seven verses which are incised on the stone (and not engraved in relief as is generally the case) in Naskāh characters. The quality of the verse is unfortunately quite mediocre.

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1 For the career of Sher Khān Maḥmūd Bek, see Barani, op. cit., pp. 545, 583 (who states that when he wrote—i.e. in about A.H. 758—Sher Khān was more than ninety years old); Shams, op. cit., pp. 86-87 Yahyā, op. cit., pp. 119, 120-22; etc.
2 For an account of Una and its history, see BG, vol. VIII (Bombay, 1884), pp. 667-68.
The eye-reading of the text of this epigraph published by Major J.W. Watson in 1879 is hopelessly corrupt.¹ Equally faulty reading was reproduced in the corpus of inscriptions published by the erstwhile state of Bhavnagar.² But since its facsimile was not published, the corrupt readings remained uncorrected.

The epigraph mentions the celebrated governor of Gujarat, Zafar Khān Fārsi,³ as having constructed a mosque in 1367 A.D. It further states that Zafar Khān’s name and popular name (laqab) were Muhammad and Tāj⁴ respectively and that he was from Fārs.⁵ It also records the fact that he was awarded the title Zafar Khān by Firuz Shāh.⁶

Its text reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate V (b)

(1)  هو الالعت

(2)  بهد دولت فرخنده شهشه عصر

(3)  ابوبالنظر فيروز شاه اسم شم تبکین

(4)  ملكة أو همه علم خير داد ممدوح

(5)  ببجهرد به روز سال هفصد وست

(6)  ایران ز(؟) هشت زیادت که بندید درگه

(7)  شکاب کردان خلف خان زلف حضرت شاه

(8)  بناء کرده بتوفیق این(؟) مصالحه

(9)  که هست حسن عمل تا بود سیهر دو تام(؟)

(9)  آمين وب العالمین

TRANSLATION

(1) He is Omniscient.

(2) In the reign of the auspicious government of the emperor of the time, the lord of heavenly rank and Solomon-like dignity

(3) Abu’l-Muzaffar Firuz Shāh of Jam-like strength, the shelter of the world whose audience-hall is Saturn and (who is) the shadow of Allah——

(4) in his kingdom works of public utility were commonly built (and) in the chain of his service, men of religion reached the pinnacle of the moon——

¹ Indian Antiquary, vol. VIII (1879), p. 182.
² Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnnagari (Bhavnagar, 1879), p. 3.
³ For Zafar Khān, see Banani, op. cit., p. 583; Shams, op. cit., pp. 137-142, 156, 158, 162, 206-07, 225, 133-35; Yahyā, op. cit., pp. 126, 131; etc
⁴ Yahyā, op. cit., is the only author who gives the name of Zafar Khān but in the printed text, p. 126, his name Muhammad is followed by the word کرک.
⁵ Fārs is a province in south Iran.
⁶ Cf. Shams, op. cit., p. 141.
(a) Epigraph of Fزز تزلغ, dated A.H. 772, from Kapadwanj (p. 17)

Scale: 2

(b) Inscription of the same ruler, dated A.H. 768, from Una (p. 16)

Scale: 26
(5) (it was) on the fourteenth of the month of Fasting (i.e. Ramadān) in the year (A.H.) seven hundred sixty and in addition eight (14th Ramadān A.H. 768=14th May 1367 A.D.) when the servant of the king

(6) Muḥammad by name and with surname Tāj, a native of Fārs (a province in Iran), (on whom) His Majesty the king by his kindness conferred the title Zafar Khān,

(7) hopeful of the generosity of the king(?) constructed for prayers through (divine) Grace this house of prayers.

(8) May this noble edifice remain prosperous for ever as long as the double-bent sky endures since it is (the result of) a good action.

The next epigraph, twelfth of the present group, comes from Kapadwaj1 in District Kaira and is another unpublished record of Fīrūz Shāh. It also belongs to the period of Zafar Khān’s governorship of Gujarat. The tablet bearing this inscription measures 85 by 38 cms. and is fixed over the main entrance of the Jāmī’ mosque of the town.2 The record consists of three verses in Persian and states that in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh, the great Zafar Khān constructed this mosque in 1370-71 A.D. An additional line in Persian prose, inscribed vertically in the left margin contains the name of Uthmān, son of Kamāl Khattāt, the scribe of the text and of Husām, son of ‘Imād, the supervisor of the construction.

Another remarkable aspect of this record is its style of writing which is bold Naskh in relief. While in broad outline, it conforms to the style of some of the other records of this age in Gujarat, it has nevertheless a distinctive feature of its own. The pronounced volume, particularly in the rounded portion of its letters which are written thicker in the middle than at the end, the latter being pointed, brings this style nearer to the Bihār variety from which it would be difficult to distinguish it, were the ends drawn blunt.

The epigraph has been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate V (c)

(1) بحمد همايون فیروز شاه
(2) نظر خان اعظم پتویق حق
(3) سنہ اثنی و سبیعین و سبیعیه

In the left border.

کتب العبد عثمان کمال خطاط غفر اللہ و لجیم المسلمین و بکار فرمانی حسام عماد

TRANSLATION

(1) In the blessed reign of Fīrūz Shāh, may he be always successful through the bounty of God,

(2) Zafar Khān the great through divine guidance constructed this place for the sake of devotion (prayers).

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1 For an account of Kapadwaj and its history, please see BG, vol. III (Bombay, 1879), pp. 171-73.
2 ARIE, 1954-55, No. C, 47. There is another epigraph, obviously not in situ, in the northern wall of the mosque, for which see ibid., No. C, 48.
(3) In the year (A. H.) seven hundred and seventytwo (A. H. 772=1370-71 A. D.), this paradise-like mosque was completed.

In the left border.

Written by the creature Uthmān (son of) Kānāl the khattāt (calligrapher), may Allāh forgive him and all the Muslims, and under the supervision of Ḥusām (son of) ʿImād.

The thirteenth epigraph, also hitherto unpublished, is inscribed in three lines of Arabic writing on a tablet measuring 1·1 m. by 55 cm. which is fixed over the central miḥrāb of the Khirān mosque at Dholka. It begins as well as ends with religious texts and states that the mosque was constructed in 1373 A. D. by the great and illustrious Malik Sharafl-Daulat waʿd-Din Suhrāb Zafar Khānī, the sarpadadār. It may be pointed out that the epithets and titles used for the king in this epigraph are the same as those to be found in the Tānka mosque inscription set up four years earlier (p. 10).

The style of writing of the record is Naṣāḥ with elongated vertical shafts of its letters, a distinctive feature of the famous bow-and-arrow style of Bengal inscriptions.

The epigraph has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate VI (a)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا علما هذا السجع

الشريف الملك المعظم الكرم بعون عنايت ركبت اعلى مفاخر الخواص

(2) شرف الدولة و الدین شهراب تلفر خانے سربنددار مكنه الله طلبها للثواب في عهد

السلطان المعظم و الامیران المعظم لله في الأرض مجي النسخه و الفرض

(3) الواثق بتائید الرحمن ابو المعافر فيروش شاه السلطان خادم الله ملكه و إبد دولته و

ذلك في التاريخ الخامس عشر من المجرم سنة خمس و سبعين و سبعامه قال عليه السلام

المسجد بيوت العتين

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficient, the Merciful. 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh (only); hence invoke not any one else with Allāh.'2 This noble mosque was built by the Malik (who has become) great and illustrious through the help of the bounty of the Nourisher, namely 

Mofshafl-Quwāt

(2) Sharafl-Daulat waʿd-Din Suhrāb Zafar Khānī, sarpadadār, may Allāh grant him strength,

by way of seeking reward, in the reign of the great king and illustrious champion, the shadow of

Allāh on earth, the reviver of voluntary and obligatory commandments,

(3) the reliant on the support of the Beneficient, Abnʿl-Muẓaffar Firuz Shāh the king, may Allāh

perpetuate his kingdom and make his rule last for ever. And this took place on the fifteenth of

2 Qurʾān, chapter LXXII, verse 18,
(a) Inscription of Firuz Tughluq, dated A.H. 776, from Dholka (p. 18)

(b) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 782, from Cambay (p. 19)
KHALJI AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUJARAT

Muḥarram, year (A. H.) seven hundred and seventy-five (15th Muḥarram A. H. 775=7th July 1373 A. D.). The Prophet has said, 'The mosques are houses of the pious.'

This inscription furnishes the name of another official of the pre-Sultanate Gujarat and is therefore of considerable importance. Malik Suhrāb held the high post of sarparadādar (chief curtain-bearer) and his title was Sharafu’d-Daulat wa’d-Din. Unfortunately no information is available in the record about the exact office Malik Suhrāb had held in Gujarat. His sobriquet Zafar Khān tends to indicate that he was a senior official under Zafar Khān or his son Daryā Khān, also entitled Zafar Khān, who was appointed to the governorship of Gujarat in A. H. 773 on his father's death.1

The fourteenth inscription of the series is fixed to the left of the central miḥrāb of the mosque situated in the Qāḍīwāda quarter at Cambay.2 Locally known as Billi-Masjid, the mosque is an ordinary structure without any distinctive architectural features. There are two more inscriptions on the mosque and yet another on a loose fragmentary door-frame.3 The earliest of these, dated A. H. 726 (1326 A.D.), is engraved on the base-stone of the left miḥrāb indicating that the original building was constructed then. Therefore, it is doubtful if our record is in situ.

The epigraph is another unpublished record of Firūz Shāh and refers to the construction of a mosque in 1380 A. D. by one 'Abdu’l-Haām, son of Jamān’d-Din, son of Sa’du’d-Din Hariwī.4 It also mentions Malik Mufarrāṣ Sultānī, entitled Ikhtiyār’d-Daulat wa’d-Din and holding the post of daūdār-i-khāṣṣ, as the muqta’i of the igtā’ of Cambay. The language of the record is mainly Persian. Comprising five lines of writing occupying a space of about 1:2 m. by 40 cm., the inscription is remarkable for its extremely elegant calligraphy. The script employed is basically Nasch with strong Ṭaṣḥ and Thulth flourishes and betrays an expert hand. It is unfortunate that the talented scribe of such a fine piece of calligraphy should have preferred to remain anonymous.

The text has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate VI (b)

1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ان المساجد فل ولا تدعو مع الله احدا و قال عليه

السلم من بني مسجد الله و لو كصرف قطة بني الله لبيت في الجنة

2) بارى جل و علا بركت حضرت رسالة عليه افضل الصلوة و اكل النجات عمارت

مسجد در عبد همايون و ايام دیمون خداوند عالم سلطان عادل ابو الاظفر

3) فیروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه ك خير المعوهد و الارزانيت بحكومة اختيار الدولة

و الدین ملك مفرح سلطان ی دیدار خاص و رئيس مالک و

1 There is no unanimity among the historians about Zafar Khān’s date of death. See Hodwīlā, op. cit., p. 388.
3 Ibid., Nos. D, 49, 51, 52.
4 PRWC, op. cit., gives Harana. 'Harana' is one belonging to ' هراون', ancient name of Hirat now in Afghanistan.
5 Ibid. has 'Dābdār'.
(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. ‘And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence invoke not anyone else with Allāh.’ And (the Prophet), may peace be upon him, has said, ‘He who builds a mosque for Allāh, even though it be as small as the rest of the Qaṭṭāt bird, Allāh builds for him a house in paradise.’

(2-4) God, may He be glorified and exalted, through the blessings of (His) holy messenger, may (Allāh’s) choicest blessings and best salutations be upon him, by His Grace and Favour rendered possible for the creature who is hopeful of the mercy of the Creator, ‘Abdu’llāh, son of the late Jamā’ū’d-Dīn, son of the pardoned Sa’du’d-Dīn Hayrī (i.e. of Herat), the construction of the mosque in the auspicious time and blessed period—which is the best of the times and periods—of the lord of the earth, the just king Abu’l-Muṣaffar Fīrūz Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, during the governorship of Ikhtiyārū’d-Daulat wa’d-Dīn Malik Muṣarraḥ Sulṭānī the daṿidār-i-khāṣṣ and ra’is-i-mamālik and muqṭī (i.e. governor) of the iṣṭā (i.e. district) of Khambāyāt (i.e. Cambay), may Allāh elevate his position,

(5) on the first of the blessed month of Ramadān, may its bounty be universal, of the Hijra year of the Prophet seven hundred and eightytwo (1st Ramadān A. H. 782-29th November 1380 A. D.). (This is ended) by way of a praise to Allāh and salutations on His messenger.

It is difficult to trace the identity of ‘Abdu’llāh Hayrī, the builder of the mosque.

The fifteenth inscription of this study is fixed into the Ṭdgah at Cambay. Engraved in ordinary but bold Nasḫī characters in relief on a tablet measuring 1.5 m. by 51 cm., the epigraph runs into three lines of Persian prose and records the construction of the Ṭdgah in 1381-82 A. D. during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh by Malik Muṣarraḥ Sulṭānī who has been already mentioned in the preceding lines.

The text has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate VII (a)

(1) در عید سلطان اعظم پادشاه مقام ملکر شاهانه علیه به العالم ابیب المظفر

(2) فیروز شاه السلطان خان اکرم ملکه پرندگان عید اکرم کبیر ملک و شاهانه علیه الامتان

و الفارسا ذو المنافق و الحماد

1 Qur’ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
2 ARIE, 1959-60, No. D, 134. An English translation of this record will be found in Commissariat, op. cit., p. 68.
TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the great king, the illustrious ruler, the lord of the necks of nations, the shadow of Allâh on the earth, Abu'l-Mu'azzafar Firûz Shāh, may Allâh perpetuate his kingdom,

(2) this place of ‘Īd-prayers (namâzgâh-i-‘Īd) was constructed by the great noble, the pride of the kings and nobles, the prop of the rulers and ministers, one who is possessed of laudable qualities and virtues,

(3) Iktiyârû'd-Daulat wa'd-Din Malik Mufarraḥ Sultanî dawidâr-, i.e. dawîdâr-i-khâss and ra'is-i- mamâlîk, may Allâh further elevate his high position and perpetuate his government, in the year (A.H.) seven hundred and eightythree (A.H. 783-1381-82 A.D.).

The importance of the above two inscriptions in determining the career of Malik MufarraḤ Sultanî in Gujarat has been already discussed above (pp. 13-14).

The sixteenth inscription of the present study, an extremely important record, is fixed over the central mihrâb of the Fatih-Masjid or Tekrewâl-Masjid as it is now called, at Parantiî in Sabarkantha district. This epigraph is yet another unpublished record of Firûz Shâh and consists of two lines of writing mainly in Persian. The tablet measures 85 by 30 cm.

The epigraph records the construction of a noble edifice—obviously the mosque—in 1382 A.D. during the reign of Firûz Shâh. But what makes the epigraph one of the most valuable records found in recent times is that it quotes the name of the builder as Hammû, son of Dûdâ Sûmara, who from circumstantial evidence appears to be none other than the so-called Hamîr, the last of the Sûmara rulers of Sind. He is said to have been overthrown by the Sammas sometime in the beginning of the second half of the fourteenth century. While the history of the Sûmaras and their decline and displacement by the Sammas is still shrouded in vagueness, reliable contemporary evidence, in particular a letter from Aını'l-Mulk-i-Mâhrû to the governor of Gujarat, has been cited to show that the Sûmaras were finally overpowered in the early years of the reign of Firûz Tughluq. In his letter, ‘Aını'l-Mulk, the contemporary governor of Multan, refers to the calamities that had befallen the last Sûmara king whose name is transcribed as Hamîr, and the patronage and the generous care bestowed on him by the Gujarat governor whose brother Malik Ruknu'd-Din Hasan was entrusted with the proper care of the deposed Sûmara ruler by Firûz Tughluq. However, the place where the Sûmara king was kept—Delhi or Gujarat—is not specified in this letter. But in view of the fact that the whole letter is devoted to the affairs of Gujarat and refers to the danger of the Sammas to that province, it stands to reason that the Sûmara chief was allotted a fief in Gujarat. In any case, the epigraph indicates that in A.H. 784 (1382 A.D.) Hammû Sûmara was in Gujarat.

1 The lower portions of the letters have flaked off in this part, but the reading can be clearly made out.
2 For an account of Parantiî, please see BG, vol. IV, pp. 341-47.
3 ARIE, 1960-61, No. D, 75; PRWC, 1919-20, p. 52, where the name of the builder is quoted as Hammûd and the date A.H. 884.
4 Riyâzû'l-islâm, 'The Rise of the Sammas in Sind', Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, vol. XXII, pp. 350-82. The letter referred to above was not addressed to the governor of Sind as stated in one place by Dr. A. K. Majumdar in R. C. Majumdar, ed. The Delhi Sultanate (Bombay, 1960), p. 224.
5 Ibid., p. 361.
The record under study thus provides extremely important and, we may say, definite information about the fate of the Sūmara chief. What is still more important is the fact that it gives the correct form of the name Hammü and the tribal name Sūmara. As we know, the last name of the Sūmara king is recorded in historical works as Hamīr or Hāmīr. The correct spelling of the name as inscribed in our record is Hammü. Likewise, as regards Sūmara, Riyāzūl-Islām states that ‘Sumera is written as Sumira (سریا) and Sumēra (سومیا) ... I have followed ... Sumera.’ The spelling of this word is clearly written ‘Sumera’ in the text and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. Therefore, the correct form of the tribal name is ‘Sūmara’ whose last ‘a’ in Roman transliteration of the Arabic letter ‘ḥā’ is even today pronounced ā as in Urdu. The pronunciation ‘Sūmara’ has been common in Gujarat and presumably in Sind too.

Particular attention may also be drawn to the style of writing employed by the designer. Any student of Perso-Arabic epigraphy of India will be struck with the similarity between the calligraphy of this record and that of the pre-Tughluq and Tughluq inscriptions from Bihar. The graceful curves and sweeps of the letters carved here vividly recall to mind the highly stylized execution of ornamental Naskh with strong Tughra and other flourishes that is the high watermark of the Bihar inscriptions. This similarity between the calligraphical styles practised at the extreme ends of the empire—Gujarat and Bihar—may not be as coincidential as one would like to think. It has been suggested by me elsewhere that of all the provinces of India, Gujarat and Bengal (which then included Bihar) have definite affinities as far as palaeography is concerned.

The text of the record has been read as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate VII (c)*

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم قال الله تعالی و ان المساجد تا فلاد تدعوا مع الله احداً این

بوقع شریف بنا کرده همو دودا سومره

(2) در عہد فیروز شاه السلطان خلی اللہ ملکه در ماه مبارک رمضان سنه اربع و

ثمانیو سبعمائو و اللہ اعلی بالصورب

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allāh the Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence invoke not any one else with Allāh.' This noble edifice was constructed by Hammū, (son of) Dūdā Sūmara

(2) in the reign of Firūz Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, in the auspicious month of Ramadān of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and eightyfour (Ramadān A.H. 784= November–December 1382 A.D.). And Allāh knows the truth best.

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1 Islām. op. cit., pp. 361, 362; Majumdar, op. cit., p. 222.
2 Ibid., p. 360 f.n.
4 Qur’ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
(a) Record of Firuz Tughluq, dated A.H. 783, from Cambay (p. 20)

(b) Epigraph of the same king, dated A.H. 784, from Maugrol (p. 23)

(c) Another record of Firuz, dated A.H. 784, from Parantij (p. 22)
The seventeenth epigraph of the series also dated in the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq is not without palaeographical interest. The inscriptional tablet measuring 94 by 50 cm. is fixed over the central mihrab of a very neat little mosque called Rahmat-Masjid, situated to the north-east of the town of Mangrol, capital of the erstwhile state of the same name\(^1\) and now a taluka headquarters in the Junagadh district.\(^2\) The text and translation of this record were first published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhanagari*, but they are not free from mistakes. For example, the name and designation of the builder have been respectively read there as 'Qadi al-Qub' and 'Afjalul-Qudat' instead of 'Qadi Jalal Qub' and 'Aqda'l-Qudat'. The name of the scribe 'Umar bin Adam' has also been left unread.\(^3\) Moreover, the inscription has not been illustrated so far. A glance at its plate will show that its execution is somewhat unusual. The striking contrast between the calligraphy in the large rectangle within borders and that in the borders on the four sides has a picturesque effect. But for the size of the letters and manner of engraving, however, the style of writing is uniform Naskh.

The inscription records that the Rahmat-Masjid was built by the chief of the Qadis, Qadi Jalal, son of Qub, in memory of the celebrated saint Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari commonly known as Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahanagari, in 1382-83 A.D.

The full text of the epigraph is quoted below:—

**TEXT**

*Plate VII (b)*

(a) *In the upper border.*
   i Top side:
   
   با الله يا الله يا الله

   ii Bottom side:
   
   قال الله تعالى اننا نعمل مساجد لله من آمن بالله و اليومن الآخر و إقام الصلاة و آتي الزكوة و لم يحس الالله منك الا واحد لكل من المهتدين

(b) *In the centre.*
   
   قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(c) *Side borders.*
   i Right panel:
   
   قال عليه السلام الدنيا ساعة فأجعلها طاعة

   ii Left panel:
   
   قال عليه السلام الدنيا داحة ليس فيها راحة

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\(^1\) For an account of Mangrol, its buildings and inscriptions, see *BG*, vol. VIII, pp. 524-43; *PRWC*, 1998-99, pp. 15-16; Commissariat, op. cit., pp. 71-77; *EIAPS*, 1953 and 54, pp. 54, 57, 59; etc.

\(^2\) *ARI*, 1954-55, No. C. 150.

\(^3\) *CIB*, op. cit., pp. 9-10. Commissariat, op. cit., p. 73, has given the gist of this record on the basis of the reading of the *Corpus*. An incomplete Gujarati rendering is also quoted in Nadvi, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
(d) In the lower border.

قال عليه السلام من ين بني الله مسجدا بني الله له في الجنة فقرا ين كرى إين مسجد
رحمته أئمة الفضائل جليل الأطراف بالمسرات ذاتي جليل قطب بسما سيد السادات شيخ المشالخ
قطب الأولياء جلال الحق وله وين ين إن سلطان ين العظم مستなん ملكه الجود و
الكرم الوافد بتأقد الرحمن ين الموظف فوروز ين سلطان خل هملك ين نزاه ين شهور ين
ثمانين وسبعينية كتب ين شيخ عمر إين آدم

TRANSLATION

(a) i. O Allah! O Allah! O Allah!

ii. Allah the Exalted says, 'Only he shall visit the mosques of Allah, who believes in Allah and in the Final Day (i.e. day of Judgment), establishes prayers, gives alms and fears none but Allah; so (as for these) they would be among the followers of the right course.'

(b) Allah the Exalted says, 'And verily, mosques are for Allah only; hence invoke not (there-in) any one else with Allah.'

(c) i. (The Prophet), may (Allah's) peace be on him, has said, 'The world is (for a) moment only; utilize it in devotion.'

ii. (The Prophet), may (Allah's) peace be on him, has said, 'The world is a gewgaw; there is no rest therein.'

(d) (The Prophet), may (Allah's) peace be on him, has said, 'One who builds a mosque for Allah, Allah builds for him a palace in Paradise.' This Rahmat mosque was constructed by the aqsa'l-qudat (i.e. chief of the judges), master of bounty and good actions, Qadi Jalal (son of) Quib in the name of Sayyidu's-saddat (i.e. chief of the elites), Shaikhul-mashaikh (i.e. learned among the learned), Quibul-awliya (i.e. pivot among the saints), Jalalu'l-Haq wa'sh-Shar wa'd-Din in the reign of the great and illustrious monarch, the lord of munificence and generosity, the reliant on the support of the Compassionate, Abu'l-Muzaffar Firuz Shah, the sultan, may (Allah) perpetuate his kingdom, in the days of the months of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and eightyfour (A.H. 784-1382-83 A.D.). Written by Shaikh 'Umar, son of Adam.

About Qadi Jalal, son of Quib, the builder of the mosque we do not possess any information. In the inscription he is mentioned as chief of the Qadis, but it is difficult to verify whether he actually held that post or the title is merely honorary. It is probable that he held the post of a Qadi, if not of the province, at least of the region. Likewise, the identity of Shaikh 'Umar, son of Adam, who copied this record on the stone cannot be established.

The eighteenth inscription of this series also belongs to the reign of Firuz Shah and was published in the Corpus. Now set up to the right of the pulpit in the Jami' mosque at Mangrol.

\(^1\) Qur'an, chapter IX, verse 18.
\(^2\) Ibid., chapter LXXII, verse 18.
\(^3\) According to Nadvi, op. cit., 'the saint Makhduum Jahangir Jalalu'd-Din came to Mangrol at about this time and must have constructed this mosque, as the Jami' mosque was not yet built.' It is difficult to ascertain the truth of the saint's visit, but certainly the mosque was not built by him.
\(^4\) CIB, op. cit., p. 11. Its reading is almost correct and has been reproduced in Commissariat, op. cit., p. 73. Nadvi, op. cit., p. 187, also gives a Gujarati translation.
\(^5\) ARIE 1954-55. No. 6, 151.
the marble tablet bearing this inscription was reported to have been built up in the side wall of the Bohra's mosque in the eighties of the last century. According to some, the epigraph belonged to the Jāmī' mosque from where the tablet, then having been dislodged from its original position, was removed to the Bohra's mosque nearby to save it from being lost. But the truth of this statement could not be ascertained. It may be worthwhile to point out that the Jāmī' mosque is a building of great architectural interest being one of the few mosques of the pre-Sultanate period that have survived in the province.

The tablet measures 47 by 54 cm. and contains an inscription running into nine lines. Of these the first two lines comprising the religious text and the last recording the name of the scribe are in Arabic; the remaining text is in Persian verse. According to the record, the construction of the mosque was started and completed during the reign of Firuz Shāh through the efforts of Izzu'd-Din, son of Ārāmshāh. The date of completion is 1383-84 A.D. The style of writing is Naskh which though not of any exceptional merit is quite pleasing, being particularly remarkable for the sharpness of the outlines of the letters. Another noticeable feature is the employment of the well-known calligraphical device of using common curvature for two letters, e.g. the curvature of 'و' and 'ص' in line 2 and 'ز' and 'ج' in the second hemistich of line 7.

The inscription reads as follows—

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(2) قال الله تبارك و تعالي و ان المساجد فقلا تدعو[أ] مع الله احمد
(3) در عهد خسروى كه شهان پيشه درهم
(4) فيروز شاه شاه جهان گير و دين پناه
(5) در عهد دوشت كه مبادش ازدوا
(6) از سعي عزالتين ين ارواشه بکار
(7) بنياد اين مقام شد از فضل كرگدگار
(8) اتمام هم بدولت عهدش شد اين مقام
(9) از سال هجرت نبوي بود هفتصد
(10) يارب فضل و عون خودش عفون کن تمام
(11) بخط العبد الشهيف الراجي إلى رحمة الله تعالى طاهر عثمان جمیر

TRANSLATION

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

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1 CIB, op. cit.
2 Nadvi, op. cit.
3 For a description and photographs of the mosque, see Commissariat, op. cit., p. 72 and the facing plate and PRFC, 1898-99, pp. 15-16.
(2) Allâh the most Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allâh only; hence invoke not any one else with Allâh.'

(3) In the reign of a monarch at whose court the kings place their heads on the ground like dust in his way,

(4) Firuz Shâh, the world-conquering king and the refuge of religion, through whom the foundation of infidelity has gone under the clay of destruction

(5) and in the period of whose reign the light of the lamp of 'ahd (religion) received glow from him—may it never be contracted!

(6) the foundation of this abode was laid by the bounty of the Creator through the efforts of 'Izzu'd-Dîn, son of 'Arânsâh;

(7) this abode was also completed in his period. His hope is that his sins may be completely forgiven.

(8) From the year of Migration of the Prophet, it was seven hundred to which the number eighty and five was further added (A.H. 785=1383-84 A.D.).

(9) O Lord! Through your bounty and support, forgive all the sins of the builder in both the worlds. And peace (be on him)!

(10) Written by the weak creature, hopeful of the mercy of Allâh, Tâhir (son of) 'Uthmân Jâ'fârî.

The identity of 'Izzu'd-Dîn, son of 'Arânsâh is difficult to establish. The contemporary and later reliable historical works do not mention this particular person. One Malik 'Izzu'd-Dîn Hâjî, the dabîr (secretary) is mentioned by Banânis in his list of nobles of Muhammaq bin Tughluq Shâh and Firuz Shâh. But obviously our builder is different from this official who must be very old, if at all alive, at the time of this inscription, i.e. towards the close of the reign of Firuz Tughluq. Nor can he be identical with one Malik 'Izzu'd-Dîn Yahyâ mentioned by Mullâ 'Abdu'l-Qâdir Badâyûnî, as having received the title A'zamul-Mulk at the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shâh's accession. According to some, Malik 'Izzu'd-Dîn, son of 'Arânsâh was the local governor. But this statement seems to have been made on the basis of the present record only. The scribe of the inscription, Tâhir, son of 'Uthmân Jâ'fârî, is also an unknown figure.

The nineteenth inscription, another new record of Firuz Tughluq, is carved on a tablet, measuring 50 by 30 cms., fixed over the pulpit of the mosque in the Undipet Mahalla at Cambay. It refers to the construction of a mosque in 1385 A.D. during the administration of Malik-i-Mulâki'sh-Sharq Ikhâtiyârul-Daulat wa'd-Dîn Farâhatu'l-Mulk Malik Mufarrâh Sultanî by Ahmad, son of Waish, son of Hasan al-Quraishî. The language of the record is Persian and the text is executed in a mixture of Naskh, Thulth and Riqâ' of a very high order. It will be noticed that the style of writing of this inscription—whose beauty and elegance is only marred, if at all, by the congested writing—bears striking resemblance to that of the Qâdîwâda mosque inscription (pl. VII), executed only seven years earlier and also set up during the governorship of Malik Mufarrâh. The similarity does not end here; the text of the two records is to a large extent identical.

1 Qur'an, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
2 Banânis, op. cit., pp. 455 (where 'دین' is obviously a misprint for 'دیار'), 523.
PLATE VIII (a) Inscription of Firuz Tughluq, dated A.H. 785, from Mangrol (p. 25)

Scale: 2

(b) Record of the same king, dated A.H. 787, from Cambay (p. 27)
This inscription is also important in that it is the earliest and the only known record using the title Farhatu’l-Mulk with the name of Malik Mufarraḥ and omitting his usual titles daudio-dar-i-khāṣṣ and rā’i-i-mamālik. This aspect of the record has already been referred to in the preceding lines (p. 14).

Its text has been deciphered as follows:

TEXT

Plate VIII (b)

(1) بادئ جل و علا يرکت حضرت رسول علیه السلام بنی (بنایه؟) مسجد در عهد

(2) اپو المظفر فوروز شاه السلطان خالد مکت که خیر العهد و الارزمانست بحکومت ملکه

(3) قام الكفیرة و المشرکین قاع الفجرة و المتمردين ئیکیکش زمان اخص الخواص

(4) اشرف اهل الاختصاص فرحت الامکان ملک مفرج سلطانی

(5) بناء امیدار امرشم پورودگی احمد بن وحید بن حسن الفریشی را میسر گردانید بهنه

و کرمه فی الغرة من الحرم سنه سبع و ثمانی و سبع سماهه

TRANSLATION

(1-4) God, may He be glorified and exalted, through the blessings of (His) holy messenger, may (Allah’s) peace be on him, by His Favour and Grace rendered it possible for the creature who is hopeful of the mercy of the Creator, viz. Ahmad, son of Wajih, son of Hasān al-Quraishi to construct the mosque in the auspicious time and blessed period—which is the best of the times and periods—of the king of the inhabited quarter (i.e. the earth), reliant on the support of the Merciful, Abu’l-Muzaaffar Firuz Shah the king, may (Allah) perpetuate his kingdom (and) during the governorship of Malik-i-Mulūka’l-Sharq Ikhtiyarud-Daulat wa’d-Din, subduer of the infidels and polytheists, destroyer of the wicked and the rebellious, the general of the time, the most favourite of the favourites, the most noble among the men enjoying special (royal) favour, Farhatu’l-Mulk Malik Mufarraḥ Sultanā, on the first of Muharram, year seven hundred and eightyseven (1st Muḥarram A.H. 787=12th February 1385 A.D.).

Ahmad son of Wajih Quraishi, the builder of the mosque, is not known to us.

The twentieth inscription of the group is yet another record of Firuz Shah. The tablet bearing this epigraph measures 45 by 66 cm. and is built up in the wall to the left of the central miṣahr of the Jain Jail-Ki-Masjid at Mangrol.1 The jail or prison building, by the side of which this old though very small and insignificant mosque is situated, is now no more used for that purpose but having passed into private possession is named Amar-Vilās.

The main text of the epigraph is in Persian verse totalling fourteen couplets and records that the completion of the mosque built through the efforts of the chief among the great (gadrul-akbār)

Muḥammad Khwāja took place in 1385-86 A.D. during the reign of Firūz Shāh. There is a line in prose, after the religious text in the first line, according to which the builder of the mosque, Muḥammad Khwāja Farīdu’d-Dīn-i-Kalān, was a disciple of the famous Chishti saint Shaikh Naṣīr-u’d-Dīn. Likewise, the other three borders of the stone are inscribed with writing which being in a very minute hand and somewhat obliterated does not yield complete decipherment. However, after a few concentrated efforts, I have prepared a tentative reading. According to it, the text in the right border contains the famous tradition relating to the reward for the construction of mosques and a few more obliterated words. The writing in the left border is comparatively better preserved but not quite legible: it also records that the builder of the mosque is Muḥammad Khwāja, who is described as the uncle of Ḥadrat Raḍī, a companion of Maliku’sh-Sharq Shamsu’d-Dīn Firūz, ṣḥānabek of the city and treasurer of the kingdom; it concludes with a request for prayer for the builder. The text in the bottom border is illegible except the portion containing the name of the stone-carver which reads something like Banthar (son of) Jhagan (Chhagan?)

The style of writing is ornamental Naskh of some elegance which though remarkable for the artistic flourishes of its letters is not very impressive. The engraving also suffers from a few spelling mistakes.

The text has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate IX

(a) Main portion.

(1) و ان المسلماتة فلا تدعوانا مع الله احداً بناه سجد عبد خواجه نريدالدين

كلاً؟ يكي از مريدان الشيخ نصير الدين پناهي چشتیان

(2) بهعد دولت شاهی ک شاهان

ستاده بر درن انعام خواجهان

لائمان ظلم را ك س نام و لشن

بذاتش مشهور وصف سليمان

نديدتن ك بهدر ان نسل انسان

(3) شه فیروز کاندار داد و عدلش

امید دولتی چن و پری را

(4) جهانداری چنین و هم جهانگیر

نیلیا ک بهدر از نسل انسان

یکی‌تا نا مه و مهر ست تیان

(5) خدایا دارین دایم سلامت

بیرون مبارک مسجد نو

(6) بناء این مبارک مسجد نو

محمد خواجه است بور ی؟) علی کان

بیضائی خو (ی) ای بیرون امکان

(7) بیکت در جهان ایکرده احسان

وزیر مملکت نا زاید بسلطان

(8) بیسی دولت صدر اکبر

خطای خو (ی) ای بیرون امکان

(9) بیکت در جهان ایکرده احسان

(10) صفا و لطف ای بیرون متدار

(11) یاز و صفا کمالین خود جه گویم

(12) ز هفصد بود تاریخش بهشناد

This is engraver's mistake for 'تا'.
(b) i. Right border.

فال النبى عليه السلام من بني مسجدا الله بني الله له مثله [في الجنة]

ii. Left border.

باني مسجد محمد خواجة عم حضرت رضي باره ملك الشرق شمي الدین پیروز شجنک؟

iii. Bottom border.

بنتها خونک؟ سلیما تراش........

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence invoke not any one else with Allāh'.

1 The construction of the mosque of Muḥammad Khwāja Farīdu’d-Dīn-i-Kalān, one of the disciples of Shaikh Naṣīru’d-Dīn, the mainstay of the Chishtis.

(2) In the period of the reign of the king at whose door kings wait upon aspiring for favours,

(3) viz. Shāh Fīrūz in whose justice and equity nobody finds a trace of tyranny;

(4) both genii and men hope to be benefited by his favour; the qualities of Solomon have become known through his person;

(5) such a master of the world who is also a world-conqueror, nobody has seen among the human beings in the world—

(6) O God! Keep him safe for ever in the world as long as the moon and the sun shine

(7) the construction of this blessed new mosque (was carried out) at the auspicious time and through the favours of God

(8) by the efforts of the good fortune of Ṣadru’l-akābir (i.e. the chief among the great) Muḥammad Khwāja, who is the son f of ‘Ali.

(9) In his person the excellence and munificence are beyond limit (and) the gift of his palm is beyond the range of possibility.

(10) What shall I say in praise of his perfection? He deserves to be the minister of the king.

1 Qur’ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
2 Evidently the celebrated saint Chiragh-i-Dikli.
3 This word is clearly inscribed as ‘کان’ on the stone but its significance in the present context is not clear.
(11) The year was seven hundred and eighty and seven more added to it (A. H. 787–1385-86
A.D.) (when)

(12) this auspicious edifice was completed. May God grant its reward to the builder!

(13) May (God) bestow on him profuse bounties of everlasting happiness in the next world
(lit. house that knows no end nor limit!)

(14) May (God) keep him immune from the guile of harm until the revolution of Resurrection
overtakes the world!

(15) I have prayed (for him) and the angels have said, ‘Amen’. O God! Keep him steadfast
in Faith!

(b) i. The Prophet, may peace be on him has said, ‘He who builds a mosque for Allâh, Allâh
builds a similar one for him in Paradise’.

ii. The builder of the mosque is Muḥammad Khwâja, uncle of Ḥaḍrat Raḍî, a companion
of Maliku sh-Sharq Shamsi d-Din Pîrūz, Shabnâbek of the city and treasurer of the kingdom . . .
Whoever comes may pray with Fâtiha and prayers of Faith for the pleasure of God for the builder.

iii. Banthar? (son of) Jhagan (Chhagan?), the stone-carver.

While it is not possible to trace any particulars of Muḥammad Khwâja, the builder of the
mosque, it transpires from the text of the epigraph—after making allowance for poetical exaggera-
tion—that he was a learned man and probably held the office of qâdî. Whether he became minister
or not in fulfillment of the wishes of the poet who considered him fit for that office is not known.

The twenty-first epigraph also belongs to the reign of Pîrūz Shah. The tablet measuring 30 by
65 cm. is at present fixed along with a few others1 into the wall of a room of the old Darbârgâh
now used as the Record room at Mangrol.2 At the time of the compilation of the Corpus where
the reading and translation of this inscription are given, the tablet was built up in the wall of a dargâh
near the Râvali-Masjid.3 The inscription is said to have originally belonged to the said mosque
which is constructed in trabeate style with an open pillared facade and a large and pretentious porch
fronting its main entrance.4

As the tablet is badly damaged due to weathering, a considerable portion of the text has been
affected rendering a full reading out of question. However, with the help of the eye-reading given
in the Corpus—which was prepared when the writing must have been in a slightly better preserved
condition—the missing words have been supplied in brackets except where its reading appeared to
be doubtful.5

The epigraph comprises fourteen lines. Of these the first two contain religious texts. Of the
remaining twelve verses in Persian, half are devoted to nothing but encomiums lavished on the
king while the rest contain the name of Makhdûmzâda Malik ‘Abdu’l-Malik, son of Husâm, the
date in words and the prayers for the said Malik. Though the surviving text does not contain the
reference to the object of construction, there is no doubt that the record was meant for a mosque.
As regards the date of construction, it must have been sometime between A. H. 780 and 789. The

2 Ibid., No. C, 135.
4 PRWC, 1898-99, p. 16. Commissariat, op. cit., p. 74, also gives the gist of the inscription from the reading
of the OIB.
5 These readings have been specified in the footnotes.
Plate X

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 603, from Managol (p. 39)

(b) Damaged record of Firuz Shah, from Managol (p. 31)
word indicating the unit figure of the year having been totally obliterated on the stone, it is difficult to ascertain the exact year, but the Corpus reads the word in question as 'eight' and gives A. H. 788 (1386-87 A. D.) as the date of construction.

The style of writing is Nasīḥa of a fairly good order being in general outline similar to the other Mangrol inscriptions.

The text of the inscription is quoted below:

**TEXT**

*Plate X(a)*

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) قال [الله تبارك و تعالى] أن رضي الله عن هذا

(3) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم [من بنى الله سجدا بين الله في الجنة فصر

(4) كه حكمت دركرون كلاهی و نيردور حشمونی جردون كلاهی

(5) سكدردولی انجم؟ سیاهی

(6) نسیم از خلق او صد پره گردید

(7) ز درگاهی نشیب خسوک

(8) که هست او دین سخا ابزکاده

ملک عبد الملك پور حسانت

(9) [زقطرس] که [نیسانا یا؟] مست

(10) [بابا در] بابا علی [یا؟] [بیا [مش

(11) [بیده] ماه [جزا؟] لا[ول]؟]

(12) [خداشی اجرای] بخشید بد[ادیین]

**TRANSLATION**

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

(2) Allâh the most Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allâh only; and hence invoke not any one else with Allâh.'

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1 *CIB, op. cit., p. 14.*
2 *Ibid. p. 13, reads 'دریا گزینه خطيرة'*
3 *Ibid. reads 'نیسیانی شده مست'*
4 *This reading is purely tentative. *Ibid.* reads 'بهشت در شمار (هست) از عدد'*
5 *Ibid. supplies 'خوانند' here.*
6 *Ibid. supplies 'هفتصد' here.*
7 *Ibid. reads 'کن از ری' here.*
8 *Qur'an, chapter LXXII, verse 18.*
(3) The Prophet, may Allāh’s blessings and peace be on him, has said, ‘One who builds for Allāh a mosque, Allāh builds for him a palace in Paradise’.

(4) In the period of the reign of Fīrūz—a king whose authority embraces (the universe) from moon to fish;

(5) (who has) Alexander-like fortune, star-like (i.e. innumerable) soldiers, Farīdūn’s pomp and whose camp is sky;

(6) the zephyr receives a hundred shares from his good nature; limpid water receives hundred lives from his bounty;

(7) Hātim-i-Tāyī is a mere crumb-picker from his table; Chosroes of the Kayānian (dynasty) is a mere herald at his court—

(8) through the efforts (and) magnanimity of Makhdūmzāda who is like a bursting cloud in generosity,

(9) whose drops fill the palate of the naisīn (spring-cloud): he is Malik ‘Abdul-l-Malik, son of Husām.

(10) .................................................. in his name, may all of his time ....................

(11) It was the month of Jumādā I? in the year eighty (and seven hundred) and ......................

(12) May God grant him reward for this in this and the next world and forgive his sins in both the worlds.

Nothing is known about Makhdūmzāda Malik ‘Abdul-l-Malik. It is likely that he was posted at Mangrol in some official capacity.

The next two inscriptions of this study are unique in that they are the only surviving records of Nuṣrat Shāh Tughluq, a grandson of Fīrūz Shāh, set up as a rival king to the throne of Delhi in A. H. 797 (1395 A.D.) by a faction of nobles. Both these inscriptions, set up in May 1395 A.D., mention Zafar Khān, later Muẓaffar Shāh I of Gujarat, as governor of the province on behalf of Nuṣrat Shāh. Their indubitable evidence has been elsewhere cited by me¹ to repudiate the general belief that Zafar Khān declared his independence in 1395 A.D. on account of the strife between the two rival kings and the impossibility of determining to whom the allegiance was due.² The epigraphical as well as other evidences have now finally established that Zafar Khān did not assume kingship before the second half of the year A. H. 810 (1408 A.D.).³ These two epigraphs under study indicate beyond doubt that there was no question of Zafar Khān finding it impossible to determine his overlord as they clearly show that the Gujarat governor was a partisan of Nuṣrat Shāh only.⁴ But the apparent reluctance on the part of Zafar Khān to assume independence until 1408 A.D. as is evidenced by his inscriptions dated A. H. 804, 805, 806, 807⁵—even after his son had made himself king of Gujarat in the middle of A. H. 806—has remained unexplained so far.

⁴ It should also be remembered that Tātār Khān, son of Zafar Khān, was a supporter of Nuṣrat Shāh (Yabyā, op. cit., pp. 160-64).
Now we know that in A.H. 797, Zafar Khan acknowledged Nusrat Shah in preference to Mahmud Shah as his sovereign.¹ Nusrat Shah continued to rule until about A.H. 802, when he was compelled to flee to Mewat where he is stated to have died.² How long did Zafar Khan continue to acknowledge the suzerainty of Nusrat Shah is unfortunately not on record, especially as we have not come across so far any inscriptions for the years A.H. 798, 799, 800, 801 and 802. But that even up to A.H. 803, he was loyal to the Delhi throne is evident from an inscription dated in that year from Mangrol in which the name of the Delhi ruler is, however, not mentioned.³ The omission of the name of Delhi king does not seem to have been exclusively due to complete collapse of the central authority at Delhi so that officials in the distant provinces could hardly say who was excercising regal sway at Delhi.⁴ It may be reasonably interpreted to indicate that Zafar Khan being a staunch partisan of Nusrat Shah acknowledged his sovereignty as long as the latter’s whereabouts were known. Zafar Khan, it seems, was torn between two conflicting motives: his sense of loyalty to the house of Tughluq on one hand and his preference for Nusrat Shah and bias against Mahmud Shah, on the other. It is also likely that Zafar Khan was not altogether sure about the alleged death in A.H. 802 of Nusrat Shah who was, it may be stressed, last heard of as having headed towards Mewat. This may have been a contributing factor in his policy of maintaining status quo as far as the declaration of his own independence was concerned. But on the other hand, Zafar Khan was not certain that Nusrat Shah was alive in A.H. 803. In other words, Zafar Khan seems to have been confronted with the dilemma as to whether Nusrat Shah was alive or not. This might be the main if not the only reason why the Mangrol inscription of A.H. 803 failed to specify the name of the Delhi king. The fact, however, that the inscriptions of Zafar Khan dated after A.H. 803 shed off the reference to the Delhi king indicates that Zafar Khan had finally reconciled himself to the generally accepted fate of Nusrat Shah, but even then and despite his avowed loyalty to the house of the Tughluq—for he did not declare his independence for the next five or six years—he was not prepared to owe allegiance as the governor of a province to Mahmud Shah who had returned to Delhi in A.H. 804 and continued to rule there. Zafar Khan’s bias against Mahmud Shah is also indirectly proved by the cold though courteous treatment he meted out to the latter when, having come to Gujarat after Timur’s invasion, he had sought in vain to enlist Zafar Khan’s support in his bid to recapture the throne of Delhi and had ultimately gone to Malwa.

Whatever be the case, it is certain that Zafar Khan was a partisan of Nusrat Shah. Historical works do not throw any light on the reasons that may have prompted Zafar Khan to adopt such an attitude. It has been seen above that his son Tattar Khan was also a supporter and vazir of Nusrat Shah. Could this attitude of Zafar Khan and his son have been motivated on genealogical rather than any other grounds? We are told that Zafar Khan’s father Wajihul-Mulk, then Saharan, had married his sister to Firuz Shah Tughluq when the latter was yet a prince.⁵ If it could be established, as is likely, that Nusrat Shah’s father Fath Khan, Firuz’s eldest son, was born of this wife who was Zafar Khan’s aunt, this close kinship between Nusrat Shah and Zafar Khan might provide a strong motive and explanation for the latter’s bias. The statement of the author of the

¹ Incidentally, in the extremely opposite province of Bihat it was Mahmud Shah who commanded sovereignty (EIAPS, 1951 and 52, p. 18; ibid., 1961, pp. 32, 33).
² Yabys, op. cit., p. 168; Firuzta, op. cit., p. 159.
³ What Commissariat, op. cit., pp. 75-76, has taken to be an inscription dated A.H. 800, on the basis of the account in BG, vol. VIII, p. 544, is in fact a record of A.H. 803. Also see the next two footnote.
⁴ ARIE, 1954-55, No. C, 137. This inscription is included in the present study (No. XXIV).
⁵ Commissariat, op. cit., p. 76. However, in fairness to Professor Commissariat, it must be said that he had to rely upon the account of BG, op. cit., for the date and contents of the record. CIB, op. cit., pp. 2-3, gives the date as A.H. 700.
⁶ Sikandar, op. cit., p. 9.
Tārīkh-i-Muḥammad Shāhī also points to this possibility. According to him, one of the main factors that prompted Muḥammad Shāh, son of Firuz Tughluq and father of Muḥammad Shāhī, to send Zafar Khān to Gujarat was ‘to see that the tent of the latter’s greatness and influence is pitched in a place far from the capital’.¹ In other words Zafar Khān’s presence at Delhi was not liked by Muḥammad Shāhī, and the reason for this attitude could well be as suggested above.

The first of these two inscriptions being the twenty-second of the group is engraved on a square slab of marble about 50 cm. a side which is built up into the Record office at Mangrol.² It is said to have been originally fixed into the chopāta or small room to the west of the Gāḍī gate of the town.³ The epigraph is bilingual, being in Persian verse and Sanskrit prose.⁴ The Persian version inscribed in twelve lines of minute writing occupies about two-thirds of the space and runs into a poem of twenty-three verses composed by Qāḍī Badr, son of Ẓahīr.⁵ The composition of these verses is mediocre and faulty rendering their meaning vague and doubtful at places. The epigraph seems to state that during the reign of Nusrat Shāhī, Zafar Khān the great minister held the governorship of Gujarat. Malik Ya’qūb of Tamīm origin⁶ who administered the shiq of Sorath on behalf of the latter laid a new foundation⁷: there was a strong city-wall at Manglūr⁸ but the chains (halqahā) of the doors were not of iron. Consequently, the Malik got them made of steel and covered these gates with iron of which two hundred mans per panel were utilised. The work was carried out in 1395 A. D. under the direct charge of Malik Ya’qūb’s brother, Malik Mūsā, the koteīl of the town.

The Sanskrit portion records that in the Sānḫvat year 1452, Vaisākha-vadi 15, Sunday, during the victorious reign of Bādshāh Nasarathā⁹ at Yūgpūr, when Sri Daphara Shāhī( Khá)na, appointed by him was ruling in the land of Gurjar, when Thāmīma-Malika-āri-Akūba, son of Rāi Multanī was conducting the mukalaffairs here at Mangalapūra¹⁰ in Saurashtra, his relative Kotwāla-malika-Ṣīrī-Mūsā by name caused to be made separately two massive iron doors for the two gates for the protection of the people. The Torkhi (i.e. Turki) text was written by Kādī Badaradina son of Sho(Khojja) Jēhīra. It was engraved by Sutradhāra Virdhavala, son of Sutradhāra Rāmīga.¹¹

According to this epigraph, Mangrol was the head-quarters of the shiq of Saurashtra. It also mentions the two officials, Malik Ya’qūb, officer in charge of the district and his brother Malik Mūsā, koteīl of the town, who do not find any mention in historical works.

¹ Tārīkh-i-Muḥammad Shāhī, photo-copy in Maharajkumar Dr. Raghbir Singh’s library at Sitamau, M.P., f. 8.
² ARIE, 1954-55, No. C, 136; CIB, op. cit., pp. 17-18. Diskalkar, New Indıan Antıquary, vol. II (December, 1930), pp. 592-93, wrongly states that the inscription was removed to the Junagadh Museum. He also takes Nusrat Shāhī of the record to be identical with Nāṣirud-Dīn Muḥammad Tughluq.
³ CIB, op. cit., p. 16.
⁴ Commissariat, op. cit., p. 74 and M. A. Chaghsī, Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad (Poona, 1942), p. 33, have based their observations in respect of this epigraph on the reading given in CIB.
⁵ Chaghsī, op. cit., is wrong to assert that ‘Ustād Qāfı and Malik Ẓahīr were expert supervisors’ of the work.
⁶ Ibid. wrongly considers Malik Ya’qūb and Malik Tamim as two persons.
⁷ The text says so in this portion. But immediately later it is stated that there was a strong fort here which had, however, no iron-doors. Since the Sanskrit version also speaks of the making of iron doors, it is clear that the composer means to say that the iron doors were provided to the fort.
⁸ That is how Mangrol is spelt in the Persian version.
⁹ Diskalkar, op. cit., p. 592, wrongly identifies Nusrat Shāhī with ‘Nāṣirud-Dīn Muḥammad Tughluq (II)’.
¹⁰ This is how the name of the town is spelt in the Sanskrit version.
¹¹ The Sanskrit version has been listed in ARIE, 1954-55, No. B, 513. Its full text was reproduced in H. Cousséan, op. cit., p. 246; Diskalkar, op. cit., p. 593; etc.
PLATE XI (a) Inscription of Nusrat Shāh Tughluq, dated A.H. 797, from Mangrol (p. 35)

(b) Another record of Nusrat, dated A.H. 797, from Ghogha (p. 37)
کہ شد خلقیت از وی سما تاساک
سما را معلق ورق بر ورق
پناه کرم کا کہ بیہاد کردر
ز ذاتی کا ذات جهان را قبول؟
شده نصرش پار و بخت بلند
کہ غمز سوار کہ معنی؟ سربر
پدران عید شه زورمند
کہ چین مکمل غمز پیشگان.
کہ جهان دیده مردان صاحب سخن
یبود و نبیاژ جهان؟ داوری
پدران تازه قنته روپت نواز
ز بکا ذاپه شرف بر ملک
کہ مکمل بیتی بفرمانده شاذکام
ملک واقع عید یعقوب تام
پیغمبیر ایران [آن] یل تامدار
پتویق ایران بلنا لو تهاد
پیغمبیر حقیقت سنجیب حصار
ملک در بلندیست پیی شیب او
نہ حقیقت ایران زینت و زیب او
پرود کرده ملک سر پسر
ز سر تا پایای در اهن گرفت
ملک موسی کوتوال دیاوا
بیا کے تا تام و نیشن او
TRANSLATION

(1) Through the help of the kindness of the Holy Forgiving Lord, who created everything from sky to Fish,

who laid layers upon layers of earth and suspended the sky, leaf upon leaf;

(2) the world was desolate; He populated it and thus laid the foundation of generosity;

He sent Muhammad to us as messenger on behalf of His Person which is agreeable to the world;

(3) in the period of the reign of the mighty king, whom victory has befriended and whose fortune is high,

the emperor Nusret, the king of the world whose head is fully worthy of the throne (?).

(4) the victorious Zafar Khan the great (was) the minister; all (authority) was in his hands; (only) his feet were not on the throne.

Thus have the ancients of bygone ages—the experienced men who were masters of speech—related

(5) that in the province of Gujarat neither there was nor will there be such a just governor.

In every shig (district) a commander who is the over thrower of sedition and cherisher of subjects is appointed by him.

(6) On account of his dignity and respect his foot is on the heaven; through the purity of his person, he enjoys superiority over the angel.

The Malik (who is) the governor of the time and Ya'qub by name (is one such officer) under whose rule Sorath is happy;

(7) that illustrious hero is Tamim by origin; he is a Malik with the heart of a tiger (?) and is a lion whose prey is heaven.

Through God's Grace, he laid a new foundation through the bounty of the Most Benevolent (Lord) who guided him.

(8) At Manglir there is a fort with stone-walls, (before) which the rampart of Alexander feels ashamed;

is the heaven high or the lowest portion of the fort is high? There is no other fort that can equal it in splendour and beauty.

(9) The chains of its doors were not fastened with iron; the Malik made them completely of steel.

He took two hundred mams of iron for every plank and covered it from head to foot with iron.
KHALJI AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUJARAT

(10) He had a brother who looked after the execution of the work, viz. Malik Mūsā, the kātibāl of the country,

through whose orders this task was carried out, May it remain as long as his name and trace remain!

(11) In the exact year (A.H.) seven hundred and ninety-seven on the fourteenth of Rajab (14th Rajab A.H. 797=5th May 1395 A.D.) it was completed.

Through the composition of Qâdi Bādr, son of Zahir, such an unrivalled work has come to light.

(12) Whoever reads it may pray for him, offer Fātiha for him and welcome him.

The other inscription of Nuqrat Shāh forming the twenty-third record of the group is fixed over the central mihrab of the Īdghā in the Mosampura quarter outside the town of Ghogha in the Bhavnagar district. The arch-shaped tablet measures 28 cm. from apex to bottom and 62 cm. in length and contains an epigraph of four lines in Persian with the exception of the religious texts. The record mentions the construction of a namāzgāh (i.e. place for 'Īd prayers) in 1395 A.D. during the reign of Shamsuddin Nuqrat Shāh. It further mentions Khān-i-A'gam Zafar Khān, son of Wajihuddin-Mulk, as the governor. The name of the builder is given as Kamal, son of Hamid, about whom we possess no information.

The inscription is an extremely valuable record, being in a way more important than the preceding one, since it quotes the title of Nuqrat Shāh as Shamsuddin Yawddin. None of the few coins of Nuqrat Shāh that have come to light contains his titles. Among the historians, Yahya Sarhindi, whose work is the earliest available chronicle dealing with the later Tughluqs, calls him Naṣiruddin Shāh. Subsequent chroniclers like Firishta and others also give the same title. With coins of Nuqrat Shāh silent on the point, it is natural that the modern scholars should have accepted this title without questioning it. This record has now established that Nuqrat Shāh had adopted the title Shamsuddin on his accession to the throne.

The record was first published in the Corpus where the date was read as A.H. 777 and the name of the king as Nuqrat-Panah which must have mislead the scholars. The style of writing is fairly good Nashkh and the text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XI(b)

(1) ʿAmmu Allah al-rājīn ar-rāhīm
(2) wa ʿIjāluna abīt maʿālaqan li-nasn wa ʿimān wa ʿaināzoun min mālikʿim malāl
(3) dīr ʿudh dīn al-dīn al-dīn al-dīn al-dīn al-dīn al-dīn al-dīn al-dīn al-dīn al-dīn
(4) bādīn bādīn bādīn bādīn bādīn bādīn bādīn bādīn bādīn bādīn

4 CB, op. cit., p. 7. Chaghtāi, op. cit., pp. 33-34, referring to the text of this inscription as noticed in CB has, however, corrected the date.
(1) In the name of Allâh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) 'And when we made the house a resort for men and a (place of) security; and : Appoint for yourselves a place of prayer on the standing-place of Abraham.'

(3) In the reign of the great king Shamsu’d-Dunyâ wa’d-Dîn Nusrat Shâh the king and during the time of Khân-i-A’zam Zafar Khân, son of Wajîhu’l-Mulk, the building of this namâzgâh (i.e. 'Idgâh) was constructed by the creature (who is) hopeful

(4) of the mercy of the Creator, Kamâl, son of Hamîd. May God have mercy on that believer who having come to this place remembers this hopeful creature with prayers for his Faith.

(5) On the fifteenth of the month of Rajab, may its dignity increase, in the year seven hundred ninety-seven from the Migration of the Prophet, may Allâh’s salutations and peace be upon him! (15th Rajab A.H. 797=6th May 1395 A.D.).

The twenty-fourth and the last epigraph of this series is a record from Mangrol to which a reference has already been made in the preceding lines. As the importance of the record in that it shows the loyalty of Zafar Khân to the house of Tugluq and his reluctance to break away completely from the Delhi authority is not mentioned in the record. The preference for Nusrat Shâh and bias against Ma’mûd Shâh has been discussed, it only remains for us to give below its text and translation along with a brief descriptive note.

The epigraphical tablet is now fixed into the wall of the Record room and measures 32 by 40 cm. Its original findspot is not known. This inscription was also published in the Corpus which gave its date as A.H. 700. Professor Commissariat following the Bombay Gazetteer gave the date A.H. 800 which also falls short of the correct date by three years. The text refers to the reigning king of Delhi but fails to name him. It also states that Zafar Khân, son of Wajîh, was muqti’ of Gujarat on behalf of the king; he had appointed Malik Badr-i-Banjhal as his deputy in Sorath; the latter’s deputy at Mangrol was Malik Shaikh, son of Tâj, who constructed there a strong fort (hîsâr) in 1400-01 A.D. The inscription which runs into fourteen lines of Persian verse was composed by ‘Alâ, son of Sadr. The style of writing is Nasîh.

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1 Qur’ân, chapter II, part of verse 125.
2 See pp. 32-33.
4 CIB, op. cit., pp. 2-3.
5 Commissariat, op. cit.
The record has been read as under:—

**TEXT**

*Plate X(b)*

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(2) بسمih شهنشاه کیتی مدار
(3) جهانگیر زر بخش قلعه کشا
(4) ز عدلتن سراش جهان شادمان
(5) زشکخان اعظم نظر خان وجیبه
(6) بقیوی جو عثمان جو حیدر ببینگ
(7) جو عثمان جو حیدر ببینگ
(8) ز خان بود نایپ بسورته همی
(9) کریمی نکو دای رونن Hampton
(10) وزو بود نایپ بیتگولور خوش
(11) بقدیک بسی نش جهان دایا باوقار
(12) جوائی جوائنر دمتا سوا
(13) بر آباد بیتگولور رویه حصار
(14) جه خان می پرخان دیار و دیار
(15) چه غم گر بیایید دوی صد هزار
(16) ز تاریخ هیچد سه بده در شمار
(17) وزو ماند این سالها پادگان

**TRANSLATION**

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

(2) In the reign of the emperor, the pivot of the world, like whom there has not been any king in the world,

(3) the world-conqueror, gold-bestower and subduer of forts, at whose door all the monarchs are curtain-bearers *(pardā-dār)*;

(4) through his equity the whole world is happy (and) on account of his generosity the world within world is ashamed;

(5) Khān-i-A’zam Zafar Khān, son of Wajih, was the successful governor *(muqti’)* in Gujarat on behalf of the king.
(6) He is like 'Uthmān in piety, like 'Aṭf in bravery, like Āsaf in sagacity and like Rustam in battle.

(7) A deputy in Sorath of the (said) Khān was Malik Badr (son of?) Banjhal, a great nobleman.

(8) The latter was a generous man of good judgment and illuminated mind, and was always full of dignity in the world.

(9) On his behalf the deputy at Manglūr¹ was a pleasant young man, a magnanimous youth and a pleasant cavalier, (viz.)

(10) Malik Shaikh, son of Tāj, through whose efforts a strong fort was constructed at Manglūr.

(11) All the inhabitants were happy on account of his kindness; everybody praised him in the city and the country.

(12) (The fort) became a strong shelter for the people; what is there to worry even if a hundred thousand enemies were to come.

(13) From the Migration of the Prophet when this was completed, eight hundred and three years came into reckoning (A.H. 803–1400-01 A.D.).

(14) 'Alā, son of Sadr, well composed the chronogram. And may it remain for years in memory of him!

Nothing is known about Malik Badr-i-Banjhal, the governor of Sorath under Zafar Khān and his deputy at Mangrol, Malik Shaikh, son of Tāj. In this connexion, it may be noted that the name of the father of Muḥāfiz Khān, who built the famous mosque at Ahmadabad in 1485 A.D. was also Malik Shaikh, but whether he is identical with Malik Shaikh of our inscription it is difficult to say. The composer, 'Alā, whose poetical talents seem to be mediocre, is also an obscure figure.

¹ This is how the name of the town is spelt.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SHARQIS FROM BIHAR AND UTTAR PRADESH

BY W. H. S.IDDQUI

The Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur lasting for more than eighty years produced in all five rulers of whom the most prominent is Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī (1402-1436). Although constantly engaged with the Delhi sultāns on one side and the Malwa kings on the other, the Sharqīs maintained their rule with vigour, at times eclipsing Delhi, until they were ultimately overthrown in A.H. 881 (1476-77 A.D.) by Buhāl Lodi of Delhi. Unfortunately, very few monuments of these rulers now exist; Buhāl’s son Sikandar Lodi, prompted by rivalry and personal enmity towards Husain Shāh the last Sharqi king, is stated to have destroyed and mutilated the monuments of this dynasty. Among their prominent buildings that have survived at Jaunpur are Atāl-Masjid, Jāmi’-Masjid and Lāl Darwāza-Masjid.1

The Sharqi rule has not been adequately described in contemporary annals. Nor has any monograph pertaining to it been published so far. Consequently, the history of these rulers has to be pieced together from the casual references occurring in Persian chronicles and their mural records. Then too, very few inscriptions of the Sharqīs have been noticed and published so far.

It is, therefore, hoped that the following study of nine inscriptions from different places in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh will not be found without interest. These inscriptions range in their dates from A.H. 807 (1404-05 A.D.) to A.H. 859 (1455 A.D.) and four of them come from Bihar Sharif, three from Bilgrant and one each from Jajmaun and Hathgāon. They represent the reigns of Ibrāhīm Shāh and Māhmūd Shāh.

Ibrāhīm Shāh

I. INSRIPTION FROM BIHAR SHARIF, DISTRICT PATNA, BIHAR

Bihar was captured by the founder of the dynasty Khwāja-i-Jahān, entitled Malikūsh-Sharq and Sultānu’sh-Sharq who established his authority within a short time over Oudh and Gangetic doṭīb as far west as Koil (Alligah) and on the east into Tirhut and Bihar. On his death in A.H. 802 he left his possessions in trust to his adopted son Malik Qaranful who assumed the royal title Mubārak Shāh. The latter died in the following year and was succeeded by his brother Ibrāhīm.2

At this period, Bihar was a bone of contention for territorial supremacy between the Tughluqs and the Sharqīs, but the latter, however, managed to hold Bihar up to 1486 A.D.2 Their inscriptions from that province range between the years A.H. 805 (1402-03 A.D.) and A.H. 892 (1487 A.D.). However, the earliest epigraph at Darbhanga, dated A.H. 805 in the reign of Ibrāhīm is now no

The epigraph under study was discovered by Professor S.H. 'Askari of Patna; it is fixed on the one-wall mosque attached to the tomb of Sayyid Muhammad Siwistânî, a fourteenth-century saint. The record is important in indicating that Ibrâhîm exercised authority over Bihar at a time when Mahmûd Shâh Tughluq also got the recognition of his authority in this region—a fact established by his inscriptions from Kako and Bihar Sharif, dated A.H. 799 and A.H. 810 respectively. To explain this apparent contradiction, namely that the sovereignty of two independent kings was acknowledged almost during the same period and in the same region, it has been suggested as likely that the Shârqi inscription is not in situ and was brought from some other place. On the same analogy, Mahmûd’s inscription also may not be in situ since it is found on a modern mosque at Bihar Sharif. Therefore, unless it is conclusively proved that Ibrâhîm’s record does not belong to the place where it is found, the Shârqi occupation of Bihar or a part thereof during his reign cannot be ruled out. Another possible explanation may be that the place was occupied in quick successions by the Delhi and the Shârqi rulers. It is also worthwhile to remember that Mahmûd’s authority over Bihar must have been limited in extent and time since, this was the period when the Tughluq authority had started to dwindle and finally collapsed at the centre and elsewhere, while the Shârqi ruler, on the other hand, was asserting his authority, having offered, in 1403-06 A.D., successful resistance to the Delhi authority represented by Iqbal Khân who had attempted to oust him from his position. The inscriptional tablet measures 1.12 m. by 27 cm. and contains two couplets in Persian, carved in relief in an excellent hand in the typical Nâshik of the Bihar variety. The record mentions the renovation of a structure by one Qutb, son of Alîmâd ‘Arid in 1404-05 A.D., during the reign of Ibrâhîm Shâh and has been read as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XII(a)*

(1) دُر عِهدِ باِدَئِه جَهانِگِیر جَمِ نَشَان
(2) تاریخِال هِمدِ بد و هِفَتِ در١یَان

**TRANSLATION**

(1) During the reign of the world-conquering monarch having the insignia of Jamshâd, Ibrâhîm, who is the demonstration of the age in the world.

(2) verily, Qutb, (son of) Alîmâd ‘Arid renovated the structure, when the date of the year was eight hundred and seven (A.H. 807 = 1404-05 A.D.).

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7. *It is clearly inscribed so, but the intended word may be “میان”.*
(a) Sharqi inscription, dated A.H. 807, from Bihar Sharif (p. 42)

(b) Another Sharqi record, dated A.H. 845, from Bilgram (p. 47)

(c) Third Sharqi record, dated A.H. 835, from Bihar Sharif (p. 43)
Nothing is known about Qutb, son of Ahmad, the renovator of the building. If the word 'ārid is taken as qualifying instead of being substantive, it would mean that the builder held that post in Bihar.

II. INSCRIPTION FROM THE AMBER DARGAH, BIHAR SHARIF

This epigraph belongs to the same ruler and was also spotted by Professor Askari on a slab fixed in the west compound-wall of the Amber dargah at Bihar Sharif. Unfortunately, the tablet is broken, and nearly one half of the text is missing. Measuring in its present state 95 by 25 cm., it contains a record of four couplets in Persian mentioning the erection of a certain structure in 1431-32 A.D., during the reign of Ibrahim Shah. It further eulogises the exploits and achievements of one Malik Qa'iqan, particularly in the cause of religion, and gives the name of the calligraphist as Taqi who probably composed the text.

The style of writing is Nasikh of pleasant execution similar to that in the previous epigraph.

The surviving text has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XII (c)

(1) در عهد ظل حق براهيم شاه آنک ماجوج فتنه دا بهمه سد نفور کرد

(2) دور کردن قافتا ملك که خواندن، فلك آقاتب دين از روشنی خوشی جهان پر زنور کرد

(3) شهوت کردن کفان را ز بیان بر افکند دور کردن اسلام را نهال ز سر سبز و نازه شد

(4) عمل لع قصور کردن خسته تک که خامه روان بر استور کردن

TRANSLATION

(1) ........ During the reign of Ibrahim Shah, the shadow of God, who repelled, at all barriers, the Magogs of sedition.

(2) ........ removed. Qa'iqan Malik who is called the sun of the Faith by the sky, has illuminated the world through his own light.

(3) ........ manifested. The plant of Islam was once more rendered green and fresh; he has uprooted (and) thrown out the unbelievers.

1 For 'ārid and his duties, see I.H. Qureshi, The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi (Lahore, 1944), pp. 85-86, 137-138, 152, 199.

2 Askari, op. cit., p. 18; ARIE, 1953-54, No. C. 93.
(4) ........................................ carried out the work without defect. It was eight hundred and thirty-five from the Migration of the Prophet (A.H. 835-1431-32 A.D.), when the infirm Taqī moved his pen over these lines.

Very little is known regarding Malik Qādan. The text being fragmentary, it is not possible to say if it was he who actually ordered the construction. Anyway, it may be reasonably presumed that he acted in some official capacity in the province. From the text of the record, it may be inferred that he enjoyed the title Shamsu’d-Dīn. Professor ‘Askari has identified him as a warrior-noble and disciple of a Qādirī saint of Amjhar in Gaya district.1 But we have no information regarding the calligraphist Taqī.

III. INSCRIPTION FROM BILGRAM

This record of Ibrāhīm comes from Bilgram in the Hardoi district of Uttar Pradesh. Bilgram, the headquarters town of the tehsil is a place of considerable size on the old high bank of the river Ganges at a distance of sixteen miles south of Hardoi. It is a place of great antiquarian interest.2 The earliest Arabic inscription from the town found so far, appearing on the Sayyidwāya mosque, pertains to the reign of Iltutmish.3

The present record is carved on a tablet fixed in the eastern wall, to the left of the main entrance, of the modern Jāmi’ mosque in Upperkot.4 This tablet is also unfortunately fragmentary, and a considerable portion of the text is lost. In its present state, it measures 54 by 57 cm. and in shape resembles a perfect arch. This feature, the shape of the slab has been taken to indicate, that it was at some later date appropriated and the backside of it used for an epitaph by somebody,5 while according to a local account which does not quote any source, the present tablet, one of the three pieces into which the original slab was broken, was discovered at the time of the construction of the Jāmi’ mosque in 1925 and kept along with some more pieces in the house of Qādir Muḥammad Yūsuf.6 There was not and is not even now any trace of the remaining two pieces of this inscription.

The surviving text comprises six incomplete hemistiches executed in bold Nāṣīḥ character, and records the renovation of the Jāmi’ mosque during the reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh. It also mentions Muntajib, son of ‘Ālam and ‘Alī, son of Shams, presumably as the composer and the builder, respectively. The date portion is lost. A vertical panel which evidently occupied the central portion of the original inscription contains a note stating that this is the date of the Jāmi’ mosque of the qaṣba Bilgām.

The extant text has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate XIII(b)

..........................................................

(1)  شاه ابراهیم شاه

..........................................................

(2)  زمر مسجد جامع چنان؟

1 ‘Askari, op. cit.
3 Epigraphia Indica-Madrasica, 1911-12, p. 23 (pl. XXVIII).
5 Ibid., introduction.
6 Mahmūd, op. cit., p. 123.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SHARQIS FROM BIHAR AND UTTAR PRADESH

..............................................................
(3) تاريخ قمر الورين
..............................................................
(3) افزا در جهان
..............................................................
(3) عاقبت (ت)
..............................................................
(4) [یلد]ه اضمن المنتجب عالم زبان
..............................................................
(4) د عهد ابراهيم شاه
..............................................................
(3) بین ملک عالی علی بن شمساء عون اله

Vertical panel in the middle.

تاريخ عمارت مسجد جامع قصبه بلگرام

TRANSLATION

(1) ............. king Ibrāhīm Shāh .............
(2) ............. such a Jāmi‘ mosque (was constructed) afreah .............
(3) ............. the date from the illuminated moon (i.e. of lunar era). .............
(4) ............. increased ... in the world .............
(5) The weak creature Muntajib, (son of) ‘Ālam from his soul (i.e. sincerely). .............
the end .............
(6) ............. in the reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh. See the great Malik ‘Alī, son of Shams, through
the help of god.

Vertical panel.

The date of (re)construction of the Jāmi‘ mosque of the qasba of Bilgrām.

In this connexion it might be worthwhile to reproduce the text prepared by the above
mentioned Maḥmūd Bilgrāmī:

(1) تاريخ عمارت مسجد جامع بلگرام
                از ولادت دین با مر و از عناية حق اله
                از استاد خان اعظم فتح خان بن فتح خان
                جارده مع روز نکشیده ربيع الآخرین
                امر فرمايش ملک را نیک نامی فتح خان
                عاقبت شان زی چه جوی عنت الواوی مكان

According to this reading, the mosque was renovated at the instance of the famous Sharqi
noble Khān-i-A‘gam Fatḥ Khān, son of Fatḥ Khan, about whom we shall speak later, on Sunday
the 14th Rabī‘ II A.H. 842 (4th October 1438 A.D.).

Of the other persons, Muntajib, son of ‘Ālam, appears to be the composer of the epigraph.
He belonged to a leading Shaiikh family and had sometime held the office of the ḥākim-i-shar‘ at
Bilgrama. He lies buried in the famous mound, called Bill, at that place. He is also reported to have been a Persian poet of merit.

The other personage, Malik 'Ali son of Shams, seems to have been an officer of note. He is, however, not mentioned in historical works. Maḥmūd Bilgrāmī quotes some documents dated A.H. 874 (1469-70 A.D.) in which one Amīr Shams, son of 'Ali, is mentioned as the father of the issuing officer Amīr Shākhān. It is likely that this person is identical with 'Ali, son of Shams whose name may have been wrongly read.

IV. ANOTHER INSCRIPTION FROM THE SAME PLACE

The fourth and the last inscription of Ibrāhīm Shāh is carved on a slab fixed in the eastern wall to the right of the entrance of the above-mentioned Jāmī' mosque of Bilgrama. Unfortunately, this tablet is also fragmentary and badly damaged, the main portion of the text having been lost. In its present condition it measures 38 by 34 cm. and contains a record of three lines in Arabic executed in relief in bold Nashāt characters of a fairly high order.

It is an interesting record both from the historical and palaeographical points of view. Maḥmūd Bilgrāmī on the basis of his eye-reading of this epigraph assigns it to Sultan Ibrāhīm, grandson of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna. But there is absolutely no basis, palaeographical or textual, for such an assertion. The present inscription is evidently a Sharqi record, most probably pertaining to the reign of Ibrāhīm, since in general outlines of its calligraphy it has close resemblance to the previous record. In the absence of a complete text, it is not possible to say anything definite about the main purport of the record. It, however, seems to refer to the Jāmī' mosque of the qasba of Bilgrām and mentions the name Daulatyār, the royal sharībdār.

The extant text has been deciphered as follows:

TEXT

Plate XIII (a)

........... (1)

...........................................

(2)

...........................................

(3)

[دوليبار شايبادار خاص مکجنة]

TRANSLATION

(1) The Jāmī' mosque of the qasba of Bilgrām during the reign of the king.

(2) ........... the sultan, may his kingdom be perpetuated .............

(3) Daulatyār, the sharībdār-i-khāss, may (Allāh) strengthen (his position) ............

1 Ghušām 'Ali Āzād Bilgrāmī, Ma'ā'ṣiru'l-Kirām (Hyderabad, 1910), pp. 15-16.
2 Maḥmūd, op. cit., p. 122.
3 Ibid., p. 134.
5 Maḥmūd, op. cit., p. 106.
6 Ibid. reads 'الشریبا هم'.
7 Ibid. reads 'طان لسان'.
8 Ibid. reads 'دولبار بلگرام خاد مکجنة'.
(a) Fragmentary Sharqi record, from Bilgram (p. 46)

Scale: .18

(b) Another fragmentary Sharqi record, same place (p. 44)

Scale: .18
No information is available about Malik Daulatyar, who was evidently a noble of high position entrusted with the duties of the royal ahbārī.\footnote{For the office of the ahbārī, see A. Mahdi Husain, The Rise and fall of Muhammad bin Tughliq (London, 1938), p. 220.}

\textbf{Mahmūd Shāh}

\textbf{V. INSCRIPTION FROM THE SAME PLACE}

The next five inscriptions of the present group pertain to the reign of Ibrāhīm's son and successor Maḥmūd who came to the throne in A.H. 839 (1436 A.D.). The latter's reign was marked by expeditions against Kalpi, Chūnār, Orissa, and finally Delhi. He died in A.H. 861 (1456 A.D.).

The earliest of these records, from Bilgram, is now built into the southern wall in the verandah of the above Jāmī’ mosque.\footnote{\textit{ARIE}, 1958-59, No. D, 196. When the inscription was copied in 1958, the slab was lying loose.} The tablet measuring 92 by 28 cm. contains a record of two lines in Persian executed in relief in \\textit{Nasīḥ} characters. The epigraph records the renovation in 1441-42 A.D. of some structure of unspecified nature by Malik Mānīk Bhaṭṭī of Bhaṭṭner, a companion of Khān-i-Aʿzām Fath Khān, son of Fath Khān Harīwī. It is difficult to ascertain the nature of the building since the exact findspot or the building to which it originally belonged is not quite certain. But according to Maḥmūd Bilgrāmī, the loose tablet originally belonged to the \\textit{Dāru’l-Adālat} (court) from whose ruins it was recovered and shifted to the house of Qāḍī Yūsuf Bilgrāmī at the time when he wrote his book.\footnote{Maḥmūd, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 123-24.}

The inscription reads as follows:—

\textbf{TEXT}

\textit{Plate XII(b)}

(1) تجدید شد این عمارت [در] عبدالمحسن شهنشاه عموم ابن ابراهیم شاه بسی اجل

مکلک مانک بحتی

(2) بهنتیرو یار خان اعظم فتحخان بن فتحخان هریوی سه خرم و اربعین و ثمانیه

\textbf{TRANSLATION}

(1) This building was renovated [in] the auspicious reign of the emperor Maḥmūd, son of Ibrāhīm Shāh, through the great efforts of Malik Mānīk Bhaṭṭī.

(2) of Bhaṭṭner, a companion of Khān-i-Aʿzām Fath Khān, son of Fath Khān Harīwī (in the) year five and forty and eight hundred (A.H. 845=1441-42 A.D.).

Maḥmūd Mānīk, the renovator of the building, who evidently belonged to the Bhaṭṭī clan of Rajputs of Bhaṭṭner being unknown to history, our record is important in that it has preserved his name as well as the information that he was a Sharqī noble of eminence who enjoyed confidence and companionship of Khān-i-Aʿzām Fath Khān. The latter was evidently a son of Shāh-zāda Fath Khān Harīwī, a famous noble and general of Mubārak Shāh and Ibrāhīm Shāh. He held Kānnauj on behalf of Mubārak Shāh until the latter's death in A.H. 804 (1401-02 A.D.), in which year Maḥmūd Tughluq of Delhi ousted him from that place.\footnote{Yahyā Sirhindī, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 171.} Apart from this, no further
information regarding the Shâhzâda is available. He might have died at some subsequent date in the reign of Ibrâhîm.

Khân-i-Aʿzâm Fath Khân, the son, was a trusted noble of Mâhmûd Shâh and commanded the Shârqi army comprising thirty thousand cavalry and thirty elephants against Sultân Buhûl Lodî. In the severe battle that ensued in A.H. 856 (1452 A.D.), Daryâ Khân Lodî, a partisan of Shârqi ruler having deserted him, Fath Khân was defeated. Râi Karan, the Lodî governor of Shânsâbâd, severed the head of Fath Khân and sent it to Buhûl Lodî.1

V. INSCRIPTION FROM JAJMAU

The second inscription of Mâhmûd Shâh comes from Jajmau a village in the Kanpur District.2 The town is very ancient having given its name to Kanpur pargana and tehsil in the past, though it is now a decayed place standing on the bank of the Ganges about four miles to the east of Kanpur.3 The antiquity of this place is proved from its mention by Al-Birûnî. It is also mentioned by Abu'l-Faḍl.4

The inscriptions tablet is set up in the wall to the right of the entrance of the tomb of ʿAlâ ud-Dîn Makhûm Shâh. The saint is popularly believed to have accompanied Qûfûd-Dîn Aibak.5 His tomb has been attributed to Fâiz Shâh Tughluq evidently on the basis of the latter's inscriptions to be found on the tomb itself and the adjoining mosque.6

The slab is apparently not in situ. In fact, it is reported to have been brought from some ruins nearby about fifty years back. Measuring 70 by 33 cm., it contains a record of three lines in Arabic executed in Thuluth characters after the fashion of the Tughluq inscriptions mentioned above. The record is unfortunately so badly damaged that it is not possible to make out its full text. The readable portion, however, seems to mention the construction in 1446-47 A.D. of a certain building by one Hammâd, a descendant of the above-mentioned saint. The name of the calligraphist is Hâmid, son of ʿAbdul-Wawâhâb.

The epigraph has been read as follows:—

Plate XIV

wo shuwr w ddn shig i bshk bshk shuwr
(2) wo ldn rsh Allah dhk mệm mnh shhsh dhn bshk bshk
(3) wshk bshk wbshk dhk
(4) wshk bshk

1 Nizâmud-Dîn, op. cit., p. 153; Firûzhta, op. cit., p. 175; ʿAbdu llâh, Târîkh-i-Dârî (Allaâshâb, 1914), p. 15, where it is mentioned that Fath Khân Hârîwî was buried at Nârel near Delhi. In Fase, 1873, p. 201 and T. W. Beale, Mîstâbât-Tawâlîf (Lucknow, 1867), p. 127, is published the reading of an inscription from Kanauj of the time of Hussain Shâh Shârqi, recording the construction of an arch by Sâyyid Râfî, son of Jâlî, under the supervision of Shâh Harî (Shâh-i-Hirât) Fath Khân, son of Fath Khân, in A.H. 981 (1478-77 A.D.).
5 Nevill, op. cit., p. 300.
6 For these inscriptions and also one of ʿAlâud-Dîn Khaljî appearing on the ʿIdgâh, see ARIE, op. cit., Nos. D, 314, 316, 318.
(a) Damaged Sharqi record, dated A.H. 850, from Jajmau (p. 48)

(b) Another Sharqi inscription, dated A.H. 845, from Hathgaon (p. 49)
TRANSLATION

(1) wa’sh-Sharī wa’d-Dīn... Shaikh... son of Shaikh of the Shaikhs! Ghiyāthu’l-Haq wa’sh-Sharī

(2) wa’d-Dīn, may Allāh be pleased with him. The builder (is) the weakest of creatures Hāmmād, son of Shaikh Ibrāhīm, son of Shaikh Muḥammad, son of Shaikh ‘Alā’u’l-Haq wa’d-Dīn, in the


The personages mentioned in the record do not find any mention in contemporary historical works. Likewise, no information regarding the writer of the epigraph named Hāmid, son of ‘Abdu’l-Wahhāb, is available.

VI. INSCRIPTION FROM HATHGAON

The third inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh is from Hathgaon in the Fatehpur district. Hathgaon is a small town situated on the old Mughal road leading from Fatehpur to Kara at a distance of 18 miles from the former. It is a place of considerable antiquity, as is testified by the height of the main site, which has been raised by gradual accumulation of old building materials.

The loose inscriptive tablet originally reported to have been recovered from a field is said to have been first kept for sometime in a small mosque. It is now placed at the headside of the grave of Būrḥān Shahid situated near the historical Jaichandī mosque of the town, and measures 60 by 32 cm. The exact findspot of the slab, however, is not certain. According to Führer followed by Nevill, the inscription belonged to the tomb of some person whose name is given as Yūsuf. But evidently Führer has not given the correct purport of the record.

The inscription is badly damaged due to wear and tear of time and constant exposure to the elements of nature; hence, its complete decipherment is not possible. The text consisting of five verses in Persian, executed in Naskh characters in relief, seems to mention the completion of an enclosed garden, a well, a pond and a pool by Fath Khān, son of Fath Khān, the muqti’, in 1450 A.D. under the active superintendence of Yūsuf.

The text has been deciphered as follows:

TEXT

Plate XIV(6)

(1) بعهد شهنشاه محمود نام؟
(2) درود و تجيات بر مصطفی
(3) راز ؟ چان تال و غدير
(4) شد از اسی پوست
(5) پاره و خمین و تناماله
(6) که مقطع نفحان این نفحان
(7) و این دجب این شد تمام

---

1. The saint and his descendants, viz. Shaikh Ghiyāthu’l-Haq wa’d-Dīn and Shaikh Muḥammad are mentioned in the Tughluq records referred to above.
TRANSLATION

(1) During the reign of the emperor Mahmūd by name(t)..................for ever.
(2) May blessings and greetings be on Muṣṭafā! May salutations and peace be upon him!
(3) a well, a tank and a pool (and) an enclosed garden were constructed by the Malik
of good reputation
(4) who is the muqṭī, (namely) Fath Khān, son of Fath Khān; (the work was carried out)
through the efforts of Yūsuf.........Qiwām.
(5) It was completed on the 2nd of Rajab (in the A.H. year) fiftyfour and eight hundred
(2nd Rajab A.H. 854=11th August 1450 A.D.).

The identity of Yūsuf is difficult to establish. But Fath Khān, son of Fath Khān, the muqṭī, is
none other than Fath Khān Harīwī who has been already referred to in the preceding lines. The
inscription thus furnishes additional information that the vicinity of Hathgaon, the findspot
of the record, was included in the iqṭī of Fath Khān.

VII-VIII. INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR SHARIF

The last two inscriptions which have been already noticed by Blochmann and others, come
from Bihar Sharif and are important both from historical and palaeographical points of view.
The first of these epigraphs is fixed in the facade of a mosque in the Pahārpūr maḥalla, while the
other is now in the Amber dargāh.1

The Pahārpūr mosque inscription is engraved on a slab of stone measuring 1-20 m. by 22 cm.
and consists of seven verses in Persian preceded by religious texts in Arabic, which are inscribed
in two lines. It records the construction of a Jāmī’ mosque in 1455 A.D., during the reign of
Mahmūd Shāh. The text does not specifically give the name of the builder who is simply men-
tioned by such titles as the champion and refuge of the world, the generous chief (sadr), etc., but
in view of the other inscription to be studied next, we would not be far from truth to state that
he is none other than Malik Naṣīr, the governor. The record sincerely invoking the spiritual
help of the celebrated Bihar saint Sharafu’d-Din Maneri is composed by Ahmad, who has been
identified by Professor ‘Askarī with another eminent saint of Bihar, Ḥaḍrat Ahmad Balkhī Langar-
i-Daryā.2

The epigraph, executed in graceful Nashī of Bihar variety has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XV(a)

من بنا؟ الله بيتا في الجنة
شام عمود بن ابراهيم شام راستين
ящاه توفق خير از فضل رتب الحلفين
 صلى الله عليه وسلم
(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عليه السلام
بارك الله در زمان ناصر دنیا و دین
صدور کیهان پنیست ملکت صدر کریم
مجد جامع بنا کرد انجان کاندثر جهلیان
یافتن ان رونق که تحسین می کند روح الأمین
هیه تمدن عدن فادخواه خالدین
و این ندا از عالم بالا همی اید فرود

2 Askari, op. cit., p. 18.
3 Askari, op. cit.; Diwakar, op. cit., p. 304.
4 Blochmann, op. cit., reads ‘وین’. 
(1) In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Compassionate. He (the Prophet) upon whom be peace has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allah, there is a house for him in Paradise.'

Great God! In the time of Nasir-i-Dunyā-wa-Din (defender of the world and the Faith), Shāh Mahmūd, son of Ibrahim, the upright,

the hero of the world, the shelter of the kingdom, the noble chief (sadr), received guidance to undertake this charitable act through the bounty of the Lord of the Universe.

He built such a Jāmi' mosque on the earth that its arch [and] its foundation touch (respectively) the moon and the Fish.

(2) Its pulpit and niche due to their extremely exalted position, have received such a lustre that even the Holy Spirit (Gabriel) admires them,

and this voice from the world above comes down continuously saying, 'These are the eternal gardens, enter them for ever.'

Wednesday, the twenty-seventh of the month of fasting (i.e. Ramadān) (in) the year (A.H.) eight hundred and fifty-nine was the date (of its construction) (27th Ramadān A. H. 859-10th September 1455 A.D.).

For the perpetuity of his bounty (i.e. the mosque), Ahmad sincerely prays to the holy soul of Shāikh Sharafu'l-Haq wa'd-Din for help.

The tablet bearing the other of the above two records of Mahmūd Shāh and the last of the group is now lying horizontally on two small pillars in the Amber dargāh at Bihar Sharif and measures 1.25 m. by 40 cm. Unfortunately, the text consisting of two lines of writing is badly damaged and the letters have become indistinct. This fact coupled with the manner in which the letters are inscribed one upon another has rendered its decipherment extremely difficult. Blochmann who first noticed this record was able to decipher it in parts, while subsequently Prof. Askari deciphered with difficulty some more portion.

Apparently not in situ, the inscription is originally from the Paharpur Jāmi' mosque as recorded by Blochmann. Like the previous epigraph from the same mosque, this inscription records the construction of a Jāmi' mosque in 1455 A.D., during the reign of Mahmūd Shāh. It also gives the name of Malik Naṣir, son of Bahā, muqti' of the shiq of Bihar as the builder.

The language of the record is mainly Persian verse and the style of writing Naṣkh. The text is composed by one Faḍlullāh about whom nothing is known.

1 Blochmann, op. cit., reads 'هشتم'. For Blochmann’s remarks on 'هشتم', see PASHB, op. cit.
2 With 'و' between 'طاق' and 'نپاد', the hemistic can be taken to illustrate 'لف و نشر دمتب'.
3 Cf. Qur’an, chapter XCII, verse 8.
4 Blochmann, op. cit., wrongly translates it as: 'Ahmad (the Prophet) sincerely (ḥajj) desires to protect this religious building for the sake of the pure spirit of Shāikh Sharafu'l-Haq wa’d-Din.'
7 Askari, op. cit., p. 18, f.n. 6.
8 Ibid. takes it to be from another congregational mosque, but in view of the date etc., Blochmann’s view (op. cit., p. 305) seems to be more probable.
It has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XV (b)

(1) [نَبِيُّ اللَّهُ الْمَلَكَ الْعَزِيزَةَ نُعْمَانُ (الرَّحْمَيْنَ)]

(2) [۶۳۳هـ]

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allâh, the Beneficent, the Compassionate. (The Prophet) upon whom be peace has said, ‘One who builds a mosque for Allâh, Allâh will build for him a house like it in paradise.’

The Jâmi’ mosque, by the grace of the Almighty God and through the blessings of Mustafâ, the master of authority and dignity,

was constructed during the reign of a king, the fame of whose justice covers the west and the east from the back of the Fish to the moon,

he who is the son of Ibrâhîm Shâh, the just, the exalted, (namely) the sun of the empire, king of the world, Mahmûd Shâh.

(2) The construction of this worthy ediifice was undertaken by Naṣîr, son of Bâhâ, the muqti‘ of the shây of Bihâr, the protector and lover of justice,

the most noble, illustrious and rightly guided, who through such generosity gathered good fortune through deliberation . . . . . . . .

(The mosque has) the purity of the Holy house (at Jerusalem) and the chastity of the Sacred house (of Ka‘ba). He constructed a mosque like the mansion of the lofty audience-hall.

The creature Fâjûlillâh wrote that twenty-seventh from the (days of) fasting (Ramaḍân), (A.H.) eight hundred and fifty-nine was the date and the year and the month (27th Ramaḍân A.H. 859-10th September 1455 A.D.).

Naṣîr, son of Bâhâ, the builder of the Jâmi’ mosque and governor of Bihâr, is also mentioned in another inscription of the same ruler, dated A.H. 847 (1443 A.D.), from the same place, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.²

¹Thus in the edition.
²The reading of these lines, due to the damaged writing, is doubtful.
³EIAPS, 1955 and 56, pp. 11-12 (pl. IIIa).
BAHMANI INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHUR DISTRICT

BY A. A. KADIRI

So far, the inscriptions from Raichur have been published in three groups: Mr. E. Rehatsek studied without illustrations three 'Adil Shâh records, the photographs of which were sent to him by Dr. Burgess.\(^1\) Two of these as well as nine more including two records of Maḥmûd Bahmani—all of which were later on removed to the State Museum, Hyderabad—were edited by K. M. Aḥmad,\(^2\) and one badly damaged inscription of Muḥammad Shâh I Bahmani, also housed in the said museum, was noticed by Dr. Z. A. Desai.\(^3\) Lastly texts of almost all the available inscriptions of Raichur including those of the above-mentioned epigraphs were published without illustrations except in very few cases in an Urdu work on the history of Bijapur by Maulvi Bāshīru’d-Dīn Aḥmad, whose readings, however, are full of mistakes.\(^4\)

The office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nagpur, copied in 1957 the Raichur inscriptions except two or three, rubbings of which could not be prepared due to adverse weather.\(^5\) Prior to that the Archaeological Department of the H. E. H. Nizam’s Dominions, had copied in all thirty-four inscriptions from Raichur in 1929-30.\(^6\)

Raichur doāb, the fertile tract between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, has an extremely rich history from the earliest times. Apart from its agricultural and mineral resources, it was on account of its strategic importance a cause of continuous quarrels between the Western Chaulukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and later on between the Yādavas and the Hoyasalas.\(^7\) It first came under the Muslims in 1313 A.D., when Malik Nāhib, 'Aīṣ̣ū’d-Dīn Khājlī’s general, after vanquishing the last Yādava king pushed on further to the south, captured Gulbarga and annexed the tract after reducing its chief fortresses Raichur and Mudgal.\(^8\) Very little of its history in the subsequent few years is known, but we hear of the founder of the Vijayanagara dynasty, Harihara I, having been made governor of Bellary and a part of the doāb by Sultan Muḥammad bin Tughluq, sometime after 1327 A.D.\(^9\) The region must have continued under Tughluq authority, since as late as in 1345 A.D. we find that the ūmirin-i-ṣada of Raichur and Mudgal were ordered by the Sultan to accompany the troops to Gujarat.\(^10\) It is natural that Bahmani kingdom, established in 1347 A.D.,

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also inherited the doāb which towards the close of the reign of ‘Alā’ud-Dīn Bahman Shāh, its founder, was put along with the capital Gulbarga in charge of Malik Saifu’d-Dīn Ghori. The first clash between the Bahmani and the Vijayanagara arms over the region took place in about 1362 A.D. in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh I and ever since, the doāb continued to be a bone of contention between the Bahmans and their successors in the region, the ‘Ādil Shāhīs on one hand and the Vijayanagara kings on the other, till Rāmarāya was defeated and killed in the battle of Raksasatagadi in 1565 A.D. As there is no complete accord between the various authorities regarding the Bahmani-Vijayanagara conflict over the doāb, and particularly since the Arabic and Persian inscriptions set up during this period at Raichur have not been taken into account by the leading authorities on this subject, it would not be out of place to give a brief résumé of the conflict in the light of the said epigraphical evidence.

Sometime after the accession of Muḥammad Shāh I, Bukka I of Vijayanagara demanded the doāb from the former on the ground that it had always belonged to the southern state. The former refusing to comply, Bukka invaded the region in 1362 A.D. and is said to have temporarily captured Raichur along with six other forts on the Bahmani border. However, according to some authorities, the Rāya had captured only Mudgal, but retreated leaving fifty elephants and other booty when Muḥammad I appeared. Subsequently, the Vijayanagara army was defeated again somewhere near the village of Kautalam in 1366 A.D., and Muḥammad I marched victorious to the city of Vijayanagara, but later retreated, pursued by Bukka’s forces which were, however, attacked and repelled, once the Bahmani king was in his own land this side of the Tungabhadra. After this the Rāya appealed for peace which lasted until the death in 1375 A.D. of the Bahmani monarch.

The short reign of Muḥammad I’s successor Mujāhid Shāh (1375-78 A.D.) was marked by a war of nerves against Vijayanagara. In the early days of his rule, Mujāhid wrote to Bukka to fix the Tungabhadra as the frontier and transfer the fort of Bankapur to him, to avoid future frictions over the doāb. But Bukka reiterated his claim over the region and also demanded the fifty elephants captured by Muḥammad Shāh I. This resulted in the expedition of Mujāhid against Vijayanagara. On the death of Mujāhid, Harihara II, the new Rāya, crossed the Tungabhadra and laid seige to Raichur, but eventually raised it and retired across the Tungabhadra, on learning of the unanimity with which Muḥammad Shāh II was enthroned in 1378 A.D.

Thereafter the two kingdoms reigned in peace till 1398 A.D., when the Vijayanagara army again crossed the Tungabhadra and advanced simultaneously against Mudgal, Raichur and other Bahmani possessions in the doāb. Firūz Bahmani who had by this time ascended the throne, defeated Harihara II, made him pay ten lacs of hūns as tribute and appointed Falīd Khān, son of Saifār Khān Sīstānī as the governor of the doāb, hitherto a part of the Gulbarga province from which it was now separated.

1 Shervānī, op. cit., p. 62.
6 Ibid., pp. 119-23.
7 Ibid., pp. 194, 126; Haig, op. cit., p. 385.
8 Ibid., p. 153.
9 Tabātabā, Buḥdān-i-Ma'āthīr (Hyderabad, 1936) pp. 42, 45 gives 30 or 33 lacs tonkás.
10 Haig, op. cit., p. 389.
However, some authorities have questioned the success of this expedition. Likewise they have also expressed their doubt on the success of Firūz in his second campaign of 1406 A.D. against Vijayanagara. From the statement of Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Professor Venkataramanayya is inclined to infer that the Sultan’s campaign was confined to the Deodurg taluk in the north-west of the Raichur district, from which he returned to his capital. According to him, it is difficult to form a correct estimate of the events of the campaign in view of the conflicting evidence of the Muslim historians, but at the same time he finds it hard to believe that Firūz could reach the city of Vijayanagara without any opposition. According to Dr. Joshi also, the doāb had remained in possession of the Vijayanagara king after this campaign and even Firūz’s third campaign of 1417-20 could not wrest the doāb from his hands. As against this, the success of the campaign is vividly described by Firigha the much maligned historian whose account does not carry any weight with these authorities in the absence of corroborative evidence of more trustworthy character. That Firigha was more truthful in his account of the campaign is more than implied by the evidence of an inscription included in the present study (No. 1). This epigraph refers to the construction of a mosque under royal orders in A.H. 809 (1406-07 A.D.) after the conquest of the fort of Manvi, the findspot of the record. This clearly shows that Firūz had not only not confined his attack to the north-west part of the Raichur district but had also recaptured the doāb towards its south-western limits, where Manvi is situated. It is now unlikely, therefore, that Firūz had gone far beyond Manvi, and Firigha may be right in making him go right up to Vijayanagara. Also, the 1417 A.D. campaign does not seem to have much to do with the doāb, which in all probability remained with the Bahmanis and not in the possession of Vijayanagara as stated by Dr. Joshi. For, if the status quo of the second campaign was maintained, the doāb, which in all probability remained with the Bahmanis and not in the possession of Vijayanagara as stated by Dr. Joshi, for, if the status quo of the second campaign was maintained, the doāb should, as seen above, have remained in Bahmanī possession and moreover, if the doāb were in possession of Vijayanagara, where was the need for Deva Rāya to re-establish his authority over that region at this time as asserted by Prof. Venkataramanayya? Professor Venkataramanayya has also expressed doubts about Deva Rāya’s being forced to sue for peace and agree to pay tribute as stated by Firigha. That Firigha is not as irresponsible for this statement as the learned writer would like us to believe, is also indicated by the Sanskrit version of a bilingual record, originally from a step-well at Bidar and now in the State Museum, Hyderabad. Dated the 21st September 1444 A.D. it also speaks of Deva Rāya as paying tribute to Aḥmad Shāh I. Also, according to Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Raichur along with Cheul and their dependencies were granted to Dāʾūd Khān in A.H. 837 (1433-34 A.D.). Two years later taking advantage of the Bahmani prince Maḥmūd Khān’s rebellion, the doāb was again attacked and Mudgal fort captured by the Vijayanagara forces, but the Mudgal fort along with others was again taken back by Aḥmad II in about A.H. 841 (1437-38 A.D.).

The doāb thus seems to have continued to be ruled by Bahmanīs up to 1443 A.D. In that year, Deva Rāya II crossed the Tungabhadra and captured Mudgal, sending his sons against Raichur and Bankapur. Ultimately, however, the Rāya was compelled to sue for peace which was concluded on the promise on his part to pay up all the arrears of tribute and effect cessation of hostilities.

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1 Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 254-55, 283.
2 Ibid., pp. 255, 285.
3 Ibid., p. 285.
4 Ibid., p. 255.
5 Ibid., p. 287.
6 Ibid., p. 289.
7 For this inscription, see p. 82, supra.
8 Tabāṭabāʾī, op. cit., p. 71.
9 Ibid., p. 81.
10 Sherwani, op. cit., p. 238.
11 Ibid., p. 239.
Anyway, we hear next of the doāb in 1492 A.D. when Qāsim Barīd, being alarmed at the growing power of Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān, invited the Vijayanagara king to attack Raichur and Mudgal in the doāb which then formed part of ʿĀdil Khān’s jāgīr. Between 1443 A.D. and 1492 A.D., the Bahmānīs do not appear to have had any difficulty in the doāb, for we have at least three inscriptions at Raichur itself (Nos. 2-4), dated A.H. 873 (1468-69 A.D.), A.H. 874 (1469-70 A.D.) and A.H. 885 (1480-81 A.D.) acknowledging the Bahmānī sovereignty. The said two forts were lost to Nārāyan Nāyaka in 1492 A.D. for a while, but were recovered in the same year by Maḥmūd who had come to the rescue of Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān and granted to the latter. Anyway, there appears little doubt that the doāb mostly remained in the possession of the Bijapur governors, first under the nominal authority of the Bahmānīs and later on under their independent rule. We have at least two inscriptions at Raichur, mentioning (Ismāʿīl) ʿĀdil Khān which are dated 1510-11 and 1513-14 A.D. Krishnadevarāya of Vijayanagara is said to have again invaded the doāb in 1512 A.D. and captured Raichur which could not be defended by Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Khān, then a minor. These authorities also speak of Ismāʿīl’s futile attempt in A.H. 927 (1521 A.D.) to recover the doāb from Vijayanagara. But these accounts seem to be in contradiction. At least partially, with the epigraphical evidence. For, we have near Raichur itself an inscription (No. 6) dated A.H. 918 (1512-13 A.D.), containing the text of a qaunmāna issued by Malikuʿsh-Sharq ʿAmbar. There is one more record (No. 7) acknowledging Maḥmūd Bahmānī’s sovereignty and Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil’s governorship in A.H. 919 (1513-14 A.D.). There is yet another, which though unfortunately undated, was set up in the time of Ismāʿīl’s governorship and obviously belongs to about this time (No. 8). This would either mean that Krishnadevarāya was not able to consolidate his hold over the doāb, if at all he had captured it, in 1512 A.D. or at the most, the region may have changed hands more than once between 1512 A.D. and 1520 A.D. when Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Khān, coming to power after the overthrow of the regent Kamāl Khān, is said to have made an unsuccessful bid to regain the area. But the Bijapur king was able to reduce the doāb without much difficulty in 1530 A.D. after the death of Krishnadevarāya.

Approximately from this time onwards, the dispute over the Raichur doāb was carried on between the Vijayanagara empire and the independent kingdom of Bijapur, since the Bahmānī rule had come to a virtual end with the death of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmānī in 1518 A.D., though their overlordship continued to be acknowledged, however nominally, till about 1538 A.D.

Seven of the eight inscriptions studied below range in their dates from A.H. 809 (1406-07 A.D.) to A.H. 919 (1513-14 A.D.), while the eighth inscription which has been mutilated can be easily assigned, as will be discussed at the proper place, to about A.H. 918 or so. These epigraphs apart from throwing light on the Raichur doāb affairs, as discussed in the preceding lines, offer valuable information regarding the career of certain noblemen not to be found in historical works.

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

The earliest inscription is a new record of Firūz Shāh Bahmānī (1397-1422 A.D.) and comes from Manví, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in Raichur district. The slab bearing
(a) Inscription of Firuz Shah Bahmanl, dated A.H. 809, from Manvi (p. 57)

Scale: 1:18

(b) Bahmani record, A.H. 873, from Raichur (p. 59)

Scale: 1:6
the epigraph, reported to be fixed above the door of a mosque, measures 93 by 56 cm. and contains eight lines of writing in Persian verse cut in relief in Naskh characters. It is an important record in that it provides fresh evidence about the doubts raised by some modern authorities, as has been stated above, over the Bahmani king’s campaigns in the doab and their success. The epigraph refers to the conquest of the fort, evidently of Manvi, by Abu’l-Fath Firuz Shah Bahmani who, it further states, placed it in charge of Malik Safdar, the chief of chiefs. It also records that Muhammad Zahir Aqchi constructed a mosque on the site of a temple in 1406-07 A.D.

It is difficult to ascertain the identity of Malik Safdar who received the charge of the fort and perhaps its dependencies. It may be pointed out in this connexion that according to Firigha, Faulad Khan, son of Safdar Khan Sistani was appointed governor of the Raichur doab in 1398 A.D. or about a decade before the date of our inscription. Likewise, nothing is known about Muhammad Zahir Aqchi, the builder of the mosque.

An eye reading of this inscription was published by Bashiru’d-Din Ahmad, but it is hopelessly corrupt as will be seen from the text quoted below:

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)

(1) هو العلام

(2) بحمد الله از حكم برودرگار ز بخانه شد مسجد دین شمار

(3) (4) لعصر اشکشان نشور کشیده شه دین پنه خسرو تاجدار

(5) رجاون ملك که فیروز شه بشمی که در پاغ دینست ازو لویهار

(6) پیغمبر عزم که فتح کرد این حصار

(7) سر سروان صفرز روکر

(8) این مزار این سجدگاه شریف محمد تیمور افی دینه مدار

(9) ایباصد به این از هجرت مصطفا بنا کرده جون که این یادگار

2 Bashiru’d-Din Ahmad, op. cit., has "ششیایه".
3 Ibid. omits these two hemistiches.
4 Ibid. reads "در یکه".
5 Ibid. reads "پسر".
6 Ibid. reads "مبار".
7 Ibid. reads "پیغمبر فتح کرده" and gives in figure A.H. 790
8 Ibid. reads "کرده".
TRANSLATION

(1) He (Allāh) is Omniscient.

(2) Praise be to Allāh that by the decree of the Nourisher, a mosque has been converted out of a temple as a sign of religion.

(3) in the reign of the world-conquering emperor, the king who is the asylum of Faith and possessor of the crown,

(4) whose kingdom is young (i.e. flourishing), viz. Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī, who is the cause of exuberent spring in the garden of religion,

(5) Abūl-Faṭḥ, the king, who conquered this fort by the firm determination of his mind in a single attack (lit. on horseback).

(6) After the victory of the emperor, the chief of chiefs, Šafdar (lit. the valiant commander) of the age, received (the charge of) the fort.

(7) The builder of this noble place of prayer is Muḥammad Zāhir Aqshāī, the pivot of the Faith.

(8) He constructed in the year eight hundred and nine from the Migration of the Chosen (prophet Muḥammad) (A.H. 809=1406-07 A.D.) this Kaʿba-like memento.

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

The second inscription was found in the fort of Raichur. The two huge epigraphical tablets said to have originally belonged to the Kamānī gate, no more extant, are now fixed inside the gate called Kāṭī-Darwāza. Obviously due to their exposure to elements of nature, the tablets have weathered and the writing thereon slightly damaged in a few places. The upper slab measuring about 3'05 m. by 51 cm. is inscribed with two lines of writing, executed in bold Nasḵ of inferior order, containing the First Creed followed by a line in Persian purporting that the gate was constructed by Mallū Khān Ḥāfīq in 1468-69 A.D. in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Humāyūn Shāh, son of Sultān ‘Aīlm-d-Dīn. The lower slab measuring 2'27 m. by 37 cm. contains a text of two verses in Persian engraved in the same hand, which merely invokes prayers for the edurance and propitiousness of the structure.

Mallū Khān Ḥāfīq who was also responsible for setting up at Raichur three more inscriptions, dated A.H. 874 (1469-70 A.D.) and A.H. 885 (1480-81 A.D.), two of which will be studied next, was surnamed ‘Deccani’. A noble of high rank, he played an important part in the reigns of five Bahmanī sovereigns, namely, Aḥmad II, Humāyūn, Nīzām Shāh, Muḥammad III and Maḥmūd. His father’s name is given by Fīrīṣṭa as Qāsim Saṅīr Ṣhīkān.

According to Ṭabaṭābā, Aḥmad I had devised and conferred the title of Mallū Khān for the sarnāwat-i-maisara, and his successor Aḥmad II had also followed his father’s policy, but it is not clear from his account if the incumbent of that post under Aḥmad II and Mallū Khān of our records are identical. Anyway, Mallū Khān Ḥāfīq appears to be the one appointed by Aḥmad II at whose death he, along with some other nobles, supported the cause of Ḥasan Khān to the throne, but fled the capital when Humāyūn was acclaimed king. Mallū Khān went to Raichur but was

3 Yāzdānī, op. cit., p. 7, fn. 3.
5 Ṭabaṭābā, op. cit., p. 88.
subsequently won over and comforted by the queen-mother and was given charge of the Bidar fort. After the death in A.H. 886 (1481 A.D.) of Mahmūd Gāwān who had held the territory of Bijapur, Mallū Khān was made one of the lieutenants of Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān, who received the province of Bijapur. He is one of the prominent nobles who were absent on the occasion of the coronation of Mahmūd and it was no doubt due to the great importance attached to these high personages that Malik Nāib Nīgām-ul-Mulk Bahrī made a provision that when they arrived at Bidar the capital, the ceremony would be held again.

The text of the record under study is quoted below:

**TEXT**

Plate XVI (b)

(a) Upper slab.

(1) لا اله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(2) در عهد محمد شاه بن همام باشا بن سلطان علاء الدين ياكوردو خان أعظم

ملو خان حافظ سنه ثلاث و سبعين و ثمانيايه

(b) Lower slab.

(1) اين در هیشه در همه عالم كشاده باد

(2) اين ز خان ز خاک ددر دز دز فتاد

(3) يارب مباد اين در خالى ز خان جنين

(4) اقبال و عز و دولت [و] شادي مدام باد

**TRANSLATION**

(a) (1) The First Creed.

(2) In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Hūmāyūn Shāh, son of Sulṭān ‘Alā‘u’d-Dīn, (the gate was) constructed by Khān-i-A’gam Mallū Khān Hāfīz (in) the year (A.H.) eight hundred and seventythree (A.H. 873-1468-69 A.D.).

(b) (1) May this gate be always open to the whole world! May the enemy be under the dust in this gate!

(2) O Lord! May this gate be never bereft of such a Khān! May he always be prosperous, honourable, fortunate and happy!

**INSCRIPTION NO. 3**

The third inscription, dated 1469-70 A.D., is found over the inner side of the second gate of the Makki-Darwāza of the Raichur fort. The inscriptive slab measures 2'43 m. by 33 cm. and contains only one line of writing in Persian executed in relief in Nasḵī characters. The record...
mentions the construction of the gate by the same Mallū Ḫān Ḥāfiẓ in the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh. The text of this inscription also was published by Bashīru’d-Dīn.\(^1\)

Its text reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XVII (a)*

در عهد سلطان محمد شاه باکردره خان اعظم ملو خان حافظ سنہ اربع سبعين و ثمانیہ

**TRANSLATION**

In the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, the construction (of this gate) was carried out by Khān-i-ʿAʿẓam Mallū Ḫān Ḥāfiẓ, in the year (A.H.) eight hundred and seventyfour (A.H. 874–1469–

**INSCRIPTION NO. 4**

The fourth inscription is engraved on a slab measuring 40 by 76 cm. which is fixed into the ground in the park called Maḥbūb-Gūlshān on the outskirts of the town of Raichur.\(^2\) It consists roughly speaking of six\(^3\) lines of Persian prose written in Nasḵ characters of an inferior type and refers to the same Khān-i-ʿAʿẓam Mallū Khān Ḥāfiẓ as the builder of some structure in 1480–81 A.D. during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. It is difficult to establish the exact nature of the construction, since no data are available about the original findspot of the inscription.

Its text has been deciphered as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XVII (b)*

(1) در عهد
(2) افضل سلاطین
(3) محمد شاه بن همايونشاه
(4) باکردر خان اعظم
(5) ملو خان حافظ
(6) سنہ خمسا و ثمانیہ

---

\(^1\) Bashīru’d-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 316.


\(^3\) The words are not written in regular order in a line; for example "سلاطین" of "胎" in the second line has been inscribed in the first line and "بین" of the third line is written between the first and second lines.

\(^4\) Bashīru’d-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.* p. 315, reads 'من撼

\(^5\) *Ibid.* reads 'نماْهْن ماْاْیهْ.'
(a) Bahmanī inscription, dated A.H. 874, from Raichur (p. 60)

Scale: .08

(b) Another record, dated A.H. 885, same place (p. 60)

Scale: .15
BAHMANI INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHUR DISTRICT

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of
(2) the most excellent of the kings,
(3) Muḥammad Shāh, son of Humāyūn Shāh,
(4) (this) was constructed by Khān-i-Aʿzam,
(5) Mallū Khān Ḥāfiz,
(6) (in) the year (A.H.) eight hundred and eighty-five (A.H. 885-1480-81 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 5

The fifth inscription is engraved on four slabs—the first measuring 2.05 m. by 30 cm. and the remaining three jointly measuring 5.85 m. by 19 cm.—which are fixed on the frieze over the open facade of the Daftari-Masjid, situated opposite the jail inside the Raichur fort. It consists of one line of Arabic and Persian prose written in Nasḵī characters of an inferior order. The letters on the first slab are larger in size than those on the remaining slabs, as is the case with inscription No. 7 of this group. The epigraph registers the deed of an endowment made by Malikuš-Sharq Malik Ḥājī, son of Sulaimān Qirmānī of 9 chāwars of land in the village Gabur in Raichur district—8 chāwars for the leader of prayers, the caller to prayers, etc., and 1 chāwar for the managing trustee of the mosque—and also of 40 shops in the city of Raichur near the monument for meeting the expenditure incurred on the mosque. It is dated 1498-99 A.D. Its text has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate XVIII

(a) First slab.

الحمد لله رب العالمين و الصلاة على سيدنا محمد و آله إجمعين إما بعد وقف كر improbable نموذ من طالبان الوضاحات إله الملك إله الملك المولى على إله الرحمان الملك حاجي بن سليمان قرمان ملتؤار له جاور زهين در كيور

(b) Second slab.

[١] إن أعمال نعمات والجدور ير حفاظ و امام و موثق مسجد مسجود فيه عشت جاور زهين برائ حافظان و امام و موثق و جاور برای نتول باشد و اضا وقف نموذ

1 ARIE, op. cit., No. D, 130; Bashiru'd-Din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 330-31. Though this as well as the next inscription do not mention the name of the then ruling Bahmani king Malmūd Shāh, they are included in the present study since they mention high officials who seem to have been in charge of the fort and the district.
TRANSLATION

(a) Praise be to Allāh, the Lord of the worlds, and salutations be on our leader (the Prophet) Muḥammad and on all his progeny. Coming to the point, by way of seeking the pleasure of Allāh, the Maliku’ṣ-Ṣharq (who is) dependent upon Allāh the Merciful, Malik Ḥājī, son of Sulaimān Qirmānī, dedicated and gave in charity a piece of nine chāwars of land in Gabūr

(b) in the jurisdiction of the district of Raichur, for the ḥuffāz (those who have learnt the Qurʾān by heart), the imām (the leader of prayers) and the muʿadhdhin (the caller for prayers) of the said mosque. (Of these), eight chāwars of land is meant for the ḥāfiz, the imām and the muʿadhdhin, and one chāwar of land for the mutawallī. Likewise, he also endowed

(c) forty shops described and defined, situated in Rāichūr by the side of the said mosque, to meet the expenditure of repairs, oil for lamps, mattresses and all other heads of expenditure sanctioned by religion in connection with a pious bequest. And the testator has put forth a condition that curse be on that person who is aware (of this endowment) and

(d) knowingly makes any change or appropriation in this (bequeathed property); he will become, in accordance with what has been said by Allāh the Exalted and the Glorious in the Irrevocable book (i.e. Qurʾān), the 'forbidder of good, transgressor and sinful'. Dated in the year (A.H.) nine hundred and four (A.H. 904=1498-99 A.D.).

It will be observed that the village in which the endowed land was situated is spelt in the inscription as 'Gabur'. There are two places in Raichur district bearing this name: Gabur and Gabbur. The former is situated at a distance of about thirteen miles north-west of Raichur itself, while the other lies in the south-west part of the district, at a distance of about 2 miles from the Ginigera railway station on the Hubli-Guntakal section of the Southern Railway. It is evident that Gabur near the district headquarters is the village intended in our record.

1 Bashtru’d-Din, op. cit., reads "مصلح الوقتي".
2 Ibid. reads "شرط گیرد".
3 Ibid. reads "کرامت".
4 This "و" appears to be redundant.
BAHMANI INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHUR DISTRICT

INSCRIPTION NO. 6

The sixth inscription is found at the village Maliabad in Raichur tāluk.1 The inscriptive slab measuring 60 cm. by 1.71 m. is lying loose in the local mosque and contains a bilingual record of twenty-one lines of writing executed in ordinary Naskh in relief and five lines incised in Kannada characters. Unfortunately, the writing is damaged and weather-beaten in the most part, the slab having remained exposed to elements of weather for a long time. It is, therefore, a pity that it was not possible to decipher the full text of this extremely interesting record which forms the text of a qauhnāma issued in 1513 A.D. by Malikʿuš-Sharq Malik 'Ambar granting reductions in the levies on the village-communities like farmers, oil-sellers, weavers, tailors, etc., and prohibiting collection of the same by rates other than those laid down in the order. It also prohibits the practice of forced labour, unreasonable demand, etc. The qauhnāma ends with an imprecation against those officials who might seek to disregard the said order. The Kannada portion which was kindly examined by the office of the Government Epigraphist, Gootacamund, is reported by him to consist of only the imprecatory portion with which late inscriptions usually end. The language of the Persian version is unsatisfactory.

This Malikʿuš-Sharq 'Ambar who is incidentally mentioned in the next inscription also appears to be an official of note, though I have failed to trace any reference to him in historical records.

The text reads as under:

**Text**

*Plate XIX*

(1) قول: نامه از حضرت ملک شرق ملک عتیر نابی.
(2) کالنسی فی الجبر و قابی [اراء] الدهر در.
(3) باب آنک مزارعان و باقان و حاکم.
(4) و ریگرکان و جمع اهل مجتهد و جمهور.
(5) سکنه قصبه ملایامد کی مال دیوان در سالینه بدین.
(6) تفصیل مزار عان یو درین که یک پرتاب باقان دوگان.
(7) اول یکه هون بزرگ دوم یکه پرتاب حاکم هر یکه.
(8) هون بزرگ میبینه ماهم چهارده بیان بو معاون پنچ بیان.
(9) قرار نه بیان و ریگرکان سابیا دوته بو معاون نیم.
(10) تلکه قرار یک تلکه و نیم بیکفان زینم مردم کشتل.
(11) باغات و سابه هفت تلکه خیاط و حمیی اول بیان دوم.

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*The reading of the underlined words is tentative.*
(1) (This) qaūnāma (issued) by Ḥaḍrat-i-Malikuʿāb Sharq Malik ʿAmbar (which is) as steadfast
(2) as the engraving on stone and (which will) endure till the existence of the world, is with
(3) regard to this that the cultivators, the grocers, the weavers, the oil-sellers and all of the artisans and the entire population of the village Maliābād (should pay) the annual revenue as per following

(6) schedule: Cultivators one partāp each; the grocers of two categories,
(7) the former, one large hūn and the other, one partāp; the weavers,
(8) one large hūn each; the irregular monthly (weavers) had to pay fourteen jītals: they are
given exemption of five jītals (and)
(9) have to pay nine jītals; the oil-sellers (who) had to pay two tankas in the past (have) exemption of half a
(10-11) tankas and have to pay one and a half tanka; for each chāvar (or) bigha land of the people (land for residence), gardens and cattle (i.e. land for grazing), seven tankas; the tailor
and the………….one has to pay one jītal and the other
(12) three tankas;……………..the first, one partāp, the second three tankas and the third, two
(13) tankas; apart from this, from the artisans…………………may be
collected and forwarded later. Beyond
(14-15) this no oppression and illegal practice should be resorted to and the illegal gratification !,
(16) forced labour,…………and unauthorised demand are abolished. Zukūt and……..may
be collected in accordance with the law. Neither anything in excess of this should be taken
nor should there be any leniency
(17) shown. If anybody disobeys this qaunāma, resorts to tyranny and carries on
(18) illegal acts, curse be on him. If he is an infidel, an outcast
(19) he will become. (It is stressed) once again that having submitted to this qaunāma, (all)
should apply it to barren
(20) as well as habited places (i.e. everywhere), and follow this illustrious qaunāma.
(21) Dated the 14th of the month of Dhī’l-Qa’da A. H. 918 (21st January 1513 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 7

The seventh inscription belongs to the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmani.¹ It runs
into five couplets of Persian verse which are engraved on three tablets of unequal size—the upper
slab measuring 2.21 m. by 27 cm. and the lower two 2.1 m. by 19 cm. and 1.33 m. by 19 cm. respec-
tively—which are fixed over the main entrance of the Yak-Minār mosque² situated outside the
fort of Raichur. The writing in the first slab is bolder than in the lower two slabs, while the radif
portion in the middle slab is engraved transversely and vertically. The epigraph records the con-
struction of a mosque by ‘Ambar in 1513 A.D. in the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmani and
during the governorship of ‘Ādil Khān II by whom Ismā’īl ‘Ādil Khān, the second Bijapuri ruler,
is meant. The ‘Ambar of this record is undoubtedly identical with Malikū’sh-Shārq ‘Ambar of
the previous record (No. 6). This inscription is an important record as it provides, as discussed
above in details, irrevocable evidence about the political status of Raichur in the early 16th
century.

The text is inscribed in Naskh characters and may be read as follows:

TEXT

Plate XX(a)

(1) بهد سلطنت شاه بہمنی محمود
(2) بدولت ملک الملك عادل تا
(3) نہا نبی صاحب سخا و کرم
(4) میر آکشی کہ بدلیا بنا مسجد کرد
(5) پسال نوزده و نیصد از مہ هجرت

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the Bahmani king, Maḥmūd, such a graceful and fine edifice took shape.

(2) In the government of the Malik of the kingdom, ‘Ādil the second (i.e. Ismā’īl ‘Ādil), such a
(beautiful) edifice was constructed in this auspicious place.

¹ ARIS, op. cit., No. D. 141; Bashiru’d-Din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 322-23; G. Yazdānī, op. cit., p. 51, App. H,
No. XIII.
² For a brief description of the mosque, see Yazdānī, op. cit., p. 13.
³ Bashiru’d-Din, op. cit., p. 322, reads گرید، گرید.
⁴ Ibid. reads غوش کسک.
(3) It was built by one (who is) master of charity and generosity, who is named ‘Ambar and whose disposition is as (pleasing as) ambergris.

(4) Whosoever builds a mosque in the world, in exchange for it, God bestows on him the reward of the highest heaven.

(5) In the year nine hundred and nineteen from the month of Migration (A.H. 919=1513-14 A.D.), this building was constructed through auspicious fortune.

INSCRIPTION NO. 8.

The tablet containing the last inscription of this group is now fixed over the entrance of the mosque of Hazāra Baig but is said to have been brought from behind the jail. It measures 1.12m. by 31 cm. and contains three lines of writing in Arabic engraved in relief in ordinary Naskh letters. The epigraph is yet another record of Maḥmūd Shāh Bāmanī and refers to the construction of a mosque during the time of Ādil Khān II, that is to say, Ismā’īl ‘Ādil of Bijapur, by Khwāja Sumbul. The letters in the date portion have been scraped off and hence it is not possible to say exactly when the mosque was constructed. However, we may be able to fix the date approximately. There is at Bijapur a mosque popularly called Yūsuf’s old Jami’ mosque which was constructed according to the inscription on it by Khwāja Sumbul in Shuhūr San 918 corresponding to A.H. 923 (1517 A.D.), in the reign of Maḥmūd Bāmanī. Now, our inscription was also set up in the reign of the same king who died in A.H. 924 (1518 A.D.) and therefore, the mosque must have been built before that date. Again, the present inscription was set up in the time of Ismā’īl ‘Ādil who succeeded Yūsuf ‘Ādil in A.H. 916 (1510-11 A.D.), and therefore, the mosque must have been constructed in or after A.H. 916. But since in the Bijapur inscription, Khwāja Sumbul is mentioned with the high designation of nāib-i-qhaibat of ‘Ādil Khān, which title or for that purpose any other title is absent in the present record, it is reasonable to hold that our inscription was set up sometime before A.H. 923, the date of the Bijapur inscription. In other words, the mosque must have been constructed, soon after Ismā’īl’s accession, in about A.H. 917-18 (1511-12 A.D.).

The inscription reads as follows:--

TEXT

Plate XX(b)

(1) ﷲ ﻰ ﻲ ﻰ ﻰ ﻲ ﻲ ﻲ ﻲ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ 
(2) ﷲ ﺮ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ 
(3) ﷲ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ ﻰ 

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh. And praise be to Allāh, and salutations upon the prophet of Allāh.

(2-3) Verily, the humble and weak creature (who is) suppliant to the Creator of the universe, namely Khwāja Sumbul, was directed by God to construct this mosque in the reign of Sultan Mahmūd Shāh and (during the time) of government of ‘Ādil Khān the second in....

1 Arie, op. cit., No. D, 143; Bashirud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 339; Yandani, op. cit., p. 51, App. H, No. XXX.


3 Bashirud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., reads ‘3 رمذان إラインي'.
(a) Epitaph of Mubarak Shāh Fārūqī, A.H. 851, from Thalner (p. 67)

(b) Record of 'Ādil Shāh Fārūqī IV, dated A.H. 997, from Asirgarh (p. 70)
SOME MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM KHANDESH

By S. A. Rahim

A few inscriptions of the Fārūqi kings of Khandesh were studied by me in the last issue of the journal. In this article I propose to study ten more inscriptions from that region.

The earliest of these inscriptions is to be found on the octagonal tomb of Mubārak Khān (1441-1457 A.D.), the fourth king of the line, situated at Thalner in the Shirpur taluka of Dhulia district in Maharashtra. The huge inscriptive tablet measuring 2.72 by 1.22 m. is fixed over the entrance gate of the tomb facing south and contains three lines of writing in Persian verse and Arabic prose executed in Thulth characters of a fairly high order. The inscription has been twice noticed, but the reading given is not only 'hopelessly misprinted', but full of errors. The record forms the epitaph of Mu‘īn-ud-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Fārūqī who is stated therein to have died in A.H. 861 (1457 A.D.). The main text which begins as well as ends with a Persian couplet is in faultless Arabic. The epigraph is somewhat damaged. It has been read as follows:---

TEXT

Plate XXI (a)

آيت منشور حکمت پینا اللہ وعلی
قد وقع وفات السلطان، الا عظم الاندلس اشر خوانن
فی عهده و اشجع خوانن فی عصر الوارث الی رحمه اللہ الملك المنان معین الحق
و السلطنة و الدیا و الدین مبارک خان عادل ؟ ..... الغفوران
فی ثانی عشر رجب الربع سنہ احید و ستین و تمنیاہ
جہن دی ایمان کشادی و ایہ بخشایش میند
بر گلگتہ ہر حق مصطفی و مجنین

TRANSLATION

(1) (Verse:) 'Say: He, Allah, is One' is the chapter containing an epitome of His attributes. The verse diffused with wisdom is 'Allah does what He wills'.

The death took place of the mighty, the just and the illustrious sultan, the noblest among the khāns

2 The reading given is also carved with Quranic verses.
3 The reading given in J. Burgess, Architectural and Archaeological Remains in Khandesh (Bombay, 1877), p. 31, has been repeated in H. Cousens, Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency (Bombay, 1897), p. 57.
4 J. Horovitz, 'List of the Published Mohamadan Inscriptions of India', Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (KIM), 1909-11, p. 129, No. 1225.
5 Qur’ān, chapter CXII.
6 Ibid., chapter XIV, verse 27.
(2) of the time and the bravest among the khāqāns of the age, the one who attained the mercy of Allāh, the Beneficent Lord, namely Muʿīnu'l-Ḥaq wa's-Salṭanat wa'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Mubārak Khān 'Adil, may he be forgiven.

(3) on the twelfth of the respected month of Rajab in the year (A.H.) eight hundred sixtyone (12th Rajab A.H. 861=5th June 1457 A.D.).

(Verse :) When Thou hast opened the door of Belief, closest not the path of pardon in the face of the sinners on behalf of the Chosen and Selected (i.e. Prophet Muḥammad)!

The above record is very important since it quotes the full titles of Mubārak Shāh which are not given in historical works. But still more valuable is its evidence which settles the date of his death: according to Firīsta, Mubārak Shāh died on Friday, the 12th Rajab A.H. 861, but Ḥājjī Dabīr places the event in the last ten days of Jumādā II of the same year. The present record proves the correctness of the information of Firīsta.

The next inscription, also an epitaph, is carved on the four sides of the sarcophagus of the grave of a celebrated Fārūqī nobleman, Amīr Yār 'Allī, situated to the east of the Ādī Shāhī tombs on the outskirts of Burhanpur. Amīr Yār 'Allī, al-Mughalī, as he is called by historians, and his brother Ḥusām 'Allī al-Mughalī were prominent nobles of the Fārūqī court and played an important role in the affairs of the kingdom towards the close of the fifteenth century. However, Firīsta and others do not contain any mention of Yār 'Allī's career beyond giving his name. Fortunately we are told by Ḥājjī Dabīr that on the death of Ādī Khān II in A.H. 909, Amīr Yār 'Allī leading a strong party of the nobles supported Ghaznī Khān, son of Dā'ūd Khān, against the latter and proclaimed him the king. But after about a month Yār 'Allī, with the help of two nobles of his group deposed Ghaznī Khān in favour of his father Dā'ūd Khān contrary to the wishes of the remaining members of the party who left the capital and were given chase by Yār 'Allī. After dispersing them, Yār 'Allī camped for the night in the vicinity of Bāgh-i-Ardhaula near Mahmūdpūr and in the course of the night when he was greatly intoxicated, was murdered by one of his slaves. However, Ḥājjī Dabīr who correctly places the event in Dhi'il-Qa'da A.H. 909 does not quote the day of the month. Our inscription supplies this omission and further corroborates the historian in the matter of Yār 'Allī's martyrdom. Further, it gives the full name and titles of the said Amīr.

The inscription is executed in beautiful Thulth characters and its text is in Arabic. The text, as has been stated above, is carved on the four sides of the grave of which, the north, the east and the south ones contain religious texts comprising the traditions of the Prophet and a verse in Arabic, while that on the west side forms the epitaph proper stating that Malik Amīr Shujā'u'd-Dīn Yār 'Allī was martyred on the 13th May 1504 A.D. The text of the epitaph, it will be seen, speaks very highly of Yār 'Allī.

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3 Firīsta, op. cit., p. 281.
4 Ḥājjī Dabīr, op. cit., pp. 54-55. It may be pointed out here that Ḥājjī Dabīr has described the events as taking place in the same year when Ādī Khān II died, i.e. in A.H. 909. Though the printed text of Ḥājjī Dabīr's history has A.H. 907, the mistake was corrected to A.H. 909 in the errata of the same work. But almost all the modern authorities, right from T. W. Haig, ed. Cambridge History of India, vol. III (Cambridge, 1928) to A. K. Majumdar, author of the chapter on the Khandsesh kings in The Delhi Sultanate (Bombay, 1960), not caring to refer to the errata, have rendered Ḥājjī Dabīr's account as incorrect.
The writing occupies a total space of 3.24 m. by 34 cm. on the sarcophagus. The epitaph has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXII

(a) North side.

The text is not clear and appears to be a series of unintelligible words or phrases.

(b) East side.

الموت جسر يوصل الحبيب إلى الجيب من مات فقد قامت قيامته

(t) قال سيد العرب و العجم صلى الله عليه و على الله و سلم المنون حي في الدارين و قال عليه الصلاة و السلام إعمنون لايتمون بكل بتركل من دار إلا دار و قال (2) قال عليه السلام و النجية و الآكرام من كان آخر كلامه لا الله إلا الله دخل الجنة و قال صلى الله عليه و على الله و لاحم من جزيل نواله السهق قريب من الله قريب من الجنة بعيد من النار

(c) South side.

نه ملكك بنادي كل يوم لدنا للموت و ابتنا للخراب

(d) West side.

(1) قد اجاب لوصي ربه و رضي نحبه من دار الحكمة و الغزور إلى دار الهجة و السرور شهيد ذا القداسة نائلا درجة الشهيد الأمير الكريب الذي قل بمثله تسجي الادوار ما دار الفلك الدوار من حاز كل قضاء السباق في الجود في مشار الوجود

(2) وحيد النذر و فائد البرايا فريد العصر في دجل العطاف الفائز برحمة الله الملك الوالي الأول [الآمير الأعظم المعلم شجاع الحلة و الدولة و الدنيا و] الدين يار على اسكته الله تعالى في فرادي جنانه وافق عليه شاهب رحمة و رضوانه في الثامن و العشرين من شهر ذي قعدة سنه تسع و تسع

TRANSLATION

(a) Death is a bridge linking a friend to a friend. One who dies, verily for him the Day of Judgment comes.

(b) (1) The chief of Arabia and 'Ajam (i.e. Persia), may the blessings and salutations of Allah be upon him and his descendants, has said, 'A true believer is alive in both the worlds.' And (he), may peace and salutation be upon him, has said, 'The true believers do not die but they (only) move from one house (this world) to another (the next world).'  

[1] This phrase seems to be redundant.
[2] The reading of the underlined phrases is tentative.
(2) And (he), may salutations, blessings and respects be upon him, has said, ‘He whose last words (at the time of death) are ‘There is no god except Allāh’ enters Paradise.’ And (he), may the blessings of Allāh be upon him and his descendants and may He not deprive us of his generous favours, has said ‘A generous man is near Allāh and near Paradise but far from Hell.’

(c) (Verse :) He (i.e. Allāh) has an angel (whose duty is) to shout every day, ‘Be born for death and build for destruction’ (i.e., he who is born dies and anything that is built is ultimately destroyed).

(d) (1) Verily, he answered to (the call of) the executor? of his Lord and happily accepted (the call of death) (and passed away) from the house of trouble and deceit (i.e. this world) to the house of rest and pleasure (i.e. next world), namely, the martyr who tested martyrdom and obtained the status of a martyr, the noble and the generous Amīr, the like of whom is scarce during the revolution of times as long as the revolving heavens revolve, one who took away all the reeds of perfection in the matter of generosity in the field of existence,

(2) the unique of the age, the phoenix among the human beings, the incomparable one in the age for bestowing gifts, one who has succeeded to receive the mercy of Allāh, the King, the Lord, the Friend, viz. the great and illustrious Amīr Shujā’u’l-Millat wa’d-Daulat wa’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn, Yār ‘All, may Allāh give him place in the gardens of His Paradise and pour upon him the heavy rains of His Mercy and Pleasure, on the twentieth of the month of Dhī’l-Qa’dā, the year (A.H.) nine hundred and nine (28th Dhī’l-Qa’dā A.H. 909=18th January 1504 A.D.)

The third inscription of the group is from the ‘Īdgāh at Asirgarh in the West Nimar district of Madhya Pradesh and belongs to the reign of ‘Ādil Shāh IV (1576-96 A.D.), the last but one Fārūq ruler. It is executed in plaster over the three arched recesses immediately to the left of the pulpit in the west wall and measures 1.62 m. by 23 cm. The raised letters of the inscription have been filled up with successive coats of white-wash rendering it difficult to decipher the record in full and prepare a good inked rubbing thereof. It will be seen from the transcript that the writing above the two arches on the right is identical while the text on the third, namely, the one close to the pulpit, records the renovation of the namāzgāh (i.e. ‘Īdgāh) in A.H. 997 (1588-89 A.D.) in the reign of ‘Ādil Shāh IV. It will be recalled that the same king had ordered the construction of the Jāmī’ mosque of Asirgarh as well as of Burhanpur in this very year.

The language of the inscription is Persian verse and the style of writing Naskh. The composition of the record is not only mediocre but faulty. Consequently, it has been difficult not only to prepare a satisfactory reading but also to give its readable translation. The calligraphy is also equally bad.

**TEXT**

*Plate XXI(b)*

(a) On the arch, third from the pulpit.

(1) [الله} تَوَّبُكَ تَغْفِرُ مَّا دَا [پادشاها] آرایه [پادشاها] آرایه

(2) [ملنود] است و جای ناپدنا

بیچ از ان در چنان سابه پناه

نور خشید خورشید ماه

که این عمارت فرمود ما دا

گنگ‌شته عمارت نو ساخت جایرا

که این عجب است هر در طرف راه
(b) On the middle arch.

(1) (1) Oh God! Bestow your mercy upon the king who constructed this building for us. He made the old building a new one; (so) keep his kingship as long as the empyrean.

(2) This place is enlightened and is a namāzgāh. And it is wonderful in that it is approached from two sides.

Before this, under such a shadow, light has shone forth from sun and moon.  

(b) Same as in (a) above.

(c) (1) This auspicious edifice has been completed in the year (A.H.) nine hundred ninety-seven (A.H. 997=1588-89 A.D.);

in the reign of 'Ādil Shāh the king, the work of the namāzgāh has been carried out.

(2) In the time of the just emperor, the place of worship has been completed.

Oh Lord! Protect this city till the sun and the moon endure.

The fourth inscription of this study is one of the two inscriptions of Akbar to be found at Burhanpur. It is engraved on the base of the southern minaret of the Jāmi’ mosque built by 'Ādil Shāh IV in A. H. 997 (1588-89 A.D.). The inscription has greatly suffered due to weathering of the stone and the letters have in most cases peeled off. It forms one of the many records engraved in different parts of the country by the celebrated nobleman, literate and calligrapher of Akbar’s court, Mīr Muhammad Ma‘ṣūm, with the poetical name Nāmi, of Bhakkar. Composed in prose and verse, also by him, the inscription states that the Ilāhī year of Akbar was reckoned from the date of that emperor’s accession. It also records that Akbar had reached Burhanpur on the 11th Farwardīn of the Ilāhī year 45 corresponding to the 25th of Ramadān A. H. 1009 (10th March, 1601 A.D.). It also refers to the homage paid to Akbar by Bahādur Khān, the last Fārūqī king. The epigraph further states that the emperor left for Lahore on the 12th Urdbibihisht of the

1 It is not possible to correctly translate this faulty verse.
Ilahi year 46 corresponding to Shawwal A.H. 1009 (20th April 1601 A.D.). It also gives the genealogical details regarding Namí himself.1

There is some confusion in the dates quoted in the epigraph. The Ilahi year 46 and A.H. 1009 are perfectly distinct in this greatly damaged record but Farwardin of Ilahi year 45 did not coincide with Ramadân of A.H. 1009 but of A.H. 1008. This may have been an inadvertent mistake. Also according to Abu’l-Faḍl, the new Ilahi year 45 started on the 4th Ramadân A.H. 1008,2 in which case 11th Farwardin was 14th Ramadân A.H. 1008. However 11th Farwardin of Ilahi year 46 was 25th Ramadân A.H. 1009. What seems to have happened is that Namí made a faulty computation of the day and month of the previous year on the basis of the current year. In other words, he gave 25th Ramadân as the equivalent for 11th Farwardin of Ilahi 45, being perhaps caught unawares by the fact that in the Ilahi year 46, 11th Farwardin was 25th Ramadân. Also Abu’l-Faḍl gives the date of Akbar’s entry to Burhanpur on the 21st Farwardin of the Ilahi year 45 which fell on the 24th Ramadân A.H. 1008.3

The record measuring 1.34 by 1.2 m. consists of nine lines of writing executed in Nasta’liq of pleasing type and reads as follows:—

\textit{TEXT}

\textit{Plate XXIII (a)}

1. [تاریخ‌الیه عبارت‌ست از زمان جلوس حضرت شاهنشاه ظل الله آگر با،ادشا: شاه آگر که ز تائید چنان بخت کست آباد اسیر از ان نامی سنه بیش کفت اله آباد]
2. خوش قلعه اسیر کشاد کست آباد اسیر از ان نامی سنه ۶۳ موافق [۵۳ دی ماه‌نامه ۹۹] حضرت شاهنشاه
3. پاتارن ای فرودین ماه الیه سنه ۶۹ موافق [۲۸ دی ماه‌نامه ۹۹] حضرت شاهنشاه
4. فلک برگرم یل اله برهمان یولد
5. مقر رایت ظفر آیات ساختند و بهادرخان آمده بیابوس مشرف شد و او زا اتباع
6. جان بخشی کردن یا قلعه اسم فتح شد
7. شاه غازی جلال الدهن آگر آن بنازید بخت قلعه کشت
8. کرد فتح اسم از ان نامی کفت بگرفت قلعه اعلا
9. قائله و کاتبی محمد معصوم المخلص به نامی بن میسی صنایل امری اصول و البکری
10. مسکنا و مدختا
11. و المنصب اما ای سید شیر قلندر این باها حسن ابدال السبزواری ولدا و القنهاری
12. موطنا و مرقدا

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1 A gist of this record with plate was published in M.A. Suboor, \textit{Bulletin of the Nagpur Museum, No. 1} (Allahabad, 1920), pp. 8-9, pl. III.
3 \textit{Ibid.}, p. 531.
(a) Akbar's inscription, dated A.H. 1009, from Burhanpur (p. 72)

(b) Another record of Akbar, same place, same date (p. 74)
The Ilahi era is meant to commence from the time of accession of His Majesty, the emperor, the shadow of God, Akbar Badshah (Verse:) The king who through the support of his young luck

(2) conquered the fort of Asir, Asir has become prosperous; hence Nami (for the year of the conquest of the fort) composed, with one more year (the chronogram in the words): populated by God.

(3) On the 11th of the month Farwardin of the Ilahi year 467 corresponding to the 25th Ramadhan (A.H.) 1009, His Majesty the emperor with the audience-hall of sky, the shadow of God, made Burhanpur

(4) the camping ground of the victorious standards and Bahadar Khan having presented himself was granted the favour of paying obeissance (and) the emperor pardoned his as well as his dependants' lives. And the fort of Asir was conquered.

(5) (Verse): Jalaludin Akbar, the victorious king who with the favour of his luck is conqueror of forts, reduced the fort of Asir. Therefore, Nami (for the chronogram of its date) said, 'He took the lofty fort.'

(6) The composer and engraver (of this) is Muhammad Ma'um, whose pen-name is Nami, son of Sayyid Safai, a't-Tirmidhi by origin and al-Bakkari by domicile and by death, and

(7) related on mother's side to Sayyid Shur Qalandar, son of Baha Hasan Abdali, a's-Sabzwari by birth and al-Qandahari by domicile and by death.

(8) On the 12th of the month Urdhibihisht of the year 468 corresponding to the 26th Shawwal (A.H.) 1009, His Majesty set out for Lahore.

(9) (Verse): When the king conquered Khandesh and Dakan, he at once started for Hindustan (i.e. North India). Nami added one figure and then said (for the chronogram), 'The exalted king started for Lahore.'

The above inscription contains three chronograms: the phrase populated by God in the second line yields 44 to be added by 1 thus giving the Ilahi year 45 in which the Asir fort was conquered; the phrase He took a lofty fort in the fifth line gives 1009, the Hijra year of the conquest of the fort; and the last hemistich in the last line yields A.H. 1008 to be added by 1, i.e. A.H. 1009, as the date of Akbar's departure towards Lahore. The exact days and months of the years are specified in the main text.

R.B. Hiralal states that according to this inscription, Akbar came to Burhanpur via Allahabad. This is not corroborated by the inscription. The text does not use the word Ilahabad in the sense of the famous city, but in its literal meaning. Likewise, Mr. Suboor in his summary

of this epigraph states that Akbar marched from Akbarābād to capture the fort of Āsir, while it will be seen from the above text that Akbarābād is not mentioned at all.

The other inscription of Akbar and the fifth of this group is engraved on the western side of the plinth of the eastern of the two ʿĀdil Shāhī tombs at Burhanpur. It is inscribed in four panels, three having three lines each and one having four. The language is Arabic prose and Persian verse. Apart from the well-known Arabic maxims, it contains a few verses in Persian composed by the engraver Nāmil and states that this record was inscribed in A.H. 1009 (1601 A.D.) at the time when Akbar after having conquered Āsir and Ahmādnagar, started for Lāhore. It also gives the same genealogical details about himself as in the previous record. The style of writing is Nastāʿīq and the total space occupied by the text is 2.42 m. by 42 cm.

The record reads as follows:

**TEXT**

Plate XXIII(b)

(a) **First panel.**

(1) انظروا الى اهل القبور ناظروا يا اول الابصارات
(2) لما قيل غفلة الأحياء أكثر ام حسرة الأموات
(3) قال عيناه عين الدنيا فصيرة فاعبروا ولا تعترووا

(b) **Second and third panels.**

(1) فريد رحيل ازهم كرمشلون
(2) كرده هم تبكر بسر منزل دور
(3) نامي زمانه بارد بردار

(1) تو خفته براه و كروان تيز
(2) تو سنيه خوده زرده بر خير

(c) **Fourth panel.**

(1) در حينه كنا حضرت نقل الله جلال الدين محمد أكبر بادشاه از فتح قلعة اسير
(2) فاتهم أصغر وا برداخته متوجهه لاهوئ شهد تحرير يافت سنة 990.
(3) العبد محمد معصوم بن سيد صفاف ابا و الابكرى مرقدا و الترمذي اواصل
(3) و ابن سيد شير بن بابا حسن ابدال ابا و المقدادى مشهدا و السبزوارى موطنا

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1 Suboor, op. cit., p. 8.

2 It may be noted that Qandahar in this inscription is quoted as the place of martyrdom, while in the previous record it is only mentioned as a place of death.

3 The spelling "एहमद एनकर"
may be noted. For coins of Jahāngīr from Ahmādnagar mint bearing this spelling, see R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore* (Oxford, 1914), p. XXXVII.
TRANSLATION

(a) (1) Have a look at those who are in the graves (i.e. the dead) and take lesson, O possess-
sors of sight!

(2) Because, it is said, ‘Is the negligence of the living greater or the remorse of the dead’?

(3) Jesus, may peace be upon him, has said, ‘The world is (like) a bridge; therefore, cross
it and do not dwell in it.’

(b) (1) You are listening to the (sounds of) departure from everybody (and) to the sound of
the caravan-bell from front and behind.

(2) All have undertaken nocturnal journeys and reached their far-off destinations, while you
are sleeping on the way and listening to the sound of the caravan-bell.

(3) Nāmī! Pack up your goods from this world and turn your face to the other world, light
of burden.

You are sleeping in the way while the caravan is going fast. You yourself are the stone (i.e.
hurdle in the way), (therefore) get up from the way.

(c) (1) At the time when His Majesty, the shadow of God, Jalālu’d-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar,
the king, having dispensed with the conquest of the fort of Asīr

(2) and Ahmadānagar set out for Lāhore, (this record) was inscribed. Year (A.H.) 1009 (1601
A.D.).

(3) (Written by) the servant, Muḥammad Ma’sūm, son on the paternal side of Sayyid Ṣafā’i
al-Bakkārī by the last resting place and a’t-Tirmidhī by origin,

(4) and on mother’s side son of Sayyid Shīr, son of Bābā Hasan Abdāl, al-Qandahārī by the
last resting place (lit. place of martyrdom) and a’s-Sabzwārī by origin.

The sixth epigraph, set up in the reign of Jahāngīr, is engraved over a slab measuring 95 by
50 cm. which is fixed over the main gate of the Akbarī-Sarāū at Burhanpur. The record comprises
four lines of writing in Persian executed in Nasta’līq of a high order. It mentions the completion
of the sarāū under royal orders in A.H. 1027 (1618 A.D.) during the governorship of the province
of Mīrzā ‘Abdu’r-Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, the commander-in-chief. The work was supervised by
Lashkar Khān.

TEXT

Plate XXIV(b)

(1) در عهد سلطنت گل الله في الاضياء لور الدین محمد جهانگیر باشماء غازی
(2) خلک الله مکه و عدله و احسانه و صاحب صوتبی خان خانان سیبلاز
(3) خلک شوکن حسب الامر جهان جنیس باهتام بنده درگم خلاق بناء لشکر خان
(4) در سه هزار و بیست و هفت این سرا باتمام درس کتبه خلاف التبريزی

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the shadow of Allāh in the worlds, Nūru’d-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bād-
shāh-i-Ghāzi,
3 DGA/62
(2) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, justice and beneficence, and during the governorship of the province of Kān-i-Khānān, the sipāhīlār (commander-in-chief),

(3) may his glory be perpetuated, and in compliance with the order obeyed by the world and under the supervision of Lashkar Kān, a servant of the people-sheltering court,

(4) this sarā is was brought to completion in the year (A.H.) one thousand and twentyseven (A.D. 1027-1618 A.D.). Written by Khalaf aṭ-Ṭabrīzī.

Lashkar Kān under whose charge the construction of the sarā was carried out is too well-known to need detailed mention here. He was the diwān of Khandesh when Kān-i-Khānān was appointed the governor of the province in A.H. 1027, but since both were not on good terms, Jahāngīr replaced him by ‘Ābid Kān.1 His name was Abu’l-Hasan Mashhadi.2 As regards the scribe, Khala. aṭ-Ṭabrīzī, no information is available in the annals of the period, but it may be recalled that he had also designed the epigraph of the hamīm constructed at Burhanpur in A.H. 1024 by Kān-i-Khānān.3

The seventh record is found carved on a slab fixed into the compound-wall of the mosque called Māṣjd-i-Kabīr in the village Shendurni in Jamner tālūk in Jalgaon district of Maharashtra. The inscriptive tablet measuring 62 by 28 cm. is fragmentary and the writing is also badly damaged. The mosque is stated in the epigraph to have been originally built by Bahādur Kān Fārūqī, son of Rāja ‘Alī Kān, governor of Khandesh on behalf of Akbar. Bahādur Kān was the last Fārūqī ruler of Khandesh; he ascended the throne in 1597 A.D. but was dethroned by Akbar in 1601 A.D. when Khandesh was annexed to the Mughal empire. The record also contains a reference to the tomb of Kān-i-Khān Ghāzī, son of Sayyid Mīr Aḥmad Kabīr being situated in the compound of the mosque. The epigraph bears the date 1660 A.D. but it is difficult to say if it is the date of the renovation of the mosque or of the construction of the tomb or of the death of the said Kabīr Kān.

The inscription consists of three lines of Persian and is written in Nastā‘īq characters. Though the letters are badly damaged, the calligraphy appears to be of a very high order. It has been read as follows:

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Plate XXIV(c)

(1) مسجد بهادر خان فاروقی بنا راچه علی خان چه منجلان برشنگ
(2) یکر حاکم صوبہ بہادر بیور خاندیس پور تعمیر کرده است در اس عہد
(3) دیواری یہ مقبرہ کبیر خان غازی بن سید میر احمد کبیر ورحمت الله علیہ بیست 600

دیما آخیر در سال 1021

TRANSLATION

(1-2) This mosque had been constructed by Bahādur Khān Fārūqī, son of Rāja ‘Alī Khān, who was on behalf of emperor Akbar the governor of the gūba Burhanpur-Khānādes. In the compound.

1 Sayyid Ahmad, ed. Tāzuk-i-Jahāngīrī (Allipgur, 1864), p. 257.
2 For details of his career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, Mu‘ājīrul-Umard, vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 163-68.
3 EIAPS for 1955 and 56, p. 116 (pl. XXXa). For an inscription at Paithan, District Ahmadnagar, also designed by him, see EIM, 1949-50, p. 13 (pl. VIIb), where, however, his name is wrongly read as Khalafu‘-Nadhīr.
(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 1114, from Burhanpur (p. 78)

(b) Record of Jahangir, dated A.H. 1027, same place (p. 75)

(c) Inscription, dated A.H. 1071, from Shendu ni (p. 76)
(a) Epitaph of Mirza Ibrahim, dated A.H. 1111, from Burhanpur (p. 77)

(b) Epitaph of Haiga Maryam, dated A.H. 1130, same place (p. 79)
(3) of its wall is the tomb of Kabir Khan Ghazi, son of Sayyid Mir Ahmad Kabir, may mercy of God be upon him. 20th of Rabi' II, year (A.H.) 1071 (13th December 1660 A.D.).

The eighth inscription appears on the headstone of a grave in the compound of a mosque in Mahalla Ni'matpur of Burhanpur and seems to record the date of death of one Mirza Muhammad Ibrahirn, son of Mirza Abu'l-Fatih al-Hasani al-Husaini al-Inju'i. Nothing could be traced about the deceased or his father from the records at our disposal.

The language is Arabic and the style of writing Thuluth, while the tablet measures 30 by 30 cm.

Its text runs as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XXV(a)*

(1) میرزا محمد ابراهیم ابن میرزا
(2) اب نافع الحسنی الحسنی الاجرؤی
(3) غم خامس شهر رمضان المبارک سنه 1111

**TRANSLATION**

(1) (Death occurred of) Mirza Muhammad Ibrahirn, son of Mirza
(2) Abu'l-Fatih al-Hasani al-Husaini al-Inju'i
(3) on the fifth of the auspicious month of Ramadhan, year (A.H.) 1111 (14th February 1700 A.D.).

The ninth inscription of this study is fixed over the gate of the eastern wall of Sufi Nur Shahr's tomb in the Mahalla Shiath-Kuwan at Burhanpur. Its text is composed by Muhammad Shahr, son of Haji Sadir Shahr and a disciple of Shaikh Nusr Muhammad Riday—Sufi Nur Shahr in popular parlance—and furnishes some interesting information. The text contains two chronograms, yielding A.H. 1114 (1702 A.D.) and A.H. 1118 (1706-07 A.D.) for the date of the demise of the saint and the construction of the tomb by the same Muhammad Shahr respectively. It also supplies some valuable information about Haji Sadir Shahr, Muhhammad Shahr's father, who was, as we shall soon see, an official. We are told that the Haji was the son of Imam Quli, son of Shahr Savar and that he came to India from Bukhara and populated after his own name two villages, named Sadarpur and Shahpuri in the paragna Shakarpur in the vicinity (muqaf) of Shahrjahabadd (Delhi) and settled there.

Haji Sadir Shahr had also constructed a mosque at Jajmau in Kanpur district of Uttar Pradesh at the instance of Qilich Khan, the sadru'sudur and the grandfather of Asaf Jah I, in A.H. 1093 (1682 A.D.). As Qilich Khan whose original name was 'Abid Khan had spent some years at Bukhara, first as Qadi and later as Shaikhul-Islam, it is a reasonable guess that the Haji had accompanied him to India and was attached to him. After Qilich Khan's demise, he seems to have been enrolled in the service of the formar's son, Nawab Ghaziud-Din Bahadur Firuz Jang. For, he was in A.H. 1113 the deputy, at Bid in Maharashatra, of Firuz Jang when the latter held charge of the province of Deccan—from Bijapur to Aurangabad. He seems to have been

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2 For 'Abid Khan's career, see Shah Nawaz Khan, op. cit., vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 120-22.
3 EJD, 1921-22, p. 16.
mainly responsible for the foundation of the suburb Ghāziu’-d-Dīn-Nagar, a bastion, a mosque in the tomb of Shāhīnshāh Wallī, all at Bid, etc., between the years A.H. 1113 and A.H. 1118, as indicated by several inscriptions at that place. At least one of these, dated A.H. 1118, was composed in verse by the Hāji’s son Muḥammad Shāh of our inscription.

The text of the inscription runs into seven lines of Persian prose and verse. The style of writing is Nastaʿlīq of a fairly good type, while the tablet measures 1.20 m. by 74 cm.

The epigraph has been read as follows:—

**TEXT**

Plate XXIV(a)

(1) صلى الله عليه وسلم

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) نود نه تام حق احصا نمودن

پیاً مخلص به ره سیر کردن

محمد شاه را رخصت چنین است

(3) بنده درگاه ولد حاجی صدر شاه این شاه امام قل بن شاه سوار که والد قیصر

از بخارا بپندوستان آمد بنام خود قرایت صدرپور و شاهپور در پرگه شکرپور مضاف

(4) شاهسون آباد آباد ساخته وطن اختیار کردن و این خاکیان قطع آن ناهمزدت شیخ

فرود محمد رضایی

(5) نور انشه قلبی بنوره اینعامارت در سن شهروایت 1118 تعمیر نمود و تاریخ وصال

24 بیست و هفتم شهر رجب سنة 1118 هجری بود قطعه

(6) در نیل مشت تاریخ وصال پیر خود

کی مجد شهر تاریخ مبارکا بگو

اینکه طالب در حرم یاد با همکذش بهم

**TRANSLATION**

(1) Peace of Allāh be upon him (i.e. on the Prophet Muḥammad). In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Fragment:

(2) To count Ninety-nine names of God—Paradise lies in it, according to the saying of my chief (Prophet Muḥammad).

Therefore, oh counter, since you have gone through all the three, such is the permission granted to Muḥammad Shāh.

(3) The servant of the court, son of Hāji Ṣadr Shāh, son of Shāh Imām Qulī, son of Shāh Sawār, father of this poor fellow (i.e. the builder Muḥammad Shāh),

(4) having come from Bukhārā to India, populated two villages, Ṣadrpūr and Shāhpūr (called) after his name, in the Shakarpūr pargāna in the vicinity of

Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) and settled there. And this dust of the feet of the pole-star of God, Ḥājrat Shaiḵ Nūr Muḥammad Riḍā’ī,

(6) may God enlighten my heart by his light, constructed this building in the year of eternal existence, A.H. 1118 (1706-07 A.D.). And the date of (the saint’s) death is the 27th of the month of Rajab A.H. 1114 (6th December 1702 A.D.). Fragment:

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2 The meaning of this verse is not quite clear.
3 This phrase forms the chronogram.
(7) I was seeking the words (i.e. the chronogram) for the date of the death of my spiritual guide, when a voice from the Unseen came to the ear of my heart,

(saying), 'O Muḥammad Shāh! proclaim this auspicious date, namely that the seeker has got together with the Friend in the latter's sanctuary.'

The tenth and the last inscription of this study is also from Burhanpur. Near the city-wall on the south there is a grave which according to the inscription thereon marks the resting place of Ḥāfīza Maryam. The marble tablet is of considerable dimensions measuring 1.7 m. by 92 cm. and contains an epitaph in Arabic with the exception of one verse in Persian, recording the death of Maryam, daughter of Muḥammad, son of 'Ali-Mūsā al-Ḥusainī al-Māzandarānī, entitled Muf-takhar Khān. It is interesting to note that according to the epigraph, Maryam was a qāriyya (i.e. well-versed in the science of recitation of the Qur'ān) and had performed pilgrimage to the cities of Mecca and Medina, having stayed there for two years, in the course of which she had visited the shrines of the holy Prophet and his daughter from whom she claimed descent. The text of the inscription was composed and written by her husband who was the son of her cousin on father's side, namely, Abu'l-Faḍl Khān, son of Ghiyāṭhuddīn, son of Mansūr al-Ḥusainī al-Injū'ī.

The style of writing is Nāṣḵ of a fairly good type, and the text may be read as follows:—

**TEXT**

(a) **Top corners.**

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

اللهم صل على محمد المصطفى

(2) وعلى المنبر...

(3) وعلى المنبر...

(4) وعلى المنبر...

(5) وعلى المنبر...

(6) وعلى المنبر...

Plate XXV(b)

(b) **Within the arch.**

(7) صلاة الله و سلام عليهم جميع الظاهرين...

(8) وقدت على الكرم بغير زاد...

(9) فحمل الأزادي...

(10) تاريخ وفات را جبم...

(c) **Around the border.**

قد فاتت السيدة المبرورة المغفورة الموافقة قارئة القرآن المجيد وزائرة بيت الله الحرام و مجاورتها فيها حجتين و إداه الحجتين و زارة جدها سيد المرسلين و جدتها سيدة نساء العالمين...

مرت بركان النصر و الأجند مجد بن على موسى الحسيني المازنداري الخاطب بمقتدر خان
(a) 'Everything is mortal except His Face.'
(b) (1) In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
(2-7) Shiite durud.
(8) I went to the most beneficent (God) without any provisions of good deeds and good heart.
(9) For, when one happens to go to a generous person, carrying provisions is the worst of all things.
(10) When I sought the date of (her) death, (the chronogram was found in the phrase :) The evergreen Paradise became the abode of Maryam. Year (A.H.) 1130 (1718 A.D.).
(c) The death took place of the chief, the forgiven, the pardoned, the favoured, the qariyya of the glorious Qur'an, the visitor of the Holy House of Allah where she stayed for two years (lit. two bajja), performing two pilgrimages and visiting the tombs of her ancestor, the chief of the prophets (Prophet Muhammad), of her ancestress, the chief of all the women of the world (Fatima), and of the remaining holy Imams, may blessings of Allah be upon them in their sacred tombs (lit. gardens), one who bears the name of the mother of Christ, may peace be upon him and on our Prophet (Muhammad), that is to say Maryam, daughter of the late highly respected grandee, Muhammad, son of 'Ali Mūsā al-Hasaini al-Māzandarānī entitled Muftakhar Khān, on Thursday, the 12th of the month of Jumādā I in the year eleven hundred and thirty from the Migration of the Prophet (12th Jumādā I A.H. 1130-2nd April, 1718 A.D.). This is written by her husband, who is also the son of the son of her father's sister, the humble creature, the depressed, the sad, the sorrowful, the separated, Abu'l-Fadl Khān, son of Ghīyathu'd-Dīn, son of Manṣūr al-Hasanī al-Hasaini al-Inju'.

Maryam of our inscription is evidently identical with Hāfīza Maryam, the tutoress of Princess Zaibu'n-Nisā, daughter of Aurangzeb, according to Shāh Nawāz Khān. But there seems to be some confusion in the account of the said author who makes her a wife of Mīrzā Shukrullāh while in the present record, the name of her husband is given as Abu'l-Fadl Khān. Likewise, it is not possible to establish satisfactorily the identity of Maryam's father Muftakhar Khān with the original name Muhammad, son of 'Ali Mūsā al-Māzandarānī. The only Muftakhar Khān who is mentioned by historians is Mir Khāhil, son of A'gam Khān Jahāngir Shāhī, who later received the title of Khān-i-Zamān. He was associated with Buhānpur in the capacity of governor at least twice and is said to have had constructed his residence in that city. It is possible that these chroniclers or the copyists may have made some mistake about the true name of the said Muftakhar Khān, if he is identical with the Muftakhar Khān of our inscription. In any case, the inscription has preserved the names of two titled grandees of the time of Aurangzeb.

1 Qur'an, chapter XXVIII, part of verse 88.
2 Ibid., chapter LV, verse 26.
SANSKRIT PORTION OF THE BIDAR INSCRIPTION IN THE HYDERABAD MUSEUM

By B. Datta and C. L. Suri

[In the 1959 and 60 issue of this journal, Mr. R. M. Joshi had studied the Sanskrit version of the Bidar step-well inscription, now in the State Museum, Hyderabad. On being told that the study of Mr. Joshi suffered from some inaccuracies, I requested Dr. D. C. Sircar, then Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, to see if the said study could be improved upon. The present article written by two epigraphical assistants of that office is published here with due acknowledgement.—Ed.]

In April 1961, three impressions of a bilingual inscription, found at Bidar and now preserved in the Hyderabad Museum, were sent to the Government Epigraphist for India by the Superintendent for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Nagpur. The Sanskrit portion of the record is here published with the kind permission of Dr. D. C. Sircar, Government Epigraphist for India, who has also helped us in the preparation of this paper.

The inscription is engraved on a stone slab measuring about 47 by 72 cm. The Sanskrit portion covers an area about 47 by 45 cm. and contains 21 lines of writing which is not carefully engraved. The preservation of the writing is also not quite satisfactory. The record is in verse except the word śriḥ at the beginning and at the end, and the words idam cha in line 19 just before the date. It is written in Nāgari characters of the 15th century. The change of final m and the class nasal to anusvara may be noted as an orthographical peculiarity of the epigraph.

The inscription is dated both in a chronogram (tarka-ras-anala-chanḍra) and in figures as the Śaka year 1366, Raktākshi, Aṣvayuja 10, Monday, Śravaṇa-[nakshatra] and Dhruravayoga, regularly corresponding to the 21st September 1444 A.D. The Persian portion of the record, however, bears the date equivalent to 28th September 1444 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a step-well by Sahanājihā (Persian, Shahnāz), queen of the Bahmani king Ahmad Shāh I and mother of Mahmūd Khān, during the reign of 'Alau’iddin Ahmad II (1436-58) who was the son and successor of Ahmad Shāh I.

The record begins with the word śriḥ which is followed by a verse in adoration to the god Aja (unborn), i.e. Brahman (verse 1). Then it introduces the Bahmani king Ahmad I (verse 2). His capital, the city Bidar, is next compared with the cities of Mahendrapura and Kubera (verse 3). A hill called Nānaka is mentioned in relation to the said city (verse 4). Originally, the capital of the Bahmani kings was at Gulbarga and Ahmad Shāh I changed the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar.

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3 Joshi, op. cit., seems to have mistaken the text to be in prose because neither there are punctuation marks intended to show the verse-end in his transcript nor the names of the metres are mentioned in his article. Moreover his remark that '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 Danḍin and Bāṇabhaṭṭa' leaves no doubt that he has really mistaken the record to be written in prose.
4 Joshi, op. cit., has not read the chronogram here.
5 EIAPS, op. cit., p. 34.
Verse 5 describes the army of the Bahmani king and refers to the commanders in charge of his forts and to his Malikas, Khānas and innumerable castles. Next it is stated that the king’s commander imprisoned the living ruler of Rājamahendravardha and that his minister made Dēvarāja to pay tribute to him (verse 6).

The contemporary ruler of Rājamahendravardha (modern Rajahmundry in Andhra Pradesh) was the Reḍḍi king Virabhada (1423-44 A.D.), a subordinate of Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagara.1 Aḥmād Shāh I is known to have attacked the Vijayanagara king Bukka III in 1423 A.D. Dēvarāya II who succeeded the latter in 1424 A.D.2 is referred to in our record as paying tribute to Aḥmād Shāh.

The Bahmani king had a queen named Bibi Sahānjhā (Shahnâz) (verses 7-9), whose son named Maḥmūd Khān was ruling a city, the name of which is doubtful (verse 10).3 The said queen caused the construction of a step-well in the reign of the king Allābadī (‘Alā’ud-Dīn Aḥmād II) son of Sultān Aḥmād (verses 11-12).4 The following stanza (verse 13) refers to the garden around the step-well and also to its good waters. Verse 14 quotes the date already discussed above. The last line being rubbed off is not fully decipherable; but it seems to record the wish that the well, caused to be constructed by Sahānjhā (Shahnâz), may last as long as the sun and the moon endure (verse 15).

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**TEXT**

**Plate XXVI**

[Metres: verses 1, 3-4, 7, 11-13 Anushṭubh; verses 2 Upajāti; verses 5-6, 8 Śārulavikīḍūta; verse 9 Vasantaṭīkā; verses 10, 15 Upagīti; verse 14 Ārū.]

1 Šrih || Ajahya jagad-utpati-sthitīsamhāra-kārinē | trigunā[ya] guṇ-ātita-mūrtayē Brahmane na-

2 mah || [1*] Tad-ājñay-ājāyata bhūtalē-smin bhūri-pratāp-ā[na]la-tt4pi[t-ā]rih | Ahamoddā dripta-nārēmāra-pakshi-syē-

3 nō mahān Bahmani-pātiśahā || [2*] Mahērdrasaya Kubōryâna nagarī na garīyasī | apēkshā Bōdarān yasya na-

---

1 M. S. Sarma, History of the Reḍḍi Kingdoms (Waltair, 1948), pp. 190-93; Epigraphia Indica (EI), vol. XXXIII, p. 2.
2 EI, op. cit.
3 Joshi has confused Maḥmūd Khān with Muḥammad Khān who was joined by Devarāya II of Vijayanagara in a conspiracy resulting in an unsuccessful revolt against his brother, the ruling king ‘Alā’ud-Dīn Aḥmād II. The latter pardoned him and gave the jāgīr of Rājāchal to him. The Persian portion states that Maḥmūd probably held Māhr (reading of which in the Sanskrit portion is doubtful) and not Rājāchal. This clearly shows that Aḥmād Shāh I had three sons, namely ‘Alā’ud-Dīn Aḥmād II, the immediate successor, Maḥmūd Khān, born to him by Bibi Shahnāz referred to in this epigraph and Dāwūd Khān.
4 This is the only mention of the name of the ruling king in our inscription. Joshi reads the name as Allabandi and seems to translate it as ‘the servant of God’. It is, therefore, surprising how he ascribes the present record to the reign of ‘Alā’ud-Dīn Aḥmād II. Perhaps the name Aḥshāmāda in line 2 was taken by him to refer to ‘Alā’ud-Dīn Aḥmād II.
5 From impressions. There are a number of gaps, irregularities and mistakes in Shri Joshi’s transcript, all of which have not been pointed out here.
Sanskrit version of the Bidar inscription, Hyderabad Museum (p. 82)

5 bhūdharāṁ(ram) || [4°] Vāditrair=badhirāyatē tribhuvanam [dhūlt]bhir=amdhāyatē yasmin rānīya (rājīya=a) bhīshēṇayatē=ati-bhārūd=bhū-

6 miē=cha na[mrā]yatē yad-durg-ādhikritā malika=chanāḥ khānāḥ puraḥ kōṭayaḥ kas=tasy= Āhmada-Bahman-

7 ni-narapatēḥ Saṁkhyaṭum=īṣṭē chamāṁ(mām) || [5°] [Jiva]d=Rājamahāṇḍra-durga= nṛipa[tiṁ] yasy=[āgra]-sēnāpatīḥ kārāmaṁ-

8 dira-gaṁ [karōti] || [Śrī-Dēvarājaṁ] nṛpa[ṁ]pam) | vikrāṇtam karadikarōti sahīvō yaṁ=ch=aikakaḥ sarvadā

9 kas=tasy=Āhmada-Bahmanī-narapatēḥ saṁkhyaṭum=īsō gunān || [6°] Tasy=āsty=abhimattā bhū-


11 ātadyuti-maṁḍalād=abhipatat kuṁd-ōjva(jjva)lā kaumudī smēr-āmdbhōruhataḥ prabhūtamadhuṇā

12 nishyanūḍa-dhārā kimu | kim vā chamāḍramaṇēḥ sravan=nava-sudhā-vē[la] manōhārīpi kim vā ratna-sa-

13 mūhātō bairh=asau sphāribhavad-dīdhiṭī || [8°] Saubhāgya-suṇḍara-satītva-kalā-viḷāsa-čhā-tu-

14 rya-drā(dā)na-kaśalatva-suśflat-ā[dyāḥ] | yasyāṁ sadā saha-bhuvaḥ prathitā guṇ-aughā ratnāṇi


16 yati sm=āvanipati-kirīṭa-kōṭi-pramśhāṭ-āṅghriḥ || [10°] Sā ch=Āhmada-Sulétrāṇa-tanayē naya-sā-


18 ra-maṇḍitē vāpīṁ=akārayadh=ramyāṁ bhūri-sōpāna-sampadām-(dam) || [12°] Niṭṭatay= upavanām ramyāṁ yasyā. . . . . . . . va-

1 Joshi, op. cit., reads : Sulatāṇa-Rama hemanantī.
2 These akārās are engraved on something else previously engraved. The first two of the four akārās appear to have been corrected from the originally incised word jani.
3 The last akāra of this name in three akārās is written above the line and looks like yya or ss.
19 nam vanam(nam) | manute ch-api paniyaṁ tam payah saγaram garaṁ(ram) || [13*] idamcha | tarka-ras-anala-caṁdraiḥ\(^1\) 1366 Śā-

20 kē Raktākshi-vatsar-Āśavayuji | māsē sukla-daśamvāṁ Sōmē Śravaṇē Dhruvē yogē || [14*]...

............ n=Āhmada-Ba-

21 hmanī-Bībī-[sa]hanājhayā vihitā | a-caṁdra-ārkam ............ s-ānaṁdini jagataḥ || [15*]
Śrīḥ ||

\(^1\) Joshi, op. cit., reads: idam chaṭaka... .................................................. chaṁdraḥ.
PLATE XXVII

Dr. Ghulam Yazdani, M.A., D. Litt., O.B.E.
Honorary Epigraphist to the Government of India for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions (1915-1941)

Born: 22nd March, 1885 at Delhi.

Died: 13th November, 1962 at Hyderabad-Dn.
DR. GHULAM YAZDANI

We regret to announce that Padma Bhushan Dr. Ghulam Yazdani, M.A., D.Litt. (Osmania and Algicch), O.B.E., the late Director of Archaeology, Archaeological Department of H.E.H. Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad-Dn., and late Honorary Epigraphist to the Government of India for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions passed away at Hyderabad on the 13th November, 1962, at the age of 77 years after a prolonged illness. With his passing away, an eventful life of service to arts and letters has come to end, the country has lost a great oriental scholar, historian and archaeologist, and the Persian and Arabic studies, in particular epigraphy have suffered irreparable loss.

The late Dr. Yazdani was born at Delhi in 1885, in a family celebrated alike for piety and learning. He had had a brilliant academic record: After completing his school education, he joined Delhi's premier educational institution, St. Stephen's College, and passed the Intermediate Examination of the Panjab University, securing first place in the province in Persian. Two years later, he took his B.A. degree from the same University having stood first in Arabic, and was awarded two gold medals for proficiency in Arabic and a University scholarship in the same subject. In the same year, he won the McLeod prize of the Panjab University for proficiency in Oriental Classics with English. In 1906 he took his M.A. degree in Persian from the Calcutta University.

While reading for his M.A. in English and Arabic at St. Stephen's College, Dr. Yazdani was appointed the Government of India Archaeological scholar for research in Arabic and Persian in 1905, and held it until 1907. During 1907-1909, he served as Professor of Persian in the St. Stephen's College. In 1909 he joined Bengal Educational Service and was appointed Professor of Arabic in the Government College, Rajshah. His services were lent to the Panjab Government in 1913 and he worked as Professor of Arabic in the Government College, Lahore, where he continued until he was selected in 1914, on the recommendation of Sir John Marshall, then Director General of Archaeology in India, who cherished a very high opinion of his abilities and work, to organise and act as the head of the archaeological department of the Hyderabad State. He also won the Griffith Prize of the Calcutta University in history in 1913.

Dr. Yazdani did a yeoman service to the preservation of monuments and promotion of archaeological studies in the Hyderabad state during his tenure as Director. Apart from contributing a number of articles on historical and archaeological subjects, the annual reports of the department, his monumental works like Mandu: the city of joy, Bidar: its History and Monuments and his magnum opus, Ajanta in four volumes, containing the description and plates of the world renowned paintings bear eloquent testimony to his valuable work in the fields of conservation, exploration, excavation, epigraphy, numismatics, etc. Even after his retirement, Dr. Yazdani continued to render extremely valuable services to the archaeological and historical studies. He was the founder-secretary of the Majlis-i-Makhshutas-Insan-i-Farsiya-The Persian Manuscripts Society, Hyderabad-Dn., and was mainly responsible for bringing out important historical works like Burhan-i-Ma'liha, Chach-Nama, Rıshād'i-Inshā and Tughluq-Nama. He was also mainly associated with the setting up and working of the Board of the History of the Deccan, and was one of the three members of its Board of Editors. He was entrusted with the compilation of the first volume of the series which was published in 1960 under the title Early History of Deccan.

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The late Dr. Yazdani's association with this Journal dates almost from its very inception in 1907. As the archaeological scholar in Persian and Arabic, he was required to undergo training in Persian and Arabic epigraphy under such eminent scholars as Sir E. Denison Ross and Prof. J. Horovitz. He had already started to contribute to the journal *Epigraphia Indo-Meslemica*, the predecessor of the present series, before he assumed charge on the afternoon of 31st July, 1915, subsequent to the resignation of Dr. Horovitz as the Honorary Government Epigraphist for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions. From that date until he relinquished the charge on 19th March, 1943, he rendered unique service to the cause of Persian and Arabic epigraphy of India and edited most successfully the biennial *Epigraphia Indo-Meslemica* from its 1913-14 issue onwards. He not only edited in all 15 volumes including one Supplement during his tenure but also contributed most of the articles himself.

The following is the list of articles contributed by Dr. Yazdani to the *Epigraphia Indo-Meslemica*:

1. The Inscription on the Tomb of 'Abdullāh Shāh Changāl at Dhar.

2. The inscriptions of the Turk Sultāns of Delhi—Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Bahrām, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Mas'ūd, Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Mahmūd, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Balban and Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Kāiqubād.

3. A New Inscription of Sultān Nusrat Shāh of Bengal.

4. Inscriptions in Golconda Fort.

5. Two Inscriptions of king Ḥusain Shāh of Bengal, from Tribeni.

6. Inscriptions in the Tomb of Bābā Arjun Shāh, Petlād (Baroda State).

7. Inscriptions in the Golconda Tombs.

8. Remarks on the date of a copper plate inscription of Khandesh.


10. Inscription of Khāṣf Khān from Narasapur.

11. Inscriptions of the Khalji Sultāns of Delhi and their contemporaries in Bengal.

12. Inscriptions of the Qutb Shāhī kings in Hyderabad City and Suburbs.

13. Inscriptions of Nizām Shāhī Kings from Antur Fort, Aurangabad District.


15. Inscriptions in the Fort at Qandhar, Nanded District, H.E.H. the Nizam’s Dominions.

16. An inscription from the Parenda Fort.

17. Inscriptions at Elgandal.

18. Inscriptions from Gudur and Siruguppa.

19. Inscriptions from the Bid (Bhir) District.
20. Inscriptions of Ghiyāšu'd-Dīn Tughlq from Rajahmundry.


22. A New Inscription from Golconda.

23. Inscription of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh from the Pangal Tank, Nalgonda District.

24. The Qutb Shāhī Inscriptions from Hyderabad.

25. An Inscription of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khaljī from Rakkasgi in the Bijapur District.

26. Inscriptions of Bidar.

27. Inscriptions of Yadgir, Gulbarga District.

28. Some Inscriptions of the Musalman Kings of Bengal.

29. Six new inscriptions from Koppal, Raichur District.

30. Inscriptions of Shahpur, Gogi and Sagar, Gulbarga District.

31. Seven New Inscriptions from Bidar, Hyderabad State.

32. An Inscription from Dornhali, Shahpur Taluqa.

33. Two inscriptions from the Warangal Fort.

34. Inscription in Margalla Pass, Rawalpindi District.

35. Inscription from the New Fort at Palamau in the Chota Nagpur Division, Bihar.

36. An inscription of Sultan Husain Shāh of Bengal from the village Margram, Police Station Khargram, District Murshidabad.

37. An Inscription from Raisen Fort in the Bhopal State.

38. Inscriptions from Kalyani.

39. Inscriptions from Mudgal.

40. Inscriptions from the Taltam Fort.

41. Some new Inscriptions from Golconda and Hyderabad.

42. Two Mughal Inscriptions from Anad near the Ajanta Ghat, Hyderabad State.

43. Two new inscriptions from the Bidar District, Hyderabad State.

44. Some unpublished inscriptions from the Bombay Presidency.

45. The bilingual inscription of Qutbu'd-Dīn Khaljī from Rasulkhanji Museum, Junagarh.

46. Inscription of Mubarak Shāh Khaljī from Jalor, Jodhpur State.

47. An old Urdu inscription of Ahmad Shāh II of Gujarat.
48. A Qutb Shahi Inscription from Patancheru, Medak District, Hyderabad State.

49. Five new inscriptions from the Bidar District.

50. Inscription of Sultan Balban from Bayana, Bharatpur State.

51. Inscription of Ghazi Shah Dinp Tughluq from Asarawa Khurd near Allahabad.

52. Two Persian Inscriptions from Dhamoni, Saugor District, C. P.

53. Five Persian inscriptions from the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

54. Some Muslim inscriptions from the Madras Presidency and Orissa.

55. Seven new inscriptions from Baroda State.

56. The bilingual inscription of Qutbud-Din from Rasulkhanji Museum, Junagadh.

The late Dr. Yazdani is survived by his wife, two sons and five daughters.

May God's mercy and peace be on him! Amen!
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A NEW INSCRIPTION OF SIKANDAR SHAH OF BENGAL FROM BIHAR?

By Dr. Qeyamud-Din Ahmad

This unpublished inscription of Sikandar Shāh of Bengal (1357-89 A.D.) was first brought to public notice by Shri P. C. Singh, Senior Deputy Collector, Bhagalpur. On reading a report in one of the English daily newspapers of Patna about this important discovery—it may be remembered that not a single inscription of that monarch has so far been discovered in Bihar—I started a correspondence with Shri Singh requesting him to let me copy the inscription. He very kindly acceded to my request and I accordingly took an engagement. I am deeply obliged to Shri Singh for his co-operation.

The inscription is quite clear and legible. It commemorates the building of a mosque by Ulugh Taghi Khān, son of Bhūhrī Khān, in 1367 A.D. during the reign of Sikandar Shāh, son of Ilyās Shāh. There are one or two points of interest about the text and its arrangement, but the main point of interest is the provenance of the inscription. We shall, however, first give a description of the inscription and a reading of its text.

The text is inscribed on a black basalt slab of rectangular shape measuring 76 by 40 cm. which is divided into two equal halves by a flat horizontal line in relief. The right half of the slab is broken into four pieces but Shri Singh with whom the tablet now lies has got them joined together with chemical solution. Fortunately, no part of the text has been rendered illegible because of this damage. The text is written in three lines the first of which occurs in the upper half and the remaining two in the lower half.

The style of writing of the record is Naṣīḥ, broadly conforming to the style of the early Muslim inscriptions of Bengal but with a tendency towards cursiveness. Also, there is at least one orthographical omission; the ḍāl of the word al-jannah in the last line has been omitted, inadvertently perhaps, by the engraver. It may also be pointed out that the record fails to give any title of the king. In view of the fact that his coins and inscriptions quote the title ‘Abū’l-Mujāhid’ it is very likely that the engraver omitted the word ‘ابو’ before ‘المجاهم’ in the first line. Another peculiarity about the text of the record is that the well-known Ḥadīth about God’s reward to those who build mosques comes after the main text and not before as is usually the case.

1 Dr. Qeyamud-Din Ahmad, M.A., Ph. D., Department of History, Patna University.
2 The inscription was copied subsequently by the Superintendent for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur. It is listed in Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARI), 1962-63 under No. D, 17.
The text reads as under:

TEXT

Plate I(a)

(1) يسمِّي الله ذي الاساس السجاد في عهد السلطان المجاهد سکندَر شاه ابن عملي. شاه السلاطين ساحب

(2) البناء خانکیر و تهتن بتهتن الغ طفخان بن قرخان ادام الله عمايله. اصرَف

ماله بریاء؟

(3) الله تعالى - قال النبي عليه السلام من تمسدًا في دار الدنيا. على الله له فضرا

[1] لنطة في القرن من المحرم سنة تسع و ستين و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allâh, the best of names. This mosque was constructed in the reign of the sultan, warrior in the cause of religion, Sikandar Shâh, son of Ilyâs Shâb. The master of

(2) this charitable deed (i.e. the builder) is the great Khân and the unrivalled general, Ulugh Taghî Khân, son of Bughrâ Khân, may Allâh perpetuate his glories. He spent his money for seeking the pleasure of

(3) Allâh the Exalted. The Prophet has said, 'He who builds a mosque in the abode of this world, Allâh builds for him a palace in Paradise'. On the 1st Muḥarram (A.H.) seven hundred and sixynine (1st Muḥarram A.H. 769=28th August 1367 A.D.).

Nothing is known about the two personages, Taghî Khân or his father Bughrâ Khân mentioned in the inscription. But there should be little doubt that Taghî Khân was a high official acting perhaps as the head or commander of a region, as is implied by the titles used for him.

However, as will have been surmised by the query put against the title of this article, the main point of interest about this inscription is in regard to its provenance. Shri Singh, the discoverer of the inscription, was himself rather reticent when I asked him about the actual findspot. He simply said that it was found by some one in Champanagar, a suburb of Bhagalpur, without specifying the place or monument. He also did not say anything about the owner or the manner of the find. The queries as to whether it was lying detached or it was in some mosque or private house, etc., remained unanswered. At one stage Shri Singh thus wrote to me in the course of a letter regarding the findspot: 'Like most of the inscriptions of the Turko-Afghan period found in Bhagalpur, the original location of the stone tablet of the time of Sikandar Shâh discovered by me is unknown. It might have come from Amarpur1 Police station or might have been somewhere in Champanagar. I found it in Champanagar.'2 But later, in his article on the inscription which is shortly to be published, Shri Singh stated that the slab was found in the premises of Shri R. N. Ghose, an ex-landlord of Champanagar.

1 Amarpur is situated about 16 miles south-west of Bhagalpur.
2 Italics mine.
If we accept the provenance of the inscription as given by the discoverer to be correct, it will lead to certain conclusions which are of great significance in the political history of Bihar in the mid-fourteenth century. For it will mean that sometime after Firuz Tughluq's expedition against Sikandar Shāh (1357-58 A.D.), the latter resumed initiative and recaptured part of Bihar. However, this conclusion, tempting though it is, does not fit in with the known outlines of the political history of the period based on important contemporary evidence.

Firuz Tughluq's two expeditions against Bengal during the reigns of both Ilyas Šah and Sikandar Šah are well-known. It is also definitely established that he annexed Bihar from the Bengal rulers. Firuz Tughluq's inscriptions in Bihar, totalling eleven, are the largest among all the pre-Mughal rulers. These range, with some gaps, from A.H. 761 to 774 (1359-1372 A.D.) and testify to the continued existence of his rule over Bihar. It may be contended that all these inscriptions belong to South Bihar, and therefore, the Tughluq hold was probably confined to that region and that North Bihar, which was militarily more susceptible to a Bengal attack, might have been re-occupied by the Bengal rulers. But this contention, too, is controverted by the recent "re-discovery" of a very important inscription of Firuz Tughluq in village Tajpur-Basahi in District Saran. This inscription commemorates the construction of a fort by Mughlis Da'd Khán in A.H. 774 (1372 A.D.). This is an unimpeachable evidence of the continued political hold of Firuz Tughluq over North Bihar also.

The Tajpur record was inscribed fifteen years after Firuz Tughluq's expedition against Sikandar Šah. The latter's inscription is dated 1367 A.D. Even if we assume that Sikandar Šah re-occupied part of North Bihar after Firuz Tughluq's expedition of 1357-58 A.D., how are we to account for the Tajpur inscription of Firuz Tughluq? There is absolutely no evidence to the effect that Firuz Tughluq had to re-occupy North Bihar after 1357 A.D. It is also to be noted that inscriptions of Firuz's successors, Muhammed Šah and Mahmud Šah, bearing as late a date as A.H. 810, have been found in Bihar at Bihar Sharif, Maner and Kako. The only valid conclusion, therefore, would be that the Tughluq hold over both North and South Bihar continued uninterruptedly from 1357 to 1372 A.D. and till much later.

Corroboration of this fact which is clear enough from the inscriptions themselves is provided by the near-contemporary and valuable testimony of Mullâ Taqiya. He has clearly stated that after the expulsion of Ilyas Shah by Firuz Tughluq, Bengal lost its hold over Bihar for over a full century and that it was only Barbaaz Shah who in A.H. 875 (1470 A.D.) re-occupied part of North Bihar. Although the Tughluq hold over Bihar weakened during the concluding years of the dynasty, it passed not to the Bengal rulers but to the Sharqi of Jaunpur. Mullâ Taqiya's statement on this point is worth quoting, in English translation, in full:

"Although Firuz Tughluq had earlier overpowered Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Ilyas Shah and had brought the kingdom of Tirhut under his control, later on it became an appanage of the Sharqi kingdom. Still later, after 121 years, in A.H. 875, Rukru'd-Din Barbaaz Shah having gathered together the Bengal Afshâns prepared a multitudinous army for the conquest of the Tirhut king-

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2 *ARIE*, 1962-3, No. D, 25. This inscription was first noticed by W. Hoey who described it in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. LIXIX (1900), p. 79. However, he could not decipher it and consequently failed to identify the name of the king. An old stampage of this inscription lying in his office was identified by the Superintendent, Persian & Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur and on an enquiry from him as to whether the inscriptive tablet still existed, I visited the place in August 1962 and obtained its stampages.
4 These have been edited in Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement, 1951 and 1952, p. 15, pl. VII (a) and VII, p. 10, pl. II (a); and ibid., 1951, p. 30, pl. VIII(a), p. 33, pl. V, p. 34, pl. Xb.
dom which was under the occupation of Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī, and after many a battle the former became triumphant. He brought Hajipur and its environs under his direct control as was the arrangement under Ilyās Shāh, and gave the areas north of Burhi-Gandak to the Rāias of Tirhut and nominated Kedār Rāi as his agent in this region."

The above account is clear and needs no comment. The Sharqī hold over part of North Bihar is also testified to by the now lost inscription of Ibrāhīm Sharqī which referred to the construction of a mosque in Darbhanga in A. H. 805 (1402 A.D.). This inscription was seen by Taqiya who has quoted its full text.¹

How then are we to explain the reported discovery of Sikandar Shāh’s inscription in a place in north-eastern Bihar?

In this connection, it may be worthwhile to remember that instances are known of inscriptions from one place being carried, deliberately or accidentally, to another place. The transfer of the Asōkan pillar edicts to Delhi by Firuz Tughluq is of course a well-known example, though of long past. One of the more recent examples is that of an inscription of ‘Alāu’ī-Din Ḥusain Shāh, dated A.H. 914: originally belonging to Malda, it now adorns the entrance of the beautiful guest-house in the compound of the Qila House in Patna city, whose ex-owner, the late R. K. Jalan, was a well-known lover and preserver of historical relics. How the slab came to be there is, however, not known.

It is the sacred duty of all students of history to examine all connected factors having a bearing on the conclusion of a new theory which they seek to propound. However tempting the significance of a new theory might be, the thorough and dispassionate scrutiny of the premises on which it is based should be given first and foremost priority.

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² Ibid., The text is:

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجد الله بني الله في الجنة بني هذا المسجد في زمن الإمام نايب الخليفة امير المؤمنين ابن الفتح ابراهيم شاه السلطان خليفة سنه خمس وثمانية
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANS

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

This article, a continuation of my study of the Arabic and Persian inscriptions of pre-Mughal Gujarat, is intended to be supplementary to the article on the inscriptions of the Sultanate period, and should now account for all the inscriptions of the sultans of Gujarat that have come to light so far. There are still in the province a considerable number of unpublished inscriptions dating from the fourteenth century onwards which have been discovered and listed in recent years by the Archaeological Survey of India, but their detailed study has been left out for the present as they do not contain the names of the reigning monarchs. All the same, they are important in some respect or the other and will be taken up, time and space permitting, in due course.

In the following lines I have dealt with thirty-two epigraphs, mostly unpublished, found at various places in the state. They represent all the sultans except Muhammad Shāh I, Quṭb-ud-Dīn Ahmad Shāh II, Maḥmūd Shāh II, Sikandar Shāh, Ahmad Shāh III and Muẓaffar Shāh III. The largest number of these inscriptions i.e., twenty-two, register the construction of mosques, in one case along with a fort and in another with a well. Among the rest, one commemorates the building of a fort, two of step-wells, and one of a well; two contain texts of royal orders, one is an epitaph, and two refer to the construction of some edifices. The remaining one being fragmentary, its purport is not clear. The earliest and the last dates of these records are A.H. 804 (1401-02 A.D.) and A.H. 946 (1539 A.D.) respectively.

The importance of these epigraphs cannot be overstressed: They have preserved the names of quite a few notable personages—nobiles, administrative personnel, saints, etc.—who are otherwise unknown. Among these personages are: Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Malik Dā'ūd; Khān-i-A'ẓam Asad Khān; Khwāja Khāṣṣa, son of Wajih, hājjī (chamberlain) of the court; Malik-ul-Umar Malik Marjān Sulṭānī; Khān-i-A'ẓam Kamāl Khān; Khwāja Ḥusn Khān; and Malik Shār-Sharq Shams, son of Mubarāk, entitled Shams-ul-Mulk. While it is not so specifically mentioned, it stands to reason to hold that these men enjoyed highest official status in the regions where these records are found. On the other hand, there are some whose official status is specifically mentioned, e.g. Karim, son of Khusraw, mutaṣṣarīf (accountant) of the shīq of Asāwak (modern Ahmadabad); Malik Khāṣbāṣh Sulṭānī, kottowāl of the province ('argā) of Gujarat; Malik Shār-Sharq Jamāl-ul-Dīn Bihāmad, nāṣīb (deputy) of the king; Malik 'Abdu'llāh Sulṭānī, kottowāl of the city of Nahrwāla (modern Patan); Budh, son of Kamāl, royal aslaḥādār (arms-bearer); Malik Aman, muqṭi' of Cambay; Malik Shīrāj, kottowāl of the city of Nahrwāla; and Jamāl, son of Fethullāh, alīs Malik Makhdūm, nadīm (boon-companion) of Maḥmūd Shāh I. As against these, only two of the nobles mentioned in these epigraphs are well-known: Khān-i-A'ẓam Ulugh Khān and Malik Sārang entitled Qiwām-ul-Mulk.

2 These have been listed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIÉ) from the Report for 1952-53 onwards.
3 A few of these have been either briefly noticed or published in original or translation as will be indicated in the proper places.
4 It must be remembered that no epigraph of Muhammad I, Maḥmūd II, Sikandar and Muẓaffar III has been found so far.
Of the two saints referred to in these epigraphs, Shaikh Husāmu’d-Dīn Multānī (d. 1336 A.D.) is well-known, but Shaikh Muḥammad Turk of Kāshqār owes his name exclusively to one of our records. In addition, a few more personages are mentioned in these epigraphs but they do not merit any particular attention except perhaps Nākhudā Yaḥyā, son of Tandel Nānyā, on account of his profession: obviously a ship-master, he is mentioned as an employee of Khān-i-A’gam Kamāl Khān, a fact which may imply the private ownership of ship or a fleet of vessels by the nobility.

Palaeographically, there is nothing more to be said about these inscriptions than what I have already stated elsewhere. But a few words may be said about the language. Almost all the inscriptions of the sultans so far published are in prose, the language being either Arabic or Persian. But in the present group there are epigraphs composed in verse, the earliest of which are dated in the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh I, the founder of the dynasty. Also, the present study discloses the fact that the inscriptions of the Gujarat sultans were not composed almost exclusively in Arabic as was generally believed hitherto. With these prefatory remarks, I proceed to study these inscriptions which are arranged chronologically under the respective monarchs.

Zāfar Khān or Muẓaffar Shāh I

I. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 804 FROM MUNJPUR

Munjpur, situated in 23° 35’ N. and 71° 50’ E., was once the headquarters of a pargana, but is now reduced to a small town in the Sami tāluka of the Mehsana district. It lies at a distance of 24 miles south-west of Patan. Its only surviving relic of earlier times is the Jāmi’ mosque of some architectural pretensions.

This epigraph was listed by Cousens who did not give any particulars thereof, while the district gazetteer briefly reported it to contain the name of Zāfar Khān, son of Wajihul-Mulk. But no attempt was made to copy it until 1961, when Shri A. A. Kadiri, Epigraphical Assistant of my office, toured north Gujarat in search of inscriptions.

The inscription is carved on a slab measuring 64 by 36 cm. which is fixed over the central miḥrāb of the said Jāmi’ mosque. It runs into three lines of writing, part of which comprising religious texts is in Arabic. The historical portion which is in Persian assigns the construction of the mosque to Maḥmud-i-Ālī A’gam Humāyūn Zāfar Khān, son of Wajihul-Mulk, in 1401-02 A.D. The style of writing is ornamental Naskh with страива flourishing.

TEXT

Plate I(b)

(1) قال الله تعالى: و أن المساجد فللا تدعو مع الله احدا و قال عليه السلام من ين

المسجد

(2) بني الله له مثله في الجنة توفيق يافت بر بناء [ي] مسجد جامع مسند على أعظم

همايون نظر خان

---

3 H. Cousens, "Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency" (Bombay, 1897), p. 230.
4 *Bombay Gazetteer (BG)*, vol. V, Cutch, Palanpur and Mahi Kāntha (Bombay, 1880), pp. 343-44.
(3) این وجوهه الملكه هر صاحب سعادت که در پیشه شریف حاضر، آید برای عاقبت خبر بالا فاتحة شفعت آرد سننه اربع و ثمانی ایه

TRANSLATION

(1) Allâh the Exalted has said, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allâh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allâh.' And (the Prophet), on whom be peace, has said, 'He who builds for Allâh a mosque,

(2) Allâh builds for him a similar house in Paradise.' For the construction of the Jâmi'-Masjid, blessed was with divine guidance Masnad-i-Āli A'zam Humâyûn Zafar Kâhân,

(3) son of Wajhu'ul-Mulk. Every fortunate person who visits this noble abode should by reciting fâtiha invoke prayers for the good end of the builder. (In) the year (A.H.) four and eight hundred (A.H. 804-1401-02 A.D.).

II. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 806 FROM KAPADWANJ

This inscription is fixed into the northern wall of the courtyard of the Jâmi' mosque at Kapadwanj situated in 23°1' N., 73°7' E. in Kaira district.2 This ancient town mentioned by Arab writers3 seems to have been the headquarters of an administrative unit during the Sultanate period as is indicated by inscription No. IX, supra; it also finds frequent mention in historical works.4

The tablet (96 by 50 cm.) containing this epigraph is evidently not in situ since the text refers to the construction of a fort.5 The inscription consists of seven verses in Persian and one line in prose carved in the left border, and states that Zafar Kâhân, 'the minister of the east and west' laid foundation of a strong fort which was completed in 1404 A.D. We are also told that the fort was built at the request of Karîm, son of Khurraw, the mutâsarrîf6 (accountant) of the shiq of Asawal. According to an epigraph found at Harsool in Sabarkantha district, Karîm was also responsible for the construction of a fort at that place in the following year.7 The Harsool inscription and the one under study are not only alike in their execution but their texts are also identical except in the portion indicating the date.

Since nothing is known about Karîm from historical works except that he was one of the nobles who revolted against Ahmad Shâh I immediately after the latter's accession,8 these two records provide at least this information that Karîm was the mutâsarrîf of the shiq of Asawalin

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1 Qur'ân, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
4 Sikandar, op. cit., pp. 77, 80, 111, 103, 309, 400, 408, 425, etc.
5 Cousens, op. cit., p. 94, states that there are three inscriptions in Arabic on a mosque at Kapadwanj. He evidently refers to the Jâmi' mosque. But this monument has only one more inscription, also in Persian verse, recording the construction of a mosque in 1370-71 A.D. (SIAPS, 1962, pp. 17-18).
6 For the duties, etc., of the post of mutâsarrîf, see I. H. Qurahdt, Administration of the Delhi Sultanate (Lahore, 1944), pp. 208-09.
8 Sikandar, op. cit., p. 30.
A.H. 806 and 807. Another interesting feature of these records is the mention of Asāwal in the immediate vicinity of which Ahmadabad was founded within less than a decade. While it is not possible for want of sufficient data to define its boundaries as they existed then, it is evident from these two documents that the shiq of Asāwal must have extended to the town (and perhaps pargana) of Harso in the north and Kapadwanj in the east.

The epigraph is also remarkable for its calligraphic style. The ornamental Naskh employed here is similar to, though not so fine as, the Baroda inscription of Zafar Khan. Its text reads as under:—

**TEXT**

Plate II(c)

(1) بسته اختر و مبیون زمان و نرف قان
(2) بیهترین بلاد و بیغز تر جالی
(3) وزیر مشرق و مغرب گذر نظر خان انک
(4) فلک چناب ملک قدر آسان ربت
(5) چه سان حصار چه بر داخل ملک آرد
(6) تمام گشت یماد رشمان و بوده است
(7) بنا[ی] عمر و اساس مراد بانی باد
(8) فرمایش کریم خسرو متصرف شق اسکول

**TRANSLATION**

(1) At the fortunate juncture, in the auspicious month (of the) blessed year, at the lucky time, august period and happy omen,

(2) at the best of places and choicest spot, such a fort, the like of whom is rare, was built

(3) by the minister of the East and West, Ulug Zafar Khan who is victorious over the enemies of the Faith in any eventuality (and who has)

(4) heaven as threshold, dignity of angels, position of sky, select mind, praiseworthy qualities and excellent habits.

(5) What a (wonderful) fort (it is) that at its entrance, the Angel at once delivers the good news of 'He who enters it is safe'.

(6) It was completed in the month of Ramadān and it has been from the Migration of the Prophet eight hundred and sixth year (Ramadān A.H. 806 = March-April 1404 A.D.).

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1 *Epigraphia Indo-Moislatica (EIM)*, 1939-40, pl. II.

2 Qur'ān, chapter 111, part of verse 97.
(a) Inscription of Mu'azzar Shāh I, dated A.H. 813, from Patan (p. 13)

(b) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 807, from Sami (p. 9)

(c) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 806, from Kapadwanj (p. 8)
(7) May the foundation of the life and basis of the aspirations of the builder be as strong as Seven firmaments and so firm as the Pole star!

In the border.

At the request of Karim Khusrav, mutaqarrif of the shiq of Asawal.

III. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 807 FROM SAMI

The tablet bearing this inscription measures 57 by 59 cm. and is fixed above the central minbar of the Jam'i mosque at Sami, headquarters of the tuluqa of the same name in Mehsana district. Sami situated in 23°40' N. and 71°40' E. was, like Munipur, the seat of a pargana during the Sultanate period.

The record consists of five lines of writing which except for the religious texts is in Persian. It states that the Jam'i mosque of the qasba of Sami was constructed in 1404 A.D. during the time of Masnad-i-'Ali Zafar Khan by Nasr'ud-Din Malik Mahmud, son of Malik Da'ud. The identity of Nasr'ud-Din Malik Mahmud cannot be satisfactorily established. Our epigraph is the only source to quote his name in full. One Malam Da'ud salladarr is mentioned in the Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi in connection with Ahmad Shab's invasion of Idar not long after his accession. In all probability he is identical with Malik Nasr'ud-Din Mahmud, son of Malik Da'ud, of our record. Of course, historical works do mention more than one Malik Mahmud, but without parental name, in connection with the events of the period: a Malik Mahmud Barga (or Turk!) was among the nobles who rebelled against Ahmad Shah I immediately after his rise to kingship. He was subsequently despatched in A.H. 820 by Ahmad Shah against Malik Nasir of Khandesh who had besieged Sultanpur near Nandurbar. The name of Khan-i-A'zam Mahmud Khan also occurs in the same connexion. Then there is Malik Mahmud whose son Malik Dwaru'l-Mulk was a prominent noble of Mahmud I; he must have flourished at about the time of our record. It is difficult to say in the absence of details, if these persons are quite different from one another.

The style of writing of the record is Nashe of the same type as in Inscription No. 1. It is very likely that both were designed by the same calligraphist. Its text is deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate II(b)


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TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allāh the Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'.

(2) This Jāmi' mosque was constructed in the qasba of Samī during the regime of Masnad-i-ALA ZAFAR KHĀN, may he remain exalted for ever,

(3) by the creature who is hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Malik Mahmūd, son of Malik Dā'ūd,

(4) in the hope of (the fulfillment of) the promise of the chosen prophet Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, may the blessings and salutations of Allāh be upon him, (contained in his tradition), 'He who builds a mosque

(5) for Allāh, Allāh the Exalted builds for him a house in Paradise'. On the first of Muharram year (A.H.) seven and eight hundred (1st Muharram A.H. 807=10th July 1404 A.D.).

IV. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 807 FROM CAMBAY

The present epigraph is carved in relief on a loose slab preserved in the tomb of Qābil Shāb situated opposite to the Police Office near Prince Mahdi 'Ali Khān park at Cambay in Kaira district. The tablet does not belong to the tomb which is uninscribed, and it has not been possible to trace its findspot. Its text was quoted by Cousens who unjustly condemns it as 'about the worst of the lot both in calligraphy and in style'. Needless to say, the reading prepared for and published by him is most corrupt. To quote only one example, he gives A.H. 775 instead of A.H. 807 as its date.

The text consists of five lines in Persian prose and verse, and records the construction of a mosque in 1405 A.D. during the time of Masnad-i-ALA ZAFAR KHĀN by Malik Khūshbāsh, kotewāl of the province (ārāga) of Gujarāt. Since Malik Khūshbāsh is mentioned in the text as a slave of the late Firūz Tughluq, it is likely that he had come to the province along with Zafar Khān. Malik Khūshbāsh is not mentioned in historical works, and therefore, the present record is quite important. His designation, kotewāl of the whole province of Gujarāt, is again interesting.

The inscriptive tablet measures 60 by 45 cm., and the style of writing is Naskh.

TEXT

Plate III(a)

(1) Bism allāh ar-Rahmān ar-Rahīm

(2) 'inā kārīd ēm sadd biltū hām sultaṁ sultaṁ firūz ēmār allāh bérhānē malkē khūshbāsh

kātwāl ārēga kūrāt

(3) 'inā kārīd ēm sadd ēmār biltū hām malkē khūshbāsh sultaṁ

1 Qur'an, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
3 Cousens, op. cit., p. 314. There are quite a few mistakes in his reading which need not be detailed here.
(a) Inscription of Muzaffar Shah I, dated A.H. 807, from Cambay (p. 10)

(b) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 812, from Patan (p. 12)
INSRIPTIONS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANS

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

(2) This mosque was built by the slave of the seal of the kings (i.e. the last of the great kings), Sultān Fīrūz, may Allāh illuminate his proof, (namely) Malik Khūshbāsh, the kuttāl of the province (ārpa) of Gujarāt.

(3) (Verse:) In the time of Zafar Khān, the second Chosroes, this mosque has been constructed by Malik Khūshbāsh Sulṭānī.

(4) It was on the twenty-fifth of Shāb‘ān and eight hundred (and) seven from the Migration (25th Shāb‘ān A.H. 807=26th February 1405 A.D.) that this mosque was completed through the grace of the glorified Lord.

(5) May God have mercy on that creature who having entered this mosque offers prayers from his heart and soul for the welfare of the builder!

V. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 812 FROM PATAN

This important inscription containing a new record of Muẓaffar Shāh I is engraved on two slabs measuring 78 by 37 cm. and 76 by 30 cm. which are respectively built into the outer and inner face of the wall over the window of the ābāzā situated inside the tomb-enclosure of Makhdūm Hūsāmud-Dīn, a celebrated fourteenth-century Chishti saint (d. 1336 A.D.), at Patan. It may be pointed out that so far only one inscription of the kingship period of Zafar Khān has come to light; it is at Veraval. One more such record also discovered at Patan is studied next.

The present record consists of two poetical fragments of three verses in Persian each, inscribed in Naskh characters in relief, and states that Khān-i-ʿAẓam Asad Khān constructed a ‘noble and agreeable edifice’ in 1409-10 A.D. during the reign of Shamsud Din Muẓaffar Shāh. From the second fragment it is clear that the edifice referred to is the ābāzā (lit. room) where the night-vigils could be kept and prayers offered. The fact that historical works of the period fail to give any clue to the identity of Khān-i-ʿAẓam Asad Khān, the builder, enhances the importance of the record. Another interesting point about the epigraph is that it furnishes the earliest versified record of the Gujarāt sultans.

1 The upper portion of the letter ‘fi’ is broken.


4 It may be of interest to note that all the inscriptions of Zafar Khān including the one of his kingship period are composed in Persian, while majority of the records of his successors are in Arabic.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA—ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

Its text has been read as follows:—

TEXT

(a) Outer side.

Plate III(b)

(b) Inner side.

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) In the reign of the king of the world, the sun of the Faith (i.e. Shamsu’d-Din) Mu’azzafar Shâh, Asad Khân constructed with glory, pomp and dignity

(2) such a noble place and agreeable building whose like none from among the nobles, lords and the kings has seen.

(3) Eight hundred (and) twelve years had passed from the Migration (A.H. 812-1409-10 A.D.) when the building was completed through the help of Divine favour.

(b) (1) O God! May this edifice be agreeable, and may joy and good fortune be conjugated therein!

(2) May the repetitions (awrâd) of those who keep awake at night be always devoted to the prayers for the Khân-i-A’zam!

(3) May all his affairs be in accordance with his deliberation, and may all the wishes of his heart be fulfilled!

VI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 813 FROM PATAN

This epigraph, found by me in 1934, is to be seen over the central mîhrâb of the mosque called Rângrezon-kâ-Masjid at Patan.1 Also dated in the reign of Mu’azzafar Shâh I, it records the construction of an auspicious edifice—a mosque if the record is in situ—by Khwâja Khâsâ, son of Wajih, the doyen among the nobles and the lord-chamberlain (bâjû) of the court, in 1410-11 A.D. Unfortunately the month of the year is not quoted in the text; otherwise, the epigraph might have provided evidence about the correct time date of the end of Mu’azzafar Shâh’s rule and of the accession of his immediate successor Ahmad Shâh I.2 Even then, the inscription is quite important. The builder Khwâja Khâsâ, son of Wajih, though not categorically described so in the record,

2 The problem of these dates was briefly discussed by me in EIAPS, 1933 and 1954, p. 52.
is a brother of Mu'azzar Shāh. For apart from the parental name Wajih, Khwāja Khāṣṣa is mentioned as the chief among the nobles and the ḥājib of the court. It is a well-known fact that the office of ḥājib was only conferred upon the prince of the royal family next to the king. The only brothers of the king whom historical works mention are Shams Khān the founder of the Nagaur line of rulers and Nuṣrat Khān who was left in charge of Malwa after the defeat of Hoghang Shāh. ¹

The text of this record consists of three verses in Persian engraved in relief in Naskh characters and occupies a total area of 49 by 31 cm.² It has been deciphered as under:

**TEXT**

Plate II(a)

(1) شاه این بنا[ی] مبارک ز نیش فضل اله
(2) پنابه و پشت هدی خواجہ خاصہ این و جيه سر آگار اعیان و حاجب درگاه
(3) نمود سی و بنویق حق موفق گنت
بهبید و سه و د[ه سا]ل حسبا[ہ ش]

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This blessed construction took place through the bounty of Divine grace in the time of the government of the protector of religion Mu'azzar Shāh.

(2) The shelter and refuge of guidance, Khwāja Khāṣṣa, son of Wajih, the chief of the great dignitaries and ḥājib (chamberlain) of the court,

(3) made efforts and was favoured with Divine guidance; (it was constructed) for the sake of Allāh only in (the year A.H.) eight hundred, ten and three (A.H. 813=1410-11 A.D.).

Ahmad Shāh I

VII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 820 FROM THE SAME PLACE

This epigraph is also unnoticed. It was found by me over the central miḥrāb of the mosque in the Phūṣi-Maḥalla or Pinjarkot at Patan.³ The text comprises six lines in Arabic inscribed in Naskh script in relief on a slab measuring 56 by 31 cm. It states that the mosque was constructed in 1417 A.D. during the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Abu'l-Fatḥ Ahmad Shāh, by Jamālu'd-Dīn Bihāmād, a purchased slave of the king.

The name of Jamālu'd-Dīn Bihāmād, like many other names recorded in epigraphs, is not traceable in historical works of Gujarat. But there is little doubt that he was an important official since, he became a noble of first rank with the title Maliku'gh-Sharg and deputy of the king at Kapadwanj only six years later, according to inscription No. IX of this study. Now in the present inscription he is mentioned as Jamālu'd-Dīn Bihāmād, while in the later epigraph his name occurs as Jamāl Bihāmād. In case an īḏāfāt-i-ibnī is intended between the two names, as is very likely the case, it would mean that Jamāl was son of Bihāmād. If so, it is just possible that the father is identical with Bihāmād, later Bihāmād Khān, who was brought up in the house of Firūz Khān, a minister of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq II (died A.H. 791). Bihāmād accompanied Firūz Khān's

¹ Tarīkh-i-Firḥāb, vol. II (Kanpur, 1865), p. 182; Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, Tāburqāt-i-Akbarī (Lucknow, 1875), p. 449. Sikandar, op. cit., p. 26, however, does not name Nuṣrat Khān as the king's brother.

² The tablet is slightly damaged.

³ ARIE, 1966-67, No. D, 94.
son to Kalpi where he entered into the service of Junaid Khān, another son of Firūz Khan, who was made minister by his brother Nāṣiru’d-Dīn Muhammad Shāh of Kalpi. Bihāmad Khān also received in fief the town of Erukh in Jhansi district. He is said to have been alive in A.H. 842. One of his sons, Muḥammad, wrote a general history entitled Tūrīq-i-Muḥammadi.† If the above assumption is correct, it would mean that Jamālu’d-Dīn had migrated to Gujarat entered the service of the king and ultimately rose to a high post.

The text of the record reads as under:

**TEXT**

Plate IV(a)

(1) سعی کی بناء هذ المسجد بعون الله الملك الملك المغان الدرب الراہی لرحمة الرحمن

جلال الدين

(2) بهاء من عبد خاتمان الاعظم و قهرمان المعظم الواثق بتأليف المستعان ناصر الدنیا

والدين

(3) ابو الفتح احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان ابناء الفاتح [الله الكریم

و اعتدادا

(4) لقول رسول الاعظم بخلق العظيم من بني الله مسجد ما بیتی به وجه الله بیتی الله له

مثلا

(5) فی الجنة و قال عليه السلام من بني الله مسجد ما لو كنفت قطا و بیت له الجنة

و وقع الغرغج من هذا البنا

(6) بهذه شهر ا عظمه الله تعالى بالبيان شهر رمضان الذي انزل فيه القرآن في سنة كانت

تاريخها عشرين و ثمانية

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the construction of this mosque efforts were made, through the help of Allāh, the Bountiful Lord, by the creature who is hopeful of the mercy of the Beneficent, Jamālu’d-Dīn

(2) Bihāmad, one of the slaves of the great Khāqān and the magnificent Qahrmān, the reliant on the support of the Helper, Nāṣiru’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn

(3) Abu’l-Fath Ahmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muṣaffar Shāh the sultān, by way of obtaining the Face of the Generous Allāh and relying

(4) upon the saying of his Messenger (who is) described (in the Qur’ān as possessing) ‘sublime morality’,² to wit, ‘He who builds for Allāh a mosque seeking thereby the Face of Allāh, Allāh builds for him a similar edifice


² Qur’ān, chapter LXVIII, part of verse 4.
(a) Inscription of Ahmad Shāh I, dated A.H. 820, from Patan (p. 14)

Scale: 26

(b) Another inscription of the same king, same place, dated A.H. 821 (p. 15)

Scale: 21
(5) in Paradise. And (the Prophet), may peace be upon him, has also said, ‘He who builds for Allah a mosque, even if it be (as small) as the nest of a sandgrouse, Paradise becomes due to him’. And he became free from this construction (which took place)

(6) in his (i.e. king’s) reign in the month whom Allah the Exalted has honoured by mentioning it (in the Qur’an) ‘the month of Ramadān is that in which the Qur’an was revealed’,¹ of the year whose reckoning was twenty and eight hundred (Ramadān A.H. 820=October-November 1417 A.D.).

VIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 821 FROM THE SAME PLACE

An English translation of this record was made by Professor Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Dār at the request of Professor Commissariat for his History of Gujarat.² But since its text and facsimile have not been published, it is included in this article.

The inscriptive tablet measures 67 by 37 cm. and is fixed on the water-trough for cattle near a well outside the phālpāl gate at Patan.³ The record comprising eight lines of Persian interspersed with Quranic texts in Arabic is inscribed in Naṣīḥa characters in relief and refers to the excavation and construction of a ‘flowing bounty’ i.e. well on the last day of 1418 A.D. during the reign of Ahmad Shāh by ‘Abdu’llāh Sultanī, the kotwāl of the city of Nahrwāla i.e. Patan.

It is not easy to establish the identity of ‘Abdu’llāh Sultanī.’ Historians do mention one Malik ‘Abdullāh who was the superintendent of the elephants (ṣaḥāna-i-fīl) in the beginning of Mahmūd Shāh I’s rule i.e. in A.H. 863; but his name only occurs once in connexion with the release of the minister Malik Sha‘bān ‘Imādullāh Mulk,⁴ and no particulars are available about his antecedents or subsequent career. It is possible that ‘Abdu’llāh of our inscription might have risen from the kotwāl ship of Nahrwāla to the superintendence of royal elephants. In any case, the importance of the record in that it supplied the name of an official of Nahrwāla is obvious.

The text of the epigraph reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate IV(5)

(1) بناء ابن خير جارى از عنايت حضور بارى در عهد همايون خدايگان عالميناه درگاه

آسان جاه

(2) سلطان السلاطين ظل الله في العالمين برکزيه فضل يزدان ستوده بعد و احسان

(3) الواثق بالله المستعان ناصر الدنيا و الدين أبو الفتح أحمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن محمد شاه

(4) السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه اعظم درجته و شاهه بنهد دوم خریده این درگاه

(5) عبیدالله سلطان نیکوتول شهر نبروائه بنیاد لیلاده و عمارت مرتب کرداریده نلا بنگان

¹ Qur‘an, chapter II, part of verse 185.
³ A.B.E., 1954-55, No. C, 89. Another epigraph at the same place is written in Naṣīḥa characters and belongs to the reign of Aurangzeb (ibid., No. C, 90).
16

EPIGRAFIÁ INDICA—ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(1) The construction of this flowing bounty (i.e. well) through the kindness of the Lord of Majesty, in the auspicious reign of the master, asylum of the world, having the court of heaven's dignity,

(2) king of kings, shadow of Allah in the worlds, chosen by the grace of God, praised for justice and benevolence,

(3) reliant upon Allah whose help is sought, Nāshiru’d-Dunyā wa’d-Din Abū’l-Fath Abū Āhmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh,

(4) the sultan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty (and) magnify his status and dignity, by the purchased slave of this court,

(5) (namely) ‘Abdu’llāh Sulṭānī, the kawālī of the city of Nahrwāla, was founded, and its structure completed, so that the creatures of God, be He glorified

(6) and excited, may at this place in accordance with (Divine) decree ‘And we have made of water everything living’, derive benefit,

(7) find comfort and remember the founder of this bounty with prayers for the achievement of his pardon and soundness of his faith. ‘And (all) praise is due to Allah, the Lord of the Creation.” On Friday, the second of Dhī’l-Hijja, year (A.H.) eight hundred and twentyone (2nd Dhī’l-Hijja A.H. 821 = 31st December 1418 A.D.)

IX. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 826 FROM KAPADWANJ

I noticed this inscription for the first time in 1954 A.D. It is built into the west wall to the left of the central māhrūb in Sām Shahid’s mosque at Kapadwanj. Consisting of six lines of Arabic interspersed with a few Persian phrases, the text records the construction of the mosque in 1423 A.D. during the reign of Abū Āhmad Shah when Maliku’sh-Sharq Jamāl Bihāmād was the (latter’s) deputy at the place. The way in which the names of the two builders are mentioned is confusing; it reads: ‘the builder(s) of this mosque are slaves of the house of the Prophet, Abūd Budh Ḥasanī Muḥammad Budh Ḥasanī commonly known as Sayyid Makan.” While the phrase indicating the builder—al-bānī—is in singular, the Persian term bandagān describing them as the descendants of the Prophet is in plural; again, there is no conjunction—uqūl—between the two names. But on the whole I am inclined to take Abūd Budh and Muḥammad Budh as brothers. But in that case, whom should the popular name Sayyid Makan refer to? It can only refer to the father whose name appears to be Budh. In the alternative, the phrase Abūd Budh Ḥasanī Muḥammad

1 Qur’ān, chapter XXI, verse 30.
2 Ibid., chapter 1, verse 1.
4 The name ‘Makan’ is to be found even today in Gujarat particularly in the rural areas.
(a) Inscription of Ahmad Shāh I, dated A.H. 826, from Kapadwanj (p. 17)

(b) Another record of the same monarch, dated A.H. 828, from Wadhwan (p. 20)
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANS

Budh Ḥasanī can be taken to mean Ḍāmidt Budh Ḥasanī son of Muḥammad Budh Ḥasanī in which case the builder would be the son, who was popularly called Sayyid Makan. But in that case, the occurrence of Budh as part of the names of both the father and the son is somewhat unusual. I would personally prefer to take them as brothers.

Malik Jamāl Bihāmād is identical with Jamālu'd-Dīn Bihāmād of the Patan inscription (No. VII). On the date of this epigraph he enjoyed the title of Maliku' MH Sharq and was the king's deputy at Kapadwanj. The builders Ḍāmidt and Muḥammad, sons of Sayyid Makan alias Budh, appear to have been at the best men of local importance.

The text is inscribed on a slab measuring 70 by 27 cm. in ordinary Nashā character in relief and reads as under:

TEXT

Plate V(a)

(1) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدنا نحن نُبَيُّ الله له بيتًا في الجنة
(2) بناء هذا المسجد بعهد همايون بن نزار على ناصر الديناء و الينابيع وهو الفتح أحمد شاه
(3) بن أحمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطن بن السلطان خلدانة ملكه النايب
في هذا البلد
(4) ملك هذين البلدان جمال بهاء الدين سلطان يدين الله تعالى عليه الياباني لهذه المسجد بنذگان
خاندان نبوي
(5) في دور ثانی خلاص قوی أحمد بدله حسن محمد به حسنی المعروف مثوب مكان في التاريخ العاشر من ربع الأول سنة
(6) [س] وت عشرين و ثمانيم

TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, may Allāh’s blessings and salutations be upon him, says, ‘He who builds a mosque for Allāh the Exalted, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise’.

(2) The construction of this mosque (took place) in the auspicious time, may it never cease to exist, of Naṣīr”u’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn Abu’l-Fatḥ Ḍāmidt Shāh,

(3) son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the sultān, son of the sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, (and in time of his) deputy (naḥḥ) at this place,

(4) Maliku’ MH Sharq Malik Jamāl Bihāmād Sultānī, may Allāh make his glory last for ever. The builders of this mosque are the slaves of the family of the Prophet (and)

(5) hopeful at the court of the Omnipotent, Creator, Ḍāmidt (son of ?) Budh Ḥasanī and Muḥammad (son of ?) Budh Ḥasanī (the latter ?) popularly known as Sayyid Makan. On the date 10th of Rabī’u’l-Awwal, year (A.H.)

(6) six and twenty and eight hundred (10th Rabī’ I A.H. 826–21st February 1423 A.D.).
X. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 827 FROM CAMBAY

The credit of first noticing this inscription in 1919 goes to Mr. R. D. Banerji, then Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of Western India. It has however not been published. Its tablet measuring 55 by 30 cm. is fixed into the west wall, above the pulpit, of the Sadi-i-Awwal mosque. This mosque is locally so named as it is claimed to have been erected in the first sad (century) of Hijra, but the present structure does not seem to be original, much less of that age. There are two more inscriptions in the mosque, of which one appearing above the central mihrāb is an epitaph, and the other fixed near the prayer-niche refers to the reparation carried out to the mosque at a much later date.

The text consists of five lines of faultless Arabic inscribed in Nasīḥa characters in relief. It assigns the reconstruction of the mosque from its very foundation, after it had fallen apart, by Ahmad Shāh in 1423 A.D. It has been deciphered as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate VI(a)*

(1) ﴿بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تبارك و تعالى و إن المسجد ن فلا تدعوا مع الله إحدا و قال عليه السلام﴾

(2) ﴿من بني ﷺ بيتل إله فيه بني ﷺ له بيتا في الجنة من الدرب و الياقوت و عنه عليه السلام من بني ﷺ مسجدا و لوكخمص قنطا بني ﷺ﴾

(3) ﴿له بيتا في الجنة بني هذا المسجد المبارك بتجديد العمارة من أسد بعد الضارمه﴾

(4) ﴿الباثل الأعظم ظل الله في العالم الواثق بابو السماط ناصر الدنيا و الدين اب الوقف عليه شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر﴾

(5) ﴿شاه السلطان خلد إله ملكه و ابد رافية امين رب العالمين و ذلك في الغر به من الجرم سنه سبع و عشرين و ثمان مائة من الهجرة﴾

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allāh the Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence invoke not any one else with Allāh'. And said (the Prophet), may peace be upon him,

(2) 'One who builds for Allāh a house in which Allāh is worshipped, Allāh builds for him a house of pearl and cornelian in Paradise'. And (this saying is) also by him, may peace be on him: 'One who builds for Allāh a mosque even if it be as (small as) the nest of a sandgrouse, Allāh builds

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(a) Inscription of Ahmad Shah I, dated A.H. 827, from Cambay (p. 18)

Scale: 23

(b) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 831, from Cambay (p. 21)

Scale: 25
(3) fry him a house in paradise’. This blessed mosque was reconstructed from its very foundation, after it had fallen down, by the king who is learned, just,

(4) bountiful, great, shadow of Allah in the world, reliant an Allah whose help is sought, Nā gái ’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn Abū’l-Fath ʿĀḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh.

(5) Shāh, the sūltān, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and cause his kindness to last for ever. Amen, O Lord of the Universe! And this took place on the first Mubarram, year (A.H.) seven and twenty and eight hundred from the Migration (1st Muḥram A.H. 827 = 9th December 1423 A.D.).

XI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 828 FROM WADHWAN

This interesting and valuable inscription was published by Mr. R. S. Saksena from the rubbings supplied to him by the Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot, in 1928 A.D. Due to the damaged nature of the writing, he could not decipher its date and stated that it was lost; also, he read the name of the builder as Malīk Thānī.¹ These statements are incorrect.

The inscriptive tablet is fixed into the facade of the prayer-hall of the Pādā-Masjid at Wadhwan, capital of the state of the same name in Saurashtra.² It is also principal town of the region called Jhalawar whose chiefs occasionally defined the authority of the sultans during the early period of their rule.³ The slab is evidently not in situ as it is said to have been lying loose when its text was published by Mr. Saksena. Moreover, another inscription of ʿĀḥmad Shāh I, dated A.H. 840, which is now fixed by the side of the one under study and which was also lying loose some time back was reported to have been removed in the last century from the mosque within the Durbār’s enclosure (chief’s residence) as the monument was used for a granary.⁴ What is perhaps the inscription of the monument proper appears over its central mihrāb and is of the time of Muḥammad Shāh; it is dated A.H. 851. Both these records have been previously published.⁵

The slab is somewhat broken. In its present state, it measures 82 by 36 cm. About one-sixth of the slab on the right is missing, so that one hemistich in the first line and one hemistich and a half in the second are lost, which shows that the text, apart from Bismillāh and the famous Qur’anic verse occurring in mosque inscriptions, consisted of a fragment of six verses. Unfortunately, the slab is badly damaged, and the letters have peeled off almost in every panel. The writing seems to have been slightly better preserved when Mr. Saksena wrote.

All the same, after some efforts, it has been possible to decipher sufficient portion of the text according to which a mosque was constructed in 1425 A.D. during the reign of ʿĀḥmad Shāh. The name of the builder is not contained in the surviving text, and the verse which Mr. Saksena deciphered as containing it gives nothing but the date. It was probably contained in the first two hemistiches of the second line, of which only half has survived, and it is also badly damaged. It is therefore difficult to name the builder. Needless to say, the name Malīk Thānī deciphered by Mr. Saksena—which does not exist on the stone—is even otherwise quite unusual for a nobleman.

¹ Indian Historical Quarterly (IHQ), vol. IV (1928), p. 771, plate no. 2.
³ For the history of the city and its remains, sec. BG, vol. VIII, Kathiawar (Bombay, 1884), pp. 691-701.
⁴ Ibid., p. 693.
⁵ EIAPPS, 1933 and 1954, pp. 767-78. These were also published by Mr. Saksena in IHQ, vA. IV, pp. 771-772, but his readings are incorrect,
This as well as the other two records referred to above furnish important evidence of the political status of Jhalawar at the period of their dates. Also, the present record provides the earliest versified inscription of Ahmad Shāh.

The style of writing is Nashā of a fairly good order. The text of the record is deciphered as follows:

TEXT

Plate V (b)

(1) يسِمُ اللهِ الرحمن­َ الرحيم
(2) وَأَنَا لَسُوْأَ جَدٌّ اللهِ فَلا تَدْعُوا بِاللهِ أُحَدًا
(3) .......................... يَبْدِلُ ..........................
(4) .......................... أَنْدَرَ أَيامِ شاهِ امْنَدَر
(5) .......................... بَلْ يَبْلُغُ ..........................
(6) .......................... يَمْنُوُّ بَلَى ..........................
(7) .......................... مَلَكَ تَاجٍ وَتَختُ سَلَطَانٍ
(8) .......................... أَرَادَ ائِدَارٍ مسجدٍ
(9) .......................... يَا الْيَهُودُ كَنَاكَانَ رَأَى
(10) .......................... رَحْمٌ وَرَحْمَانَ

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
(2) 'And verily, the mosques are for Allah only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allah.'
(3) .......................... was completed by the grace of God.

Eight hundred and twenty-eight from the Migration (of the Prophet) was the date.............

of Ramadān (Ramadān A. H. 828—July-August 1425 A.D.),

in the time of the king Ahmad Shāh, the master of the royal crown and throne.

(4) .......................... was the builder.
.......................... in this mosque may............ one........... out of religiosity.

O God! for the sin of that person, Thou art Merciful and Compassionate on the day of Resurrection.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\text{Sakaena, op. cit., p. 771, reads: 'رباني'.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{Ibid. reads: 'معبد خاص است و بيت شريف'.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\text{Ibid. omits.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\text{Ibid. reads: 'مسجد ائدرين'.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{5}}\text{Ibid. reads: 'يامن و 함안'.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\text{Ibid. reads: 'خفیف گردانی'.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{7}}\text{Qur'an, chapter LXXII, verse 18.}\]
INS cribons OF THE GUJRAT SULTANS

XII. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 831 FROM CAMBAY

This unpublished inscription was first noticed by me in 1956. It occurs over the right mihrāb in the west wall of the Fursa-ki-Masjid situated on the road leading to the port at Cambay. 1 The tablet measures 50 by 27 cm. and contains a record of four lines which are in Arabic with the exception of a phrase indicating the name of the builder. Its text is similar to some extent to that of another record from the same place (Inscription No. X). The similarity does not end here: the style of writing is also almost the same as in the inscription under reference.

It is stated in the record that the original structure of the mosque having completely fallen down, it was completely reconstructed by the orders of the king at the request of Malik‘ul-Umarā Malik Marjān Sultanī in 1427 A.D. Among the quite few noblemen bearing the name Marjān, the nearest in time is Malik Marjān Sultanī the governor (hāvāladār), on behalf of Qutbuddin Aḥmad Shāh II, of the fort of Broach who had successfully resisted the attack on the fort by Mahmūd Khalji of Malwa in A. H. 855. 2 Presumably he is the same Malik Marjān Sultanī who had built a mosque in Broach according to the inscription dated A. H. 862 in the time of Aḥmad Shāh II. 3 In that case, Malik‘ul-Umarā Marjān Sultanī held charge of Cambay at the time of our record which would thus provide additional information about his career.

The text of the record reads as under:

TEXT

Plate VI(b)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تبارك و تعالى و إن السجاده فلا تدعوا مع الله

إحدا و قال عليه السلام

(2) من بين الله مسجد و و و مولى منحنق قطاة بني الله له بيتا في الجنة و عنده عليه

السلام إذا راد الله و عبد خيرا اجربت الخير على يده و بنى هذا المسجد المبارک

(3) بعد الهداوء منه اسسه السلطان الأعظم المعظم ناصر الدنيا و الذين أبو القطب أحمد

شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان عليد الله ملكه كمين

(4) رتب العليان و قرامش كار ابن مسجد ملك الأموار ملك مرجان سلطان يديم الله

معاليه و ذلك في التاريخ الغرى من المجرم سنة إحدى ثلاث و ثمانية

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Says Allah the Blessed and Exalted,

‘And verily, the mosques are for Allah only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allah’. 4 And

(1) ARIE, 1969-72, No. D, 39. There is also a fragmentary epigraph on the central mihrāb which contains part of a Qur’anic verse (chapter LXIX, verse 23).

2 Sīkandar, op. cit., p. 70; Hājī Dahir, op. cit., p. 4.


4 Qur’ān, chapter LXIII, verse 18.
(2) 'He who builds for Allah a mosque, even if it be like the nest of a sandgrouse, Allah builds for him a house in Paradise.' And (this saying is also) from him, peace be upon him: 'When Allah wishes good for (His) creature, He causes good to be done at his hands'. This blessed mosque was constructed,

(3) after it had fallen down from the foundation, by the great and magnificent king Nāṣir ud-Dūnīyā wa-l-Dīn Abūl-Fath Ahmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Mu'azzam Shāh, the sultan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom—Amen,

(4) O Lord of the Universe! And the suggestion for the work (i.e. construction) of this mosque was by Malik ul-Umarā Malik Marjān Sulṭāni, may Allah perpetuate his glories. And this was on the date, the first of the month of Muḥarram of the year (A.H.) thirty and eight hundred (1st Muḥarram A. H. 831=22nd October 1427 A.D.).

Mūhammad Shāh II

XIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 847 FROM BARODA

The pillar bearing this bilingual epigraph is reported to have been brought to the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery from Sathod situated in 23°05'N. and 73°20'E. in Baroda district. It is inscribed with fourteen and six lines of texts respectively in Persian and Sanskrit. On the top of the slab are engraved the figures of animals commonly found in inscriptions ending with imprecations.

Unfortunately the letters of the Persian version have been greatly disfigured due to the damaged condition of the pillar so much so that it is difficult to ascertain the purport of the record.

The Sanskrit version is also reported to be not clear due to the damaged nature of the writing, though it is in a slightly better preserved condition. However, from the date and the name of the king which have been deciphered beyond doubt, it appears that the pillar was set up in the reign of Muhammad Shāh and that it bears some sort of royal order issued on the 15th Muḥarram A. H. 847 (15th May 1443 A.D.). It is unfortunate that this valuable inscription should thus be rendered useless resulting in the loss of some important information that could have thrown light on an administrative aspect of the government.

The style of writing of the version in Arabic letters is Nashīḥ of an ordinary type, and the language is Persian.

TEXT

Plate VII(a)

1) تاريخ بانزدهم ماه محرم الحرام سنه سبعمو
2) اربعين و ثمان ميله در عهد سلطنت...
3) سلطان محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن مظفر شاه...
4) قصبه...........................
5) ...........................................

1 ABIR, 1949-50, No. B, 60.
2 Ibid.
(2) 'He who builds for Allāh a mosque, even if it be like the nest of a sandgrouse, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise.' And (this saying is also) from him, peace be upon him: 'When Allāh wishes good for (His) creature, He causes good to be done at his hands.' This blessed mosque was constructed,

(3) after it had fallen down from the foundation, by the great and magnificent king Nāṣiru’d-Dunya wa’d-Din Abū’l-Fath Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Muḥaffar Shāh, the sūlṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom—Amen,

(4) O Lord of the Universe! And the suggestion for the work (i.e. construction) of this mosque was by Maliku’l-Umarā Malik Marjān Sulṭānī, may Allāh perpetuate his glories. And this was on the date, the first of the month of Muḥarram of the year (A.H.) thirty-one and eight hundred (1st Muharram A. H. 831–22nd October 1427 A.D.).

Muhammad Shāh II

XIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 847 FROM BARODA

The pillar bearing this bilingual epigraph is reported to have been brought to the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery from Sathod situated in 22°05’N. and 73°20’E. in Baroda district.¹ It is inscribed with fourteen and six lines of texts respectively in Persian and Sānskrit. On the top of the slab are engraved the figures of animals commonly found in inscriptions ending with imprecautions.

Unfortunately the letters of the Persian version have been greatly disfigured due to the damaged condition of the pillar so much so that it is difficult to ascertain the purport of the record.

The Sanskrit version is also reported to be not clear due to the damaged nature of the writing, though it is in a slightly better preserved condition.² However, from the date and the name of the king which have been deciphered beyond doubt, it appears that the pillar was set up in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh and that it bears some sort of royal order issued on the 15th Muḥarram A. H. 847 (15th May 1443 A.D.). It is unfortunate that this valuable inscription should thus be rendered useless resulting in the loss of some important information that could have thrown light on an administrative aspect of the government.

The style of writing of the version in Arabic letters is Nashū of an ordinary type, and the language is Persian.

TEXT

Plate VII(a)

(1) پناهکه پانزدهم ماه محرم الحرام سنة سبعه
(2) اربعین و ثمان مله در عهد سلطنت
(3) سلطان محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن مظفر شاه 
(4) قصبه
(5) ..........................................
(6) ..........................................

¹ ARIZ, 1949-50, No. B, 60.
² Ibid.
Plate VII

(a) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 848, from Patan (p. 23).

(b) Inscription of Muhammad Shah I., dated A.H. 867, from Mundal (p. 20).

(c) Inscription of Muhammad Shah II., dated A.H. 837, from Baroda (p. 32).
From the above reading, it appears that the epigraph contained an order of remission of certain taxes which were in existence for some years. It seems to mention in line 13 some person, in all probability an official, whose name reads like Sa’id son of Sharaf.

XIV. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 848 FROM PATAN

This epigraph is also one of the few versified records of the Gujarat sultans. It is engraved on a slab measuring 53 by 35 cm. which is fixed into the southern wall of the courtyard of the mosque in Khātikwādā at Patan and may not be in situ. It contains seven verses in Persian followed by an invocatory phrase inscribed in five lines, with three hemistiches a line. The quality of verse is mediocre, but the style of writing is Nashkh of a fairly high order and recalls to mind the calligraphy of some inscriptions of Zafar Khān.

It refers to the construction of a mosque inside the mausoleum of Shaikh Muhammad Kāšghārī, with the sobriquet Turk, who is spoken of in the record as an eminent saint. The mosque was completed in 1444-45 A.D. The builder is not specified as such in the text but from the context it appears that Tāj, (son of) Şadr, son of Bihrām, son of Zain, (son of) Şadr, a devotee of the saint, constructed the mosque. Neither the saint nor the disciple is known to us. Tāj was originally from Mecca according to the epigraph. The epigraph thus provides the name of a saint who was renowned in his time and who seems to have flourished in the middle of the first half of the 9th century Hijra.

The text of the record is quoted below:

TEXT

Plate VII(b)

(1) در عبد بادشاه جهان شاه كائم خان
كرايه بناء مسجد اين روضه ازان
(2) شيخ زين جنيد زبان هتل عارفان
شيخ محمد آنک ملقب بهرك هست
منوب او يکشتست درهمه جهان

* ARIE, 1960-61, No. D, 61. The record was discovered by Mr. A. A. Kadir. 
(1-2) In the reign of the king of the world, the successful monarch, Muḥammad Shāh, the king of the kings of this world,

(was constructed) the mosque within this tomb-enclosure of the Shaikh of the world, Junaid of the time and the pole-star among the gnostics, Shaikh Muḥammad, who is known by the title of Turk (and who) is known in the whole world to have belonged to Kāshgār;

(3-4) may his grave be illuminated through the grace of the Creator! (As regards the builder) know him to be the hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, the hopeful of the (favour of the saint viz.) Tāj, (son of) Ṣadr, son of Bihrām, (son of) Zain, (son of) Ṣadr who undoubtedly hails from Mecca.

(When) the mosque was completed by the grace of God, the reckoning (of the year A.H.) was eight hundred and forty eight (A.H. 848=1444-45 A.D.).

(5) May God have mercy upon one who offers prayers in it (and) invokes blessings for the well-being of the builder! May the end be good! Amen! Amen!

XV. INSCRIPTION FROM SOMNATH

The mosque to which this inscription originally belonged was situated near the Triveni- or Chholā-Darwāza at Somnath in the Junagadh district.\(^1\) It was demolished in recent times, and the epigraphical tablet is also missing. Fortunately an inked rubbing of its inscription which was taken quite some time back was found in the old records of my office, and it is from the same that the epigraph is edited here for the first time. The tablet seems to have measured 98 by 33 cm. It was badly weather-beaten even at the time when the rubbing was prepared, as a glance at the plate will show. The writing is almost obliterated, with the result that only a small portion of the text has survived.

An interesting aspect of the record is that the arrangement of its text bears striking resemblance to that of the Mangrol Raḥmat mosque inscription of the time of Firuz Tughluq.\(^2\) The large rectangular panel in the middle of the tablet is inscribed with the famous Quranic text used in mosque inscriptions. In the top border occur Bismi’llah and another Quranic verse. The inner vertical borders on the left and right contain traditions of the Prophet, while from the outer vertical border on the right, commences the historical text which is in Persian verse. It is continued in the lower border and ends in the outer vertical border on the left. It appears that this text consisted of

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\(^1\) \textit{ARIB}, 1962-63, No. D, 35.
\(^2\) \textit{EIAPS}, 1962, p. 23, plate VIIb.
(a) Inscription of Mahmud Shah I, dated A.H. 806, from Malan (p. 27)

Scale: 21

(b) Inscription of Muhammad Shah II, from Sonnath (p. 25)

Scale: 2
seven verses in all. It is unfortunate that the text has not survived in full. Anyway, from
the religious texts, it is certain that the inscription referred to the construction of a mosque. The
mosque was built during the reign of Muhammad Shāh II. The name of the builder and the
date are lost.

The style of writing is Naṣḵah, and the record is deciphered as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate VIII(b)*

(a) *In the middle.*

قال اِنَّ اللهُ وَ فَتْحُ قَرْبٍ وَ بَشَرٌ المُوَمِّنِينَ - فَاِنَّ اللهُ خَيرُ حَافِظًا وَ هُوَ اَرْحَمُ الْرَّحِيمِينَ

(b) *In the top border.*

(i) Centre

بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(ii) *Sides*

نصر مِنِ اللهِ وَ فَتْحُ قَرْبٍ وَ بَشَرٌ المُوَمِّنِينَ - فَاِنَّ اللهُ خَيرُ حَافِظًا وَ هُوَ اَرْحَمُ الْرَّحِيمِينَ

(c) *In the inner right border.*

قال عليه السلام الدنيا ساعة فجعلها طاعة

(d) *In the inner left border.*

(1) قال عليه السلام المون في المسجد كالسكك في النمام
(2) [النافاق في] المسجد كالطير في اللقص

(e) *In the outer right, lower and outer left borders.*

(1) كبار
(2) إيزركي ن محمد شه احمد ست
(3) خدا رحمتي كن بيران خواجه
(4) كبار
(5) كبار
(6) كبار
(7) كبار

مرتب شه إز فضل بوردوغاٌ ١

---

1 This hemistich probably contains the name of the builder.
2 The text in this and the following five hemistiches is completely lost.
TRANSLATION

(a) Allāh the Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'.

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

(ii) 'Help is from Allāh and Victory near. And deliver the good news to the Believers'.

'And Allāh is the Best Keeper and He is the Most Merciful of the merciful ones'.

(c) The Prophet, may peace be upon him says, 'The world is (for) a moment, so spend it in devotion.'

(d) (1) (The Prophet), may peace be upon him, says, 'A believer in the mosque is like fish in water;

(2) (and) a hypocrite in the mosque is like a bird in the cage'.

(d) (1) ........................................great........................................crowned monarch.

(2) Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, is of the line of Muḥaffar Shāh the illustrious.

(3) O God! have mercy on the Khwāja (master) who......................................the great Khwāja.

(4-6) ..............................................................

(7) ..............................................................was constructed by the grace of the Nourisher.

Maḥmūd Shāh I

XVI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 866 FROM MALAN

The credit of discovering this inscription occurring on the Jāmiʿ mosque at Malan in Palanpur tāluka of the Banaskantha district goes to the late-lamented scholar of repute, Maulānā Abū Zafar Nadvi of the Gujarat Vidyā Sabha, Ahmadabad, who published its purport in his work on the history of Gujarat. Unfortunately, however, the Maulānā could not decipher the inscription completely nor correctly, and having read ḥaftṣad (seven hundred) for ḥiṣād (eight hundred), bist (twenty) for ablust (sixty) and only the name Muḥammad Shāh in the royal genealogy, he assigned the epigraph to the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh. When I first came to know of it from the Maulānā’s work, I was naturally interested to be informed about one more epigraph to add to the list of the very few inscriptions of that monarch in the province and the only to be found in north Gujarat. Consequently, I particularly desired Mr. A. A. Kadiri who toured some places in north Gujarat in search of inscriptions to visit Malan and take its estampage. On examination, the epigraph turned out to be a new record of Maḥmūd Shāh I of Gujarat.

This discovery, however, does not in the least detract from its importance since apart from being a new record of this king, which, again, is found in the almost northermost region of modern Gujarat, the inscription is quite interesting. It is longer than most of the Perso-Arabic records of Gujarat and seeks to give more particulars than are usually found in these inscriptions. It also shows that Malan—spelt in the text as Mālwan or Mālūn—at present an insignificant village, was the seat of a thā ([[thana]]) and included in the fief of one of the eminent nobles of the state Ulūg Khān. Further it mentions the fort of the town. Lastly, it describes, somewhat clumsily no doubt,
the structure and its building material of marble, of stones from demolished temples, the number
of its pillars and domes, etc.

But in a way, the epigraph is extremely disappointing: its greatest drawback is the language
of its text composed by Shaikh Mas'ud. It is written in what seems to have been intended to be,
not a very bad example, of Persian verse, so much so that it is extremely difficult to satisfactorily
determine where one hemistich ends and be perfectly sure about the meaning in some places.
Broadly speaking, the purport seems to be that the order for the construction of the Jami' mosque
was issued in the time of the late Qutbu'd-Din Ahmad Shah II; that in the reign of Mahmud
Shah I, the mosque in the hilly fort of Malun (or Malwan) was ultimately completed at the request
of Kabir, son of Diya, the local thanaDar, by Khan-i-A'zam Ulugh Khan who eradicated the mine
of idolatry, demolished the temples and utilised their building material in its construction; and
that Shaikh Mas'ud was asked by the local official to compose the text. The completion of the
mosque took place in 1463 A.D.

Ulugh Khan was the title conferred upon 'Alau'd-Din Suhraw, the governor of Sultanpur,
in A. H. 855, in reward for the service rendered by him to his master Qutbu'd-Din Ahmad Shah
at the time of the invasion of Gujarat by Mahmud Khalji of Malwa. His son Bahau'd-Din also
held this title presumably after his father's death or retirement. Most probably, Khan-i-A'zam
Ulugh Khan of the inscription is the father, because the son is said to have received the title of
Ikhtiyar-i-Mulk some time after the accession of Mahmud I and held it at least until
about A. H. 888. If so, the present epigraph would supply us with a later date in the career
of 'Alau'd-Din Ulugh Khan who is last heard of as having been sent to fetch Prince Fath Khan
to be crowned as Mahmud Shah I in A. H. 862 or 863. It may be recalled here that an earlier
date in the career of Malik 'Alau'd-Din was also supplied by an inscription now stored in the
Record Office at Mangrol in Junagadh district.

The style of writing is Naskh which, like its text, is of poor quality. The inscriptive tablet
is fixed above the central minbar of the Jami' mosque situated on a small hill just outside the
village and measures 80 by 44 cm. The text reads as follows:

**TEXT**

**Plate VIII (a)**

(1) انورن بالله من السبطان الرحيم بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(2) قال الله تبارك وتعالى وان الساعد الله فلا تدعوا [ا] مع الله ابدا قال عليه
(3) السلام من نانا مسجدنا نانا انت تعالي للحوار بأنا [ا] في الجنة
(4) فرمان شاه در عهد السلطان الأعظم قطب الدنيا و الدين
مرحوم ممتعور ابو الفظفر أحمد شاه السلطان

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1. The way in which the hemistiches are determined in the quoted text seems to be the only possible way;
it will be observed that some hemistiches are disproportionately longer.
2. Sikandar, op. cit., pp. 60, 70, 77, 93; Hajji Daahir, op. cit., pp. 4, 5, 10, etc.
3. Hajji Daahir, op. cit., pp. 17, 27. For further details of his career, see ibid., pp. 18, 19, 33, 34; Sikandar,
op. cit., pp. 113, 146, etc.
TRANSLATION

(1) I seek refuge in Allāh from (the mischief of) the accursed Satan (and begin) in the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Praise be to Allāh!

(2) Allāh the Blessed and Exalted says, ‘And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not anyone else with Allāh’. (The Prophet), on him be peace, says, ‘He who builds a mosque in the world, the Exalted Allāh builds for him a palace in Paradise’.

(3) An order was issued in the time of the great sultan, Qūṭb’ū-Dunyā wa’d-Din, the pardoned and received into Lord’s mercy, Abu’l-Muṣaffar Aḥmad Shāh the sultan.

(4) In the auspicious time of the government and peaceful time of Māḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, the sultan,
(5) the Jāmi’ mosque was constructed on the hill of the fort of Mālūn (or Mālwan) by Khān-i-A’zam Ulugh Khān,

may Allāh prolong his life for justice, generosity and benevolence,

(6) at the request of thānādār Kabīr, (son of) Diyā, the building was constructed by a servant of Ulugh Khān,

(who is) magnanimous just, generous brave (and who) suppressed the wretched infidels.

(7) He eradicated the idol-houses and mine of infidelity, along with the idols in the enemy’s country with the blow of the sword,

and made ready this abode with different kinds of stone, marble, and marīn?

(8) He made its walls and doors out of the stone of the idols;

the back of every stone became the place for prostration of the believers.

(9) Its raised courtyard deserves to be like silver, precious stones and lots of pearls;

the stone-carver made in it sixty pillars and twentyfive domes.

(10) When our thānādār said, ‘O Shaikh Mas‘ūd, write its date so that the same may remain as a memory to you in the world’,

the date was Thursday, fifth of the month of Rajab of the year eight hundred and sixtysix at that time (5th Rajab A.H. 866=5th April 1462 A.D.).

(11) You have not trodden the path nor you are shown the same. Otherwise ........ this door was not opened for him therein.

(12) ‘And whatever of good you send on beforehand for yourselves, you will find it with Allāh—that is best and greatest in reward. And ask forgiveness of Allāh. Surely, Allāh is Forgiving, Merciful’.1

XVII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 867 FROM MANDAL

Mandal is situated in 23°17’ N. and 71°58’ E. at a distance of about fourteen miles to the northwest of the tāluka headquarters Viramgam in Ahmadabad district.2 The place is now reduced to a small village, but it seems to have seen better days and was the seat of a small principality: Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh is reported to have encamped in 1347 A.D. for one full rainy season at this place on his way to Saurashtra. The Rāja of Mandal put to death the followers of the rebel Malik Tughī who had taken refuge with him and presented their heads to the Sultān.3 In 1395 A.D., Zafar Khān besieged it, and a few years later in 1414 A.D., the Mandal ruler participated in the revolt against Aḥmad Shāh I. It was in 1530 A.D. that the principality was permanently made part of the crown domains.4 There is also to be found here an inscription of the reign of Aḥmad Shāh.5

This epigraph fixed over the central mihrāb of the Sayyid’s mosque is again an unpublished one and was copied by me in 1954.6 The mosque is a small neat structure of stone built in the architectural style of the period. The language of the record is Arabic except the

1 Qur‘ān, chapter LXXIII, part of verse 20.
2 For the history of Mandal, see BG, vol. IV, Ahmadabad, (Bombay, 1879), pp. 345-46. Cousens, op. cit., p. 86, has listed its buildings but not mentioned the inscriptions.
5 Epigraphia Indica, vol. II (1893), p. 27.
phrase designating the builder of the mosque. Running into four lines, it assigns the construction of the mosque to Naṣīr, son of Shaikhū in 1462 A.D. during the reign of Mahmūd Shāh I. Though nothing is known about Naṣīr or his father Shaikhū, his association with the place in the capacity of a local official cannot be ruled out.

The tablet bearing the inscription measures 68 by 30 cm. The style of writing is Naskh.

The epigraph has been read as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate VII (c)*

(1) قال الله تعالى و أن المساجد لله فلا تدعو مع الله إحدا و قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى المسجدا لله تعالى ينادى الله لله بيتا مثله في الجنة بعد السلطان السلاطين ناصر الدنيا و الدين

(2) أبو الفتح محمود شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن أحمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان خالد الله ملكه و سلطانه باي ان مسجد شريف بناء نصير شيخو في التاريخ الغرام من المحرم سنة

TRANSLATION

(1) Says Allāh the Exalted, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh.' And the Prophet, may Allāh’s salutations and peace be on him has said,

(2) 'He who builds for the Exalted Allāh a mosque, Allāh builds for him a house like it in Paradise.' In the reign of the king of the kings Naṣīr ud-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn

(3) Abu'l-Fath Mahmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muṣaffar Shāh, the sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom.

(4) and sovereignty, the builder of this noble mosque is Naṣīr, son of Shaikhū, on the date, the first of the month of Muḥarram, year (A.H.) seven and sixty and eight hundred (1st Muḥarram A.H. 867=26th September 1462 A.D.).

**XVIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 877 FROM SOMNATH**

The slab bearing this inscription is now stored in the Archaeological Museum at Somnath. When the inscription was noticed in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, it was fixed on the structure locally known as Pānch-Bibī-kā-Kothā. But in 1954, I could not trace it despite best efforts since the building along with a few more were demolished in the communal frenzy a few years ago, and I took it as lost. Then in the course of my subsequent visit to Somnath in 1959, on being

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1 Qur'ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
2 ARIE, 1959-60, No. D. 94, where the date is inadvertently read as 29th instead of 19th Rajab.
3 *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari* (Bhavnagar, 1889), p. 3. The text quoted there is fairly correct.
4 *EKAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p. 50. It was not then in the Museum.
Plate IX

(a) Inscription of Mahmud Shah I, dated A.H. 895, from Patan (p. 34)

(b) Another inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 877, from Somnath (p. 31)
informed about a new epigraphical acquisition of the Museum, I examined and found it to be the missing tablet.

The epigraph states that Budh bin Kamāl bin Shihāb bin Ladh bin Fathu'llāh, the aslahadār (arms-bearer) of Maḥmūd shāh I, constructed a mosque in 1472 A.D. The text was written by Jalāl, son of Ismā’īl, son of Ādam. This record is thus not without interest. It provides the name of a new official—royal arms-bearer Budh son of Kamāl, whose existence is otherwise unknown to history. Another interesting feature of the record is that it is one of the few records of Gujarat quoting the names of the scribes.

The text occupies a space of 60 by 20 cm. on the slab, is inscribed in ordinary Naskh and reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate IX (b)*

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى و آن المساجد فلا تدعوا مع الله إحدا و قال

التربى صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني ملوكه بني الله له قصرا في الجنة بتاكرد

(2) إين مسجد بنيه كنهاة حضرت زروشخان الراجي إلى الله بهبه بن كمال بن شهاب بن

لهه بن فتح له العين؟ ماجرات أسله دار السلطان الأعظم المنظوم الوائق

(3) باهل المنان ناصر الدين و الذين أبو الفتح محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن أحمد شاہ بن

محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان خلاد الله ملكه

(4) و ثبت دولته هر كه الپايد و به بيند دعا إمام آين حنتر را ياد باشد تا ثواب و

ثمرات در نامة أو ثبت إنقدر أمين رب العالمين بينه

(5) و كمال كرمه بخط العيد الضريفي التحيف الراجي إلى رحمة الله الكريم جلال؟ بن

سماعيل بن آدم غفور الله و إله إجمعين يوم الأربعة التاسع عشر من رجب مرجب قدره سنه

سبع و سبعين و ثمانية

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allāh the Exalted says, ‘And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh’. And the Prophet, may Allāh’s salutations and peace be upon him, has said, ‘He who builds a mosque, Allāh builds for him a palace in Paradise’. Constructed was

(2) this mosque by the sinful creature of the Nourisher Lord, hopeful (of the grace) of Allāh, Budh, son of Kamāl, son of Shihāb, son of Ladh ?, son of Fath, who is emigrant to ? Gujarat, the aslahadār of the great and magnificent sultān, reliant

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3 Thus clearly on the stone.
3 Qur’an, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
3 Thus clearly on the stone. The name Lādha or Laddhā is current even now in Gujarat.
(3) upon Allah the Obliger, Nasiru’d-Dunya w’d-Din Abu’l-Fath Mahmud Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Mu’azzar Shah, the sultan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom.

(4) and strengthen his government. He who visits and sees (this mosque) should invoke prayers for the faith of this insignificant creature so that the merit and reward (for this act) be inscribed in his scroll of actions—Amen, O Lord of the universe! By His grace.

(5) and His perfect generosity. In the hand of (i.e. written by) the weak and feeble creature, hopeful of the mercy of the Generous Allah, Jalal, son of Isma’il, son of Adam, may Allah forgive him and his descendants, all of them! (On) Wednesday, the twenty-ninth of Rajab, may its dignity increase, of the year (A.H.) seven and seventy and eight hundred (19th Rajab A.H. 877=20th December 1472 A.D.).

XIX. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 883 FROM CAMBAY

This epigraph is from the mosque of Hajji Mahmud-i-Nuqati, popularly called Billi-Masjid, situated in the Qaziwaḍa Mahalla at Cambay.1 Though the present structure has undergone extensive repairs and restorations at subsequent dates, the monument dates back to the early fourteenth century as is proved by an inscription dated 1326 A.D. carved on the left mihrab in the west wall. According to yet another epigraph in the mosque, Malik Mufrarav, royal dawidar, constructed a mosque in 1380 A.D., but it may or may not be in situ. In addition, a fragmentary door-frame of finely chiselled black basalt lying loose in the compound contains BismIlah in Kufi characters.2

It is difficult to say if the inscription under study which is fixed in the west wall above the pulpit was intended for this mosque. It was first noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in 1919.3 Its text is modelled on the style of the inscription of Malik Mufrarav referred to above. The language is a mixture of Arabic and Persian with a repetition of the phrase 'this mosque was constructed' occurring once in Persian and once in Arabic and the omission of the name of Muhammad Shah in the genealogy of the king which is quite unusual. These defects do not speak well of the author or the writer of the text, the former of whom seems to have compiled it by piecing together sentences from two or more earlier records. But the inscription is not without importance. It records the complete reconstruction of a mosque, after it had fallen down from its very foundation, by Nakhoda Yahya, son of Tandel Nanya, son of Nasiru’d-Din Sailani, a servant (muta’alig) of Khân-i-A’zam Kamal Khân in 1478 A.D. during the governorship of Malik Aman, the muqta of the igtîqa of Cambay.

No officer of the name Malik Aman is met with in the annals of the period. However, among the nobles of Mahmud Shah I there was one Aminu’l-Mulk through whose efforts the king became a disciple of the saint Shaikh Siraj.4 There was also one Malik Amin Nassa Fardqi called by Hajji Dabir Malik Nassaq (variant Minas—Amin Nasq Turk), who from A.H. 936 onwards figured prominently in the events of the reign of Bahadur Shah and ultimately died with the latter at Diu in A.H. 943.5 None of these two seems to be identical with Malik Aman. Again, a Nagari record

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1 ARIE, 1906-07, No. D, 51.
2 For these inscriptions, see ibid., Nos. D, 49, 50, 52.
3 PRWO, 1919-20, pp. 50 (No. 29), 58. The details given by Mr. Banerji are not free from mistakes.
4 For want of diacritical marks, it is difficult to determine the exact pronunciation of this name. It can be pronounced as Aman, Amun, Amman, etc.
6 Ibid., pp. 272, 281, 304, 318, 322, etc.; Hajji Dabir, op. cit., pp. 223, 229, 236, 239, 252, 256, etc.
from Wadhwan refers to one Malik Aman as the local governor in V. S. 1572 (1516 A.D.). It is difficult to say if he is identical with Malik Aman of our record. Anyway, the epigraph provides the name of one more official of Cambay. Likewise, it has preserved the name of Khān-i-A’gam Kamāl Khān, no doubt a noble of importance, who is also completely ignored by historians. His servant Nakhudā Yahyā, the builder of the mosque, evidently cannot claim better recognition than his master. However, it is interesting to note that he hailed from a family of sea-farers if not shipmasters, as the sobriquets Nakhudā and Tandel used respectively in respect of him and his father tend to suggest. It is quite likely that he managed the vessels privately owned by the Khān. Or he may have been connected with the management of the state vessels in case the Khān was in their overall charge, but the text does not give any such details regarding the latter. In this connexion, it may be worthwhile to point out that Cambay was one of the ports at which a regular naval fleet was maintained and vessels built.

The text, engraved in ordinary Nāshā in relief, occupies a space of 1 m. by 38 cm. on the slab and reads as under:—

**Plate X (c)**


(2) I was a fisherman by day, a builder of the mosque by night. If Allah blessed me, I would have been a great king.

(3) I am the Sultān of the Qutb, I have conquered the land and I am the Qutb, I have conquered the sea and I am free from all worries. The Qutb, the Sultān, I have conquered all the land and the sea and I am the ruler of both.

(4) I am the Sultān of the Qutb, I have conquered the land and I am the Qutb, I have conquered the sea and I am free from all worries. I have conquered all the land and the sea and I am the ruler of both.

(5) I am the Sultān of the Qutb, I have conquered the land and I am the Qutb, I have conquered the sea and I am free from all worries. I have conquered all the land and the sea and I am the ruler of both.

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2. The name Nāyā of the father is also not without interest.
4. Thus on the stone.
TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allāh the Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'. And the Prophet, may Allāh's salutations and peace be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, even if it be

(2) like the nest of a sandgrouse, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise'. (Through the grace of) God, may He be glorified and Exalted (and through) the blessing of the repository of Prophethood (i.e. the Prophet), may peace be upon him, this auspicious mosque was built during the blessed reign of the great sultan, master of the necks of nations, Nūsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn

(3) Abu'l-Fatḥ Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh, son of [Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh], the sultan, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and shower on the world his munificence and favour, (and) during the governorship (bukūmat) of Malik Aman, muqṭiy of the iqtā of Cambay, this auspicious mosque was built, after

(4) it had fallen down from the very foundation, out of his personal money that Allāh gave him through His bounty and favour, by the creature, hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, Nabhudā Yaḥyā, son of Tandel Nānāy—son of Naṣiru'd-Dīn Sālīnā, a servant (muta'allīq) of Kān-i-A'gam Khāqān-i-Mu'azzam Kamāl Khān, may Allāh magnify his dignity! And this was on

(5) the date, the first of the blessed month of Ramdān of great dignity, of the year three and eighty and eight hundred from the Migration of the Prophet (1st Ramdān A.H. 883–26th November 1478 A.D.). Praise be to Allāh and salutations upon His Prophet!

XX. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 895 FROM PATAN

The name of yet another state official and a kotwāl of Patan occurs in this epigraph. He is Malik Sirāj Sulṭānī who also does not find mention in historical works. He must be different from the aforesaid saint Shaikh Sirāj who resided at Ahmadabad and had for reasons of secrecy acted as an official during the period he initiated Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh in discipleship.

The epigraphical tablet measures 43 by 25 cm. and is fixed above the central mihrāb of the Bāzār-ki-Masjid. It was first noticed by me in 1954. The text of the record comprising two lines of writing in a mixture of Arabic and Persian is inscribed in exquisite Nasḵ characters. It will be seen that the lower line containing the historical text in Persian is minutely and closely written, with one word over another, and the lettering is also slightly damaged. As a result, the reading of the last few words containing the date is not certain. The epigraph records the construction of the mosque in 1490 A.D. by Malik Sirāj Sulṭānī, the kotwāl of the city of Nahrwāra (i.e. Patan). It reads as under:

TEXT

Plate IX (a)

(1) قال الله تبارك و تعالى و ان الساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

1 Qur'an, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANS

(3) بنا كردوه مسجد ملك سراج سلطاني كوتوال شهر تهرواره در عهد سلطان سلطان الزمان أبو الفتح محمود تاء سلطان في الثلاث و العشرين من شهر رجب سنة 700 خمس و تسعين و ثمانية

TRANSLATION

(1) Allâh the Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allâh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allâh'.

(2) Malik Sirâj Sulţâni, kotâwâl of the city of Nahrwâra, constructed the mosque in the reign of the sultân among the sultâns of the time, Abûl-Fâth Mahmûd Shâh sulûtân, on the twentieth of the month of Rajab, may its dignity increase, of the year (A.H.) five and ninety and eight hundred (23rd Rajab A.H. 895=12th June 1490 A.D.).

XXI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 901 FROM THE SAME PLACE

The mosque in the enclosure of the tomb of Makhdûm Shaikh Ḥusâmu’d-Din, a disciple of Ḥadrât Nizâmu’d-Din of Delhi, has an inscription fixed over its left mihrâb, which represents a new record of Mahmûd Shâh I. Comprising four lines of writing engraved in Naskh script with Tughrû’i flourishes on a slab measuring 43 by 50 cm., it states that the saint had died in 1336 A.D. and that the mosque was constructed in 1495 A.D. in the reign of Mahmûd Shâh I. The name of the builder is not given. It will be observed that the text does not describe the full genealogy of the king as is usual in the case of the Sultanate inscriptions. Also, the epigraph is important in that it quotes the full name of the saint as Shaikh Ḥusâmu’d-Din, son of Uthmân, son of Dâ’ûd al-Multânî. The author of the Mir’ât-i-Ahmadi gives his name as Ḥusâmu’d-Din Uthmân, son of Dâ’ûd Multânî, which is incorrect.

The slab seems to have been plastered over and again, and the writing is not only very close but slightly damaged. My reading of the text is quoted below:

TEXT

Plate X (a)

(1) Bism Allah al-râhim al-râhid
(2) قال الله تبارك و تعالى و أن الساجد تنال تدعوا مع الله احدا فاقت عين حافظا و هو ارحم الراحمين

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1 The reading of the underlined words is tentative.
2 Qur’an, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
5 According to ibid., No. C, 92, the mosque was renovated by the celebrated Sayyid Qâsim, son of Sayyid Mahmûd Bârîha, in 1588 A.D.
6 *Ali Muhammed Khân, op. cit. *Abdu’l-Jabbar Khân, op. cit., also wrongly gives his name as Uthmân and makes him a son of Dâ’ûd.
XXII. EPITAPH DATED A.H. 904 FROM CÂMBAY

This interesting epitaph was also first discovered in 1919 A.D. by Mr. R. D. Banerji, but it has not been published. Mr. Banerji thus quoted its contents in his report: 'On Tombstone of Jamāl-ibn Fath-ūla bin Miyan (alias Mamālak Muḥammad Shāh (Sultān Mahmūd Shāh II of Gujarat) died Friday, 6th Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 904 A.H.'

It is hoped that the inaccuracies in this statement will be rectified by the reading quoted below.

The arch-shaped tablet measuring 43 cm. from apex to bottom and 30 cm. in width is fixed, first from the right side, into the west wall of the tomb of Shaikh Ali Jaulaqi locally known as Parwar Shāh or Parwāz Shāh situated to the north of the town of Câmbay. The tomb may be rightly called a gallery of inscribed tombstones; as many as twenty-five tombstones are preserved there. Some of these have been published while all of them are listed.

The language of the inscription is Arabic. The text runs into seven lines and records that Jamāl, son of Fathullāh, son of Jamāl, son of Miyan, commonly known as Malik Makhdūm, died as a martyr in 1498 A.D. The interesting feature of this record is that it speaks of the late Malik Makhdūm as the boon-companion or favourite courtier (nadīm) of Mahmūd Shāh I. Unfortunately

\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{1}}\text{ Qur'ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.} \\
\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{2}}\text{ Ibid., chapter XII, verse 64.} \\
\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{3}}\text{ Ghulām Sarwar, op. cit., wrongly puts the death of the saint in A.H. 735.} \\
\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{4}}\text{ PRWC, 1919-20, pp. 49 (App. Q, No. 10). Mahmūd Shāh II is a mistake for Mahmūd I which has been corrected in \textit{ibid.}, p. 88.} \\
\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{5}}\text{ ARIE, 1966-67, No. D, 76.} \\
\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{6}}\text{ Ibid., Nos. D, 69-83; \textit{ibid.}, 1959-60, Nos. D, 122-129; ELAPS, 1961, pp. 17, 20, 22; PRWC, 1919-20, pp. 49-50; App. Q, Nos. 1-25.} \]
(a) Inscription of Mahmūd Shah I, dated A.H. 901, from Patan (p. 35)

(b) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 901, from Cambay (p. 37)

(c) A third record of the same monarch, dated A.H. 883, from Cambay (p. 33)
no particulars of Malik Makhḍūm are available in historical works. However, they mention one Jamāl whose son Taj was given the title of Wajhūl-Mulk by Bahādur Shāh in about A.H. 932, but whether he is identical with the deceased it is difficult to say.

The style of writing of the epigraph is Thulth-um-Riqā' of a fairly good order. The epitaph reads as under:

TEXT

Plate X (b)

(1) لا اله الا اذ الله محمد رسول الله
(2) يبشرهم رحمة منه و رضوان
(3) و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم عالدين
(4) فيها ابدا هذا قبر المرحوم المغفور الشهيد الراجي إلى رحمة الله
(5) الكرم جمال بن فتح الله بن جمال بن ميان المدعو ملك مخدور تنديم
(6) سلطان الزمان محمود شاه السلطان و دفن في ليلة الجمعة السادس
(7) من جمادي الأولى سنة أربعين تسعمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.
(2) 'Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself and
(3) (His) good pleasure and garden, wherein lasting pleasure will be theirs;
(4) abiding therein for ever. This is the grave of the one who is taken into Allāh's mercy,
the pardoned, the martyrs, the hopeful of the mercy of Allāh
(5) the Generous, Jamāl, son of Fathu'llāh, son of Jamāl, son of Miyān, commonly called
Malik Makhḍūm, the nadim (boon-companion) of
(6) the sultān of the time, Maḥmūd Shāh the sultān, who was buried on the night of Friday
the sixth
(7) of Jumādā First, year (A.H.) four and nine hundred (6th Jumādā I A.H. 904 = 20th December 1498 A.D.).

XXIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 905 FROM RAYANIA

Rayania, situated in 23°25' N. and 73°35' E., is a small village in the Rampur tāluka of the
Panchmahal district. There was in the village until very recently a beautiful brick mosque which
bore this epigraph. It is now reported to be lying in ruins which is a great pity since the
monument, whose photograph I have seen, could easily rate among the few surviving brick monuments

1Sikandar, op. cit., p. 239.
2Qurʾān, chapter IX, verse 21 and part of verse 22.
of the Sultanate period. The inscription seems to have been first discovered and reported by his Exploration Assistant to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda, who forwarded its inked rubbing to me for examination. After the mosque was demolished, the tablet was kept in the house of a teacher of the local school, but in 1962 it was removed by the Assistant Director of Archaeology, Government of Gujarat, Rajkot, to be preserved there in the Watson Museum.

The tablet measures 50 by 38 cm. and appears to be whole. But since the text begins rather abruptly without the customary religious formulae or even the usual phrase referring to the reign of the king, it is quite likely that there was another tablet which contained these texts. This hitherto unpublished record states that Malik Sārang Sulṭānī entitled Qiwāmīl-Mulk constructed a mosque and a fort in 1499-1500 A.D. during the reign of Muhmūd Shāh I.

Malik Sārang Qiwāmīl-Mulk is too well-known a figure of the reign of Muhmūd Shāh I to need any detailed mention here. He lived to serve Bahādur Shāh, grandson of the latter. He not only founded the quarter called Sārangpur in the city of Ahmadābad but also constructed at least two mosques there as recorded in their inscriptions. It was as early as in A.H. 875 that his rank was raised and his title Mukhlīṣīl-Mulk substituted by a higher title Qiwāmīl-Mulk. In the same year he was granted the thāna of Godhra which is now the headquarters of the district in which the present epigraph was found. The fact that Rayanīa was provided by a fort as stated in the inscription shows that it was a place of strategic importance in this border region.

The style of writing is beautiful Thulṭī with Tughrā flourishes, and the text reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate IX (c)*

(1) الواثق بإله المنان ناصر الدنيا والدين أبو الفتح محمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن أحمد

شاه بن محمد شاه بن منصور شاه السلطان

(2) خلف الله ملكه وسلطنته باكرند حصار بامسجد مبارك كثر تأييذه من الخضراء

عليا بقم الملك سلنة خمس و تسعماية

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The reliant on Allāh the Obliger, Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Din Abūl-Fath Muhmūd Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Muqaffar Shāh the sultān,

(2) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty! The fort along with the auspicious mosque was constructed by Malik Sārang, entitled by the exalted presence (i.e. king) Qiwāmīl-Mulk, in the year (A.H.) five and nine hundred (A.H. 905-1499-1500 A.D.).

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1 It is worthwhile to remember that almost all the architecturally important brick structures of the Sultanate period were constructed in the reign of Muhmūd Shāh I.
4 *Chaghtāi*, op. cit., pp. 55, 61.
5 *Sikandar, op. cit.*, p. 126; Hājjī Dabīr, op. cit., p. 22.
(a) Inscription of Mugaffar Shāh II, dated A.H. 918, from Cambay (p. 40)

Scale: .15

(b) Another record of the same king, dated PLATE XI
A.H. 921, from Cambay (p. 42)

(c) Inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 905, from Rayania (p. 38)

Scale: .17

Scale: .19
INScriptions of the gujarat sultans

Mugaffar Shâh II

XXIV. Inscription Dated A.H. 917 From Jambusar

Jambusar is a tâluka headquarters in the Broach district. The only monument worth notice in this old town is the Jâni' mosque, of brick, situated in the Qâ'awâdâ quarter. Though the building seems to have undergone considerable repairs from time to time, the structure retains to a certain extent, particularly in its buttress-like tapering minarets, some of the original architectural features. Over its central mihrâb is fixed this epigraph which seems to have been discovered some time back by an officer of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, when its headquarters was at Poona.¹

The tablet bearing this beautifully executed record measures 92 by 38 cm, and contains two lines in Arabic purporting that the mosque was ordered to be built by Muzaffar Shâh II and completed in 1511-12 A.D. It will be seen that not only the king's name is unaccompanied by the usual genealogy but his title and kunya which were Shams'ul-Danyâ wa'd-Dîn Abu'n-Nagr are also absent.

The style of writing of the record is Thulth of a high order and testifies to the calligraphical skill of its scribe whose name is unfortunately not mentioned. Its text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XII (b)

قد تم عمارة هذه المسجد بأمر سلطان الأعظم مظفر شاه ابن محمود شاه السلطان مدينة

عمره في سنة سبع عشر و تسعماً

TRANSLATION

The building of this mosque was completed by the order of the great king Muzaffar Shâh, son of Mahmûd Shâh the sultan, may Allâh prolong his life, in the year (A.H.) seventeen and nine hundred (A.H. 917=1511-12 A.D.).

XXV. Inscription Dated A.H. 918 From Cambay

A building in the Purâni-Mandî now housing the Gujarati Mukhya Kanyâshâlâ—Girls' Primary Main School contains two epigraphs both of which are very interesting. One of these dated 1387 A.D., reports the construction of public water-room in the Manjawi premises.² The other is the record under study. Both these inscriptions were briefly described by Mr. R. D. Banerji who was the first to notice them. But Mr. Banerji seems to have been misinformed about the true purport of the record, which according to him records some grants of land and supplies us with two different regnal years of this monarch: the Sanh-i-Julûs 6 and Sanh-i-manşûr 2.³ This is not correct as we shall presently see.

The inscriptive tablet measures 50 cm. by 1-22 m. and is fixed on the wall of the water-room of the school.⁴ It is inscribed in fairly good Nasîkh with seventeen lines in Persian which form the

¹ ARIV, 1960-61, No. D, 57, where due to oversight the date was given as A.H. 914-(1508-09 A.D.).
³ PRWC, 1919-20, pp. 50, No. 39, 58.
⁴ ARIV, 1956-57, No. D, 63.
text of an order issued by Muzaffar Shâh II in his second regnal year corresponding to A.H. 918 (1512 A.D.) to announce the remission of certain imposts then current in the district (khitta) of Khanbâyat i.e. Cambay with a view to ensure the prosperity and well-being of the people of the region and also of the travellers. The schedule of these imposts is given in lines 8-15 of the text. The epigraph is thus an extremely valuable record furnishing information not to be found in historical works about the taxes and imposts. In view of the fact that the chroniclers of the period pass over the administrative and financial matters, any direct information on the subject, however meagre, supplied by such orders is always welcome. Therefore, it is regrettable that owing to the absence of diacritical marks in the text and also some Tughrã tendencies displayed by the scribe, it has not been possible for me to satisfactorily decipher the portion containing the schedule of imposts in full, and that, I am conscious, detracts not less from the utility of this epigraph. Nevertheless it is hoped that scholars better qualified than myself might be able to utilise the epigraph in a more fruitful way.

Another important aspect of this record lies in the fact that it is dated in the regnal year in addition to the Hijra era. Quite a few records of this king have been found to bear this type of dating i.e. the regnal year, called Shamsiyya after his title Shamsu’d-Din.¹ This type or dating to the best of my knowledge is found only in the inscriptions of Muzaffar Shâh II in the whole range of the pre-Mughal epigraphs of not only Gujarat but also of the other provincial and central dynasties—a fact to which I have already drawn attention elsewhere.²

The text of the order is as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XI (a)*

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) اعلاه الله تعالى شانه و توالى إحسانه ساه معدات حضرت سلطنة

(3) فلله و من الله و من الدين و من النصر مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه

(4) بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان خان الله

(5) ملكه برمرافق اهل إسلام پاینده و مستند دارد نا بر وفايت

(6) حال و فراغ بال سکان و مسافران خلطة کنونای بخش ابواه که

(7) در خطة مذكور دستور شهر بود و مقرر کشتی معاف و مسلم فرموده اند؟

(8) بنین تقسیم قیمت نیافد ددر فرضه و مدله ردم و دهاره و خدمتی بچیها

(9) که از فرضه بخشlah دیب و نادن دیگر میراند و حاسبی؟ هنده و دوادو؟

(10) و پوئناواندی؟ امیر بهاری و هنده داخل نوری؟ و ششه دیوان و فروین

¹ The present record has in addition the designation (after his kumpâ Abu’n-Nagr) Sana Mangîr literally meaning "victorious year."

² EIAPS, 1953 and 1954, p. 68.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANS

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

(2) May Allāh whose dignity is Exalted and whose favours are continuous, keep the shadow of the justice of His Majesty.

(3) asylum of sovereignty, shadow of god, Shamsu’d-Dunya wa’d-Dīn Abu’n-Nagr Muqaffar Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh.

(4) son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muqaffar Shāh, the sultan, may Allāh perpetuate.

(5) his kingdom, permanently and forever over the foreheads of the followers of Islām! With a view to, (ensure) the prosperity of

(6) the condition and well-being of the inhabitants of and travellers to the district (khilla) of Khanbāyat (i.e. Cambay), some imposts which

(7) were ordered and fixed in the said district have been remitted and removed,

(8) according to this schedule:1 the unfair price in the harbour- and land-custom-house;2 monthly rent (dīkhrāt) and service-tax of the boxes

(9) which are carried from the harbour to the district of Dīb (Diu) and other ports and the accountancy (ḥāṣibī) of exchange-bill (hundiya) and dualadāwī.

(10) treasurership (pot-dāri) of the admiralty, and the exchange-bill (hundiya) of the produce of new agricultural lands (naubarī) and superintendence of the office (ṣahna-i-dīwānī) and its subsidiaries.

(11) and the superintendence of the office of the thānadār and kotwāl, and the like. And in the harbour- and the land-custom-house

(12) the service-tax on the coins (muqād) and pearls and sale of fruits like carrot (gazar) which should not be taken into account

(13) and one third of the provisions of the trader and new share of coins thereof? i.e. gold and silver, should not be taken,

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1 Thus on the stone. In view of the text in lines 8 and 14, one "" may be redundant.
2 As stated above, the text giving the schedule could not be satisfactorily deciphered and hence, its translation should also be considered tentative.
3 For the definition of furda and manduci-i-madh, see ‘Ali Muhammad Khan, op. cit., p. 194.
(14) and (also) the service-tax on the shroffs, in the market and the brand of animals and service-tax on the treasurers of (different)

(15) departments and service-tax on the kando'ī which are within the state. 'Then who-
ever alters it after he had heard of it,

(16) the sin of it is only upon those who alter it.'

And this (order) was issued on the 24th Rabi'

(17) u'1-Ákhar in the year (A.H.) eighteen and nine hundred, the victorious year (sana Mangür) second of the Shamsiyya regnal year (24th Rabi' II A.H. 918-9th July 1512 A.D.).

XXVI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 921 FROM CAMBAY

This epigraph is engraved on a slab measuring 40 by 50 cm. which is fixed in the west wall to the left of the central mihrāb in the Husaini-Masjid situated in the Bhule-kā-Maḥallā at Cambay. It records the fact that Khwāja Šandal, a servant of Khwāja 'Alī Khān, son of Nigām Ghilānī, constructed a mosque in 1515 A.D. during the reign of Muzafrar Shāh II. In this epigraph too, the king’s title and kunyā as well as his genealogy are conspicuous by their absence. The identity of Khwāja Šandal, the builder, is difficult to establish, and so is that of his master Khwāja 'Alī Khān Ghilānī.

It was the late Mr. R.D. Banerji who discovered this epigraph in 1919. But he was wrong to assign the construction of the mosque to Khwāja 'Alī Khān.

The script employed in inscribing the text is Naskh, and the text reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XI (b)*

(1) يسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و يه نستعين

(2) و ان المساجد مثلا تدعو[1] مع الله احدا و قال النبي صلى

(3) اللہ عليه وسلم من بنى الله مسجدا و لوط كحص قطان

(4) بيني الله له قصرا في الجنة و قال اللہ رزاق وكعالي

(5) فمن يعمل منثال ذو شرا يره و من يعمل منثال ذو عرش يتلاه

(6) عمر و بنى هذه المسجد الباروك خادم خواجه عليخان بن نظام غيلانى و هو خواجه صدقل

(7) في الزمان السلاطنه الأعظم مظفر شاه السلاطنه خلد الله ملكه و ذلك في الغرره

(8) من الحجر سنة إحدى و عشرين و تسعماه

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1 Could this be the vernacular word kandoi which in Gujarati means a confectioner?
2 Quran, chapter II, part of verse 181.
3 ARIE, 1936-37, No. D, 60.
4 In about A.H. 905, a noble Sayyid Barānahar entitled 'Ali Khān Mandwālī fled to Gujarat from Malwa and received Broach in jīf. His son also held this title (Jājī Dābir, op. cit., pp. 118, 211, 214, etc.). But he seems to be a different person.
5 PRWC, 1919-20, pp. 50 (No. 38), 58.
(1) In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. And of Him we seek aid.

(2) ‘And verily, the mosques are for Allah only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allah.’

(3) And the Prophet, may salutations

(4) Allah builds for him a palace in Paradise’. And Allah the Blessed and Exalted has said,

(5) ‘So he who does an atom’s weight of good shall see it. And he who does an atom’s weight of evil shall see it’.

(6) This blessed mosque was built and constructed by the servant of Khwaja ‘Ali Khan, son of Nizam Gilla, and he is Khwaja Sandal,

(7) in the time of the great sultan Muazzafar Shab the sultan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom. And this was on the first

(8) of Muhaarram, year (A.H.) twenty one and nine hundred (1st Muharram A.H. 921 = 15th February 1515 A.D.).

XXVII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 921 FROM SANKHEDA

This bilingual inscription was first brought to light by the Archaeological department of the erstwhile Baroda state. However, no details of its text except the date were made available in the report of that department in which it was noticed. It was copied by me in 1962.

The tablet on which this epigraph is engraved is now built into the right bastion of the south gate of the fort at Sankheda, a taluka headquarters in the Baroda district. Situated in 22°9'N. and 73°37'E. on the left bank of the Orsang river, Sankheda figures frequently in the annals of the Sultanate period. The only object of interest in the town is the old fort.

The epigraphical tablet measuring 45 by 55 cm. is inscribed with writing in Persian and Sanskrit. The Persian version consists of six lines inscribed in letters of uneven size. The letters in the first four lines are larger than those in the last two lines. The Sanskrit counterpart which runs into nine lines is written in an even hand. The slab seems to have been subjected to neglect and exposure to sun and rain for, its letters have been considerably damaged. The Persian version which is inscribed on the top begins abruptly with the titles of the king. The slab is also damaged in parts; particularly, it has cracked from just above the middle portion and in the top corner. It is therefore quite likely that a portion of the slab is missing. Even if it be so, the missing text was not of much consequence, as the purport of the record can be fully made out from the surviving lines. The epigraph states that during the reign of Abu’l-Nasr Muazzafar Shah, a well and a mosque were constructed by Path Khan, son of Rajaan Khan, son of Asad Khan, in 1515 A.D. This inscription also, like the other two inscriptions of Muazzafar Shah studied in this article (Nos. XXV and XXVIII), bears the regnal year with its usual designation ‘Shamsiyya’.

According to the information furnished by the Government Epigraphist for India who was requested to examine it, the Nagari inscription contains the date Vikrama Samvat 1572, Saka

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1 Qur’an, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
2 Ibid., chapter XCIX, verses 7-8.
3 Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, for the year ending 31st March, 1939 (Baroda, 1940), pp. 3, 37.
5 For the history of the town, see BG, vol. VII, Baroda (Bombay, 1883), pp. 556-67.
1437, Dakshinayana, Varshā-ritu, Bhādrapada 15 Friday, Lunar eclipse. But since the writing is damaged, apart from the name Fāṭ Work Khan, son of Rājan Khan, son of Asad Khan, no other details could be made out.

The Persian version is incised on the slab in Naṣḥa characters, which are of a fairly good order. But since the text is carelessly written without proper attention to the straightness of lines and evenness of the size of letters, the calligraphic effect on the whole is not as pleasing as it should be, more so because the incised letters have been somewhat disfigured due to damage.

The Persian text reads as under:

TEXT

Plate XIV (a)

(1) [الواط دفاید] الوثن اب الوثرام خلفار شاه
(2) سلطان بن موحبد شاه سلطان
(3) بن أحمد شاه سلطان بن محمد شاه سلطان
(4) بن محمد شاه سلطان بن محمد بن جعفر
(5) بن راجنخان بن نسخ خان مرحوم مسعود ها ماء رجب
(6) قلب سنه اهدو و عشرين و سهيمه سنه خمس شمسية

TRANSLATION

(1) The reliant on the support of the Beneficent, Abu’n-Nasr Mużaffar Shāh
(2) sultān, son of Mahmūd Shāh sultān, son of Muḥammad Shāh sultān,
(3) son of Ahmad Shāh sultān, son of Muḥammad Shāh sultān,
(4) son of Mużaffar Shāh sultān, the well and the mosque were constructed by Fath Khan,
(5) son of Rājan Khan, son of Asad Khan who is taken into the mercy (of God), on the date thirteenth of the month of Rajab, may God increase
(6) its dignity, of the year (A.H.) twenty-one and nine hundred, Shamsiyya (i.e. regnal) year five (13th Rajab A. H. 921-23rd August 1515 A.D.).

It is not possible to identify Fath Khan, the builder, but very likely he was the official in charge of the town and the neighbouring region.

XXVIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 928 FROM HIMATNAGAR

Himatnagar, the capital of the erstwhile Idar State in north Gujarat is now the headquarters of the Sabarkantha district. The antiquity of the city goes back to the year A.H. 830 in which Aḥmad Shāh I founded and named it Ahmadnagar after his own name. The original name of the town was in recent times changed by a ruling chief after his name Himatsinhji.

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1 The lunar eclipse had occurred on the previous purqanu (i.e.) of Sravaṇa.
2 This word is repeated in the next line.
3 For historical account of the place and description of its buildings, see BG, Vol. V, pp. 430-32.
4 Sikandar, op. sit., p. 57.
5 The ground for changing the name of the town was to prevent its being confused, for postal purposes, with Ahmadnagar in Maharashtra.
Plate XII

(a) Inscription of Muzaffar Shāh II, dated A.H. 928, from Himatnagar (p. 45)

Scale: 18

(b) Inscription of Muzaffar Shāh II, dated A.H. 917, from Jambusar (p. 39)

Scale: 13
The epigraph consists of ten lines in Persian and represents a new record of Muzaffar Shāh II. It seems to have been noticed by an officer of the Survey some years back; its inked rubbing was found along with other old rubbings in my office. But the record has not been edited so far.

The slab measuring 50 by 65 cm. is fixed into the side of the first landing of the step-well called Āqā's Wāsād which is a very handsome structure in the architectural tradition of the Gujarāt step-wells. Another slab fixed into the opposite wall contains a Sanskrit version of the record. Both these inscriptions were first noticed in the district gazetteer, but unfortunately the statements made therein are incorrect and misleading. For example, the Persian version is stated to bear the date A.H. 820 (1417 A.D.) while the correct year is A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.). The gazetteer also quotes the tradition that Shamsīrūl-Mulk, the builder, was a son of Ahmad Shāh I. This was probably suggested by the wrong reading of the date but according to the text, the step-well was constructed by Shams, son of Mubāraq Sultānī entitled Maliku’sh-Sharq Shamsīrūl-Mulk in the twelfth regnal year equivalent to A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.). This epigraph also quotes and designates the regnal year as Shamsiyā. The style of writing is ordinary Naskh lacking in grace and elegance which is a high water-mark of the Sultanate inscriptions. The text is incised on the slab.

No noble bearing the title Shamsīrūl-Mulk figures in the events of the reign of Muzaffar II. But since we hear of one Shamsīrūl-Mulk in connexion with the events that took place immediately after the death of the latter it is reasonable to hold that he enjoyed this title in his reign also. This Shamsīrūl-Mulk was sent in A.H. 939 by Muzaffar Shāh’s son Bahādur Shāh against Ajmer of which he was governor until at least A.H. 941. He is also mentioned by Bāji Dābir among the foremost nobles of Bahādur Shāh. He is evidently identical with Shamsīrūl-Mulk Sultānī who was in A.H. 956 made the governor of Junagadh with practically whole of Saurashtra under his authority. One Shamsīrūl-Mulk, brother of Fathū Muhāfiz Khān, is also mentioned in connexion with the events of a subsequent date. Of the two, the former may be identical with Maliku’sh-Sharq Shamsīrūl-Mulk Sultānī of our inscription.

The text of this record reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XII (a)*

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و بِلى نسيم
(2) در عهد سلطان سلطان الزمان
(3) المؤيد بن ثابت الرحمن شمس الدنيا و الدين
(4) أبو النصر مظفر شاه السلطان بناکر
(5) شمس مبارك سلطان الخاطب يملك

---

2 *BG,* Vol. V, pp. 430-31. It is surprising that the discrepancy between the two dates A.H. 820 (1417 A.D.) and V.S. 1578 (1522 A.D.) of the two versions of the same epigraph did not occur to the compiler. The correct date of the Persian version corresponds to that of its counterpart. Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 84, also follows the gazetteer.
3 *Firishta, op. cit.,* p. 215; *Nizām’ul-Dīn Ahmad, op. cit.,* p. 496.
4 *Sikandar, op. cit.,* pp. 293, 318; *Bāji Dābir, op. cit.,* pp. 227, 236, 256, 298. Both these authors append the subriquet *Naﬁliyā* to his name.
5 *Bāji Dābir, op. cit.,* pp. 324, 393.
(1) In the name of Allâh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. And of Him we seek aid.

(2) In the reign of the king of the kings of the time,

(3) one who is supported by the help of the Beneficent; Shamsu’d-Dunyâ wa’d-Din

(4) Abu’n-Naṣr Mughâfîr Shâh, the sultan, (this step-well) was constructed

(5) by Shams, (son of) Mubârak Sultânî entitled Malik-

(6) u’gh-Sharq Shamghiru’l-Mulk, may Allâh prolong his life!

(7) In the months of the year twelve Shamsiyya, on the twenty second

(8) of the month of Dhi’l-Qa’dâ, year (A.H.) twenty-eight

(9) and nine hundred, Monday (22nd Dhi’l-Qa’dâ A.H.928=13th October 1522 A.D.),

it was inscribed.

(10) Whosoever reads (this) may remember (the builder) with prayers for (his) faith.

Bahâdur Shâh

XXIX. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 936 FROM BHAMER

The only epigraph of Bahâdur Shâh in the present study is fixed over the central mihrâb of a mosque at Bhamer in the Sakri tâluka of the Dhulia district of Maharashtra.¹ This inscription was also discovered by an officer of the Survey in the past. But it has not been noticed so far. The epigraphical tablet measures 78 by 21 cm.

Bhamer, situated in 21°N. and 74°20’ E., at the foot of a fortified hill at a distance of four miles to the south of Nizampur,² seems to have been a place of strategic importance in the Sultanate period. It lay on the regular route from Gujarat to Deccan. It was at this town that the army sent by Aḥmad Shâh to the help of Firûz Shâh Bahmani who had declared hostilities against Vijayânagara received the news of the latter’s death and returned to Gujarat.³ Again, in A. H. 867, when Maḥmûd Khaljî of Malwa had invaded Deccan, Nâṣir Shâh Bahmani sought help from Maḥmûd Shâh I who himself marched towards Deccan, but when he was at Bhamer, he was informed by the envoy of the Bahmani king that Maḥmûd Khaljî had retreated.⁴ Also, when Maḥmûd Shâh was returning to Gujarat after this march to Khandesh in A.H. 904, he ordered his army to proceed, while he himself went to see the forts of Bhâmer and Dîrmâl which were conquered by ‘Imâdu’l-Mulk Isân.⁵ It appears that Bhamer continued to be part of the kingdom until the time of Bahâdur Shâh.

¹ ARIE, 1963-64, No. D, 114. For his new record from Bhamer, see ARIE, 1963-64, No. D, 184.
² BG, Vol. XII, Khandesh (Bombay, 1880), p. 434.
³ Sikandar, op. cit., p. 59; Ḥājjî Dâbîr, op. cit., p. 182.
⁴ Ḥājjî Dâbîr, op. cit., pp. 18, 166. Sikandar, op. cit., p. 113, has Nandarbar instead of Bhamer.
⁵ Ibid., p. 147. This conquest is also referred to in another record from Bhamer, recently brought to light (ARIÉ, 1963-64, No. D, 183).
The record consists of two lines in Persian written in crude Naskh letters in relief. It assigns the construction of the mosque to the mother (name not specified) of Dilawar Khan in 1529-30 A.D. during the reign of Quṭbu’d-Dunya wa’d-Din Bahādur Shāh. The text does not quote the kunya of Bahādur Shāh which was Abu’l-Faḍl as we know from his coins as well as from one of the epigraphs to be studied next. The inscription also mentions Dilawar Khan as a martyr which may indicate that he was slain in one of the battles of the day. The builder is stated to be a daughter of Malik Ghīyāthu’d-Dīn Khāṭrī married to Alp Khān. One more person Fathullāh is mentioned in the text after the latter, but the word between the two names is not very clear in the rubbing. I have tentatively read it as nabasa (grandson). It is difficult to say if Alp Khān of the inscription is identical with a prominent noble of Bahādur Shāh’s time, Alp Khān Khāṭrī1, whose caste-name Khāṭrī is also borne by the former’s father-in-law.

The epigraph reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XIII (b)*

(1) من بني الله مسجدا بنى الله مثله في الجنة بنى أين مسجد والده دلور خان شهيد

(2) فتح الله در عهد قطب الدين و الدين بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه سلطان

**TRANSLATION**

(1) ‘He who builds for Allāh a mosque, Allāh builds a like thereof in Paradise.’ The builder of the mosque (is) the mother of the martyr Dilawar Khān, daughter of Malik Ghīyāthu’d-Dīn Khāṭrī (and) wife of Alp Khān, grandson of

(2) Fathullāh, in the reign of Quṭbu’d-Dunya wa’d-Din Bahādur Shāh, son of Muṣaffar Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh, may Allāh’s mercy be upon them, in the year (A.H.) six and thirty and nine hundred (A.H.936=1529-30 A.D.).

**Maḥmūd Shāh III**

XXX. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 946 FROM AHMADABAD

It is rather surprising that this beautiful record to be found on a step-well inside the Bohra cemetery in Sarapur quarter of Ahmadabad, should have escaped the notice of Dr. M. A. Chaghtai who has published almost all the historical inscriptions of Ahmadabad in his monograph. I came to be apprised of its existence through the keen interest shown in cultural affairs by my friend Mr. J. B. Kadri, a well-known lawyer and social worker of Ahmadabad, who not only informed me about it but also used his good offices with the local head-priest of the Bohra community for getting it copied. I am grateful to both of them.

The epigraph is engraved on a slab measuring 47 by 68 cm. which is fixed into the right side of the first landing of the beautiful step-well.2 When I first saw the tablet in 1957, the well

1 His full name was Alp Khān son of Muhammad Khāṭrī according to an inscription from Broach (EIM, 1933-34, Supplement, p. 30).

was uncovered but on my subsequent visit five years later I found that it was covered up, probably to avoid mishap to any of the large number of pilgrims and visitors including children who all round the year throng the tombs of the Bohra saints situated in the cemetery. As is usual in the case of step-wells, this structure has also a Sanskritic epigraph fixed into the opposite side.¹

The present record comprises eleven lines of chaste Arabic inscribed in Naskh characters of an equally good order. It purports that the excavation of the step-well started in 1534 A.D. during the reign of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Abūl-Faḍl Bahādur Shāh and completed in 1539 A.D. during the rule of Maḥmūd Shāh III by Shaikhā, son of ʿĪsā, entitled Munjāl. The text constitutes in a way a deed of endowment, for Munjāl not only constructed the step-well for the use of the public and travellers but also endowed for their use the buildings and fruit-bearing trees nearby which were presumably, like the well, inside a garden enclosure.

The epigraph is important in that it records the full titles of Bahādur Shāh which are the same as quoted in his coins.² His inscriptions so far published did not quote his titles. Among the historians, Ḥājjī Dābir calls him Abūl-Muẓaffar Ghāzī Samsānu’l-Dīn, which is thus proved incorrect beyond any doubt. About Shaikhā, entitled Munjāl, nothing is known from other sources. Munjāl does not seem to have been the title of this individual only but a sort of family name. For, in the above cemetery near the step-well, there are at least two inscribed graves which contain the remains of Miyān Hāshim, son of the builder and of Shaikh Jīn, son of Shaikhā, son of Mānjī’ū, both of whom are mentioned with the sobriquet Munjāl.³

The text of the epigraph is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate XIII

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(2) قد أتى حفر هذ الابن المعلوب ما ذو عذاباً زلالاً و وقت به لاستفاغ
(3) الخلق و لين جاء به وقفاً خللاً مع عمارته المعمورة و إشهارها المغروسة المشرفة
(4) لوجه الله المظالم و رجاء لشفاعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في عصر السلطان العذَّر
(5) بتشريف الرحمن نصبر الدنيا و الدَّين ابر الفضل بهادر رأبه بن مظفر شاه
(6) سنة 940 في شعبان و أنها في عهد سلطان سلسلة الزمان الواثق
(7) بتأييد الرحمن ناصر الدنيا و الدَّين ابر النفع مجدود شاه ابن
(8) لطيف شاه ابى بها[در شاه] ابن مظفر شاه ابن مظفر شاه ابن
(9) محمد شاه ابن أحمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه
(10) السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه شيخاً بن يحيى البُلب
(11) بب نجاح جمع الله له هذه الخبر مقتبولة جارية و سماه من حوشبه الكؤور شريف صايد

2 His coins have the legend Quṭb-ud-Dīn wa’d-Dīn Abūl-Faḍl. For references, see RIAPS, 1953 and 1954, p. 70 and f.n.3.
3 ARIE, 1956-57, No. D, 13-14. The site Munjāl was borne by the celebrated minister of the famous Chau-lukya king of Gujarat Siddharāja Jayasimha. Also, the name of one Vohrā Munjāl of Modh race occurs in an inscription dated 1282 A.D. from Wadhwan (HZ, vol. IV, p. 766, f.n.3).
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANS.

TRANSLATION

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

(2) Commenced the digging of this well whose water is sweet with pure sweetness, and it was endowed for the benefit

(3) of the public and of those who come there, by way of lawful trust, along with its prospering buildings and planted fruit-bearing trees, with a view to obtain

(4) the Face of the Magnificent Lord and hoping for the intercession of His noble Prophet, may Allāh’s salutations and peace be upon him, in the reign of the sultan who is favoured

(5) with the robe of honour of the Beneficent, Qutbū’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn Abū’l-Faḍl Bahādur Shāh, son of Muγaffar Shāh,

(6) in Sha’bān of the year (A.H.) 940 (February-March 1534 A.D.), and it was finished in the reign of the king of the kings of the time, the reliant

(7) on the help of the Beneficent, Naṣiru’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn Abū’l-Fath Mahmūd Shāh, son of

(8) Latif Shāh, brother of Bahādur Shāh, son of Muγaffar Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh, son of

(9) Muhammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Muγaffar Shāh,

(10) the sultan, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, by Shaikha, son of ʿIsā, entitled

(11) Munjāl, may Allāh make for him this bounty acceptable and ever-running, and give him pure drink from the reservoir of Kauṭhar. (In the year A.H.) 946 (1539 A.D.).

XXXI. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM CAMBAY

I found the loose fragmentary slab containing this inscription in 1959 in a small mosque near the Lāl-Mahāl at Cambay. The slab being fragmentary, a considerable portion of the text is lost. The surviving two lines only contain the usual genealogy of the king Mahmūd Shāh III. It is therefore difficult to determine the purport of the record nor does the lack of information about the original findspot of the tablet help us in the matter. The tablet in its present state measures 40 by 15. cm., and the style of writing is Naṣkh of a fairly good type.

The surviving text is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate XIV (b)

[1) و كان ذلك نعمة السلطان الأعظم ناصر الدين و الدين أبو (الفتح)
  (2) محمد شاه [ب] لطيف شاه اخ بهدو شاه ابن مظفر شاه ابن محمود شاه
  ابن أحمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان]

1 The Sanskrit version referred to above bears the date equivalent to 12th October 1538 A.D.
XXXII. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM SOMNATH

The fragmentary slab bearing this record is to be found in the Archaeological Museum at Somnath. Whatever little writing has survived is also badly damaged with the result that it is difficult to establish the purport of the record except that it refers to the construction of a mosque. Palaeographically it can be safely assigned to the sultanate period, and though there is no absolute proof, it seems to have been set up in the reign of one of the early sultans, and is therefore included in the present study. The style of writing is Nasīḥ, and the language Arabic and Persian. The tablet measures 37 by 26 cm.

The surviving text reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XIV (c)

(a) Vertical writing on the right side.

(1) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

..............

(2) تبارك و تعالى

..............

(3) ..............

(b) Horizontal writing.

..................

(1) بفرمان

..................

(2) قال

..................

(3) اين مسجد پناکرد

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) First Creed.
(2) Blessed and Exalted..........
(3) ................

(b) (1) At the orders of?
(2) The Prophet says..........
(3) This mosque was constructed..........


The reading of this portion is tentative,
SOME MUGHAL INScriPTIONS FROM VIDARBHA

By S. A. Rahim

The Vidarbha or Berar region comprises, strictly speaking, of four districts of Akola, Buldana, Amraoti and Yeotmal which are now included in Maharashtra. Of the twelve inscriptions included in this article, five are from Karanja, two each from Mangrulpur and Balapur and one each from Patur, Akot and Lakhanwada.

The earliest of these records is to be seen at Mangrulpur, headquarters of the töluka of the same name in Akola district. The town of Mangrul lying between 24°4' and 20°60' N. and 77°9' and 77°42' E. is suffixed by the epithet Pir, referring to the saint Hayat Qalandar or other saints who lie buried there, to distinguish it from other places of the same name. The epigraph is engraved on a slab measuring 75 by 18 cm. fixed on the entrance of the tomb of Shāh Amānūllāh which is situated in the same enclosure along with that of his disciple Shāh Aman Šāhib. Of the two tombs, that of the former is a monument of architectural merit. According to Brown, the disciple is contemporary with the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān, which is in conformity with the evidence of the inscription making the spiritual guide Shāh Amānūllāh a contemporary of Akbar.

The text of the record consists of four verses in Persian inscribed horizontally side by side; in addition a line is written on the left side from bottom to top. There seems to be nothing wrong with the composition of the record. On the contrary, from whatever has been possible to read, the quality of verse appears to be fairly good. But unfortunately, the stone-carver or the designer has made a mess of the whole text. A cursory glance at the plate is sufficient to illustrate the crude execution of the letters. It is only this crudeness of the style of writing, which was evidently intended to be Nasta’lig, that is responsible for the fact that despite several attempts the record could not be satisfactorily deciphered. But from the portion it has been possible to read, it appears that the construction of the tomb of the saint Shāh Amānūllāh was ordered by Shāh Murād, son of Jalālu’d-Dīn Muḥammad. This Shāh Murād is none other than Prince Murād, son of emperor Akbar, who was stationed in Berar during the last years of his life, and who ultimately breathed his last at Jānāpūr in Berar on the 15th of Shab‘ān 1007 A. H. The record is thus important for showing that the saint was a contemporary of Akbar and that he must have been held in veneration by the Prince.

The date given in the last hemistic appears to be A. H. 1006 in words but the figures at two places indicate A. H. 1007. It is possible that the work was started in A. H. 1006 when the text was composed but the tablet was put up in A. H. 1007 only. This would mean, as it appears very likely, that the date and month quoted in the left side portion of the slab also formed part of the text when it was composed, In that case, Monday, the 25th Jumādā II relates to the year A. H. 1006. This is corroborated by the fact that 25th Jumādā II A. H. 1006 corresponding to 23rd January 1598 A. D. was Monday, while 25th Jumādā II A. H. 1007 corresponding to 13th January 1599 A. D. fell on Saturday. The name of the writer is not legible.

2 Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE), 1900-01, No. D, 200. The inscription has been referred to in Brown, op. cit., p. 356, but its purport is not given.
3 Ibid.
4 It is written as ۹۰۰۰ or ۹۰۰۰ which obviously stands for 1007. For a date quoted in a like way, see epigraphia indo-musulmena (EIM), 1935-36, p. 57, pl. XXXVII.

(61)
The readable portion of the text is quoted below:

**TEXT**

*Plate XV (c)*

(1) آنكچ از جمله دلها دل او آگاهت
(2) یسان کنیه آمد مزار؟ رخسارش؟
(3) چنان عالیست از تعظیم بنیاد بنای او
(4) پرکم شه مراب این جلال الدین محمد شد

On the left side.

بتاریخ بست پنجی شهر جمادی الثانی دو شنبه کنیه.

**TRANSLATION**

(1) He whose heart from among all the hearts is awake with (Divine) knowledge is the pole-star of the pole-stars of the world, Shâh Amânu'llâh.

A wonderful manifestation in the extreme ................. its walls.

(2) Like Ka'ba has come the tomb? ....................its face.

Its edifice, through respect, is so high that on account of its height, the revolving heaven touches its head at its (feet)?

(3) It was constructed by the order of Shâh Murâd, son of Jalâlû'd-Dîn Muhammam (Akbar). In the year One hundred and six? the mason decorated it in green? Year 1007.

On the left side.

.......... On the twentyfifth of the month of Jamâd II, Monday. Written by .........

The second inscription of this group noticed for the first time belongs to Karanja town situated in 22°29' N. and 77°32' E. in the Murtazapur tâluka of the Akola district. The report that the town was once known as Karanja Bibi is also corroborated by the present record. The reason for this nomenclature is reported to be that the town was part of the dowry given to Daulat Shâh Begam, daughter of Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh of Berâr when she was married to Husain Nizâm Shâh of Ahmadnagar. Her tomb is said to have existed in a delapidated condition at the turn of the present century. The town contains in all eight inscriptions of which four are included in this article. These were copied by me in 1960.

The slab bearing the epigraph measures 60 by 21 cm. and is fixed on the facade of the Astâna-Masjid. It records the construction, evidently of the mosque, in the first regnal year of Aurangzeb or 1659 A.D., by one whose name appears to read as Piran. The date is contained in figures and the regnal year in words. Unfortunately, the Nasta'liq script employed by the scribe, though better than the one used in the previous epigraph, is not upto the mark.

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(a) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1091, from Lakhanwada (p. 55)

Scale: 2

(b) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1069, from Karanja (p. 53)

Scale: 26

(c) Inscription of Akbar, dated A.H. 1007, from Mangrulpir (p. 52)
SOME MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM VIDARBHA

The text of the record comprising three lines of Persian verse and one in prose reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XV (b)

(1) در عصر پادشاه ملک که جم شکوه
اورونک شاه آنکه جهانپایش سزا

(2) شد مسیلی تمام ز اقبال خروی
پیرن بخشنت ساخت چو فردوس خوش فرا

(3) تاریخش از فرد طلیبد[م] ز هاتن
آمد ندا و گفت ز "موجود جورضا"

(4) تحریر در التاريخ سال سنه ۱۰۶۹ سنه ایک من جلوس

TRANSLATION

(1) In the time of the king of angel-like stature and Jam-like dignity Aurang Shāh (Aurangzeb), whom kingship fully befits,

(2) a mosque was completed through the good fortune of the king; Piran constructed this paradise-like pleasant edifice with brick.

(3) I asked Wisdom about its date. From the invisible angel, the voice came to say, 'Seek the pleasure from the Ever Living (Allāh).'

(4) Written on the last day of the year A. H. 1069, the first regnal year (29th Dhi’l-Hijja A. H. 1069=7th September 1659 A. D.).

I am not satisfied with the reading of the name of the builder. An alternative reading is Bisan but I prefer Piran.

The third inscription is copied from the Jāmi’ mosque at Akot lying between 20°55’ and 26°15’N. and 76°47’ and 77°15’ E. in the tāluka of the same name in Akola district. The inscription is fixed above the central mihrāb of the mosque and comprises six lines in Persian verse written in beautiful Nasta’liq characters in relief. The tablet measures 76 by 43 cm., and the lettering has been subjected to damage as will be seen from the illustration. The record assigns the construction of the mosque to Muḥammad Aghraf on the site of a temple demolished by him in A. H. 1078 (1667-68 A. D.) during Aurangzeb’s reign. The date is provided by a chronogram, while between the last two lines it is also incised in words, perhaps at a subsequent date, in an inelegant hand.

The text has been read as follows:

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)

(1) يسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله حقاً حقًا
(2) در رمان عدل عالیم گیر شاه دین پناه آنکه نزد جود عاشی بحورکان باشد خجل

1 The letter ꞌ(m) ꞌ seems to have been omitted by the sculptor.
2 ARIE, 1959-60, No. D, 56. For particulars about the town, see Brown, op. cit., pp. 300-305. R. B. Hirahal, Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar (Nagpur, 1916), p. 138, has given a brief purport of this record, while H. Cousens, List of Antiquarian Remains in the C. P. and Berar (Calcutta, 1897), p. 71, merely refers to it.
(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god except Allāh.

Muḥammad is His Prophet, verily, verily.

(2) In the just reign of ʿĀlamgīr, the king who is the asylum of Faith (and) whose universal generosity makes the sea and mine shame-striken,

(3) one of his devoted servants, Muḥammad Ashraf of good faith, saw a place where there was a temple.

(4) Like Khalil (Prophet Abraham), he broke the temple at the command of God, and arranged for the construction of a very steadfast mosque.

(5) Year (A. H.) one thousand and seventy-eight (A. H. 1078=1667 A. D.).

(6) The date of this edifice of happy end was obtained in the words: (it is) the desire-giving Kaʿba and place of worship for men of hearts.

Muḥammad Ashraf who is clearly mentioned in the text as a devoted official of the emperor is untraceable in historical records at my disposal.

The fourth inscription belongs to Ghāṭ-Darwāza situated on the top of the hill at a distance of about 2 miles to the south of the village Lakhanwada in the Khangaon tāluka of Buldana district. The epigraph was listed by Cousens who merely described it as containing “five lines of inscription in Persian”. That is not surprising because due to constant exposure to elements of nature, the slab has become quite weather-beaten, and the letters have partly abraded.

The inscriptive tablet is fixed over the gate. The record which runs into five lines of Persian prose is quite interesting. It states that the construction of the gate on the hill-pass of Dhadham took place in the 24th regnal year of Aurangzeb (1680-81 A. D.) by the orders of the famous Mughal governor of Deccan, Khān-i-Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh, a foster-brother of the emperor. Khān-i-Jahān Kokaltāsh is too well-known to require any detailed mention here. His first term as governor of Deccan was from the 16th to 20th regnal year of the emperor. It was probably towards the close of the 20th regnal year that he was dismissed from service but was reinstated shortly, though he was not given charge of Deccan until the 23rd regnal year. It is possible that Khān-i-Jahān had ordered the construction of the gate on the mountain pass during one of his marches in the region. It may be interesting to note that Khān Jahān is mentioned in the text with the title Tāj-ul-Mulk. The text also calls the hill as Dhadham, which is evidently the Dhaddam of the maps.

1 This should be “Mousheh”.
2 ARIE, 1960-61, No. D, 214. The hill belongs to the Ajanta range.
3 Cousens, op. cit., p. 72.
4 For an account of his career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, Muʾālī Shāh Al-ʿUmarāʾ, vol. I (Calcutta, 1894), pp. 798-813.
5 Ibid., pp. 801-62.
6 There does exist a village Dhadham at a distance of about two or three furlongs from the hill.
(a) Incription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1078, from Akot (p. 53)

Scale: 17

(5) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 1109, from Karanja (p. 55)

Scale: 18

(c) A third inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 1110, same place (p. 56)

Scale: 23
The epigraph is inscribed in Nasta’liq of a fairly high order. The text has been deciphered as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XV (a)*

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(2) در عهد خل سیاحان اوزنگ زیب پادشاه
(3) عالم گیر حسب القرموود تاج الملوک خان جهان بهادر
(4) کوکتاش در سال بیست و چهارم جلوس دروانگ
(5) بر گذار کو هی دهدنهم بیاناد پذیرفتم

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of Allâh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
(2) In the reign of the shadow of the Glorious Lord, Aurangzeb Bâdshâh
(3) 'Âlamgîr, by the order of Tâju’l-Mulk Khân-i-Jahân Bahâdur
(4) Kokaltâsh, in the 24th regnal year (A. H. 1091-92=1680-81 A. D.), (this) gate
(5) on the pass of the hill Dhadham was constructed.

The next inscription of the study again comes from Karanja. Its tablet measuring 1'2 m. by 22 cm. is fixed on the right side of the Dârwa gate of the city-wall.1 Comprising three lines of writing in Persian, it places the construction of Mâhûr gate in the 42nd regnal year (1698-99 A. D.) of Aurangzeb when the qašba of Karanja-Bibi was included in the fief of Rustam Khân and the faujdâr of the place was Qâdî Bâshirulâh.

It is difficult to say if Rustam Khân whose name occurs as the jâgînâr of Karanja in our record is identical with Sayyid Rustam Khân who was appointed his deputy in Berar by Firûz Jang in about the 33rd regnal year of the emperor; he is stated to have held Bâlpur and other places in his fief.2 The epigraph is also important in that it provides the name of the faujdâr, viz. Qâdî Bâshirulâh, but no further particulars about him are forthcoming. It is also to be noted that the gate is designated in the text as ‘Mâhûr gate’.

The script employed in the epigraph which, it will be noticed, is incised on the stone and not carved in relief, is Nasta’liq of a fairly good order. The text reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XVI (b)*

(1) اللّه اکبر
(2) ایزد سیاحان شاه اوزنگ زیب رستم خان جاگیرداد تشه کورنچه بیله
(3) سنه چهار دو جلوس والا عمل قاضی پنیری از نجار دیوانگر دیوانه ماهور مرت سبک بقیه

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1 *ARIE*, 1900-01, No. D, 204.  
(1) Allah is Great.

(2) The Glorified God. (In the reign of) Shāh Aurangzeb (and during the time of) Rustam Khān, the jāgīrdār of the qaṣba of Kāranja-Bībī.

(3) (In) the year forty-two of the auspicious accession (A. H. 1109-10-1698-99 A. D.) (during) the time of Qādī Bashīrullāh, the faujdar, the Māhūr gate was completed. (May it end) with safety!

The sixth inscription, fixed on the right side of Māngrul gate of the same town,1 comprises five lines in Persian incised in ordinary Nastaʿlīq on a rectangular slab measuring 77 by 23 cm. The text opens with an attribute of God followed by the first two verses from Jāmi’s famous Yūsuf Zulaiḥā. The remaining two lines in prose place the construction of the Dakhan gate in the 43rd year (A. H. 1110-11-1699-1700 A. D.) of Aurangzeb’s reign. Other particulars given in the inscription are same as in the previous inscription except that it further records the name of the writer as Shyāmji Babā Rāi.

The text is read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVI (c)

(1) هو القادر
(2) الله غنجه إمید پکشای گلی از روشه جاوید پنای
(3) وزن گل [عطر] برورگن دماغم
(4) در عهد سلطنت شاه اورنگز ویب عالم کریم جاگر رستم خان قاضی بيشر الله
(5) فوجدار قصبه کارنجه سے یہ دروازہ دکنی در سمندر 37 چھل و سه مرتب شد

On the left side.

دائم شیامچی بابوراہی

TRANSLATION

(1) He is Powerful.

(2) O God! Open the bud of desire and show a rose from the eternal garden!

(3) From the lip of that bud, make my garden full of smile, and with that rose make my mind scented!

(4) In the period of the reign of Shāh Aurangzeb ‘Alamgīr and (when) the jāgīr was held by Rustam Khān, (in the time of) Qādī Bashīrullāh,

(5) the faujdar of the qaṣba of Kāranja-Bībī, the Dakhan gate was constructed in the (regnal) year 43, forty-three (A. H. 1110-11-1699-1700 A. D.).

(a) Inscription of Muḥammad Shāh, dated A.H. 1139, from Karanja (p. 58)

(b) Inscription of Farrukh Siyar, dated A.H. 1126, from Patur (p. 57)

(c) Inscription of Muḥammad Shāh, dated A.H. 1139, from Karanja (p. 58)
On the left side.

The writer (of the lines is) Shyāmji Bābū Rāi.

The seventh inscription belongs to Patur situated in 20°27' N. and 76°59' E. in the Balapur taluka of the Akola District. 
Noticed here for the first time, it is inscribed on the third gate of the dargāh of Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Ażiz commonly known as Shāh Bābū or Shaikh Bābū after whose name the village is called Pātār Shaikh Bābū. Tradition asserts that the saint arrived at Patur during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh who also paid a visit to him on his way to Daulatabad. He was a disciple of Naṣru'd-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dīhilī and died in A. H. 791. 

The present epigraph is dated A. H. 1126 (1714 A. D.) in the reign of the Mughal emperor Farrukh Siyar. It records the construction of the gate of the dargāh. It is difficult to name the builder since the text, an example of mediocre versification is vague on the point. The inscriptionsal slab measures 77 by 27 cm.

The text comprising two couplets in Persian is inscribed in ordinary Nasta’liq characters in relief and reads as follows:

**TEXT**

Plate XVII (b)

(1) Shad bina dar zamān tīra shāh
Bāb roteh shirīf bābohān
(2) Shad mīnan hēljān bādīr
Aq tāfnīl wā krām ṣawāl allāh
(3) Sāh 112 Hājī

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The gate of the noble tomb of Bābū Shāh was built in the time of Farrukh Shāh.

(2) By the grace and help of the Prophet of Allāh (i. e. Muḥammad), the crescent (Hīdāl) became resplendent (Munawwar) like full-moon (Bade).

(3) Year A. H. 1126 (1714 A. D.).

The slab containing the next inscription is built up into the facade of the mosque situated on the eastern bank of the river at Balapur in Akola district. 

The town was a place of importance in the time of the ‘Imād Shāhī dynasty of Berar and in the reign of Akbar and later Mughal emperors.

The text of the epigraph comprises three couplets in Persian inscribed vertically in two lines in relief in pleasant and beautiful Nasta’liq. Dated A.H. 1130 (1717-18 A.D.), the record assigns the construction of a mosque to Amin Quli Khān in the reign of Farrukh Siyar at the time when Muḥammad Amin Khān held the seif. The jagīrdār Muḥammad Amin Khān as well as the builder Amin Quli Khān are not mentioned in historical works, but the former is spoken of in the text as a learned and accomplished nobleman, ' a man of sword and pen '.

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1 ARIE, No. D, 196.
4 For particulars about the town, see Brown, op. cit., pp. 309-14.
The inscriptive tablet measures 77 by 25 cm., and the text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (b)

(1) فاها یا واهاب
(2) بعهد فرخ سیر شهی عادل
(3) بهدک ابوسر چنایی گلپور
بندور صاحب چکایش اهل سیف و قلم
امیر عالی و فاضل محمد امین خان است
دلا ز روی کرم در هزار و یکصد و سی
پگو که پایی مسجد امین خان است

1130

TRANSLATION

(1) 0 Bestower!
(2-3) (This mosque was built) in the auspicious reign of Farrūkh Siyar, the just king, kissing the dust of whose threshold is the highest honour for Saturn,

(and) in the time of the holder of the fief (jāgīr), the master of sword and pen, learned and accomplished nobleman, who is Muḥammad Amin Khān.

Oh heart! By way of kindness—(and it was) in one thousand one hundred and thirty—say that the builder of the mosque is Amin Quft Khān. (Year A.H.) 1130, 1130 (1717-18 A.D.).

The ninth record is inscribed on the left side of the Delhi gate at Karanja.¹ There is another inscription on the right side of the gate, the text of which is identical except that it does not contain the date (pl. XVII (a)).² The text contains two Persian couplets assigning the reconstruction of the gate to the efforts of 'Abdu’l-Wāḥid in A.H. 1139 (1726-27 A.D.) in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. The figure 9 at the end of the text evidently represents the regnal year. No particulars are available in records at my disposal about the career of 'Abdu’l-Wāḥid. But he must be identical with Shaikh 'Abdu’l-Wāḥid, son of Saifu’lāh, the fauṣādär, who constructed some edifice seven years later in the tomb of Dādā Ḥayāt Qalandar at Mangrulpur which is situated at a distance of 18 miles from Karanja (p. 59). In other words, 'Abdu’l-Wāḥid may have been associated with Karanja in the same official capacity in A.H. 1139.

The text is incised in Nasta’liq characters of a fairly good type on a slab measuring 95 by 24 cm. and reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (c)

(1) بعهد والی عالی محمد شاه دین پور
(2) ز عاب الواحد سعی بنای باب شد تاریک
(3) بگو ش جان بعد آمد زهی بانیش دروازه

1139

¹ AR IE, 1960-61, No. D, 206.
²Ibid., No. D, 207.
لا يمكنني قراءة النصوص المكتوبة بالخط العربي في الصورة المقدمة.
PLATE XVIII

(a) Inscription of Muḥammad Shāh, dated A.H. 1166, from Mangrulpir (p. 59)

(b) Inscription of Farrukh Siyar, dated A.H. 1130, from Balapur (p. 58)

(c) Inscription of Shāh ʿĀlam II, dated A.H. 1187, from Balapur (p. 60)
SOME MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM VIDARBHA

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the exalted king, Muḥammad Shāh, the supporter of the Faith, the gate was constructed afresh through the efforts of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid.

(2) When I sought the date of its completion from my Intellect, a voice came into the ear of my soul (saying), 'What an excellent gate endowed with favour!' (Regnal year) 9, (A.H.) 1139 (1726-27 A.D.).

The tenth inscription of the group is engraved on a stone fixed into the northern wall of the verandah of the dargāh of Dādā Ḥayāt Qalāndār at Mangrulpur. The inscription is briefly noticed by Cousens, while Hiralal giving some more but not full particulars describes the construction of an 'Idgāh as its purport. The epigraph contains four lines inscribed in ordinary Nasta‘īq characters. The language is Persian. It records the building of the dālān (verandah) in the 15th year of the reign of MAḤAMMAD Shāh in A.H. 1146 (1733-34 A.D.), when the place was included in the fief of Nigāmūl-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. It names Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, son of Saifu'llāh, the faujdār, as the builder. Nigāmūl-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, the celebrated founder of the Āṣaf Jāhi dynasty of Hyderabad, needs no description. Reference has already been made to the builder in the preceding lines.

The text covers a space of 78 by 46 cm. on the stone and reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (a)

(1) در عید مبارک محمد شاه باذاشو اور چاگیر نواب نظام الملك
(2) أمف جام بالتریخ پانزدهم شهر رمضان المبارک سنه
(3) یکمزار و یکمید و چهل و شش هجری مطابق سنه شانزده چولیہ ابن دالان
(4) از دست شیخ عبد الواحد ابن سیف اللہ فوجدار ترتیب یافت

TRANSLATION

(1) In the auspicious reign of Muḥammad Shāh Bāḏghāh (and in) the jāDIR of Nawwāb Nigāmūl-Mulk

(2) Āṣaf Jāh, on the fifteenth of the month of the blessed Ramadān of the year

(3) one thousand one hundred and forty-six from the Migration corresponding to the sixteenth year of accession (15th Ramadān A.H. 1146=1733-34 A.D.), this dālān

(4) was constructed by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, son of Saifu'llāh, the faujdār.

The last inscription is to be seen on the facade above the arches in the Bāḏghāhpūre-ki-Masjid at Balapur. Noticed here for the first time, it records the construction of the mosque in A.H. 1187 (1773 A.D.) during the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II and in the time of Āṣaf Jāh II, by Ḥāqrat

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2 Hiralal, op. cit., p. 137.


Seyyid Jalāl alias Shāh Saḥib. The name of the builder so occurs in the versified text as to indicate that Jalāl and Shāh Saḥib are two persons, but the verb being in the singular, it is just possible that these two names are of the same person. The date of the record is given in a chronogram as well as in figures and words. The text is inscribed in fairly good Nasta’līq on three slabs jointly measuring 43 by 28 cm.

TEXT

Plate XVIII (c)

(a) Right slab.

1) این مكان تعمیر شد در دور اسفی جال
2) حامی دین شاه عالم بود سلطان الملک

(b) Middle slab.

1) حضرت سید جلال و شاه صاحب در شیر
2) کرد این مسجد بن ادریس خاوه یاد دوک

(c) Left slab.

1) در زارد و یکصد و هشتاد و هفت آمد پنا
2) سجدگاه حق پرستان معبد اهل سلوک

سنن 1186 هجری

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) This building (mosque) was constructed in the time of the present Āṣaf Jāh (i.e. II),
(2) (when) the defender of the Faith, Shāh ‘Ālam (II) was the king of the kings.

(b) (1) Ḥaḍrat Sayyid Jalāl and (alias?) Shāh Saḥib, in the month of Ṣafar,
(2) built this mosque. May the eye of the enemy be blinded by a spindle!

(c) (1) In the year (A.H.) one thousand and eightyseven was constructed
(2) a place of prostration for the worshippers of Truth and place of worship for the men of the Path.
(3) Year A.H. 1187 (Ṣafar A.H. 1187=April-May 1773 A.D.).

1 This hemistich forms the chronogram.
ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHUR

By A. A. Kadiri

My study of the eight inscriptions of the Bahmani kings from Raichur district in Mysore State, which appeared in the last issue of this Series, was prefaced with a brief recapitulation of the struggle for supremacy over the Raichur doaab between the Bahmani kings and the Râyas of Vijayanagara, in which I had stated that in the final stage, the struggle was carried on by the 'Adil Shâhi rulers of Bijapur as successors to the Bahmani authority in that region. It would not therefore be out of place to recount in brief the history of the doaab in the light of epigraphical and other evidences during the period 1530-1565 A.D.

It has been asserted that on the death of Ismâ'îl 'Adil Khân in 1534 A.D., Krishnadeva Râya's successor Achyutadeva Raya lost no time in invading the doaab and subdued the Bijapur territories as far north as Krishna, forcing Mallâ Khân, the Bijapur king, to sue for peace. But no authority has been quoted for this assertion. According to another account, some time in 1535-36 A.D., the armies of Achyutadeva and Ibâhîm 'Adil Shâh I, moved towards Raichur, the former to conquer and the latter to defend the doaab, and Ibâhîm apprehensive of the designs of Asad Khân, the famous 'Adil Shâhi general, made peace with Achyutadeva by surrendering the doaab. According to some, the surrendered territory did not include Raichur city. But the Muslim chroniclers do not mention at all these expeditions. According to them, after 1530 A.D., the invasion of the doaab did not take place until A.H. 950 (1543-44 A.D.) in the reign of Ibâhîm I, when the allied forces of Burhân Nîgâm Shâh I and Râm Râya marched on to recover Sholapur and the doaab respectively. Moreover, in 1536 A.D., the doaab or at least a part thereof was in 'Adil Shâhi possession as is indicated by a Persian inscription from Mudgal. It would appear that except for, if at all, temporary vacation, the doaab was under the continued hold of the 'Adil Shâhi kings from 1530 A.D. till 1552 A.D. despite the desperate efforts of the kings of Vijayanagara to wrest it from them. It was only in 1552 A.D. that the allied forces of Râm Râya and Burhân Nîgâm Shâh were able to conquer the doaab and annex it to the Vijayanagara kingdom not to be recovered by the Bijapur king 'Allâ 'Adil Shâh I until the defeat of the Vijayanagara king at the battle of Raksatagadi in 1565 A.D.

The sixteen 'Adil Shâhi inscriptions of Raichur studied below range in their dates from 1546-47 A.D. to 1673-74 A.D. One of them has been already published by Mr. E. Rehatsek without facsimile, while the eye-copies of all, accompanied by a photographic illustration of only one,
were published by Bashírú'd-Dín Ahmad in his Urdu work.¹ These records mention five Ādil Shāhí kings: Nos. 1-4 represent Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh I, Nos. 5-6 'Alí Ādil Shāh I and Nos. 7-14, Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II, while Muhammad Ādil Shāh and Sikandar Ādil Shāh are represented by one inscription each, Nos. 15 and 16 of this group. The first thing that strikes one about most of these epigraphs is their poor style both in calligraphy and composition of the text. In a few epigraphs, orthographical mistakes also occur.

The first inscription is carved on a broken slab measuring 1·5 m. by 60 cm., now lying loose at the Ta’līm-Burj bastion near the Andheri-Bāoli inside the fort.² The right portion of the slab is missing so that the right half of the first and second lines and some words of the third line are lost. But the tablet was intact or almost so until about 1915 A.D. when Bashírú'd-Dín Ahmad published its eye-copy.³

The record consists of three lines in Persian verse—the first two in a different metre and rhyme than the third—carved in relief in ordinary Nasta’līq characters and mentions the construction of the bastion through the efforts of Ahmad Hājí Günābādī in 1546-47 A.D. during the reign of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh I. The date is contained in a chronogram. In the text of the epigraph quoted below the missing words are supplied in brackets from the eye-copy of Bashírú'd-Dín Ahmad. However, his reading including that of the missing portion is not free from mistakes.

TEXT

Plate XIX (a)

(1) [معمار قضا چو هست] در حسن عمل با نیلکون برج حمل
(2) [تاریخ یاداث] [نیک] مباشرم است برج فلکه دولت و ابیال ازل
(3) [بادور خسرو عادل که روز خصیم ازو شب شد یسی احمد حاجی گونابادی مرتب شد]

TRANSLATION

(1) Since the architect of destiny with beautiful workmanship has laid the foundation of the azure-coloured Burj-i-Hamal (constellation Aries),

(2) the date of its construction has turned out to be matchless: (it is) the bastion of the sky of eternal prosperity and good fortune.

(3) In the reign of the just king, on account of whom the day of the enemy is turned into night, (this bastion) was constructed through the efforts of Ahmad Hājí Günābādī.

The chronogram is contained in the second hemistich of the second verse and yields on calculation the year A.H. 953 (A.D. 1546-47) which falls in the reign of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh I. The builder Ahmad Hājí of Günābād, obviously an official, is unknown to history.

³ Bashírú'd-Dín, op. cit., p. 332.
⁴ Cf. Ibid.
(a) Inscription of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I, dated A.H. 953, Plate XIX from Raichur (p. 62)

Scale: 0.07

(b) Inscription of 'All 'Adil Shāh I, dated A.H. 978, same place (p. 65)

Scale: 0.07

(c) Inscription of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I, dated A.H. 958, same place (p. 64)

Scale: 0.09
The second inscription of the reign of Ibrāhīm I is fixed on the facade of the bastion near the Khusraw Burj. The inscriptive tablet measures 182 m. by 90 cm. and contains four lines of Persian poetry executed in ordinarily aṣṭaʿlīq characters in relief placing the construction of the bastion in the reign of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh I. The date is 1548-49 A.D. according to the chronogram occurring in the last line.

The text reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XX (a)

(1) بسم دین حمارس نین توی گر شمر می‌کرد گرد
(2) جون سر زندال معلق اون علامت بلال
(3) دو روزگار عادل دوستان تمام شد
(4) ناگهان چنی رضی بازبینی نیست

TRANSLATION

(1) Through the guidance of the Creator, I have built in this fort a bastion which is beyond the reach of the treacherous.

(2) Since the face of the crescent makes its appearance from its horizon (i.e. since the flag containing the emblem of the crescent flutters above the bastion), in status it is like the full-moon in the sky.

(3) It was completed in the reign of the king, ʿĀdil (lit. just) of the age, the ʿĀdil (Shāh) who has established his seat on the throne of chiefship.

(4) Since the relation of exaltedness is not novel in regard to its position, its date is (found in the words:) exalted bastion of high position.

The chronogram contained in the last hemistic yields the year A.H. 955 (A.D. 1548-49).

The third inscription of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh I, fixed on the facade of the Kāft gate of the fort, measures 3.65 m. by 80 cm. and contains two lines of writing in Arabic and Persian prose executed in relief in Naṣkāh characters. A major portion of the epigraph consists of religious text with the scant historical information that the gate was constructed by Shamsīrāl-Mulk in the reign of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh I in 1550 A.D. It will be seen that two dates are mentioned in the text: one in figures occurring at the end of the first line and the other in words at the end of second. The first is evidently the Hijra year while the other is its Shuhur equivalent.

Shamsīrāl-Mulk, as his title suggests, must have been the governor of the doṣb in the stormy days (1530-3 A.D.), when the struggle for supremacy over the doṣb was at its height. He is also mentioned in a record from Mugal dated A.H. 943 (1536-37 A.D.) as the official of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh I. However, contemporary Persian works do not mention his name.

2 ARIE, 1962-63, No. D, 179. The reading of Baghru'd-Din, op. cit., p. 333, is as usual not free from mistakes.
The text has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate XX (b)

(1) نصر من الله و فتح قريب و بشر المومين لا الله إلا الله محمد رسول الله ولله فلاحته (sic.) خيرا (sic.) حافظًا و هو ارحم الراحمين سنة 956
(2) اللهم صل على محمد مصطفى و على المرتضى و الحسن و الحسن و العباس و الباقر
و الصادق و الكاظم و الرضا و النجفي و النجفي و المكنى و الله ثوابهم جزاء
إبراهيم عادلشاه باكير خان، شهير الملك غرمار ماضان سنة خمسين و تسعمائين

TRANSLATION

(1) 'Help is from Allâh and victory near: and deliver good news to the believers.'1 Shiite Creed. 'And Allâh is the best keeper. And he is the most Merciful of the merciful ones.'2 In the year (A.H.) 957.

(2) Shiite Durûd. In the august reign of sultân Ibrâhîm 'Ādîl Shâh (I), (this gate) was constructed by Shâmshûrûl-Mulk on the 1st of the month of Ramadân of (the Shuhûr) year nine hundred and fifty (1st Ramadân A.H. 957, Shuhûr 950=13th September 1550 A.D.).

The slab containing the fourth inscription of Ibrâhîm 'Ādîl Shâh I is fixed on the inner side of the gate of the lake near Andheri-Bâoli,3 near the inscription dated A.H. 963, mentioned above. It measures 1.45 m. by 40 cm. The text consists of three Persian couplets carved in relief in Nasta‘iğ characters and records in a chronogram 1551 A.D. as the date of the construction of the gate. The name of the builder is not mentioned.

The text reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XIX (c)

(1) نشود باد بشادی همیشه این درگاه بحث اشهد و ان لا الله إلا له (sic.)
(2) این عمارت بعمد عادلشاه شد مسی بخیر و نیکویی
(3) بهر تاريخ این با کویند فتح شد باب مداوع کوی

TRANSLATION

(1) May this threshold (gate) ever remain open in happiness, by the grace of (the text) ' I swear witness that there is no god but Allâh'.

(2) This building was completed with goodness and beauty in the reign of (Ibrâhîm) 'Ādîl Shâh (I).

(3) For the date of this construction it is said, 'you may say that the door of wishes has opened'.

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1 Qur'ûn, chapter LXI, part of verse 13.
2 Ibid., chapter XII, part of verse 64.
3 ARIE, 1962-63, No. D, 180; Bashîrû'd-Dûn, op. cit., p. 332. His reading is correct except in two places.
(a) Inscription of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I, dated A.H. 955, from Raichur (p. 63)

(b) Another inscription of the same king, same place, dated A.H. 957 (p. 64)
ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHUR 65

The last hemistich forms the chronogram yielding A.H. 958 (1551 A.D.).

The fifth inscription is dated in the reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I. It is carved on a slab measuring 1.3 m. by 85 cm. which is fixed in the southern wall of the mosque inside the Naurang-Darwāza of the fort. The record is not in situ, since according to Rehatsek who published its reading in 1882 A.D., it belonged to 'the bastion of the northern wall of the outer tier of fortification.' But the slab was fixed in its present place some time before Bashiruddin Ahmad wrote his book in 1915 A.D.

The text of the epigraph consists of four lines of writing in Arabic except for a phrase in Persian. The style of writing is ordinary Naskh. The record mentions Tāhir Khān as the builder and refers itself to the reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shah. The object constructed is not specified in the text but in view of Rehatsek's information, it must be a bastion. The text quotes two dates: 971 in words and 978 in figures. It is apparent that the former indicates Shuhūr year of which the latter is the Hijra equivalent. Thus the date of the epigraph is Shuhūr 971 or A.H. 978 (1570-71 A.D.).

Historical records available to me do not contain any indication regarding the identity, leave alone, career of Tāhir Khān, the builder of the bastion. But that he may have been an 'Adil Shahī official of rank is a reasonable guess.

The text of the epigraph reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XIX (b)*

لا بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. نصر من الله وفتح قريب ونشر المؤمنين

في عهد السلطان الأعظم دل الله في الأرخين

ابو المظفر على عادلشاه غازى خادم [ emphasizes the phrase ] الملكه وسلطانته

بناكرده طاهر خان سنة احدة سبعين و تسع مائة سنة 948

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'Help is from Allāh and victory near; and deliver good news to the believers.'

(2) In the reign of the magnificent king, the shadow of Allāh on the whole earth

(3) Abu’l-Muhammad ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah Ghazi, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,

(4) (this bastion) was constructed by Tāhir Khān in the (Shuhūr) year nine-hundred and seventyone, (A.H.) year 978 (Shuhūr 971, A.H. 978-1570-71 A.D.).

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1 Bashiruddin, op. cit., having read """"کوری"""" instead of """"کوری"""" calculated the date as A.H. 948,
3 Rehatsek, op. cit., p. 130.
4 Bashiruddin, op. cit.
5 Nāsim, *op. cit.*
*Qur’ān*, chapter LXI, part of verse 13.
The second epigraph belonging to the reign of 'Ali Ādil Shāh I is fixed into the right mihrāb in the west wall of the Jāmi’ mosque inside the fort. There are a few more inscriptions in the mosque which will be studied in the following lines. The arch-shaped tablet bearing this inscription measures 93 cm. by 1.5 m. and is elaborately carved with Shiite Creed and Durūd in panels around the border, anticlock-wise, beginning from the point of the arch, and with Bismillāh above the inner arch. At the bottom is inscribed the historical content of the inscription which mentions the construction of the mosque in the reign of ‘Ali Ādil Shāh in 1577-78 A.D. The text in the central portion comprises Quranic verses carved in relief in Nashīh characters with Tughrā flourishes, arranged in some cases in geometrical design, thus imparting to the whole record a somewhat unusual calligraphical pattern.

Its text reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XXI (b)

(a) Border.

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله على ول الله اللهم صل على محمد المصطفى و على المرتبط و الحسن و الحسين و العباد و الباقر و الصادق و الكاظم و موسى الرضا و محمد التقي و على النبي و السكرى و المهدي

(b) Central portion.

يسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

و إن المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله أحدا ان نزل في ليلة القدر وما ادري ما ليلة القدر

ليلة القدر خير من ألف شهر تنزل الملائكة و الروح فيها باذن و فيهم من كل أمر سلام في حين

مطلع النجم كل من عليها قان و يبكي و جه ريبك ذو الجلال و الاكرام

(c) Bottom.

در زمان دولت شاه عالينان جمجاه علي عادالشاه سنة

TRANSLATION

(a) Shiite Creed and Durūd.

(b) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. ‘And surely, the mosques are for Allāh; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh.’4 Qur‘ān, chapter XCVII and chapter LV, verses 26-27.

(c) In the period of the reign of the king, the refuge of the world, possessing the dignity of Jam, ‘Ali Ādil Shāh (in) A.H. 985 (1577-78 A.D.).

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1 ARIE, 1958-59, No. D, 134; Bashīru’d-Din, op. cit. p. 325, with a plate.
2 Bashīru’d-Din, op. cit., p. 324, is wrong to read the date as A.H. 908 instead of A.H. 985 (1577-78 A.D.).
3 Thus on the stone.
4 Qur‘ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
(b) Another record of the same king from Raichur, dated A.H. 980 (p. 68).

(c) Inscription of Ibrahim, Ailakh Shah II., dated A.H. 991, from Raichur (p. 69).

(d) A third record of the same king from Raichur, dated A.H. 990 (p. 67).
The next three epigraphs are to be found on the diddi (small gate) and the bastion of the parkota above it which are situated near the Bandā-Bāoli within the rampart of the fort on the side of the Makki gate. They refer to the construction of the diddi and a well and also to the completion of the work of the parkota and the city-wall by an official.

The first of these three epigraphs is fixed on the southern facade of the diddi. The huge slab measuring 3.5 m. by 28 cm. contains only two lines of writing in Persian verse executed in relief in Nasīh characters. The text which is carelessly composed records the construction of the diddi (small gate) and the ditch near the precipice by Yūsuf 'All gandīlār, in the first year of the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (II) i.e. in 1582 A.D. Incidentally this epigraph is the earliest among the hitherto published records of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, his earliest inscriptions being dated A.H. 991.

The builder Yūsuf 'All gandīlār does not find mention in contemporary records. He was an official of the court of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. The sobriquet gandīlār appended to his name in all the three records indicates that he was in charge of the lighting arrangements in the royal court or household.

The text of the record reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XXII (c)*

(1) شاه عالم پناه ابراهیم کو نشته بچه عادلیا
دوت او همیشه ذخرون باد
سریر شب و حشت و چاه
بطفل عل و لطف اله
مستاد او همیشه قائم باد
کرده اندر زبان او بیاد
ارین عمرت که کس ندارد یاد
خلق ز آب حیات او زنده
[کنده؟] (síc.)
[کنده؟]

(2) دوستاش بفتن و فروزی
دراد امیدا بحضور حق
هرکه کرده بنله این خندی
پدید است عل مقامدار
سال تاریخ این آکر خواهی
یاقت در نهصد و ترتد اسم

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2 Nāshir, op. cit., pp. 27, 51, 66.
3 Of Bashiru'd-Din, op. cit., p. 317.

The word گرد is probably कर्क of Marathi meaning a precipice.

The figure engraved is Zero, which generally indicates the number five, but here and in other epigraphs of this article it indicates zero. Also cf. Epigraphia Indo-Moesullica (EIM), 1939-40, plate Xa.
(1) The refuge of the world is king Ibrāhīm (‘Ādil Shāh II) who has succeeded ‘Ādil Shāh (i.e. ‘Ali I), may his government be ever on the increase, on the throne of the sky and dignity and pomp.

May his throne remain for ever through the favour of ‘Ali and the benevolence of Allāh! In his reign, this building (the like of) which no one remembers was constructed.

The ditch has been dug up to the precipice; many creatures owe their lives to its life-giving water.

(2) May his (i.e. the king’s) friends be always victorious and fortunate! May his enemies be always ruined!

He who has dug up this ditch, expects the fulfilment of his hopes from God.

At that time, Yūsuf ‘Ali qandīlār (i.e. the lantern-keeper) was responsible for this work.

If you desire its date, it was completed in (the year A.H.) nine hundred and ninety. Year (A.H.) 990 (1582 A.D.).

The second of the three inscriptions is fixed on the northern facade of the same diḍḍī. It records that the diḍḍī (small gate) and the (nearby) well, begun in the reign of ‘Ali ‘Ādil Shāh I, were completed along with the parakota and the rampart in 1582 A.D. in the reign of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II by Yūsuf ‘Ali qandīlār. As in the case of two of the previous epigraphs, the record bears two dates: 990 in figures indicating the Hijra year and its Shuhūr equivalent 983 given in words.

The inscriptive slab measuring 54 by 49 cm. contains four lines of Persian verse and prose, carved in relief in Nasāḥ characters, which have been deciphered as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XXII (b)*

(1) در زمان علی عادلشاه

(2) گردنیاد دید و این چه

(3) کار پرگاه و حصار التام

(4) ایند یوسف علی قندیلاد

(5) یاسآ که سه سنین مبارک سنه تسعمایه ست و تسعمایه سن 990

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the reign of ‘Ali ‘Ādil Shāh (I) the foundation of the diḍḍī and this well was laid.

(2) The construction of the parakota and the rampart was completed in the reign of Shāh Ibrāhīm (‘Ādil Shāh II).

---


2 Bashīru’d-Dīn, *op. cit.*, reads the portion containing the date purposely as "سعماه تسعین" obviously to suit the date in figures, since he was confused by the date 983 in words and 990 in figures.
(3) Yusuf 'Ali qandildar exerted greatly in this place.

(4) On the last day of the month of Ramadān, (Shuhūr) year nine hundred and eightythree, (A.H.) 990 (30th Ramadān A.H. 990, Shuhūr 983=18th October 1582 A.D.).

The third of these epigraphs is carved on a slab fixed on the bastion of the Parkoṣa-Darwāza mentioned above. Its tablet measuring 85 by 55 cm. contains six Persian couplets carved in four lines in Naṣḵ characters in relief. It records that since due to the lack of any passage much hardship was experienced by the public in coming and going, Yusuf 'Ali Khan the servant of the king, constructed the dīdī after cutting out the rock in 1583 A.D. during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II. This epigraph also discloses the fact that the small gate was designated Tawakkul-Dīdī.

The text reads as follows:

TEXT

- Plate XXII (a)

(1) بدور شاه ابراهیم عادل
(2) دریجا بود کوهلی اس عیوبه
(3) که دررفع شندید خلق حیران
(4) گرفتیل خدا و شاه مردان
(5) مرتب ساخت از فضل بردن
(6) چه طام این دید کرد او توکل
(7) بسی کوشید در این کار ز اخلاص
(8) گرام شاه دین یوسف علیخان
(9) با ناظرخان "نظم" آمد برو خوان

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of Shāh Ibrāhīm 'Adil (II) by whose justice the world has become (like) a garden, there was at this place a very huge rock (on account of)

(2) which people found it very difficult to go (up the mountain).

He got the rock cut out and constructed a dīdī in its place through the guidance of God and Shāh-i-Mardān (i.e. 'Ali).

(3-4) Since he constructed it through the favours of God, he named it Tawakkul-Dīdī.

In this work Yusuf 'Ali Khan, the slave of the king of the Faith, put in great efforts out of sincere devotion.

Since the work of the fort progressed on account of him, for its date, recite to him the word '(good) arrangement'.

The chronogram contained in the word nisām in the last hemistich yields the year A.H. 991 (1583 A.D.).

2 Of Baghru'd-Din, op. cit.
The Dāru’l-Muṣāla’a or the Reading Room situated inside the Kāṭīf gate of the town bears two inscriptions of the same purport. The tablet containing one of them is fixed into a niche. It is arch-shaped measuring 63 by 81 cm. and contains seven lines of text in Arabic prose and Persian verse which are carved in relief in ordinary Naskh characters. The versified text of this epigraph, like many other Ādil Shāhī inscriptions which betray ill-feigned attempts at poetry, is utterly hopeless, so much so that it is difficult in one or two places to catch the drift of the exact purport. The record assigns the construction of nine miḥrābs and a room above it (a nine-arched hall?) to ‘Abdul-Muḥammad, the governor. It is dated 1622-23 A.D. in the reign of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II.

‘Abdul-Muḥammad of this inscription is Malik ‘Abdul-Muḥammad, son of Malik Raiḥān, a notable grandee. Persian chronicles including the Basāṭīna’s-Salāṣīn of Mirzā Ibrāhīm Zubairī are silent about him. But he is mentioned in an inscription from Siruguppa as the sarhāwālādār of the fort of Adoni, the district of Raichur and the city of Muḥammad Nūr. He is also mentioned in a Telugu manuscript as having led an attack on Kurnool, now in Andhra Pradesh, where he is reported to be buried.*

The text* of the inscription reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

Plate XXIII (b)

(a) *Around the border.*

قَلّ اللَّهُمَّ مَالِكَ الْمَلَكِ تُوَّجَ الدِّينَ مِنْ تَشَاءٍ وَ تَنْزَعُ الْمَلَكَ مِنْ تَشَاءٍ وَ تَعْزُّ مِنْ تَشَاءٍ

وَ تَذَّلُّ مِنْ تَشَاءٍ يُبَدِّدَ الدِّينَ عَلَى كُلّ شَيْءٍ تَدِيرُ تَنْزَعُ الْلِّيلِ فِي الْهَيَا، وَ تَنْزَعُ الْلِّيلِ فِي الْلِّيلِ

وَ تَخْرِجُ الْحَيٍّ مِنْ الْمَيْتِ وَ تَخْرِجُ الْمَيْتِ مِنْ الْحَيِّ وَ تَرْزَقُ مِنْ تَشَاءٍ بَيْنَ حَسَابٍ

(b) *In the centre.*

(١) الله كَلِّی

(٢) لَبِيْسُ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(٣) زَفْلُ ذَوِ الْجَالِلِ شَدَّ عَمَّارَتِ اَنْ كَمَالُ

(٤) ذَرَعَ عَشَاءَ الْبَرَاءِ وَاءَابِ حَمَدَتْعبَةَ اِبْنَ كَرْدُهُ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ عَامِل

(٥) مَزْينَ كَتَبَ تَعُوْدُ مَجَابِهَا تَعٌمُ، باَفِقَ رَكَّةَ كَثَّرَكَ نَورَ عَلَى نَورٍ مَقَامُ

(٦) تَرْقَى يَافِتَ اَنْ عَمَّارَتَ زَيْنَ سَمَتَ بَيْنَ مَبَحَّةِ بَاَبِ الْعَالِمَاتِ

(٧) فَرْخَتُ بِتَارِيْخَ سَلَل الْهَيْرَاتِ بِمَرْتَبَتِهِ يُكْحِزَارُ اَلْيَدِيَ ثَلَاثَ عَزْتٍ

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*For details and references, see SIAPS, 1953 and 1954, pp. 41-44.

* Cf. Bashīr ud-Dīn, *op. cit.*
(a) Inscription of Ibrāhīm ʿAdil Shāh II, dated A.H. 1032, from Raichur (p. 74)

(b) Another record from the same place (p. 70)

(c) A third record from the same place (p. 71)
(c) Qur’ān, chapter III, verses 25-26.
(5) (1) Allāh is Sufficient.
(2) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
(3) Through the grace of the Lord of Glory, this building reached perfection (i.e. was completed); by the sanctity of (the Prophet) Muḥammad, (its) beauty is resplendant.
(4) In the reign of the champion Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil (Shāh II), it was founded by the governor ‘Abdu’l-Muḥammad.
(5) The nine arches were completely decorated. With a pavilion on the top (it has become) a place with light upon light (i.e. it further added to the beauty of the place).
(6) This building attained ascendance on account of this good fortune that it faces the Bābu’l-Fath (lit. the gate of victory) facing south.
(7) Its auspicious date according to the Hijra year has the dignity and honour of being one thousand and thirtytwo.

The other record in the Dāru’l-Muṭāla’a is carved on a rectangular tablet measuring 32 by 83 cm. which is fixed in another niche.¹ Its text comprises ten lines of writing in Persian verse and prose carved in relief in Nasīh characters. It contains the same purport as in above, but here the building is spoken of as ‘a lofty palace’ and the date is given in figure as well as in chronogram, the numerical value of each letter of which is also inscribed. The record further states that the building was newly founded, there having been no previous construction on the site except the fort-wall. It may be noted that the poetry of this epigraph is much better than that of the previous record.

Its text² has been deciphered as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XXIII (c)*

(1) بناulg چنین قصر عالی مشید
(2) بماند چون طاق گردون مؤید
(3) بدوز براهیم عادل شهنیه
(4) مهما شد از اذ عبات الحمد
(5) چو خواهم پیاین در پری
(6) یکون عد مسراج اول چو ابد

¹ ARIE, 1958-59, No. D, 130; Bashiru’d-Din, op. cit., p. 334.
² Cf. Bashiru’d-Din, op. cit.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA—ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(8) بر ضماير بل نظاير متعاقبان اهل زمانه معلوم باد كه اين عمارت را
(9) اساس و بنیاد تهاده بنای معال ساخته اند و پیش ازین عمارت
(10) محکس دیوار حصار بود هیچ عمارت نبود و السلام

TRANSLATION

(1) May the building of such a lofty (and) strong palace—
(2) $2 + 50 + 1 + 10 + 3 + 50 + 10 + 50 + 100 + 90 + 200 + 70 + 1 + 30 + 10 + 40 + 300 + 10 + 4 = $
Year (A. H.) 1032 (1622-23 A. D.)—
(3) endure for ever just like the revolving vault (of the sky)!
(4) In the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil, the emperor,
(5) it came into existence through the genius of 'Abdūl-Muhammad.
(6) If you desire to find out its date,
(7) count (the values of letters in) the first hemistich according to the Abjad system.
(8) May it be known to the incomparable minds of the coming generations of the people of the time that this edifice
(9) is founded and built and a lofty building is constructed, while prior to this, the building
(on this site)
(10) consisted only of the rampart of the fort, and there was no other building. And peace!

The Jāmi' mosque inside the fort of the town contains two epigraphs of which one is fixed
into its left miḥrāb.\(^1\) It belongs to the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. The arch-shaped slab on
which it is engraved in ordinary Nasīr letters in relief measures 88 cm. by 1.4 m. Apart from
religious texts, the epigraph contains two chronograms in Persian verse, which again furnish
example of hopeless versification. According to one of the chronograms, the construction
began in 1620-21 A. D. and according to the other, it ended in 1622-23 A.D. It is also stated
that the Jāmi' mosque was constructed within a period of two years during the reign of Ibrāhīm
by 'Abdūl-Muhammad. The epigraph also names Rājā as the mason who carried out the job.

The text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXI (c)

(a) Border around.

\(^1\) ARIE, 1958-59, No. D, 135; Bashîr'u'd-Dîn, op. cit., p. 326.
(b) Main portion.

(1) الله کا کئی
(2) پسماً اللہ الرحمن الرحیم
(3) یہق لا اللہ الا اللہ محمد رسول اللہ
(4) و ان المساجد تفا تداعوا مع اللہ احدا
(5) جراغ و مسجد و محراب و منیر ابی بکر و عمر عثمان [و] حیدر
(6) بنا گنته مسجد بلطف اللہ
(7) بدور ابراهیم عادالشام
(8) ز هجرت هزار وسی دو دین نشان عبد المحمد همین
سنہ 1032

(9) لس عاش شاہ ابراهیم عادل
(8) رہ گنت کرده بنا مسجد جامع
(9) بود پانی غلام شاہ عبد المحمد
(10) بتوقع خدا و سعی کامل
(11) مرتب ساخت جامع را پہو سال
(12) ثواب جاری و حسنات حاصل
(13) ز هجرت یکهزار و دیگر سی
سنہ 1030

(14) ساخت راجا کار مسجد را تمام تا باشد چای او جنت قائم

TRANSLATION

(a) Qur’ān, chapter II, verses 255–56.

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

(2) For the sake of ‘There is no god but Allāh; Muḥammad is the prophet of Allāh.’

(3) ‘And surely, the mosque are for Allāh; hence, invoke not anyone else with Allāh.’

(4) Abū Bakr, ’Umar, ’Uthmān and Ḥaidar (i.e. ‘Ali) are (like unto) the lamp, mosque, prayer-niche and pulpit.

1 Qur’ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
(5) The mosque was constructed by the grace of God in the reign of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh.

(6) The year was one thousand and thirty-two of Hijra. Year (A.H.) 1032 (1622-23 A.D.). This is a memento of ‘Abdul’-Muḥammad.

(7) What a beautiful Jāmi’ mosque has been constructed in the reign of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh!

(8) The slave of the king (namely), ‘Abdul’-Muḥammad is its builder (who constructed it) through the guidance of God and with great efforts.

(9) He built the Jāmi’ mosque within two years. Its meritorious service has now started, and the good deeds are being achieved (by offering prayers therein).

(10) It (i.e. the date of the foundation) was the year one thousand and thirty more; hence its date is found (in the word) ghill.¹ Year (A.H.) 1030 (1620-21 A.D.).

(11) Rājā has brought to completion the work of the mosque in the hope that his abode (after death) would be Paradise.

The other inscription in the same mosque is also dated in the time of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II. It comprises two couplets each in Persian and Arabic and is executed in Nasb characters on a rectangular tablet measuring 36 by 24 cm. which is fixed into the niche above the left māhrūb.² The Persian fragment which is yet another example of poor versification records that Malik ‘Abdul’-Muḥammad, son of Raiḥān, constructed the Jāmi’ mosque as his everlasting memento. The date according to the chronogram in the last hemistich is 1622-23 A.D. The Arabic text comprises two well-known verses on the transitoriness of human life.

The full text reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XXIII (a)*

(1) Malik ‘Abdu’ll-Muḥammad, son of Raiḥān, in the reign of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh

1 The word ‘ghill’ means ‘secret hatred, malice, enmity, envy,’ etc. The use of this word for a chronogram reflects the ignorance of the composer.

(2) constructed the Jāmi’ mosque so that it may remain as a memento (for him) till eternity (and) the date of (its) construction is (contained in the word:) Balīgh. (A. H. 1032–1622-23 A.D.).

(3) We alighted here (in this world) and again we departed. Such is the world: To arrive and to depart.

(4) Man thinks of perpetuity in the world, (but) the perpetuity of man in the world is impossible.

Yet another inscription of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II is to be found over the entrance of the dargāh of Shāh Mīr Ḥusain and Mīr Ḥasan situated near the above Jāmi’ mosque.1 The record does not appear to be in situ as it records the construction of an ambār-khāna (granary) by the same ‘Abdu’l-Muḥammad in 1622-23 A. D. The tablet bearing the epigraph measures 34 by 58 cm. The language is Persian verse of mediocre quality, and the style of writing is Naskh.

Its text reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XXI (a)

(1) الله كافٍ
(2) ز فيف ذو الجلال شد إبرار خانه
(3) كه من في السماة رقيقهم يبسانه
(4) در عهد شهنشاه براهيم عادل
(5) مهور شد هقام رنق كامل
(6) كه بلغ بود حال الف و أثنا ثلتين
(7) الثاني كردن اسحاب محمد دوان حين

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is sufficient.
(2) Through the favour of the Lord of Glory, (this) granary was constructed.
(3) whose measure is ‘whatever is in the heaven is your sustenance’.2
(4) In the reign of the king of kings Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil,
(5) this place of complete sustenance (i.e. the granary) was decorated (i.e. built).
(6) It was the year (whose chronogram is given by the word:) Balīgh (yielding A. H.) 1032 (1622-23 A. D.).

(7) At that time it was constructed by ‘Abdu’l-Muḥammad.

2 The Arabic phrase is adapted from the Quranic text, chapter LI, verse 22.
The only inscription of Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh in the present group is fixed over the main gate of the Jāmi’ mosque in Ṣarrāf Bazār outside the fort. The inscriptive slab measuring 1.18 m. by 63 cm. contains religious texts in Arabic and a poetical fragment in Persian which are executed in relief in Nasīḥa characters. The record assigns the construction of the mosque to the same ‘Abdu’l-Muhammad.

The work was started during the reign of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II and completed in A. H. 1038 (1628-29 A.D.) during the reign of Abu’l-Naṣr Sulṭān Maḥmūd by whom evidently Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh is intended. This may be a mistake of the composer or the scribe. It will be observed that the date quoted in words in the left side of the slab is prefixed by the phrase shuhūr sana which should here be taken literally and not in the sense of Shuhūr year, since in the text the same year is quoted in words as of Hijra era.

The text of the epigraph is quoted below:

TEXT

Plate XXIV (a)

(a) Border around the arch.

(1) Ya ʾiba Al-ʾālī wa-altī wa-nūdi ‘l-sulhā ‘ulā Al-jum‘a wa’l-waṣaʿī wa’l-bayt (sic.)

(2) Zal-kālm ĸhīrīlm ĸn kantas Tālmūn

(b) Main portion.

(1) Allāh Kālī

(2) Bism Allāh ar-Rḥmīn ar-Rḥmīn - la ʾlā la [Allāh Muhammad Rasūl Allāh]

(3) Wān Almasājad Allāh fa-lā tawwā wā Almasājad

(4) Shāh Abī Dīn Allāh Shāh Aḥmad Shāh Bāyīwā Abī ʾAbd Allāh

(5) Bīdaw Shāh Abī Aḥmad ʿUalī Shāh Khārīwā Abī ʾAbd Allāh

(6) Z ʾHejir ʾYkṣhīr Wās wa-ʾNf Ast ʾKhm Shāh Masjīd Mārtb Wātq Ast-

(7) Bwq ʾbns Al-nṣr Sltān Mhmūd Z Bhr Mwntn lwbd Bwbd

(c) Right side.

Sna 538

(d) Left side.

Shwrt Sn 538 Wn Tlmān w alf

ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHUR

TRANSLATION

(a) Qur’ān, chapter LXII, verse 9.
(b) (1) Allāh is sufficient.
(2) In the name of God the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god but Allāh; Muḥammad is the prophet of Allāh.
(3) ‘And verily, the mosques are for Allāh; hence, invoke not anyone else with Allāh.’
(4) The mosque is constructed in accordance with the religion of Ahmad (Prophet Muḥammad); its builder is ‘Abdūl-Muhammad.
(5) In the reign of the king Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh, its construction was commenced without any restriction or impediment.
(6) Now the year is one thousand and thirty-eight from the Migration (of the Prophet) when the mosque is completed at a most auspicious time
(7) during the reign of Bu’n-Nāṣr sultan Mahmūd (recte, Muḥammad) (to ensure) unlimited reward for the believers.
(c) Year (A. H.) 1038 (1628-29 A. D.).
(d) In the months of the year one thousand and thirty-eight.

The last inscription of the present study pertains to the reign of Sikandar the last ‘Ādil Shāhī ruler. It is fixed on the facade of the Sikandari gate of the fort, situated near the ḍargāh of Sayyid Ābdūl Ḥusainī. The huge inscripional slab measuring 2·85 m. by 35 cm. contains three Persian couplets arranged in a single-line and carved in relief in Ṣīkṣā characters of perfect workmanship. The calligraphy seems to have been designed by an expert, whose name unfortunately is not quoted. In fact, it is the only record in the group which is calligraphically so pleasing. The text records that the gate was constructed in the reign of sultan Sikandar Qādirī by Āqā Khusraw, the slave of the king in the year 1673-74 A. D. This record is important in that it is the one of the only three known records of this king. The other two records dated A. H. 1084 and A. H. 1096 were found at Gulbarga and Miraj respectively.

The builder Āqā Khusraw, who also finds mention in an earlier record from Raichur, played an important role during the reigns of ‘Ali ‘Ādil Shāh II and Sikandar ‘Ādil Shāh. In the reign of the former the unsuccessful rebellion of Sādi Jauhar entitled ⾛lābat Khān was followed by the revolt of the qal’adār of Raichur, a partisan of the latter. But by the time ‘Ali ‘Ādil Shāh reached Raichur, the loyal garrison arrested the qal’adār and surrendered the fort to the king. ‘Ali ‘Ādil then appointed Āqā Khusraw as the qal’adār in A. H. 1072. Āqā Khusraw seems to have held this post at least till A. H. 1088. He ultimately rose to occupy the post of the prime-minister in March 1684 A. D., but died after about seven months.

The text has been read as follows:

Plate XXIV (b)

Text

Plate XXIV (b)

1 Qur’ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
4 BIM, 1939-40, p. 22.
5 For particulars, see Zubairi, op. cit., pp. 386, 464-67, 524, etc.
In the reign of the king, Sultan Sikandar Qadirf, the work of this gate (lit. threshold) was completed with artistic skill.

When I thought over its date, Wisdom said, 'Say, (it is) the auspicious gate and find in this, the date of its completion'.

O Lord! On the day of Resurrection, through your kindness, help the builder of this work Aqa Khusraw, the slave of the king.

The chronogram yields A.H. 1084 (1673-74 A.D.).
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