

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

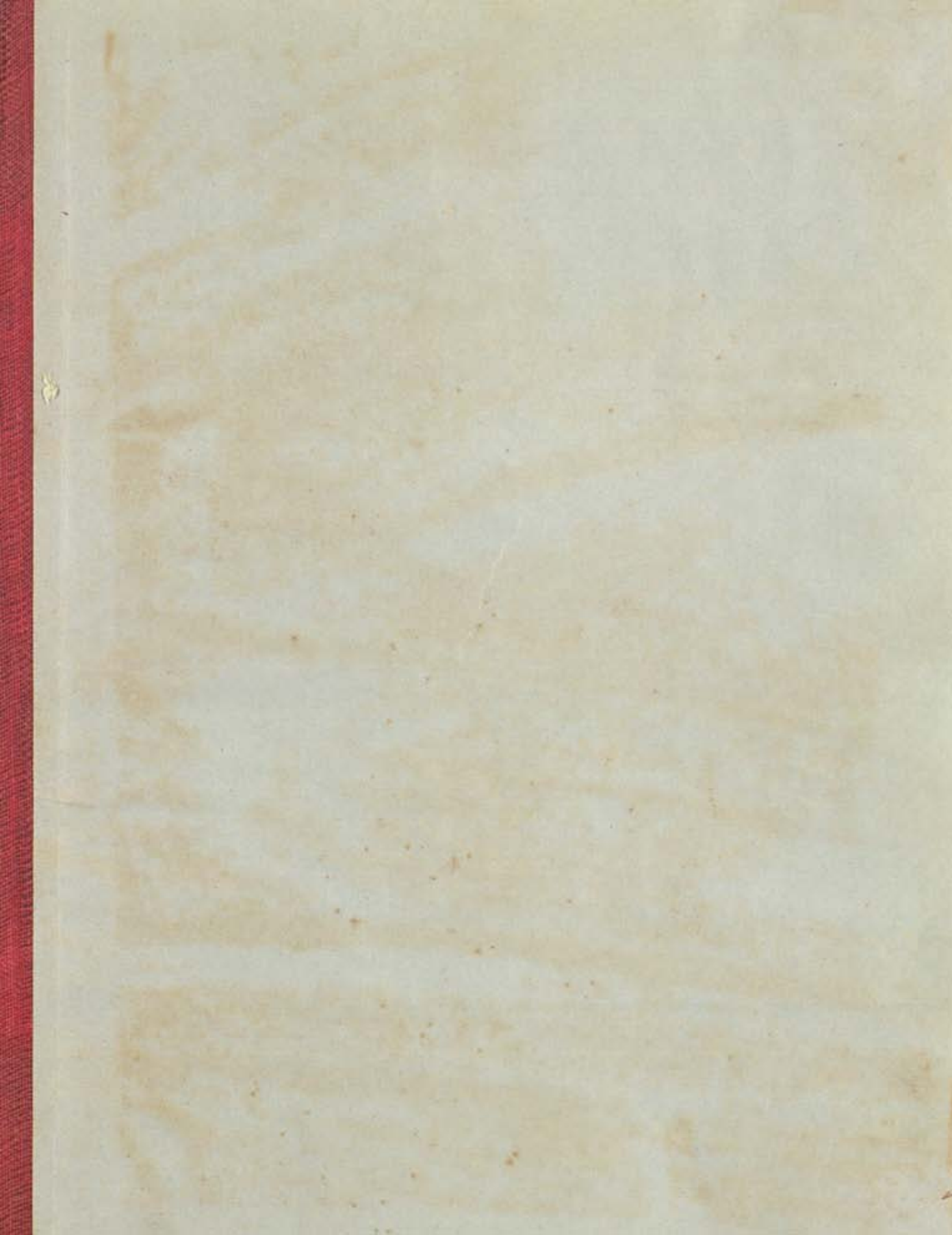
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC & PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*)

1962 and 63



PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL
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JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110011

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PREFACE

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

MYSORE
1-12-1987

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(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

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EDITED BY

DR. Z. A. DESAI



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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

1962

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 twentyfour epigraphs copied from various places in Gujarat (including Saurashtra) which belong to the time of the governors appointed from Delhi, first under the Khaljis and later under the Tughluqs. Of these records, three belong to the reigns of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji and his son and successor Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, while the remaining twentyone were set up in the names of the Tughluq rulers Firūz Shāh and Nuṣrat 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 KHALJIS

Hardly within a couple of years of his coming to power, 'Alāu'd-Dīn conquered Gujarat and put it in charge of a governor with his seat at Anhilwād Pāṭan (Nahrwāla of the Muslim writers). Patan, formerly included in the erstwhile Baroda state and now a *tāluka* 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 sultāns

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 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji from Gujarat is so far known (*Epigraphia Indo-Modemica*) (EIM), 1917-18, p. 33, pl. XIb). The Gujarat inscriptions of Ghiyāthud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh and his son Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh have been studied in *EIM*, 1915-16, p. 17 (pl. XIVb); *ibid.*, 1933-34, Supplement, p. 25 (pl. XIVb), p. 26 (pl. XIVc), p. 27 (pl. XVa), p. 37 (pl. XXIIc); 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 Firūz 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 Maulānā Abū Zafar Nadwī was published in Gujarati in 1949 A.D. by the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmadabad, under the title *Gujarāt-no-Itihās*.

⁴ For a brief outline of the calligraphical 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 Aḥmad 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-Sultana period; whatever inscriptions have been found are not dated prior to the reign of Firūz Tughluq.¹ It is difficult to explain the non-existence of the buildings or inscriptions of the Khaljīs 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 hujra in the enclosure of Makhdūm 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 'Alāu'd-Dīn. Calligraphically, they are remnants of a beautifully carved inscription. Bold in execution, its style which is a mixture of Thulūṭh and Naskh, 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 'Alāu'd-Dīn. The two fragments if placed side by side contain a continuous text with the name and title, 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn [Abu'l-Muẓaffar] Muḥammad Shāh a's-Sultān' in the first line and the title Alp Khān in the next. Malik Sanjar entitled Alp Khān, a brother-in-law of 'Alāu'd-Dīn and father-in-law of the latter's son, Khiḍr 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 Marāṭhā 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 Makhdūm 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 (*EIAPS*, 1961, p. 16, pl. IIIa).

² *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1954-55, No. C. 55.

³ *Ibid.*, No. C. 96.

⁴ Alp Khān's benevolent rule has been mentioned in contemporary Jain records, e.g. *Samar-Rāsa-Mahā-Kāvya* and an inscription from Cambay, dated V.S. 1366 (*Jinaviṇaya, Prācīna Jaina Lekhasamgraha*, Bhavnagar, 1921, p. 275, no. 447).

⁵ For the details of Alp Khān's career, see Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1862), pp. 242, 263, 323, 369, etc.; M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, vol. I (Bombay, 1938), pp. 5, 7, 10-11.

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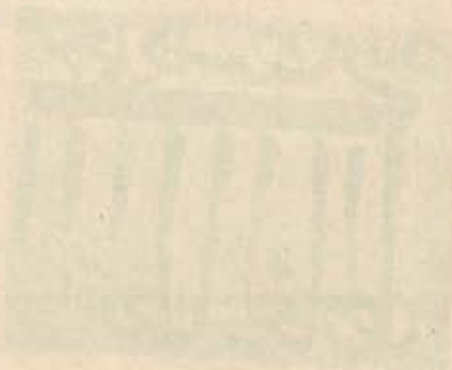
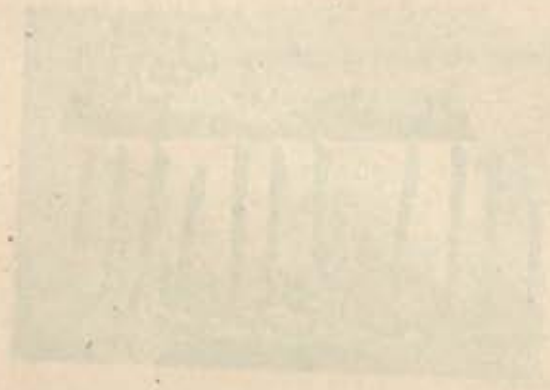
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SCALE : 25



SCALE : 15



SCALE : 17

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

Plate I(b)

(a) On the first slab.

(١) [علا] و الدنيا و الد[ين].....

(٢) فلک؟ المعالی قطب؟ اعا.....

(b) On the second slab.

(١) [المظف]ر محمد [شا]ه [ا]لسلطان ناصر؟.....

(٢) المخطاب بخطاب الپخان خلد؟.....

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) ['Alā]u'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn.....

(2) the sky of eminences, pole-star.....

(b) (1) [Abu'l-Muḡaffa]r Muḡammad [Shāh], the sultān, Nāḡir[-i-Amīr]i'l-Mu'mīnīn].....

(2) one who is favoured with the title of Alp Khān.....

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 Pīr Tāju'd-Dīn¹ 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, Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, son of Muḡammad, son of Yaḥyā 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 'Alāu'd-Dīn, is that it designates the deceased as the governor of Cambay. It may be safely presumed that Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad was appointed to this office under orders from the provincial governor or the Delhi sultān. 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 *Naskh* of the conventional type.

The text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate I (a)

(a) In the border.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قايمًا بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز
الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذين اوتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم
بنيا بينهم و من يكفر بايات 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 *ELAPS*, 1961, p. 8 (pl. Ib), p. 9 (pl. IIa).

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; *ELAPS*, 1957 and 58, p. 29.

(b) *In the middle.*

- (١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 (٢) كل نفس ذائقة الموت
 (٣) هذا قبر العبد الضعيف المحتاج الى رحمة الله
 (٤) تعالى شهاب الدين احمد ابن محمد ابن يحيى
 (٥) الحاكم بكنيائه تغمده الله بغفرانه توفي
 (٦) يوم الاربعاء الخامس من شهر الله الاصب رجب
 (٧) سنة ثمان و تسعين و ستمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) 'Allāh bears witness that there is no god but He, and (so do) the angels and those possessed of knowledge, being maintainer of justice, there is no god but He, the Mighty, the Wise. 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.¹

(b) (1) There is no god but Allāh; Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh.

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

(3) This is the grave of the weak creature, the dependant on the mercy of Allāh,

(4) the Exalted, Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, 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 Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh and is set up above the main entrance to the tomb of Barkat Shāhid at Dholka, District Ahmadabad.³ 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 *Nasḥ* 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 Qutbu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Mubārak Shāh.

The epigraph has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate II (a)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا بناء
 اين مسجد در زمان خدایگان سلاطین خلیفه روی زمین قطب الدنيا و الدین ابو المظفر مبارکه شاه

¹ *Qur'ān*, chapter III, verses 17-18.

² *Ibid.*, chapter XXIX, verse 57 (part only).

³ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 6. For a brief history of Dholka and its monuments, see *BG*, vol. IV (Bombay, 1879), pp. 337-39; *Commissariat*, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-71; *EIAPS*, 1957 and 58, p. 40.

(۲) السلطان ابن السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بنى (sic.) ابن خير ملك كبير شمس الدين
على امير كو دام تمكينه بتاريخ پنجم ماه صفر ختم الله بالخير و الظفر سنة ثمان عشر و سبعماية

TRANSLATION

¹ (1) 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 *Khalifa* (vicegerent of Allāh) on the surface of the earth, Qutbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abul-Muẓaffar Mubārak Shāh,

(2) 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 Šafar, may Allāh end it with bounty and victory, of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and eighteen (5th Šafar 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,² 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.³

IV-XXIV. INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TUGHLUQS

The Tughluq dynasty is represented by twentyone 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 Nugrat 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.⁴ Built up into the west wall of the Mughal mosque situated opposite the Veterinary hospital of the town, the inscriptional 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 Khān⁵ 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.

² *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 39 (pl. XIIIa & b), p. 41 (pl. XXIVb), p. 42 (pl. XIIIc & XIVb); *ibid.*, 1935-36, p. 49 (pl. XXXVIa); *ibid.*, 1937-38, p. 39 (pl. XIIb).

³ For the office of *amīr-i-kū*, see S. H. Hodiwallā, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, vol. I (Bombay, 1939), p. 410.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 36.

⁵ This epigraph consisting of two verses written in four lines in *Nasta'liq* 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 *kūtūl* 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 *Nasḥ*. 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)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ

(٢) وَأَقَامَ الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَى الزَّكَاةَ وَلَمْ يَخْشَ إِلَّا اللَّهَ فَعَسَىٰ أُولَٰئِكَ أَنْ يَكُونُوا مِنَ

الْمُهْتَدِينَ

(٣) وَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَنْ بَنَىٰ لِلَّهِ مَسْجِدًا يَبْتَغِي بِهِ وَجْهَ اللَّهِ بَنَىٰ اللَّهُ لَهُ مِثْلَهُ فِي

الْجَنَّةِ بَنَىٰ الْمَسْجِدَ الْمُبَارَكَ

(٤) مِمَّا يَوْفِقُ اللَّهَ تَعَالَىٰ فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ الْعَادِلِ الْوَائِقِ بِتَأْيِيدِ الرَّحْمَنِ فَيُرَوِّزُ شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ

(٥) خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ وَسُلْطَانُهُ الْعَبْدَ الضَّعِيفَ النَّحِيفَ الرَّاجِي إِلَىٰ رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَىٰ

(٦) قَرَانِخْوَانِ كَوْتَوَالِ كَهَنَبَايَتِ بِنْدِهِ خَاصِ غُفَرِ اللَّهِ لَهُ وَلِجَمِيعِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فِي

التَّارِيخِ الْغَرَمِ مِنْ

(٧) [شَهْرِ رَجَبِ رَج] قَدَرَهُ سَنَهُ خَمْسٍ وَخَمْسِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ ثَمَنٍ سَعَىٰ فِي هَدْمِهِ وَطَمَعَ

فِي وَقْفِهِ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ

TRANSLATION

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

(2) establishes prayers, gives alms and fears none but Allāh; so (as for these) they would be among the followers of the right course.'¹

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

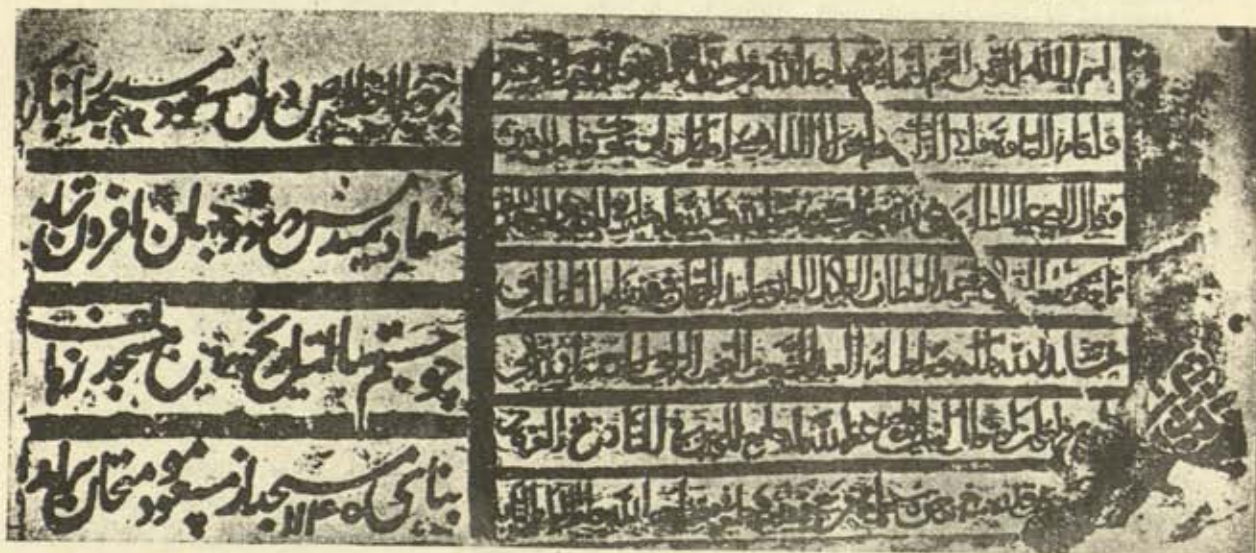
(4) out of what Allāh the Exalted favoured him (i.e. the builder) with, in the reign of the just king, the confident of the support of the Benign lord, Firūz Shāh the king.

¹ Qur'ān, chapter IX, verse 18.



SCALE : -17

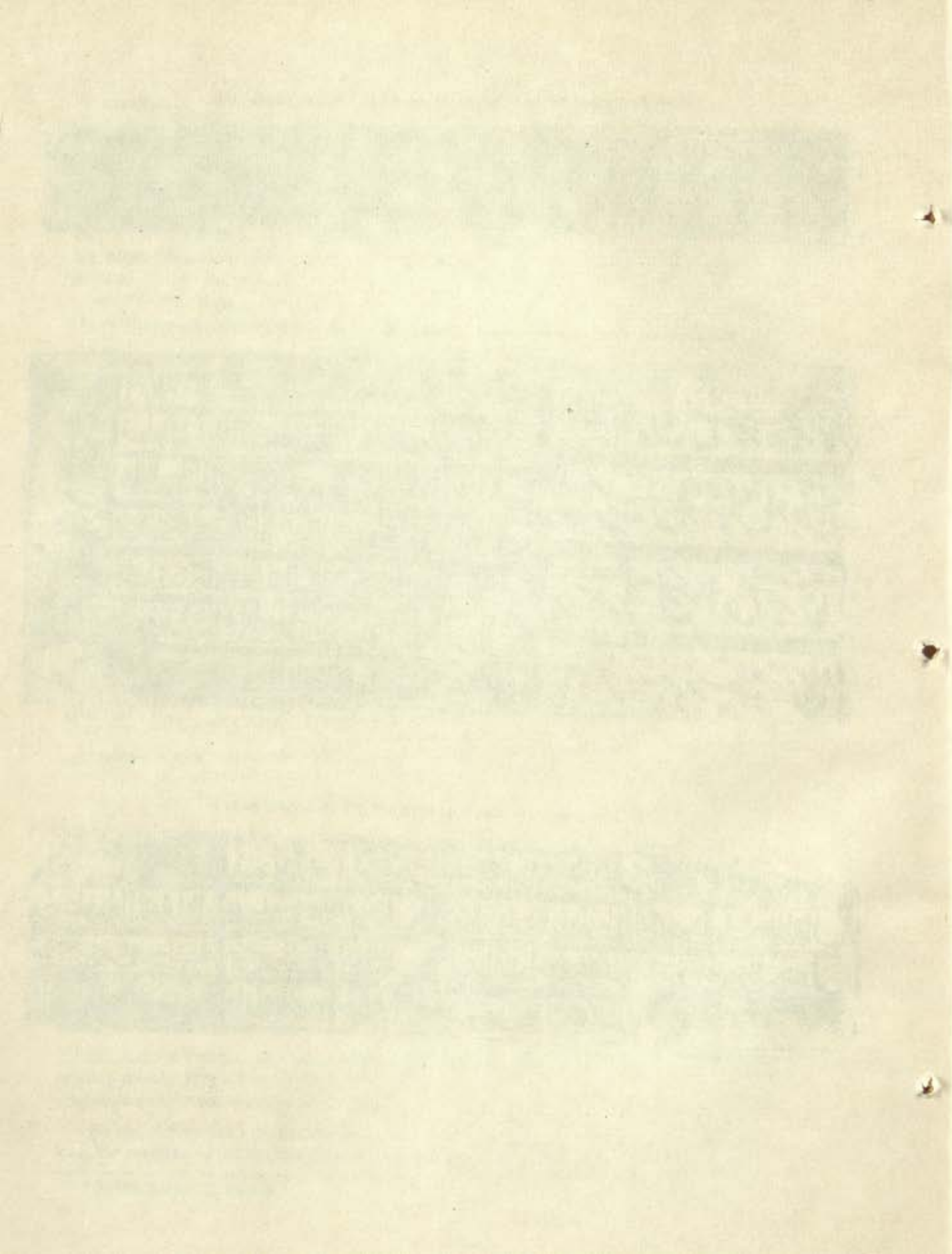
(b) Bi-inscriptional tablet containing a record of Firūz Tughluq, dated A.H. 755, from Cambay (p. 6)



SCALE : -22

(c) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 758, from Patan (p. 7)





(5) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, by the weak and infirm creature, hopeful of the mercy of Allāh the Exalted,

(6) *Qur'ān-Khwān*, the *kūtūb* of *Khambāyat* (Cambay) (who is) the (king's) favourite slave, may Allāh 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 Allāh, 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. Baranī in his list of Firūz's nobles mentions Malik Qabūl Amīr-i-Majlis with the title *Qur'ān-Khwān* but does not give any details.¹ Another contemporary historian, Shams Sirāj 'Afīf, furnishes the only additional information that Malik Qabūl was the *muqfi* of Samana.² But a slightly later author Yahyā supplies a few more details. According to him, Malik Qabūl bore the designation of a *sarpardadār* and was despatched against the Mongols towards the end of A. H. 759 from Samana by Firūz Tughluq.³ He seems to have continued as the *muqfi* of that place until A. H. 781 for, we are told that when Firūz went to Samana in that year, Malik Qabūl *Qur'ān-Khwān* Amīr-i-Majlis-i-Khāss, the *muqfi*, paid obeisance to the king.⁴ In the following year, he was given the *iqṭā'* of Badayun.⁵ This Malik Qabūl is also reported to have composed a pamphlet on the art of Quranic recitation for the king.⁶ The surviving title *Qur'ān-Khwān* in our record makes it very likely that the builder of the mosque is identical with this Malik Qabūl *sarpardadār* in which case it would follow that in A. H. 755, the date of the present record he was the *kūtūb* 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 *Kimbāya*, a term used by Arab writers. Here it is written *Khambāyat*, obviously a local pronunciation which has corrupted into modern *Khambhāt*. It may also be mentioned here that this is the earliest record known so far in Gujarat of Firūz Tughluq.

The fifth inscription of the present study and second of Firūz Tughluq is fixed over the doorway of a tomb in the locality called *Ganj-i-Shahidān* 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 36 cm. contains, besides *Bismillāh*, a poetical fragment of five verses inscribed in conventional *Nashk*.

TEXT

Plate II(c)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَ بِهِ نَسْتَعِينُ

(۲) هزار شکر خدا را که از همایون قال شده بناء چنین مسجد بهشت مثال
بمهد دولت فیروز شاه ظل اله که هست درگاه اعلیٰ قبله اقبال

¹ Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

² Shams Sirāj 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 454-55.

³ Yahyā Sathindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1921), p. 127.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁶ *Oriental College Magazine, Lahore*, February, 1947, p. 44.

⁷ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 81.

(۳) بِحَقِّ بَيْتِ مُقَدَّسٍ بِحَرَمَتِ كَعْبَةِ
 خدای حافظ او باد در همه احوال
 امیدوار بفضل خدای بزرگه حسین
 نمود سعی بتوفیق قادر متعال
 (۴) تمام گشت بهاء صیام و از تاریخ
 شمار هفتصد و پنجاه و هشت بود از سال

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 Mecca), may God be its preserver in all contingencies.

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

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

It is difficult to satisfactorily establish the identity of Husain, 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 Gujarat Malik Nizāmu'l-Mulk, whose original name was also Husain. There is yet another record at Patan, dated A. H. 784 (1382 A.D.),¹ which mentions Husain, son of Ismā'il, as the builder of a mosque. Whether Husain of the present record is identical either with Nizāmu'l-Mulk or with Husain, son of Ismā'il, 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 Husain, son of Amīr-i-Mīrān Balkhī 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 *Naskh* with strong *Thulth* flourishes reminiscent of the style of writing in contemporary inscriptions of Bihar.

Its text is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate III(a)

(۱) و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(۲) تمام شد عمارة این مسجد در عهد خداوند عالم فیروز 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.

² *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 77.

(۳) خلد الله ملكه بدست بنده اميدوار برحمت پروردگار حسين امير ميران بلخي در

شهور سنه تسع و خمسين و سبعمايه

TRANSLATION

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

(2) The building of this mosque was completed in the reign of the master of the world, Firūz Shāh the king,

(3) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, at the hands of the creature, hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, Husain, son of Amīr-i-Mirān Balkhī 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 Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik Nizāmu'l-Mulk Husain,² son of Amīr-i-Mirān Balkhī, the celebrated minister of Firūz Shāh. He was among the nobles who declared their loyalty to Firūz when Khwāja Jahān set up a rival to the throne of Delhi on the death of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh and was made in A. H. 753 the *mustawfi-i-mamālik*.³ He was also appointed governor of Gujarat from which post he was removed by the king during the latter's stay in the province in about A. H. 767⁴ after the failure of his first expedition to Thatta for the reason that Nizāmu'l-Mulk had failed to send supplies to the king.⁵ After a short time he was appointed the deputy *wazīr* 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 *wazīr* in the audience-hall.⁶ The date of death of Nizāmu'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 Shamsu'd-Dīn Abū Rajā as *mustawfi-i-mamālik* and A. H. 785, the date of the latter's dismissal.⁷

The next three records of Firūz Shāh pertain to the same building, viz. the Tānka-Masjid or the old Jāmi' mosque at Dholka.⁸ 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'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18).

The inscription over the central *mihrāb* forming the seventh record of this study is in Arabic.⁹ 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 Jāmi' mosque in 1361 A. D. during the reign of Firūz Shāh by the great Malik Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Mufarraḥ Sultānī, the royal *dawūdār*. The style of

¹ *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

² Yahyā, *op. cit.*, p. 120, has 'Ḥasan' instead of 'Husain', a misprint.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 124. Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 582, has Iftikhāru'l-Mulk.

⁴ I prefer this date to the generally accepted A. H. 762. See Hodiwālā, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

⁵ Shams, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-20; Yahyā, *op. cit.*, p. 131; Hājji Dabir, *Zafaru'l-Wāliḥ bi-Muẓaffar wa Aliḥ*, vol. III (London, 1928), p. 898, where perhaps due to misunderstanding of Shams's language, the name of Nizāmu'l-Mulk is wrongly given as Niknām, son of Amīr Ḥasan.

⁶ Shams, *op. cit.*, pp. 282, 419.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 461, 464, 465, 481, 486, 497, 498. According to Hājji Dabir, *op. cit.*, p. 901 and Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* (Lucknow, 1865), p. 150, Amīr Husain, a son-in-law of Firūz, was put to death in A. H. 790 on account of his partisanship of Prince Muḥammad 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.

⁹ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 8.

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)

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ شَهِدَ اللَّهُ أَنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ وَالسَّلَاطَةُ وَ أُولُوا الْعِلْمِ قَائِمًا بِالْقِسْطِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ إِنَّ الدِّينَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ الْإِسْلَامُ الْمَعْبُودُ هُوَ اللَّهُ وَ الْمُصْطَفَى رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَ الْقُرْآنُ كَلَامُ اللَّهِ وَ الْجَنَّةُ رِضْوَانُ اللَّهِ
- (٢) عَمَرَ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ الْجَامِعَ الشَّرِيفَ فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ وَ الْقَهْرْمَانِ الْمَكْرَمِ نَزَلَ اللَّهُ فِي الْأَرْضِ عَمَى السَّنَةِ وَ الْفَرَضِ الْوَائِقِ بِتَأْيِيدِ الرَّحْمَنِ فَيُرْزَقُ شَاءَ السُّلْطَانِ خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكَهُ وَ أَبَدَ دَوْلَتَهُ
- (٣) مِنْ خَالِصِ مَالِ الْمَلِكِ الْمَعْظَمِ صَاحِبِ السَّيْفِ وَ الْقَلَمِ وَ إِلَى الْعَامِ وَ الْعِلْمِ مُتَخَرِّجِ الْخَوَاصِ اخْتِيَارَ الدَّوْلَةِ وَ الدِّينِ مَفْرَحَ السُّلْطَانِ دَوِيدَادٍ خَاصِ مَكْنَهُ اللَّهُ طَلِبًا لِلثَّوَابِ وَ كَانَ ذَلِكَ فِي الْعَاشِرِ مِنْ رَبِيعِ الْآخِرِ سَنَةِ اثْنَى وَ سِتِينَ وَ سَبْعِمِائَةٍ

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. '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.¹ The deity is Allāh, the Mustafā (lit. chosen one) is the apostle of Allāh, the *Qur'ān* is the word of Allāh, and the Paradise is the pleasure of Allāh.

(2) This noble Jāmi' mosque was built in the reign of the great king and the respected champion the shadow of Allāh on earth, the reviver of the voluntary and obligatory commands, the reliance on the support of the Beneficent Lord, Firūz Shāh the king, may Allāh 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, *Mafkharu'l-Khawāss Ikhtiyāru'd Daulat wa'd-Dīn Mufarraḥ a's-Sultānī* the royal *dawūdār*, may Allāh strengthen his position. And this was on the tenth of Rabī'u'l-Ākhar year (A.H.) seven hundred and sixtytwo (10th Rabī' II A. H. 762=17th February 1361 A.D.).

The second inscription in the Tānka mosque, the eighth of the present group, is fixed over the southern entrance² 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 *Dholqa* and supplies a valuable piece of information, namely, that the builder, Malik Mufarraḥ, held the post of the *nāib-i-iqtā'* 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.

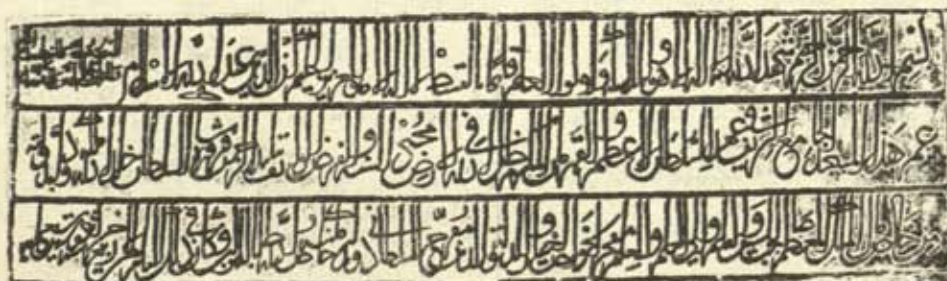
¹ *Qur'an*, chapter III, verse 17 and part of verse 18.

² *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 9.



SCALE : ·12

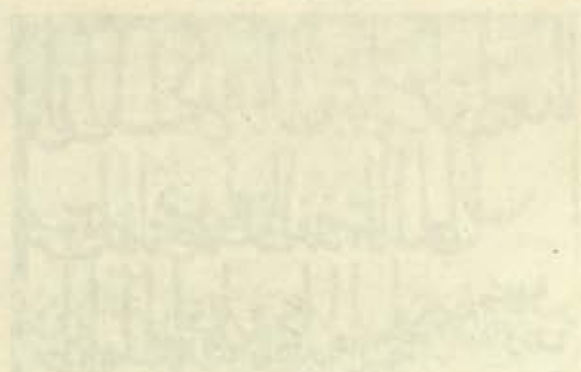
(b) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 762, from Dholka (p. 10)



SCALE : ·18

(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)

(۱) بنا کرد ست این مسجد ز فیض فضل یزدانی

بعهد دولت شاه جهان فیروز سلطانے

ز مال خالص خود مفخر الخواص و الامرا

مفرح بنده فیروز شاه اسکندر ثانی

دھم رفت از ربیع الآخر این جامع مرتب شد

بسال هفصد و شست و دو از تأیید رحمانے

(۲) بعهد سکندر زمان شهر یار جهانگیر فیروز شه نامدار

یکی مکرمی خاسته نیک نام مفرح ملک شاه را دوتدار

بنا کرده در دهولقه مسجدے بتوفیق آن قادر کردگار

(۳) ز هجرت بده هفصد و شست و دو کے این خیر شد در جهان پایدار

جز این مقام مقدس چنین عمارت خوب

ندیده دیده گیتی و چرخ سرگردان

بدور دولت فیروز شاه روی زمین

کے هست درگه او سجدگه جمله شہان

(۴) بوقت نایب اقطاع شهر کهنابیت

دگر اخص دوتدار بنده سلطان

ملک مفرح اعظم بچود حاتم طی

برزم رستم ثانی بعدل نوشیروان

تمام گشت ز فضل الہ از هجرت

بدست هفصد و شست و دو سال از دوران

TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque has been built through the bounty of Divine grace in the period of the reign of the king of the world Firūz Sulṭānī,

from his personal property by the pride of the elite and the nobles, Mufarraḥ, (who is) the servant of Firūz Shāh the second Alexander.

Ten days had passed from Rabī' 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 Mufarraḥ, the *dawtdār* (royal inkstand-bearer) to the king.

He constructed in Dholga 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 *nāib* (deputy) of the *iqṭā'* (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 Mufarraḥ 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 (*gach*) 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)

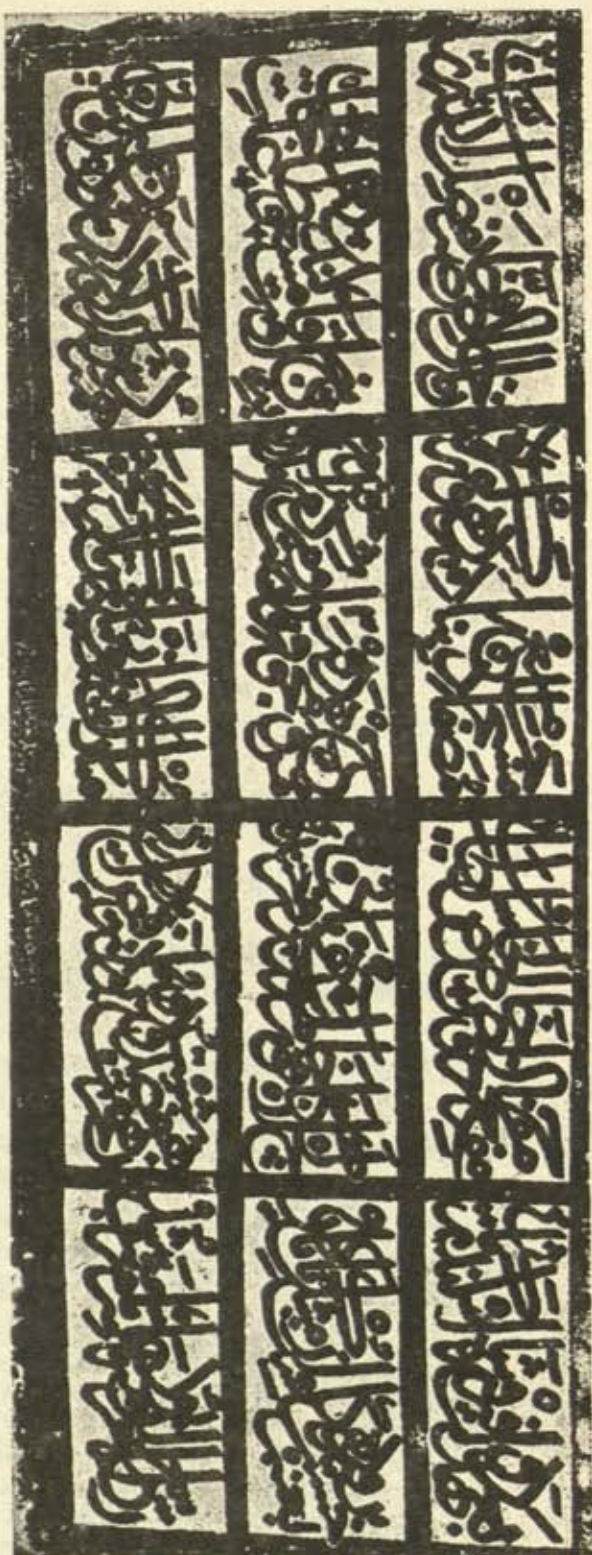
(۱) بعهد دولت فیروز شاه اسکندر ثانی

مفرح مفخر الخواص خاص الخاص سلطانے

مصفا مسجد جامع بنا در دهولہ کر:

زمال خالص و خاصہ بفضل اللہ ربانے

¹ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 10.

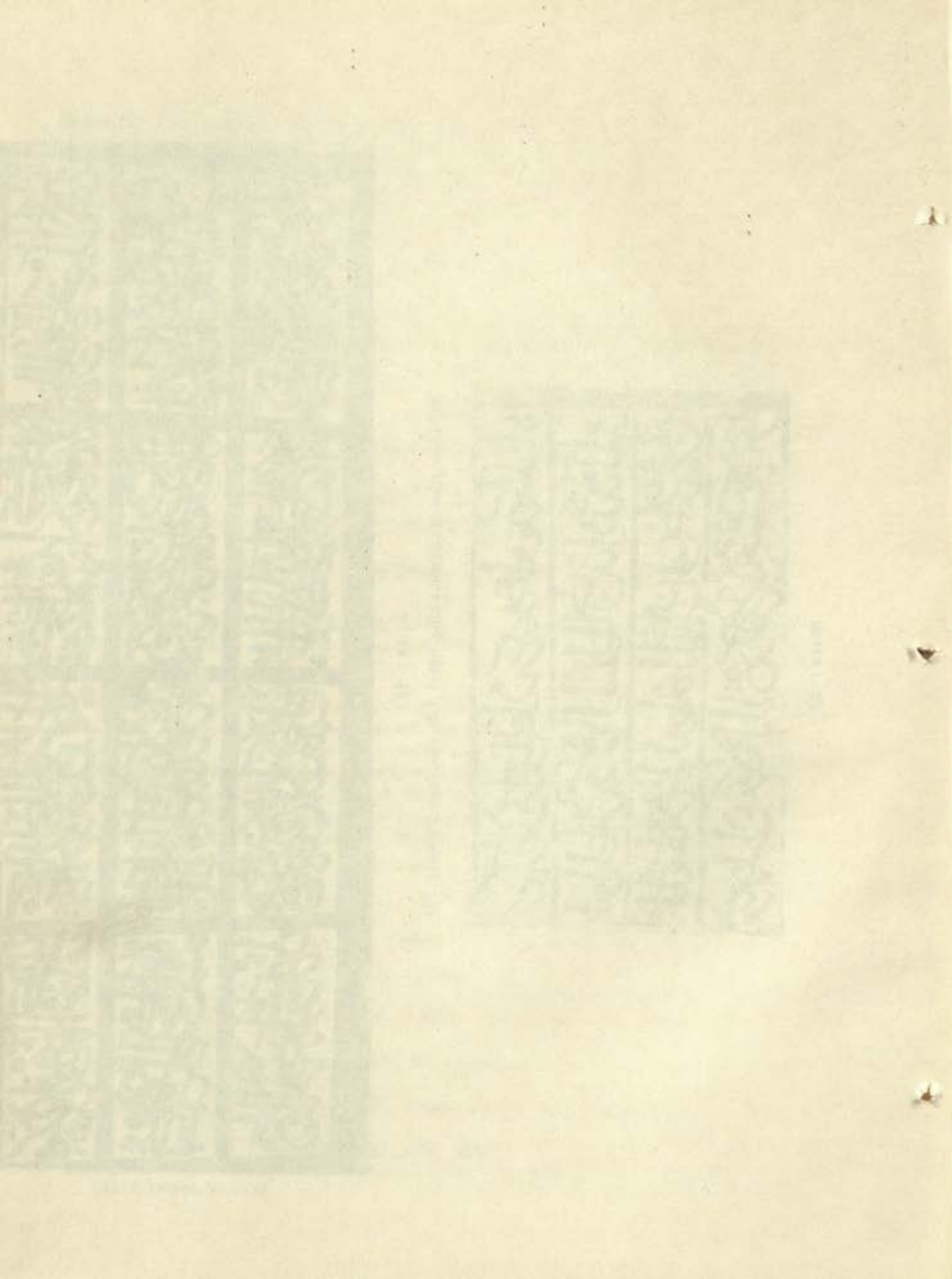


SCALE : '18

(b) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 765, from Patan (p. 15)



SCALE : '22



- (۲) بعنبرخشت پرورده گلست از مشک تاتاری
 کچ از کافور خام امد زه فرخنده بانی
 مروح همچو فردوس است و مردم اندرش خورم
 به پنج اوقات مشغولند ے طاعات ربانی
 (۳) ربیع الآخر از مه بود عاشر تا مرتب شد
 ز هجرت هفصد و شست و دو بود از فیض یزدانی
 مبارک باد بر بانی بنامش تا که محشر
 همه دشوار رد گردد شود پس جمله آسانی
 (۴) نبشته بنده یعقوب این صفات مسجد جامع
 بعهد دولت فیروز شاهنشاه سلطانی

TRANSLATION

(1) In the period of the reign of Firūz Shāh the second Alexander, Mufarraḥ, the pride of the elite, the favourite of the favourites of the king,

constructed in Dholqa a refined Jāmi' mosque exclusively out of his personal money through the bounty of Allāh 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 Rabī' II and (it was) tenth (day) (and) seven hundred and sixtytwo from the Migration (of the Prophet) (10th Rabī' 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'qūb has composed (this fragment containing) the praises of the Jāmi' mosque, during the time of the rule of the emperor Firūz Sultānī.

Malik Mufarraḥ Sultānī 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-Dīn Dāmghānī.¹ He is reported next to have killed Malik Ya'qūb Sikandar Khān, the newly appointed governor, who came to

¹ Yabyā, *op. cit.*, p. 133. But Shams, *op. cit.*, p. 497, puts the date of the revolt of Dāmghānī in A.H. 782. Also Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 46, Nadvi, *op. cit.*, p. 175 and others have stated that Malik Mufarraḥ was appointed governor of Gujarat which does not seem to be correct. Yabyā who is the primary source for the event uses the word "نیابت" which does not convey the sense of governorship. It appears that Zafar Khān son of Zafar Khān Fārsī, continued as governor of Gujarat until his death in Rajab A.H. 789. It was only then that Malik Ya'qūb was given the title of Sikandar Khān and sent to Gujarat as governor to succeed Zafar Khān. Hājji Dabir, *op. cit.*, p. 898, while narrating the events of A.H. 778 in connection with Dāmghānī's death clearly states that Zafar Khān 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 Khān, son of Wajīhu'l-Mulk, who was sent to supercede him.¹ Yahyā also mentions him as *Amīr* of Cambay.²

The three epigraphs quoted above and a few more that will be described later supply important data for the career of Malik Mufarraḥ. From the above records it is clear that Malik Mufarraḥ was already a noble of first rank in A.H. 761. His *laqab* which is not mentioned in historical works was *Ikhtiyārū'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn* and he held the office of royal *dawūdār* or *dawūdār* (inkstand-bearer). He was then the deputy *muqṭi'* of the city of Cambay. According to another inscription he was the *muqṭi'* of the *iqṭā'* 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-mamālik* and *dawūdār-i-khāss*. Another inscription dated in the following year mentions him as the 'prop of the kings and ministers', *ra'is-i-mamālik*, *dawūdār-i-khāss* (p. 21). A third inscription, also from Cambay, records a few more honorific phrases and titles like *Malik-i-Mulūki' sh-Sharq*, *sipah-kash-i-zamān*, *Farḥatū'l-Mulk*, etc.³ Now since these data indicate that Malik Mufarraḥ was the *muqṭi'* of the *iqṭā'* 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?⁴ Also Yahyā is apparently misinformed when he states that Malik Mufarraḥ was also awarded the title of Farḥatū'l-Mulk in A.H. 778.⁵ If that were the case, the Cambay record of A.H. 782 mentioning him as the *muqṭi'* of the *iqṭā'* of Cambay would have certainly used that title. From the epigraphical data it appears that the title Farḥatū'l-Mulk was conferred on Malik Mufarraḥ sometime after A.H. 782 if not in, A. H. 787, the date of the third Cambay record. Also the fact that Malik Mufarraḥ enjoyed the exalted position of the *dawūdār-i-khāss* right from A.H. 761 is not mentioned in historical records.⁶

The above versified inscriptions also help us to establish the correct pronunciation of Malik Mufarraḥ's name which has been transcribed as Malik Mufriḥ by Sir Denison Ross.⁷ Incidentally it may be pointed out that none of these records refer to the title Rāstī Khān alleged to have been conferred upon Malik Mufarraḥ.⁸ Likewise, the name Nizām-i-Mufarraḥ used for him in later works is also not corroborated by the epigraphical evidence.⁹

The tenth inscription of the group is a new record of Firūz Shāh 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 Kālī-Bāzār mosque in the town.¹⁰ The inscription is evidently not *in situ*.

¹ For details of his career, see Yahyā, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 142; Hājji Dabir, *op. cit.*, pp. 900-01; Commissariat, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-49.

² Yahyā, *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 Mufarraḥ, 'Alāu'd-Dīn 'Alī. If this tablet belongs to that place it would mean that Malik Mufarraḥ had, if he did not actually belong to Konkan, some association with that region.

⁴ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 148; Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 46. Hājji Dabir, *op. cit.*, p. 898, explicitly says that Malik Mufarraḥ was given the lease of the revenue of Gujarat but the governor was Daryā Khān entitled Zafar Khān. In other words, he was the deputy of the latter.

⁵ Yahyā, *op. cit.*, Firishṭa, *op. cit.*

⁶ According to Hodīwālā, *op. cit.*, vol. II (Bombay, 1957), p. 150, as 'Mufarraḥ signifies exhilarating and is also used for any cordial or stimulant like wine, this man may have been the Sultān's cup-bearer or *sharābdār* (Butler). But this seems to be far-fetched.

⁷ Hājji Dabir, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. lxxvi.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 901, 903; Sikandar, *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* (Baroda, 1961), pp. 14, 15.

⁹ Sikandar, *op. cit.*, Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-79.

¹⁰ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 98. The mosque contains another inscription of the Rajput period (p. 2, f.n.1, *infra*).

Its text consists of four lines of writing in Persian purporting that the mosque was constructed by Malik-i-Mu'azzam Fakhru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, 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 Fakhru'd-Dīn's father Sher Khān Maḥmūd Bek, a noble of eminence under Firūz 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 *Naskh* 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)

- (۱) عمارت کرد این مسجد را در عهد خداوند عالمیناه
 (۲) ابو المظفر فیروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه
 (۳) ملك معظم فخرالدولة و الدين بن خان اعظم شیر خان محمود بک
 (۴) مرحوم طیب الله ثراه فی الرابع و العشرين من ذی الحجه سنه خمس و ستین و سبعمائه

TRANSLATION

- (1) This mosque was constructed in the reign of the lord, the shelter of the world,
 (2) Abu'l-Muzaffar Firūz Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom,
 (3) by Malik-i-Mu'azzam Fakhru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, son of Khān-i-A'zam Sher Khān Maḥmūd Bek
 (4) the deceased, may Allāh sanctify his grave, on the twentyfourth 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 (*haud*) in the enclosure of Ḥaḍrat Shāh Pīr'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 *Naskh* characters. The quality of the verse is unfortunately quite mediocre.

¹ For the career of Sher Khān Maḥmūd Bek, see Baranī, *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 Yabīā, *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.

³ ARIE, 1954-55, No. C, 120.

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 Fārsī,³ as having constructed a mosque in 1367 A.D. It further states that Zafar Khān's name and popular name (*laqab*) were Muḥammad and Tāj⁴ respectively and that he was from Fārs.⁵ It also records the fact that he was awarded the title Zafar Khān by Firūz Shāh.⁶

Its text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate V (b)

(۱) هو العلم

(۲) بعهد دولت فرخنده شهنشه عصر	خدايگان فلک منزلت سليمانجاء
(۳) ابو المظفر فيروز شاه جم تمكين	جهان پناه زحل بارگه ظل الام
(۴) بملك او همه بقعات خير شد معمور	بسلك طاعتش اصحاب دين بذروه ماه
(۵) بچهاده ز به روزه سال هفصد شست	بران ز (?) هشت زيادت كه بنده درگاه
(۶) محمد اسم و لقب تاج نسبت ؟ از فارس	خطاب كرده ظفرخان ز لطف حضرت شاه
(۷) [۱] میدوار از مراد شه ؟ از برای نماز	بناء كرده بتوفيق اين (?) مصلاكم
(۸) همیشه باد اباد اين عمارت خير	كه هست حسن عمل تا بود سپهر دوتاه (?)

(۹) آمين رب العالمين

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-Muẓaffar Firūz Shāh of Jam-like strength, the shelter of the world whose audience-hall is Saturn and (who is) the shadow of Allāh—
- (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 Bhavnagari* (Bhavnagar, 1879), p. 3.

³ For Zafar Khān, see Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 583; *Shams*, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-142, 156, 158, 162, 206-07, 225, 133-35; Yabīyā, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 131; etc.

⁴ Yabīyā, *op. cit.*, is the only author who gives the name of Zafar Khān but in the printed text, p. 126, his name Muḥammad is followed by the word 'کر'.

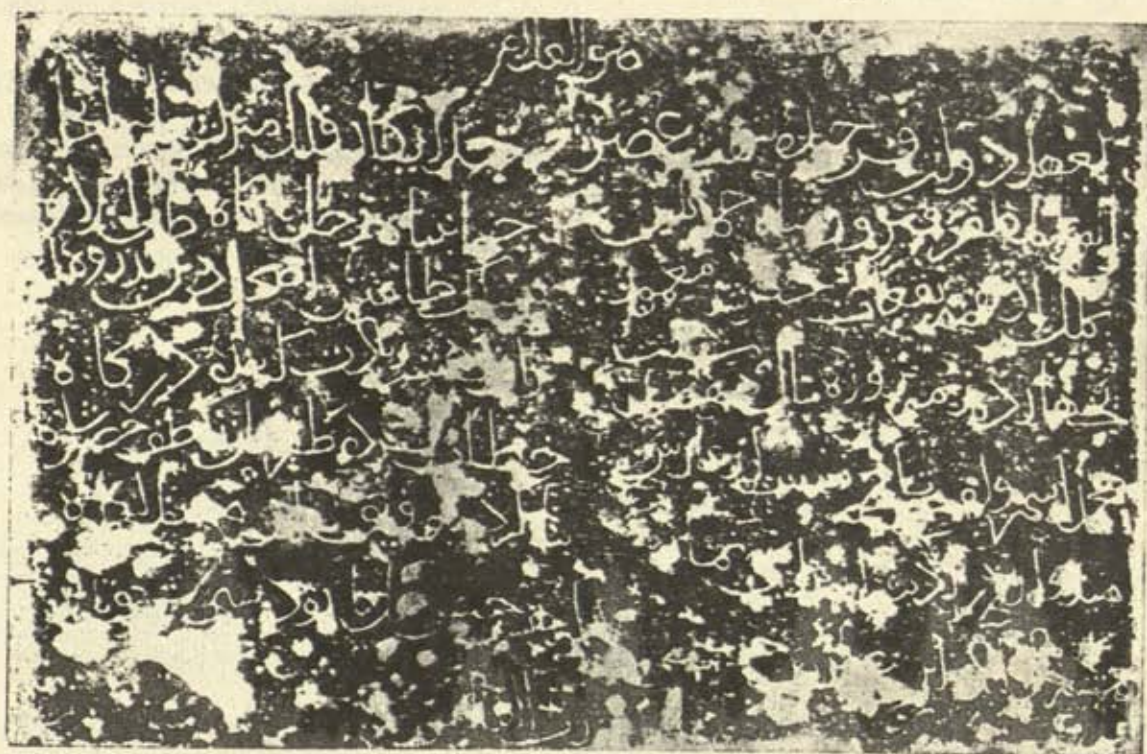
⁵ Fārs is a province in south Iran.

⁶ Cf. *Shams*, *op. cit.*, p. 141.



SCALE : 2

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



Scale : 20



(5) (it was) on the fourteenth of the month of Fasting (i.e. Ramaḍān) in the year (A.H.) seven hundred sixty and in addition eight (14th Ramaḍān 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 Kapadwanj¹ in District Kaira and is another unpublished record of Firūz 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 Jāmi' mosque of the town.² The record consists of three verses in Persian and states that in the reign of Firūz 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 Khattāṭ, the scribe of the text and of Ḥusām, son of 'Imād, the supervisor of the construction.

Another remarkable aspect of this record is its style of writing which is bold *Nasḥ* 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 (a)

(۱) بهمد همایون فیروز شاه	که از فضل حق باد دایم یکام
(۲) ظفر خان اعظم بتوفیق حق	ز بهر عبادت بکرد این مقام
(۳) سده اثنی و سبعین و سبعمایه	شد این مسجد جنت آسا تمام

In the left border.

کتب العبد عثمان کمال خطاط غفر الله له و لجميع المسلمين و بکار فرمائی حسام عماد

TRANSLATION

(1) In the blessed reign of Firūz 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).

¹ For an account of Kapadwanj 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) Kamāl the *khattāf* (calligrapher), may Allāh forgive him and all the Muslims, and under the supervision of Ḥusām (son of) 'Imād.

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 *mihrāb* of the Khirnī mosque at Dholka.¹ 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 *Sharafu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Suhrāb Zafar Khānī*, the *sarpardadār*. 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 Ṭānka mosque inscription set up four years earlier (p. 10).

The style of writing of the record is *Naskh* 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)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا غير هذا المسجد الشريف الملك المعظم المكرم بعون غياث رباني اعني مفخر الخواص
(٢) شرف الدوله و الدين سهراب ظفر خانے سرپرده دار مكنه الله طلبا للثواب في عهد السلطان الاعظم و القهرمان المعظم ظل الله في الارض محي السنه و الفرض
(٣) الواثق بتأييد الرحمن ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و ابد دولته و ذلك في التاريخ الخامس عشر من المحرم سنة خمس و سبعين و سبعمائه قال عليه السلام المساجد بيوت المتقين

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, 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 *Mafkharu'l-Khawās*

(2) *Sharafu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Suhrāb Zafar Khānī*, *sarpardadār*, 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 Beneficent, Abu'l-Muzaḥfir Firūz Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and make his rule last for ever. And this took place on the fifteenth of

¹ *ASIN*, 1954-55, No. C, 11.

² *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18,



SCALE : .17



SCALE : .16



Muḥarram, year (A. H.) seven hundred and seventyfive (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 *sarpardadār* (chief curtain-bearer) and his title was *Sharafu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn*. 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 *mihrāb* of the mosque situated in the Qāḍiwāda 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 *mihrāb* 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'llāh, son of Jamālu'd-Dīn, son of Sa'du'd-Dīn Hariwī.⁴ It also mentions Malik Mufarraḥ Sultānī, entitled *Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn* and holding the post of *dawūdār-i-khāss*, as the *muqṭi* of the *iqṭā'* 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 *Nasḥ* with strong *Riqā'* and *Thulṭh* 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)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَ إِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا وَ قَالَ عَلَيْهِ
السَّلَامُ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ وَ لَوْ كَمِفْصَحِ قِطَاعَةٍ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ
(۲) بَارِئِ جَلِّ وَ عَلَا بِرُكْتِ حَضْرَتِ رَسَالَتِ عَلَيْهِ أَفْضَلُ الصَّلَاةِ وَ أَكْمَلُ التَّحِيَّاتِ عِمَارَتِ
مَسْجِدِ دُرِّ عَهْدِ هَمَايُونِ وَ أَيَّامِ مَيْمُونِ خَدَاوَنْدِ عَالَمِ سُلْطَانِ عَادِلِ أَبُو الْمُظَفَّرِ
(۳) فَيَرْوِزُ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ كَيْ خَيْرِ الْعُهُودِ وَ الْأَزْمَانِ بِحُكُومَةِ اخْتِيَارِ الدَّوْلَةِ
وَ الدِّينِ مَلِكِ مُفْرَحِ سُلْطَانِ دَوِيدَارِ خَاصِ وَ رُئِيسِ مَمَالِكِ وَ

¹ There is no unanimity among the historians about Zafar Khān's date of death. See Hodiwālā, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

² *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 50; *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle (PRWC)*, 1919-20, p. 58.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. D, 49, 51, 52.

⁴ *PRWC*, *op. cit.*, gives *Harnavī*. 'Harnavī' is one belonging to 'هَرِيَوِ', ancient name of Hirāt now in Afghanistan.

⁵ *Ibid.* has 'Dābdār'.

(۴) مقطع اقطاع کهنبايت اعلى الله درجته بنده اميدوار برحمت پروردگار عبدالله بن
مرحوم جمال الدين بن مغفور سعدالدين هريوى را ميسر گردانيد بمنه و كرمه
(۵) في الغره من شهر المبارك رمضان عمت برکاته سنه اثنين و ثمانين و سبعمائة
الهجرية النبوية حامداً لله و مصلياً على رسوله

TRANSLATION

(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 nest of the *Qaṭāt* 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 Jamālu'd-Dīn, son of the pardoned Sa'du'd-Dīn Hariwī (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-Muẓaffar Firūz Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, during the governorship of Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Malik Mufarraḥ Sultānī the *dawūdār-i-khāss* and *ra'is-i-mamālik* and *muqti* (i.e. governor) of the *iqṭā'* (i.e. district) of *Khambāyat* (i.e. Cambay), may Allāh elevate his position,

(5) on the first of the blessed month of Ramaḍān, may its bounty be universal, of the Hijra year of the Prophet seven hundred and eightytwo (1st Ramaḍān 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 Hariwī, the builder of the mosque.

The fifteenth inscription of this study is fixed into the 'Idgah at Cambay.¹ Engraved in ordinary but bold *Nasḥ* 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 'Idgāh in 1381-82 A. D. during the reign of Firūz Shāh by Malik Mufarraḥ Sultānī who has been already mentioned in the preceding lines.

The text has been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate VII (a)

(۱) در عهد سلطان اعظم بادشاه معظم مالک رقاب الامم ظل الله فی العالم ابو المظفر
فیروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه
(۲) بنی کرد این نمازگاه عید امیر کبیر موید مفخر الملوک و الامرا عمدة السلاطین
و الوزرا ذو المناقب و المحامد

¹ Qur'dn, 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. 66.

(۳) [اختیار الدولة و الدین] ملک مفرح سلطانی دوتدار خاص و رئیس ممالک اعلى

الله رفعتہ و ابد دولته سنہ ثالث و ثمانین و سبعماية

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the great king, the illustrious ruler, the lord of the necks of nations, the shadow of Allāh on the earth, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Firūz Shāh, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom,

(2) this place of 'Id-prayers (*namāz-gāh-i-'Id*) 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) *Ikhtiyārū'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Malik Mufarraḥ Sultānī dawūdār*, i.e. *dawūdār-i-khāss* and *ra'īs-i-mamālik*, may Allāh 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 Sultānī 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 *mihrāb* of the Fath-Masjid or Tekrewālī-Masjid as it is now called, at Parantij² in Sabarkantha district.³ This epigraph is yet another unpublished record of Firūz Shāh 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 Firūz Shāh. 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 Hammū, son of Dūdā Sūmara, who from circumstantial evidence appears to be none other than the so-called Hamīr, the last of the Sūmara 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 Sūmaras and their decline and displacement by the Sammas is still shrouded in vagueness, reliable contemporary evidence, in particular a letter from 'Ainu'l-Mulk-i-Māhrū to the governor of Gujarat, has been cited to show that the Sūmaras were finally overpowered in the early years of the reign of Firūz Tughluq.⁴ In his letter, 'Ainu'l-Mulk, the contemporary governor of Multan, refers to the calamities that had befallen the last Sūmara king whose name is transcribed as Hamīr, and the patronage and the generous care bestowed on him by the Gujarat governor whose brother Malik Ruknu'd-Dīn Ḥasan was entrusted with the proper care of the deposed Sūmara ruler by Firūz Tughluq.⁵ However, the place where the Sūmara 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 Sūmara chief was allotted a fief in Gujarat. In any case, the epigraph indicates that in A. H. 784 (1382 A. D.) Hammū Sūmara 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 Parantij, 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 Hammūd and the date A. H. 884.

⁴ Riyāzu'l-Islām, 'The Rise of the Sammas in Sind', *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, vol. XXII, pp. 359-82. 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 Hammū and the tribal name Sūmara. As we know, the last name of the Sūmara king is recorded in historical works as Hamir or Hāmīr.¹ The correct spelling of the name as inscribed in our record is Hammū. Likewise, as regards Sūmara, Riyāzu'l-Islām states that 'Sumera is written as Sumira (سمره), Sumēra (سميره) and Sumērā (سميرا) I have followed Sumera.'² The spelling of this word is clearly written "سومره" 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 'hā' is even today pronounced ā as in Urdu. The pronunciation 'Sūmarā' 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 *Tughlā* 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 coincidental 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.³

The text of the record has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate VII (c)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ قَالَ اللّٰهُ تَعَالٰی وَاِنَّ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلّٰهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللّٰهِ اَحَدًا اَیْنَ

یَقَعْدَ شَرِیْفٌ بِنَا كَرْدَه هَمُو دودا سومره

(۲) دَر عَهْدِ فِرُوز شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ خَلَدَ اللّٰهُ مَلِكَه دَر مَاهِ مَبَارَكِ رَمَضَانَ مِنْهُ اَرْبَعٌ وَ

ثَمَانِیْنَ وَ سَبْعَمَایَه وَ اللّٰهُ اَعْلَمُ بِالْصَّوَابِ

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.'⁴ This noble edifice was constructed by Hammū, (son of) Dūdā Sūmara

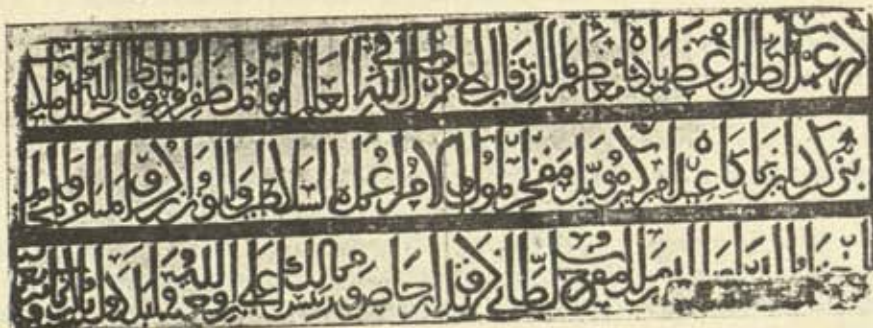
(2) in the reign of Firūz Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, in the auspicious month of Ramaḍān of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and eightyfour (Ramaḍān A.H. 784= November-December 1382 A.D.). And Allāh knows the truth best.

¹ Islām. *op. cit.*, pp. 361, 362; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

² *Ibid.*, p. 360 f.n.

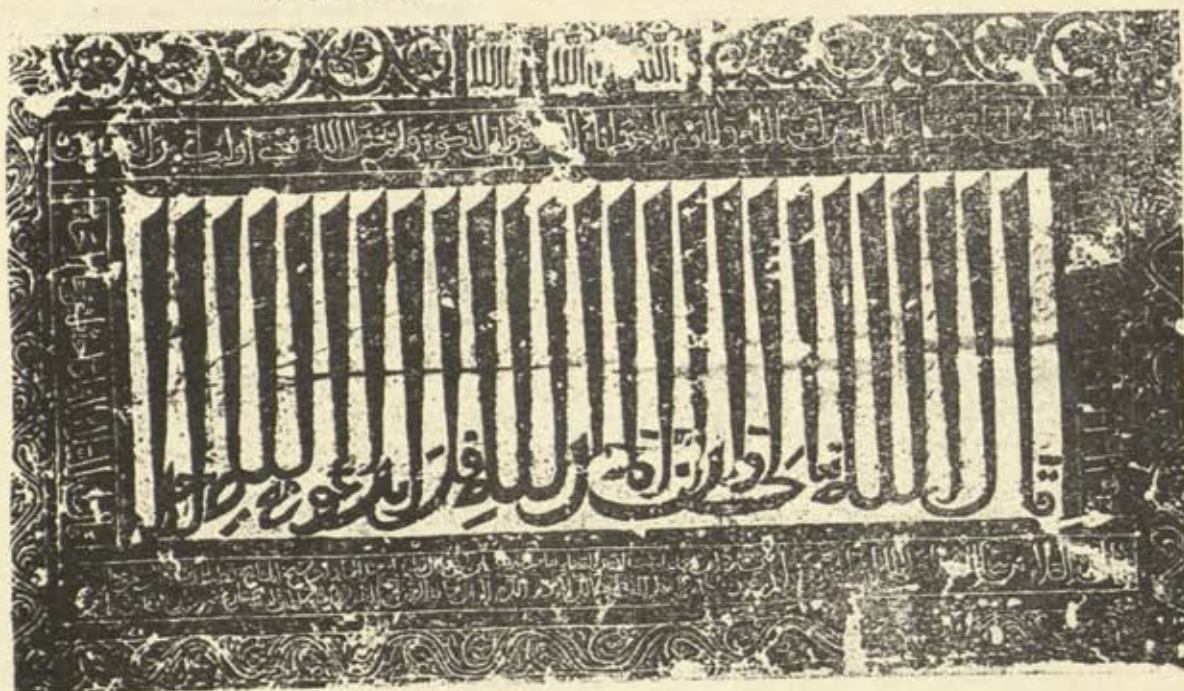
³ *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 2-3.

⁴ *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.



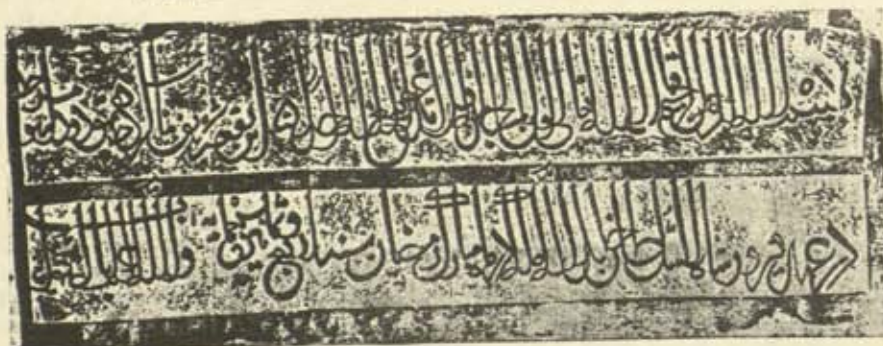
SCALE : '09

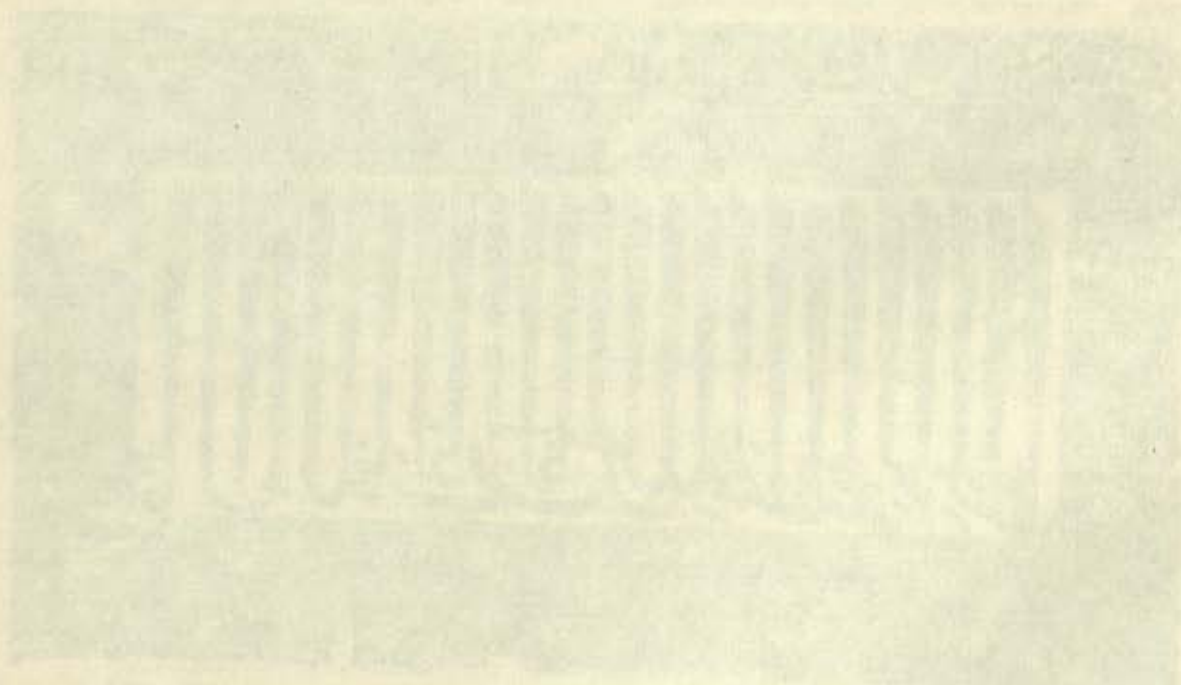
(b) Epigraph of the same king, dated A.H. 784, from Maugrol (p. 23)



SCALE : '2

(c) Another record of Firūz, dated A.H. 784, from Parantij (p. 22)





The seventeenth epigraph of the series also dated in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq is not without palaeographical interest. The inscriptional tablet measuring 94 by 50 cm. is fixed over the central *mihrāb* of a very neat little mosque called Raḥmat-Masjid, situated to the north-east of the town of Mangrol, capital of the erstwhile state of the same name¹ and now a *tāluka* headquarters in the Junagadh district.² The text and translation of this record were first published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, but they are not free from mistakes. For example, the name and designation of the builder have been respectively read there as 'Qāḍī al-Quṭb' and 'Afdalu'l-Quḍāt' instead of 'Qāḍī Jalāl Quṭb' and 'Aqda'l-Quḍāt'. The name of the scribe 'Umar bin Ādam' 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 Raḥmat-Masjid was built by the chief of the Qāḍīs, Qāḍī Jalāl, son of Quṭb, in memory of the celebrated saint Jalālū'd-Dīn Bukhārī commonly known as Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jahāngasht, 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 :

بَا اللّٰهْ يَا اللّٰهْ يَا اللّٰهْ

ii Bottom side :

قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر و اقام الصلوة و آتى الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسى اولئك [ان يكونوا] من المهتدين

(b) In the centre.

قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(c) Side borders.

i Right panel :

قال عليه السلام الدنيا ساعة فاجعلها طاعة

ii Left panel :

قال عليه السلام الدنيا داحة ليس فيها راحة

¹ For an account of Mangrol, its buildings and inscriptions, see *BG*, vol. VIII, pp. 542-43; *PRWC*, 1998-99, pp. 15-16; *Commissariat*, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-77; *ELAPS*, 1953 and 54, pp. 54, 57, 59; etc.

² *ARIE*, 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 بنى لله مسجدا بنى الله له فى الجنة قصرا بنى كرد اين مسجد
رحمت اقضى القضاة صاحب الخير و الحسنات قاضى جلال قطب باسم سيد السادات شيخ المشايخ
قطب الاولياء جلال الحق و الشرع و الدين در عهد سلطان الاعظم المعظم مالک الجود و
الكرم الواثق بتايد الرحمن ابو المظفر فيروز شاه سلطان خلد ملكه بتاريخ شهر سنه اربع و
ثمانين و سبعمائه كتب شيخ عمر ابن آدم

TRANSLATION

(a) i. O Allāh! O Allāh! O Allāh!

ii. Allāh the Exalted says, 'Only he shall visit the mosques of Allāh, who believes in Allāh and in the Final Day (i.e. day of Judgment), establishes prayers, gives alms and fears none but Allāh; so (as for these) they would be among the followers of the right course.'¹

(b) Allāh the Exalted says, 'And verily, mosques are for Allāh only; hence invoke not (therein) any one else with Allāh.'²

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

ii. (The Prophet), may (Allāh'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 Allāh, Allāh builds for him a palace in Paradise.' This Raḥmat mosque was constructed by the *aqḍā'l-quḍāt* (i.e. chief of the judges), master of bounty and good actions, Qāḍī Jalāl (son of) Quṭb in the name of *Sayyidu's-sādāt* (i.e. chief of the elites), *Shaiḫu'l-mashāikh* (i.e. learned among the learned), *Quṭbu'l-awliyā* (i.e. pivot among the saints), Jalālu'l-Ḥaḳ wa'sh-Shar' wa'd-Dīn 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-Muẓaffar Firūz Shāh, the sultān, may (Allāh) 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 *Shaiḫ* 'Umar, son of Ādam.

About Qāḍī Jalāl, son of Quṭb, the builder of the mosque³ we do not possess any information. In the inscription he is mentioned as chief of the Qāḍīs, but it is difficult to verify whether he actually held that post or the title is merely honorific. It is probable that he held the post of a Qāḍī, if not of the province, at least of the region. Likewise, the identity of *Shaiḫ* 'Umar, son of Ādam, who copied this record on the stone cannot be established.

The eighteenth inscription of this series also belongs to the reign of Firūz Shāh and was published in the *Corpus*.⁴ Now set up to the right of the pulpit in the Jāmi' mosque at Mangrol,⁵

¹ *Qur'ān*, chapter IX, verse 18.

² *Ibid.*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

³ According to Nadvi, *op. cit.*, 'the saint Maḥdūm Jahāniyān Jalālu'd-Dīn came to Mangrol at about this time and must have constructed this mosque, as the Jāmi' 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. 167, also gives a Gujarati translation.

⁵ *ARIE* 1954-55. No. C, 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.¹ According to some, the epigraph belonged to the Jāmi' 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.² But the truth of this statement could not be ascertained. It may be worthwhile to point out that the Jāmi' 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.³

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 Firūz Shāh through the efforts of 'Izzu'd-Dīn, son of Ārāmshāh. The date of completion is 1383-84 A.D. The style of writing is *Nasikh* 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 'ع' in line 2 and 'د' and 'ج' in the second hemistich of line 7.

The inscription reads as follows.—

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(۲) قَالَ اللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى وَ إِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ تَهْ فَلَا تَدْعُوا [۱] مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدَ

(۳) در عهد خسروی که جهان پیش درگش	سر بر زمین نهاده چو خاکند در رهش
(۴) فیروز شاه شاه جهان گیر و دین پناه	بنیاد کفر زو شده اندر کل تباه
(۵) نور چراغ شرع ازو یافته ضیا	در عهد دولتش که مباداش انزوا
(۶) بنیاد این مقام شد از فضل کردگار	از سعی عزالدین بن ارامشه بکار
(۷) اتمام هم بدولت عهدش شد این مقام	امیدش انک عفوگناش بود تمام
(۸) از سال هجرت نبوی بود هفتصد	هشتاد پنج گشته برو زاید از عدد
(۹) یارب ز فضل و عون خودش عفوکن تمام	بانیش را گناه بکونین و السلام

(۱۰) بِغَطِّ الْعَبْدِ الضَّعِيفِ الرَّاجِي إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى طَاهِرِ عُثْمَانَ جُمْهُرِي

TRANSLATION

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

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) Allāh the most Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence invoke not any one else with Allāh.'¹

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

(4) Firūz Shāh, 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 *shar'* (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-Dīn, son of Ārāmshah;

(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 Allāh, Tāhir (son of) 'Uthmān Ja'farī.

The identity of 'Izzu'd-Dīn, son of Ārāmshah is difficult to establish. The contemporary and later reliable historical works do not mention this particular person. One Malik 'Izzu'd-Dīn Hājī, the *dabīr* (secretary) is mentioned by Baranī in his list of nobles of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh and Firūz Shāh.² 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 Firūz Tughluq. Nor can he be identical with one Malik 'Izzu'd-Dīn Yaḥyā mentioned by Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī, as having received the title A'zamū'l-Mulk at the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh's accession.³ According to some, Malik 'Izzu'd-Dīn, son of Ārāmshah was the local governor.⁴ But this statement seems to have been made on the basis of the present record only. The scribe of the inscription, Tāhir, son of 'Uthmān Ja'farī, is also an unknown figure.

The nineteenth inscription, another new record of Firūz Tughluq, is carved on a tablet, measuring 50 by 30 cms., fixed over the pulpit of the mosque in the Undipet Maḥalla at Cambay.⁵ It refers to the construction of a mosque in 1385 A.D. during the administration of Malik-i-Mulūki'sh-Sharq Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Farḥatu'l-Mulk Malik Mufarraḥ Sultānī by Aḥmad, son of Wajīh, son of Ḥasan al-Quraishī. The language of the record is Persian and the text is executed in a mixture of *Naskh*, *Thulth* and *Riqā'* 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 Qāḍīwāda mosque inscription (pl. VIIb), executed only seven years earlier and also set up during the governorship of Malik Mufarraḥ. The similarity does not end here; the text of the two records is to a large extent identical.

¹ Qur'ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

² Baranī, *op. cit.*, pp. 455 (where 'دينی' is obviously a misprint for 'دير'), 528.

³ 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī, *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1868), p. 226.

⁴ *BG*, *op. cit.*, pp. 285, 543; *Commissariat*, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁵ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 56.

This inscription is also important in that it is the earliest and the only known record using the title *Farḥatū'l-Mulk* with the name of Malik Mufarraḥ and omitting his usual titles *dawīdār-i-khāss* and *ra'is-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)

(۱) بادی جل و علا برکت حضرت رسالت علیه السلام بنے (بنائے ؟) مسجد در عہد
ہمایون و ایام میمون بادشاہ ربع مسکون الوائق بتائید الرحمن
(۲) ابو المظفر فیروز شاہ السلطان خلد ملکہ کے خیر العہود و الازمانست بحکومت ملک
ملوک الشرق اختیار الدولة و الدین
(۳) قاع الکفرہ و المشرکین قاع الفجرہ و المتمردين سپہکش زمان اخص الخواص
اشرف اہل الاختصاص فرحت الماک ملک مفرح سلطان
(۴) بندہ امیدوار برحمت پروردگار احمد بن وجیہ بن حسن القریشی را میسر گردانید بمنہ
و کرمہ فی الغرہ من المحرم سنہ سبع و ثمانین و سبعماید

TRANSLATION

(1-4) God, may He be glorified and exalted, through the blessings of (His) holy messenger, may (Allāh'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 Wajīh, son of Ḥasan al-Quraishī 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-Muzaffar Firūz Shāh the king, may (Allāh) perpetuate his kingdom (and) during the governorship of Malik-i-Mulūki'sh-Sharq Ikhtiyārū'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, 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, Farḥatū'l-Mulk Malik Mufarraḥ Sultānī, on the first of Muḥarram, year seven hundred and eightyseven (1st Muḥarram A.H. 787=12th February 1385 A.D.).

Ahmad son of Wajīh Quraishī, the builder of the mosque, is not known to us.

The twentieth inscription of the group is yet another record of Firūz Shāh. The tablet bearing this epigraph measures 45 by 66 cm. and is built up in the wall to the left of the central *mihrāb* of the Junī 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 (*ṣadrū'l-akābir*)

¹ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 152; *CIB. op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

Muhammad 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, Muhammad Khwāja Faridu'd-Dīn-i-Kalān, was a disciple of the famous Chishtī saint Shaikh Naṣīru'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 Muhammad Khwāja, who is described as the uncle of Ḥaḍrat Raḍī?, a companion of Maliku'sh-Sharq Shamsu'd-Dīn Firūz?, *shah-nabek* 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 *Nasakh* 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.

- (۱) و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعو [۱] مع الله اخدا - بناء مسجد محمد خواجه فریدالدین کلان؟ یکی از مریدان الشیخ نصیر الدین پناهی چشتیان
- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (۲) بعهد دولت شاهی کے شاہان | ستادہ بر درس انعام خواہان |
| (۳) شہ فیروز کاندہ داد و عدلش | نداند ظلم را کس نام و نشان |
| (۴) امید دولتش جن و بشر را | بذاتش مشہور وصف سلیمان |
| (۵) جہانداری چنین و ہم جہانگیر | ندیدہ کس بدہر از نسل انسان |
| (۶) خدایا داریش دایم سلامت | یگیتی تا مہ و مہر ست تابان |
| (۷) بناء این مبارک مسجد نو | بمیعون ساعت و اکرام سبحان |
| (۸) بسعی دولت صدر اکابر | محمد خواجه است یور (?) علی کان |
| (۹) بذاتش فضل و بذل از حد بیرون | عطای خو (ی) او بیرون امکان |
| (۱۰) صفا و لطف او بیرون مقدار | بہر یک در جہان او کردہ احسان |
| (۱۱) زا و صاف کمالش خود چہ گویم | وزیر مملکت شاید بساطان |
| (۱۲) ز هفصد بود تاریخش بہشتاد | فزودہ ہفت دیگر بر سر آن |

¹ This is engraver's mistake for 'تا'.

1. The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the history of the subject.	2. The second part is devoted to a detailed study of the various theories of the subject.
3. The third part is devoted to a study of the various methods of the subject.	4. The fourth part is devoted to a study of the various applications of the subject.
5. The fifth part is devoted to a study of the various results of the subject.	6. The sixth part is devoted to a study of the various conclusions of the subject.
7. The seventh part is devoted to a study of the various problems of the subject.	8. The eighth part is devoted to a study of the various questions of the subject.
9. The ninth part is devoted to a study of the various theories of the subject.	10. The tenth part is devoted to a study of the various methods of the subject.
11. The eleventh part is devoted to a study of the various applications of the subject.	12. The twelfth part is devoted to a study of the various results of the subject.
13. The thirteenth part is devoted to a study of the various conclusions of the subject.	14. The fourteenth part is devoted to a study of the various problems of the subject.
15. The fifteenth part is devoted to a study of the various questions of the subject.	16. The sixteenth part is devoted to a study of the various theories of the subject.
17. The seventeenth part is devoted to a study of the various methods of the subject.	18. The eighteenth part is devoted to a study of the various applications of the subject.
19. The nineteenth part is devoted to a study of the various results of the subject.	20. The twentieth part is devoted to a study of the various conclusions of the subject.
21. The twenty-first part is devoted to a study of the various problems of the subject.	22. The twenty-second part is devoted to a study of the various questions of the subject.
23. The twenty-third part is devoted to a study of the various theories of the subject.	24. The twenty-fourth part is devoted to a study of the various methods of the subject.
25. The twenty-fifth part is devoted to a study of the various applications of the subject.	26. The twenty-sixth part is devoted to a study of the various results of the subject.
27. The twenty-seventh part is devoted to a study of the various conclusions of the subject.	28. The twenty-eighth part is devoted to a study of the various problems of the subject.
29. The twenty-ninth part is devoted to a study of the various questions of the subject.	30. The thirtieth part is devoted to a study of the various theories of the subject.
31. The thirty-first part is devoted to a study of the various methods of the subject.	32. The thirty-second part is devoted to a study of the various applications of the subject.
33. The thirty-third part is devoted to a study of the various results of the subject.	34. The thirty-fourth part is devoted to a study of the various conclusions of the subject.
35. The thirty-fifth part is devoted to a study of the various problems of the subject.	36. The thirty-sixth part is devoted to a study of the various questions of the subject.
37. The thirty-seventh part is devoted to a study of the various theories of the subject.	38. The thirty-eighth part is devoted to a study of the various methods of the subject.
39. The thirty-ninth part is devoted to a study of the various applications of the subject.	40. The fortieth part is devoted to a study of the various results of the subject.
41. The forty-first part is devoted to a study of the various conclusions of the subject.	42. The forty-second part is devoted to a study of the various problems of the subject.
43. The forty-third part is devoted to a study of the various questions of the subject.	44. The forty-fourth part is devoted to a study of the various theories of the subject.
45. The forty-fifth part is devoted to a study of the various methods of the subject.	46. The forty-sixth part is devoted to a study of the various applications of the subject.
47. The forty-seventh part is devoted to a study of the various results of the subject.	48. The forty-eighth part is devoted to a study of the various conclusions of the subject.
49. The forty-ninth part is devoted to a study of the various problems of the subject.	50. The fiftieth part is devoted to a study of the various questions of the subject.

(۱۳) باتمام آمد این فرخنده بنیاد خدا بانیش را بخشد حق آن
 (۱۴) بدار بی فنا و بی نهایت نعیم خلد بخشادش فراوان
 (۱۵) بعالم تا رسد دور قیامت سلامت لادرس از کید نقصان
 (۱۶) دعا کردم من و آمین ملک گفت خدا گردانیش مقرون بایمان

(b) i. Right border.

قال النبی علیه السلام من بنی مسجدا لله بنی الله له مثله [فی الجنة]

ii. Left border.

بانی مسجد محمد خواجه عم حضرت رضی ؟ یار ملک الشرق شمس الدین پیروز شهنشک ؟
 شهر و خازن ممالک هر که اید فاتحه و بدعاء ایمان برای رضاء خدا بانی را یاد کند

iii. Bottom border.

..... بنفهر جهن ؟ سنگ 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 Shaiḫ Naṣīru'd-Dīn, the mainstay of the Chishtīs.²

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

(3) viz. Shāh Firūz 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 Sadru'l-akābir (i.e. the chief among the great) Muḥammad Khwāja, who is the son of 'Ali.³

(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 Chirāgh-i-Dihlī.

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 Allāh, Allāh builds a similar one for him in Paradise'.....

ii. The builder of the mosque is Muḥammad Khwāja, uncle of Ḥadrat Raḍī?, a companion of Maliku'sh-Sharq Shamsu'd-Dīn Pīrūz, *shah-nabek*? of the city and treasurer of the kingdom..... Whoever comes may pray with *Fātiḥa* 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 Khwāja, the builder of the mosque, it transpires from the text of the epigraph—after making allowance for poetical exaggeration—that he was a learned man and probably held the office of *ṣadr*. 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 twentyfirst epigraph also belongs to the reign of Pīrūz Shāh. 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 *Darbārgadh* 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 *dargāh* near the Rāvali-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 Maḥdūmzāda Malik 'Abdu'l-Malik, son of Ḥusām, 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

¹ See *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 136-49.

² *Ibid.*, No. C, 135.

³ *CIB*, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

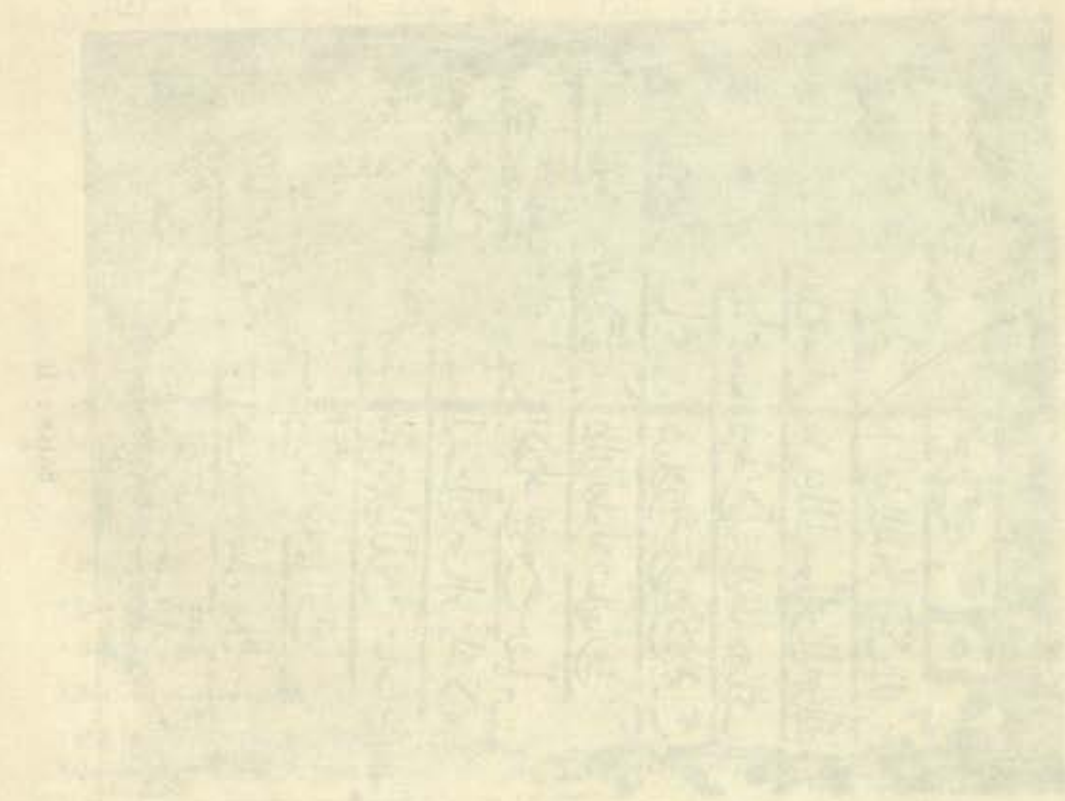
⁴ *PRWC*, 1898-99, p. 16. *Commissariat*, *op. cit.*, p. 74, also gives the gist of the inscription from the reading of the *CIB*.

⁵ These readings have been specified in the footnotes.

TABLE I
THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF THE LIFE OF A CHILD



TABLE II
THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF THE LIFE OF A CHILD

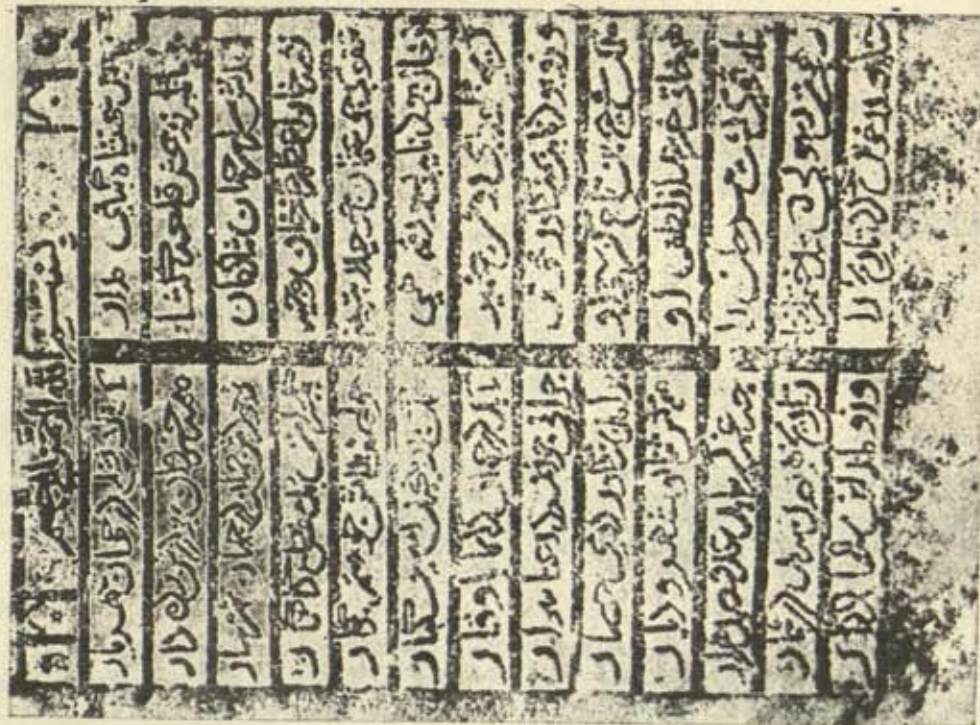


(a) Damaged record of Firūz Shāh, from Mangrol (p. 31)



SCALE : 19

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 803, from Mangrol (p. 39)



SCALE : 19

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.¹

The style of writing is *Naskh* 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)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(۲) قَالَ [اللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى وَ إِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا]

(۳) [قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ] مَنْ بَنَى لَهْ مَسْجِدًا بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ فِي الْجَنَّةِ قَصْرًا

(۴) [بَعْدَ دَوْلَتِ فِیروز] شاهی که حکمش در گرفت از ماه و ماهی

(۵) سکندر دولتی^۲ [انجم؟] سپاهی فریدون حشمتی گردون کلاهی

(۶) نسیم از [خلق او] صد بهره گیرد زلال از لطف او صد جان پذیرد

(۷) [ز] خوانش ریزه چنانی حاتم طی ز درگاهش نقیبی خسرو کی

(۸) [بسم] ی همت مخ[دوم زاده] کے هست او در سخا ابرکشاده

(۹) [ز قطراتش] کے^۳ [نیسانی بکا؟] مست ملک عبد الملک پور حسامست

(۱۰) رفت [بنا] مش که باد[ا در] بقا ع[هد]ی [تمام]ش

(۱۱) [بده] ماه ج[مادی؟] [لا]ول؟ بهشتاد شد؟^۴

(۱۲) [خدایش اجر این] بخشد بد[ادین] گناهش عفو^۵ [گرداند؟] بکونین

TRANSLATION

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

(2) Allāh the most Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; and hence invoke not any one else with Allāh'.^۶

¹ *CIB*, op. cit., p. 14.

² *Ibid.* p. 13, reads "دریا".

³ *Ibid.* reads 'نیسانی 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 ازوی' here.

⁸ *Qur'ān*, 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 Firūz—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-Tayy 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 *naisān* (spring-cloud): he is Malik 'Abdu'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 'Abdu'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 Firūz 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 indisputable 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.

¹ Z. A. Desai, 'Inscriptions of the Sultans of Gujarat from Saurashtra', *EIAPS*, 1953 and 54, p. 52.

² T. W. Haig, ed. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 294-95.

³ Desai, *op. cit.* Cf. Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

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).

⁵ *ARIE*, 1954-55, Nos. C, 40, 48, 138; *ibid.*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 67, 69.

Now we know that in A. H. 797, Zafar Khān acknowledged Nugrat Shāh in preference to Maḥmūd Shāh as his sovereign.¹ Nugrat Shāh 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 Khān continue to acknowledge the suzerainty of Nugrat Shāh is unfortunately not on record, especially as we have not come across so far any inscriptions for the years A.H. 798, 799, 800³, 801 and 802. But that even upto 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.⁴ 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 exercising regal sway at Delhi.⁵ It may be reasonably interpreted to indicate that Zafar Khān being a staunch partisan of Nugrat Shāh acknowledged his sovereignty as long as the latter's whereabouts were known. Zafar Khān, it seems, was torn between two conflicting motives: his sense of loyalty to the house of Tughluq on one hand and his preference for Nugrat Shāh and bias against Maḥmūd Shāh, on the other. It is also likely that Zafar Khān was not altogether sure about the alleged death in A.H. 802 of Nugrat Shāh 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 Khān was not certain that Nugrat Shāh was alive in A. H. 803. In other words, Zafar Khān seems to have been confronted with the dilemma as to whether Nugrat Shāh 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 Khān dated after A.H. 803 shed off the reference to the Delhi king indicates that Zafar Khān had finally reconciled himself to the generally accepted fate of Nugrat Shāh, 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 Maḥmūd Shāh who had returned to Delhi in A.H. 804 and continued to rule there. Zafar Khān's bias against Maḥmūd Shāh is also indirectly proved by the cold though courteous treatment he meted out to the latter when, having come to Gujarat after Timūr's invasion, he had sought in vain to enlist Zafar Khān'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 Khān was a partisan of Nugrat Shāh. Historical works do not throw any light on the reasons that may have prompted Zafar Khān to adopt such an attitude. It has been seen above that his son Tātār Khān was also a supporter and *wazīr* of Nugrat Shāh. Could this attitude of Zafar Khān and his son have been motivated on genealogical rather than any other grounds? We are told that Zafar Khān's father Wajīhu'l-Mulk, then Sahāran, had married his sister to Firūz Shāh Tughluq when the latter was yet a prince.⁶ If it could be established, as is likely, that Nugrat Shāh's father Faṭḥ Khān, Firuz's eldest son, was born of this wife who was Zafar Khān's aunt, this close kinship between Nugrat Shāh and Zafar Khān 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 Bihar it was Maḥmūd Shāh who commanded sovereignty (EIASP, 1951 and 52, p. 15; *ibid.*, 1961, pp. 32, 33).

² Yahyā, *op. cit.*, p. 168; Firāhta, *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 foot-notes.

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-Mahmūd Shāhī also points to this possibility. According to him, one of the main factors that prompted Muḥammad Shāh, son of Firūz Tughluq and father of Mahmūd Shāh, 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 Shāh, and the reason for this attitude could well be as suggested above.

The first of these two inscriptions being the twentysecond 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 *chopāṭa* or small room to the west of the Gādī 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 twentythree verses composed by Qādī Badr, son of Zahr.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 Nuṣrat Shāh, 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 (*ḥalqahā*) 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 *kotwāl* of the town.

The Sanskrit portion records that in the Samvat year 1452, Vaiśākha-vadi 15, Sunday, during the victorious reign of Bādshāh Nasaratha⁹ at Yōginipura, when Sri Daphara Shā(Khā)na, appointed by him was ruling in the land of Gurjara, when Thamīma-Malika-śri-Akūba, son of Rāi Multāni was conducting the *mukātī* affairs here at *Mangalapura*¹⁰ in Saurashtra, his relative Koṭ-wāla-malika-śri-Mūsī 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 Badaradīna son of Sho(Kho)ja Jēhīra. It was engraved by Sutrādhāra Vīrdhavalā, son of Sutrādhāra Rānga.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, *koṭwāl* of the town, who do not find any mention in historical works.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Mahmūd Shāhī*, photo-copy in Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Singh's library at Sitamau, M.P., f. 8.

² *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 136; *CIB*, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18. Diskalkar, *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. II (December, 1930), pp. 592-93, wrongly states that the inscription was removed to the Junagadh Museum. He also takes Nuṣrat Shāh of the record to be identical with Nāsirud-Dīn Muḥammad Tughluq.

³ *CIB*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁴ Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 74 and M. A. Chaghtāi, *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad* (Poona, 1942), p. 33, have based their observations in respect of this epigraph on the reading given in *CIB*.

⁵ Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, is wrong to assert that 'Ustād Qāzī and Malik Zabīr were expert supervisors' of the work.

⁶ *Ibid.* wrongly considers Malik Ya'qūb and Malik Tamīm 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 Nuṣrat Shāh with 'Nāsirud-Dīn Muḥammad Tughlak (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. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 246; Diskalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 593; etc.

THERAPEUTIC VALUE OF VARIOUS DRUGS IN THE TREATMENT OF ACUTE AND CHRONIC INFLUENZA			
DRUG	ACUTE INFLUENZA	CHRONIC INFLUENZA	REMARKS
Aspirin	Highly effective	Effective	Reduces fever and pain
Salicylic acid	Effective	Effective	Reduces fever and pain
Phenacetin	Effective	Effective	Reduces fever and pain
Codeine	Effective	Effective	Reduces pain and cough
Morphine	Effective	Effective	Reduces pain and cough
Antipyrine	Effective	Effective	Reduces fever and pain
Acetophenetidin	Effective	Effective	Reduces fever and pain
Salicylates	Effective	Effective	Reduces fever and pain
Antibiotics	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Vaccines	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Quinine	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Iron	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Strichnine	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Diuretics	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Laxatives	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Antacids	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Antidotes	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Antispasmodics	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Antiemetics	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Anticonvulsants	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Antidysrhythmics	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Antihypertensives	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Antidiabetics	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Anticancer drugs	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Anticancer vaccines	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Anticancer hormones	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Anticancer enzymes	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Anticancer antibiotics	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Anticancer vaccines	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Anticancer hormones	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Anticancer enzymes	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza
Anticancer antibiotics	Not effective	Not effective	No specific effect on influenza

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The text, engraved in *Naskh* characters in relief, reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XI(a)

- (۱) بعون عنايات شفاړ پاکه که شد خلقت از وی سما تا سما که
 زمین را نهاده طباقا طبق سما را معلق ورق بر ورق
 (۲) جهان بود ویرانه اباد کرد بناء کرم تا که بنیاد کرد
 محمد فرستاد بر ما رسول ز ذاتی که ذات جهان را قبول ؟
 (۳) بدوران عهد شه زورمند شده نصرتش یار و بخت بلند
 شهنشاه نصرة جهان بادشاه که عن من ؟ سرش شد سزاوار گاه
 (۴) مظفر ظفر خان اعظم وزیر بدست تماش نه ؟ پا بر سریر
 چنین گفته پیشینگان. کهن جهان دیده مردان صاحب سخن
 (۵) که در عرصه گوجرات آمري نبود و نباشد جهان ؟ داوری
 بھر شق ازو آمري سرفراز بر انداز فتنه رعیت نواز
 (۶) ز جاه و ز عزت قدم بر فلک ز پاکی ذاتش شرف بر ملک
 ملک والی عهد یعقوب نام که سورتبه بفرماندهی شاد کام
 (۷) تمیم اصل بود [ان] یل نامدار ملک ببر سینہ ؟ شیر گردون شکار
 بتوفیق ایزد بنا نو نهاد باحسان احسن کے توفیق داد
 (۸) بمنگلور حصنیست سنگین حصار کے سد سکند[ر] بود شرمسار
 فلک در بلندیت یا شیب او نه حصنی بران زینت و زیب او
 (۹) نبذ بسته ز اهن حلیقهای در ز پولاد کرده ملک سر بسر
 بھر تخته اهن دو صد من گرفت ز سر تا پپایش در اهن گرفت
 (۱۰) برادر بدس کار فرما کار ملک موسی کوتوال دیار
 که این نقش بسته بفرمان او بماند که تا نام و نشان او

(۱۱) بتاریخ هفتصد نود هفت تام ز ماه رجب چهارده شد تمام

بانشاء قاضی بدر ظہیر چنین تشریف پیدا؟ شدہ بدینظیر

(۱۲) ہر انکو بخواند دعائش کند دہد فاتحہ مرحبائش کند

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 Nugrat, the king of the world whose head is fully worthy of the throne (?),

(4) the victorious Zafar Khān 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 *shiq* (district) a commander who is the overthrower 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'qūb by name (is one such officer) under whose rule Sorath is happy ;

(7) that illustrious hero is Tamīm 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 Manglūr 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 *mans* of iron for every plank and covered it from head to foot with iron.

(10) He had a brother who looked after the execution of the work, viz. Malik Mūsā, the *kūtūāl* 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 Qādī Badr, son of Zāhīr, such an unrivalled work has come to light.

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

The other inscription of Nugrat Shāh forming the twentythird record of the group is fixed over the central *mihrāb* of the 'Idgāh in the Mosampura quarter outside the town of Ghogha in the Bhavnagar district.¹ 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 *namāzghāh* (i.e. place for 'Id prayers) in 1395 A.D. during the reign of Shamsu'd-Dīn Nugrat Shāh. It further mentions Khān-i-A'zam Zafar Khān, son of Wajihu'l-Mulk, as the governor. The name of the builder is given as Kamāl, son of Hamīd, 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 Nugrat Shāh as Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn. None of the few coins of Nugrat Shāh that have come to light contains his titles.² Among the historians, Yahyā Sarhindī, whose work is the earliest available chronicle dealing with the later Tughluqs, calls him Nāsiru'd-Dīn.³ Subsequent chroniclers like Firishṭa and others also give the same title. With coins of Nugrat 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 Nugrat Shāh had adopted the title Shamsu'd-Dīn 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 Nugrat-Panāh which must have mislead the scholars.⁴ The style of writing is fairly good *Naskh* and the text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XI(b)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(۲) و اذ جعلنا البيت مثابة للناس و امانا و اتخذوا من مقام ابراهيم مصلى

(۳) در عهد شاه اعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين نصرت شاه السلطان و بوقت خان اعظم نافر

خان بن وجیه الملک بنا کرد عمارت این نمازگاہ بخدمت امیدوار

¹ *ARIK*, 1954-55, No. C, 23. For an account of Ghogha, see *BG*, vol. IV, pp. 339-45.

² Cf. H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. II (Oxford, 1907) p. 74.

³ Yahyā, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 163, 167, 168.

⁴ *CIB*, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34, referring to the text of this inscription as noticed in *CIB* has, however, corrected the date.

(۱۴) بِرَحْمَتِ پَرُوْدگارِ کَمالِ حمیدِ خدایِ برانِ بَندُ مومنِ رَحمتِ کند که درین مقام

برسد. بِنِیمِ اُمیدوارِ دِلِ بدعایِ اِیمانِ یاد کند

(۱۵) بِتاریخِ پانزدهمِ ماهِ رَجَبِ رَجَبِ قدره سنه سَبْع و تَسمِین و سَبعمایه من هِجرَةِ النَبی

صلی الله علیه و سلم

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, 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.'¹

(3) In the reign of the great king Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh the king and during the time of Khān-i-A'zam Zafar Khān, son of Wajīhu'l-Mulk, the building of this *namāzgāh* (i.e. 'Idgāh) was constructed by the creature (who is) hopeful

(4) of the mercy of the Creator, Kamāl, son of Hamīd. 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 ninetyseven from the Migration of the Prophet, may Allāh's salutations and peace be upon him! (15th Rajab A.H. 797=6th May 1395 A.D.).

The twentyfourth 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 Khān to the house of Tughluq and his reluctance to break away completely from the Delhi authority on one hand and his preference for Nuṣrat Shāh and bias against Maḥmūd Shāh has been discussed there,² 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.³ Its original findspot is not known. This inscription was also published in the *Corpus* which gave its date as A.H. 700.⁴ Professor Commissariat following the *Bombay Gazetteer* gave the date A.H. 800⁵ 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 Khān, son of Wajīh, was *muqṭi* 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 Tāj, who constructed there a strong fort (*ḥiṣār*) in 1400-01 A.D. The inscription which runs into fourteen lines of Persian verse was composed by 'Alā, son of Ṣadr. The style of writing is *Naskh*.

¹ *Qur'ān*, chapter II, part of verse 125.

² See pp. 32-33.

³ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 137.

⁴ *CIB*, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

⁵ *Commissariat*, *op. cit.*

The record has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate X(b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) بعدد شهنشاه گیتی مدار	که مثلش نشد در جهان شهریار
(۳) جهانگیر زر بخش قلعه کشا	همه خسروان بر درس پرده دار
(۴) ز عدلش سراسر جهان شادمان	ز جودش جهان در جهان شر مسار
(۵) ز شه خان اعظم ظفر خان وجیهه	بگجرات بد مقطع کامگار
(۶) بتقوی چو عثمان چو حیدر بتیغ	چو آصف بدانش چو رستم بکار
(۷) ز خان بود نایب بسورته همی	ملک بدر بنجهل امیر کبار
(۸) کریمی نکو رای روشن ضمیر	که بد در جهان دایما باوقار
(۹) وزو بود نایب بمنگلور خوش	جوانی جوانمرد رعنا سوار
(۱۰) ملک شیخ بن تاج کز سعی او	بر آمد بمنگلور روئے حصار
(۱۱) همه خلق خرسند از لطف او	همه کس ثناگو بشهر و دیار
(۱۲) پناه قوی گشت مر خلق را	چه غم گر بیاید عدو صد هزار
(۱۳) ز هجرت رسولی که شد ختم این ؟	ز تاریخ هیصد سه بد در شمار
(۱۴) علا صدر خوش کرد تاریخ را	وزو ماند ابن سالها یادگار

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 (*parda-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 'Alī in bravery, like Āṣaf 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 Ṣadr, 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 indetical 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. SIDDIQI

The Sharqī 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 Bahlūl Lodī of Delhi. Unfortunately, very few monuments of these rulers now exist; Bahlūl's son Sikandar Lodī, prompted by rivalry and personal enmity towards Husain Shāh the last Sharqī king, is stated to have destroyed and mutilated the monuments of this dynasty. Among their prominent buildings that have survived at Jaunpur are Atāla-Masjid, Jāmi'-Masjid and Lāl Darwāza-Masjid.¹

The Sharqī 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 Bilgram and one each from Jajmau and Hathgaon. They represent the reigns of Ibrāhīm Shāh and Mahmūd Shāh.

Ibrāhīm Shāh

I. INSCRIPTION FROM BIHAR SHARIF, DISTRICT PATNA, BIHAR

Bihar was captured by the founder of the dynasty Khwāja-i-Jahān, entitled Maliku'sh-Sharq and Sultānu'sh-Sharq who established his authority within a short time over Oudh and Gangetic doāb as far west as Koil (Aligarh) and on the east into Tirhut and Bihar. On his death in A.H. 802 he left his possessions in tact 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 upto 1486 A.D.³ 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

¹ Führer, *The Sharqī Architecture of Jaunpur*, ed. James Burgess (Calcutta, 1889), pp. 4-13; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, vol. II (Bombay, 1942), pp. 43-47; Muhammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn, *The Sharqī Monuments of Jaunpur* (Allahabad, 1922); Munshi Nazir'u'd-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i-Jaunpūr*, in Urdu (Jaunpur, 1922), pp. 8-16.

² Yabyā Sirhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1931), pp. 169, 171; Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Lucknow, 1875), pp. 129, 130; Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, vol. I (Lucknow, 1884), p. 159; S.H. Askari, 'A review of Bihar during the Turko-Afghan Period', *Current Studies*, Patna, 1954, p. 17.

³ *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1961, p. 35; Diwakar, R. R., *Bihar Through the Ages* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 393.

more traceable, though it is said to have been in tact in the 16th century when Mullā Taqiā saw and recorded its full text.¹

The epigraph under study was discovered by Professor S.H. 'Askari of Patna;² it is fixed on the one-wall mosque attached to the tomb of Sayyid Muḥammad Sīwistānī, a fourteenth-century saint.³ The record is important in indicating that Ibrāhīm exercised authority over Bihar at a time when Maḥmūd Shāh 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.⁴ 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 Sharqī inscription is not *in situ* and was brought from some other place.⁵ On the same analogy, Maḥmūd'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 Ibrāhīm's record does not belong to the place where it is found, the Sharqī 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 Sharqī rulers. It is also worthwhile to remember that Maḥmūd'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 Sharqī ruler, on the other hand, was asserting his authority, having offered, in 1405-06 A.D., successful resistance to the Delhi authority represented by Iqbāl Khān who had attempted to oust him from his position.⁶

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 *Naskh* of the Bihar variety. The record mentions the renovation of a structure by one Quṭb, son of Aḥmad 'Arīḍ in 1404-05 A.D., during the reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh and has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XII(a)

(۱) در عهد بادشاه جهانگیر جم نشان برهان روزگار براهیم در جهان
(۲) نو کرد قطب احمد عارض بنا یقین تاریخسال هجصد بد و هفت در بیان

TRANSLATION

(1) During the reign of the world-conquering monarch having the insignia of Jamshīd, Ibrāhīm, who is the demonstration of the age in the world,

(2) verily, Quṭb, (son of) Aḥmad 'Arīḍ renovated the structure, when the date of the year was eight hundred and seven (A.H. 807=1404-05 A.D.).

¹ 'Askari, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Diwakar, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-94.

² 'Askari, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

³ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1955-56, No. D, 82.

⁴ *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 33 (pl. Xe), 34 (pl. Xb).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1955 and 56, p. 11.

⁶ Nizāmud-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 130; T. W. Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 202-03.

⁷ It is clearly inscribed so, but the intended word may be "میان".



SCALE : 14

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



SCALE : 13

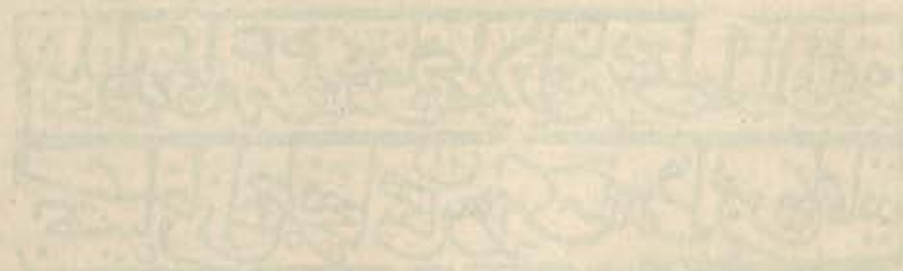
(c) Third Sharqī record, dated A.H. 835, from Bihar Sharif (p. 43)



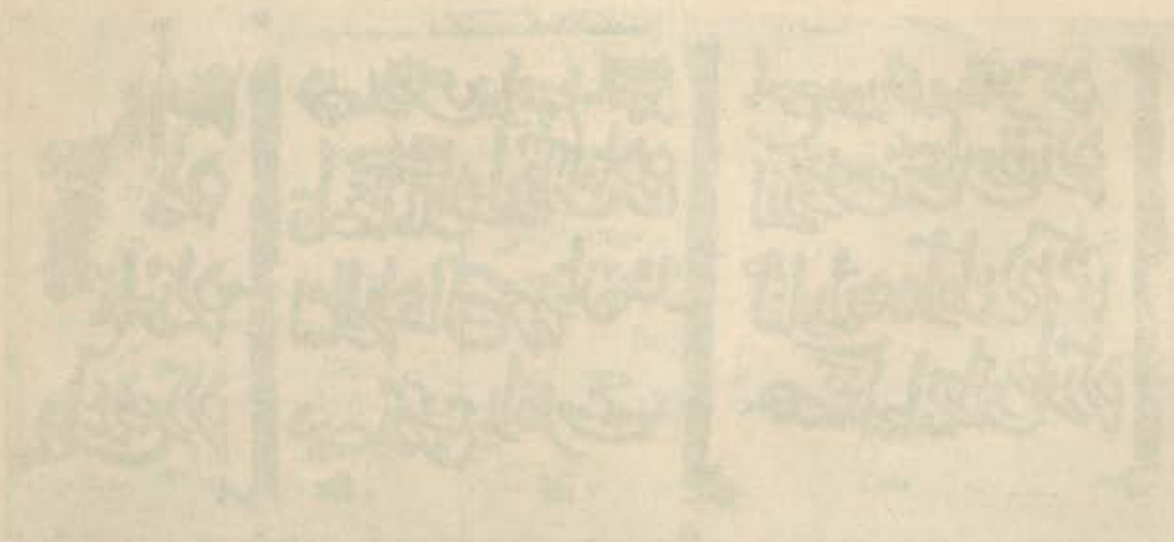
SCALE : 3



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Nothing is known about Qutb, son of Ahmad, the renovator of the building. If the word 'arīd' is taken as qualifying instead of being substantive, it would mean that the builder held that post¹ 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 dargāh at Bihar Sharif.² 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 Ibrāhīm Shāh. It further eulogises the exploits and achievements of one Malik Qāḍan, particularly in the cause of religion, and gives the name of the calligraphist as Taqī who probably composed the text.

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

The surviving text has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XII(c)

..... (۱)

در عهد ظل حق براہیم شاہ آنک
ماجوچ فتنہ را بہمہ سد نفور کرد

..... (۲)

قاضاً ملک کہ خواندہ فلک آفتاب دین
از روشنی خویش جہان پر نور کرد

..... (۳)

اسلام را نہال ز سر سبز و تازہ شد
کفار را ز بیخ بر افکند دور کرد

..... (۴)

ہیصد و سی و پنج ہد از ہجرت نبی
خستہ تقے کہ خامہ روان بر سطور کرد

TRANSLATION

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

(2) removed. Qāḍan 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 Islām was once more rendered green and fresh; he has uprooted (and) thrown out the unbelievers.

¹ For 'arīd' and his duties, see I.H. Qureshī, *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 thirtyfive 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 Qāḍan. 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 'Askarī 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 headquarter 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 Sayyidwāra 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 Qāḍī 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 *Naskh* characters, 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 *qasba* Bilgrām.

The extant text has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XIII(b)

..... شاه ابراهيم شاه (۱)
 ز سر مسجد جامع چنان ؟ (۲)

¹ 'Askarī, *op. cit.*

² For details, please see Novill, H.R., *District Gazetteer of U. P.*, vol. XI, Hardoi (Nainital, 1904), p. 176; Maḥmūd Bilgrāmī, *Tanqūh'ul-Kalām Fi Tārīkh'il-Bilgrām* (Aligarh, 1937), pp. 98, 100-13, 122; etc.

³ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-12, p. 23 (pl. XXVIII).

⁴ *AKIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 197.

⁵ *Ibid.*, introduction.

⁶ Maḥmūd, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

- (۳) تاریخ قمر انورین
..... (۴) افزا در جهان
..... عاقبت [ت] (۵) ... [بند] هاضف منتجب عالم ز جان
بین ملک عالی علی بن شمس از عون اله (۶) [د] ر عهد ابراهیم شاه

Vertical panel in the middle.

تاریخ عمارت مسجد جامع قصبه بلگرام

TRANSLATION

- (1)king Ibrāhīm Shāh.....
(2)such a Jāmi' mosque (was constructed) afresh.....
(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 Mahmūd Bilgrāmī:—

- (۱) تاریخ عمارت مسجد جامع بلگرام
(۲) عهد شاه ختم شاهان شاه ابراهیم شاه از ولایت دین بامر و از عنایت حق اله
(۳) شد عمارت باز سر مسجد جامع جهان از اشارت خان اعظم فتح خان بن فتح خان
(۴) بود هشت صد چهل و دو تاریخ قمر انورین چارده مه روز یکشنبه ربیع الاخرین
(۵) در عمارت این بنائے نور افزائے جهان امر فرمایش ملک را نیک نامی فتح خان
(۶) از دعائے بنده اضعف منتجب عالم ز جان عاقبت شان را چه جوئی جنت العاوی مکان

According to this reading, the mosque was renovated at the instance of the famous Sharqi noble Khān-i-A'zam Fath Khān, son of Fath Khān, 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 Shaikh family and had sometime held the office of the *hakim-i-shar'* at

Bilgram. He lies buried in the famous mound, called Bill, at that place.¹ He is also reported to have been a Persian poet of merit.²

The other personage, Malik 'Alī 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 'Alī is mentioned as the father of the issuing officer Amīr Shāikhān.³ It is likely that this person is identical with 'Alī, 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 Jāmi' mosque of Bilgram.⁴ 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 Naskh 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 Sultān Ibrāhīm, grandson of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna.⁵ But there is absolutely no basis, palaeographical or textual, for such an assertion. The present inscription is evidently a Sharqī 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 Jāmi' mosque of the qasba of Bilgrām and mentions the name Daulatyār, the royal sharābdār.

The extant text has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (a)

- [مسجد جامع قصبه بلگرام فی العهد الملک ؟] (۱)
 السلطان خلد ملکه (۲)
 دولتیار شرایدار خاص مک [نه] (۳)

TRANSLATION

- (1) The Jāmi' mosque of the qasba of Bilgrām during the reign of the king.....
 (2)the sultān, may his kingdom be perpetuated.....
 (3) Daulatyār, the sharābdār-i-khāss, may (Allāh) strengthen (his position).....

¹ Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Ma'aṭṭirū'l-Kirām* (Hyderabad, 1910), pp. 15-16.

² Maḥmūd, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 306.

⁵ Maḥmūd, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁶ *Ibid.* reads 'ابراهیم'.

⁷ *Ibid.* reads 'طان لسان'.

⁸ *Ibid.* reads 'دولسار..... بلگرام خلد ملکه'.

PLATE XIII

(a) Fragmentary Sharqi record, from Bilgram (p. 46)

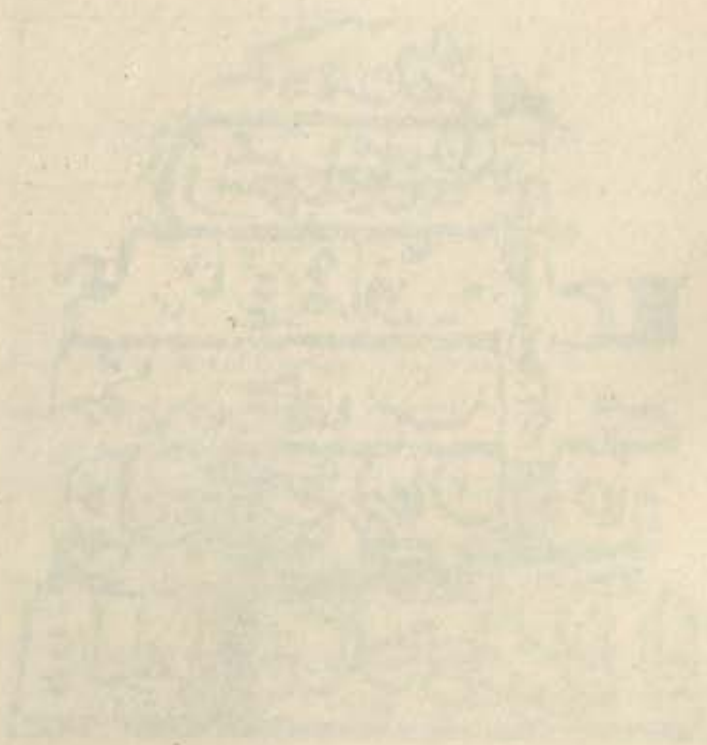
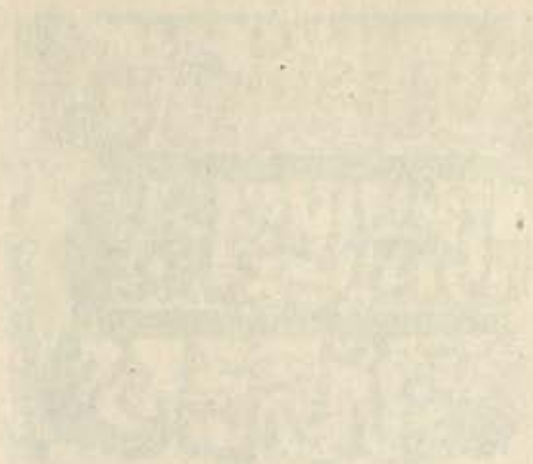


SCALE : 18

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



SCALE : 18



No information is available about Malik Daulatyār, who was evidently a noble of high position entrusted with the duties of the royal *sharābdār*.¹

Mahmūd Shāh

V. INSCRIPTION FROM THE SAME PLACE

The next five inscriptions of the present group pertain to the reign of Ibrāhīm's son and successor Mahmūd who came to the throne in A.H. 839 (1436 A.D.). The latter's reign was marked by expeditions against Kalpi, Chunar, 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.² The tablet measuring 92 by 28 cm. contains a record of two lines in Persian executed in relief in *Naskh* characters. The epigraph records the renovation in 1441-42 A.D. of some structure of unspecified nature by Malik Mānik Bhaṭṭī of Bhatner, a companion of Khān-i-A'zam Faṭḥ Khān, son of Faṭḥ Khān Hariwī. 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 Mahmūd Bilgrāmī, the loose tablet originally belonged to the *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.³

The inscription reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XII(h)

(۱) تجدید شد این عمارت [در] عهد میمون شهنشاه محمود ابن ابراهیم شاه یسعی اجل

ملک مانک بهتی

(۲) بهتیری یار خان اعظم فتحخان بن فتحخان هریوی سنه خمس و اربعین و ثمانمایه

TRANSLATION

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

(2) of Bhatner, a companion of Khān-i-A'zam Faṭḥ Khān, son of Faṭḥ Khān Hariwī (in the) year five and forty and eight hundred (A.H. 845=1441-42 A.D.).

Malik Mānik, the renovator of the building, who evidently belonged to the Bhaṭṭī clan of Rajputs of Bhatner 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-A'zam Faṭḥ Khān. The latter was evidently a son of Shāh-zāda Faṭḥ Khān Hariwī, a famous noble and general of Mubārak Shāh and Ibrāhīm Shāh. He held Kannauj on behalf of Mubārak Shāh until the latter's death in A.H. 804 (1401-02 A.D.), in which year Mahmūd Tughluq of Delhi ousted him from that place.⁴ Apart from this, no further

¹ For the office of the *sharābdār*, see A. Mahdī Husain, *The Rise and fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* (London, 1938), p. 220.

² *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 196. When the inscription was copied in 1958, the slab was lying loose.

³ Mahmūd, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

⁴ Yahyā Sirhindī, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

information regarding the *Shāhzāda* is available. He might have died at some subsequent date in the reign of *Ibrāhīm*.

Khān-i-A'zam *Fath Khān*, the son, was a trusted noble of *Maḥmūd Shāh* and commanded the *Sharqī* army comprising thirty thousand cavalry and thirty elephants against *Sultān Buhlūl Lodī*. In the severe battle that ensued in A.H. 856 (1452 A.D.), *Daryā Khān Lodī*, a partisan of *Sharqī* ruler having deserted him, *Fath Khān* was defeated. *Rāi Karan*, the *Lodī* governor of *Shamsabad*, severed the head of *Fath Khān* and sent it to *Buhlūl Lodī*.¹

V. INSCRIPTION FROM JAJMAU

The second inscription of *Maḥmūd Shāh* 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-Bīrūnī*. It is also mentioned by *Abu'l-Faḍl*.⁴

The inscriptional tablet is set up in the wall to the right of the entrance of the tomb of 'Alāu'd-Dīn *Makhdūm Shāh*. The saint is popularly believed to have accompanied *Qutbu'd-Dīn Aibak*.⁵ His tomb has been attributed to *Fīrūz Shāh 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 *Ḥammād*, a descendant of the above-mentioned saint. The name of the calligraphist is *Hāmid*, son of 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb.

The epigraph has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIV(a)

(۱) و الشرع و الدين ... شيخ ابن شيخ مشايخ ؟ غياث الحق و الشرع
(۲) و الدين رضى الله عنه العمار اضعف العباد حماد بن شيخ ابراهيم ؟ ابن شيخ محمد
ابن شيخ علاء الحق و الدين في
(۳) عهد سلطان العادل ابوالمجاهد محمود شاه ابن ابراهيم شاه سلطان منہ خمسين ؟
و ثمانايه كاتب عبد الوهاب

¹ *Nizāmu'd-Dīn*, *op. cit.*, p. 153; *Firishta*, *op. cit.*, p. 175; 'Abdu'llāh, *Tārīkh-i-Da'ūdī* (Aligarh, 1954), p. 16, where it is mentioned that *Fath Khān Hariwī* was buried at *Narela* near *Delhi*. In *PASB*, 1873, p. 201 and *T. W. Beale*, *Miftāhu'l-Tawārīkh* (Lucknow, 1867), p. 127, is published the reading of an inscription from *Kannauj* of the time of *Husain Shāh Sharqī*, recording the construction of an arch by *Sayyid Rājā*, son of *Jalāl*, under the supervision of *Shāh Hari* (*Shāh-i-Hirāt*?) *Fath Khān*, son of *Fath Khān*, in A.H. 881 (1476-77 A.D.).

² *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D. 315.

³ *Nevill*, *op. cit.*, vol. XIX, *Cawnpore* (Allahabad, 1909), p. 300.

⁴ *Alberuni's India*, Eng. tr. E. Sachau, vol. I (London, 1914), p. 200; *Abu'l-Faḍl*, *A'in-i-Akbari*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), pp. 349, 430.

⁵ *Nevill*, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

⁶ For these inscriptions and also one of 'Alāu'd-Dīn *Khajji* appearing on the 'Idgāh, see *ARIE*, *op. cit.*, Nos. D, 314, 316, 318.

(a) Damaged Sharqi record, dated A.H. 850, from Jajman (p. 48)

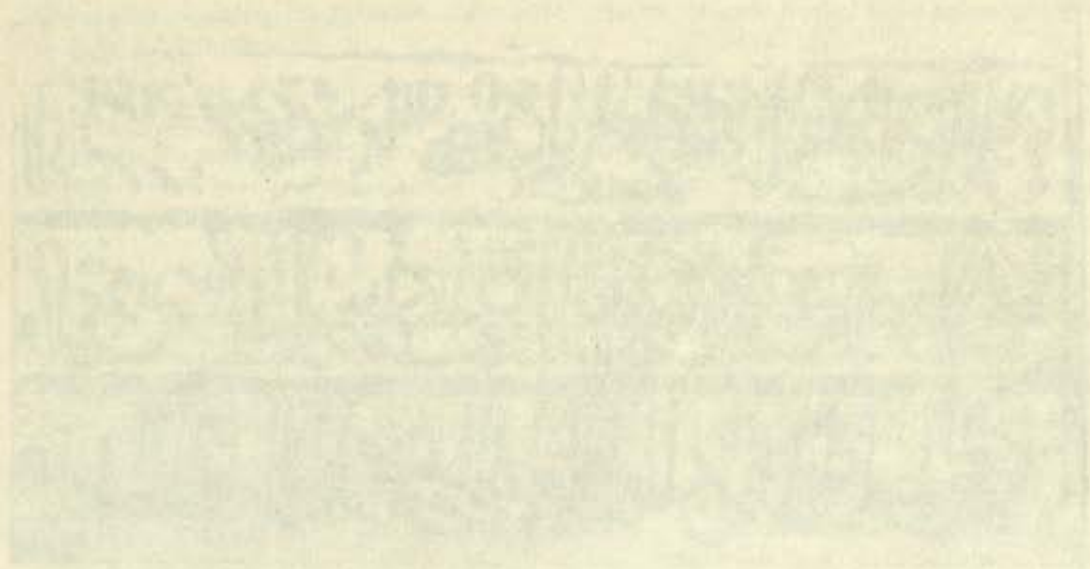


SCALE : 23

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



SCALE : 23



TRANSLATION

(1)wa'sh-Shar' wa'd-Dīn..... Shaikh.....son of Shaikh of the Shaikhs? Ghiyāthu'l-Haq wa'sh-Shar'

(2) wa'd-Dīn, may Allāh be pleased with him. The builder (is) the weakest of creatures Hammād, son of Shaikh Ibrāhīm, son of Shaikh Muḥammad, son of Shaikh 'Alāu'l-Haq wa'd-Dīn, in the

(3) reign of the just sultān Abu'l-Mujāhid Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Ibrāhīm Shāh, the sultān, in the year fifty and eight hundred (A.H. 850=1446-47 A.D.). The writer (is) Ḥāmid, (son of) 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb.

The personages mentioned in the record do not find any mention in contemporary historical works.¹ Likewise, no information regarding the writer of the epigraph named Ḥāmid, 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.²

The loose inscriptional 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 Burhān Shahīd situated near the historical Jaichandī mosque of the town, and measures 60 by 32 cm.³ 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.⁴ 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 *Nashk* characters in relief, seems to mention the completion of an enclosed garden, a well, a pond and a pool by Faṭḥ Khān, son of Faṭḥ Khān, the *muqṭi*, in 1450 A.D. under the active superintendence of Yūsuf.

The text has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIV(b)

مدام که	(۱) بعهد شهنشاه محمود نام ؟
عليه الصلوة و عليه السلام	(۲) درود و تحيات بر مصطفى
حديقه بکرده ملک نيک نام	(۳) زلطف ؟ چاه تال و غدیر
شد از سعی يوسف قوام	(۴) که مقطع فتحخان ابن فتحخان
و اثنی رجب این شد تمام	(۵) باربع و خمسين و ثمانمائة

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.

² Nevill, *op. cit.*, vol. XX, Fatehpur (Allahabad, 1906), pp. 229-30; Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, pp. 349, 431.

³ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 299.

⁴ Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 230; Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), p. 161.

TRANSLATION

- (1) During the reign of the emperor Maḥmūd by name(?).....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 *muqṭi'*, (namely) Faṭḥ Khān, son of Faṭḥ 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 Faṭḥ Khān, son of Faṭḥ Khān, the *muqṭi'*, is none other than Faṭḥ Khān Hariwī 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 *iqṭā'* of Faṭḥ 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 1'04 in. 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 Jāmi' mosque in 1455 A.D., during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh. The text does not specifically give the name of the builder who is simply mentioned 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-Dīn Manerī is composed by Aḥmad, who has been identified by Professor 'Askarī with another eminent saint of Bihar, Ḥaḍrat Aḥmad Balkhī Langar-i-Daryā.²

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

TEXT

Plate XV(a)

من بنا ؟ لله مسجد الہ بیتا فی الجنة	(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عليه السلام
شاه محمود بن ابراهيم شاه راستين	بارك الله در زمان ناصر دنيا و دين
يافته توفيق خير از فضل رب العالمين	صفدر گيهان پناه مملكت صدر كريم
طاق [و ؟] بنياد آمدش بامام و ماهي همنشين	مسجد جامع بنا کرد انچنان کاندرا جهان
يافت ان زونق که تحسين مي کند روح الامين	(۲) منبر و محرابش از قرط علو مرتبه
هنه جنات عدن فادخلوها خالدن	و اين ندا از عالم بالا همي ايد فرود

¹ *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 87; *Ibid.*, 1953-54, No. C, 91; Blochmann, *JASB*, vol. XLII (1873), pp. 306-07; 'Askarī, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

² 'Askarī, *op. cit.*; Diwakar, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

³ Blochmann, *op. cit.*, reads 'وين'.

چارشنبه بیست هفتم مه ز ایام صیام¹ هیصد و پنجاه و نه بودست تاریخ از سنین
در بقاء خیر او احمد همی خواهد بجان روح پاک شیخ شرف الحق و الدین را معین

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Compassionate. He (the Prophet) upon whom be peace has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, there is a house for him in Paradise.'

Great God! In the time of Nāsir-i-Dunyā-wa-Dīn (defender of the world and the Faith), Shāh Mahmūd, son of Ibrāhīm, the upright,

the hero of the world, the shelter of the kingdom, the noble chief (*ṣadr*), 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

(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.'³

Wednesday, the twentyseventh of the month of fasting (i.e. Ramaḍān) (in) the year (A.H.) eight hundred and fiftynine was the date (of its construction) (27th Ramaḍān A. H. 859=10th September 1455 A.D.).

For the perpetuity of his bounty (i.e. the mosque), Aḥmad sincerely prays to the holy soul of Shaiḫ Sharaḥu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn for help.⁴

The tablet bearing the other of the above two records of Maḥmūd 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.⁵ 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,⁶ while subsequently Prof. 'Askari deciphered with difficulty some more portion.⁷

Apparently not *in situ*, the inscription is originally from the Pahaṛpur Jāmi' mosque as recorded by Blochmann.⁸ 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 Maḥmūd Shāh. It also gives the name of Malik Naṣir, son of Bahā, *muqṭi* of the *shiq* of Bihar as the builder.

The language of the record is mainly Persian verse and the style of writing *Nasḫ*. The text is composed by one Faḍlu'llāh about whom nothing is known.

¹ Blochmann, *op. cit.*, reads 'هشصد'. For Blochmann's remarks on 'هیصد', see *PASB*, *op. cit.*

² With 'و' between 'طاق' and 'بنیاد', the hemistich can be taken to illustrate 'لف و نشر مرتب'.

³ Cf. *Qur'an*, chapter XCIII, verse 8.

⁴ Blochmann, *op. cit.*, wrongly translates it as: 'Aḥmad (the Prophet) sincerely (*bajān*) desires to protect this religious building for the sake of the pure spirit of Shaiḫ Sharaḥu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn.'

⁵ *ARIE*, 1953-54, No. C, 91.

⁶ Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-07.

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)

(۱) [بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال] النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له
بينا في الجنة

مسجد جامع بتوفيق خداوند الام	۱ وا از طفيل مصطفاء صاحب تمكين و جاه
شد بعهد دولت شاهي كه حيت عدل او	مغرب و مشرق گرفت از پشت ماهي تا بام
اتك پور شاه ابراهيم عادل سرفراز	آفتاب سلطنت شاه جهان محمود شاه
(۲) اين بناء خير را كرده نصير ابن بها	مقطع شق بهار و دستكير و داخوוא
اشرف الحق اكرم وارشد وجود ؟ اينچنين	دولت آورده به تدبير عالمناه ؟
نزهت بيت المقدس حرمت بيت الحرام	مسجدي بنمود چون بيت علو بارگاه
بنده فضل الله نبشته بيست هفتم از صيام	هيصد و پنجاه و نه تاريخ بود و سال و ماه

TRANSLATION

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

The Jāmi' mosque, by the grace of the Almighty God and through the blessings of *Mustafā*, 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 Ibrāhīm *Shāh*, the just, the exalted, (namely) the sun of the empire, king of the world, Maḥmūd *Shāh*.

(2) The construction of this worthy edifice was undertaken by Naṣīr, son of Bahā, the *muqṭi'* of the *shiq* of Bihār, 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 Faḍlu'llāh wrote that twentyseventh from the (days of) fasting (Ramaḍān), (A.H.) eight hundred and fiftynine was the date and the year and the month (27th Ramaḍān A.H. 859=10th September 1455 A.D.).

Naṣīr, son of Bahā, the builder of the Jāmi' mosque and governor of Bihar, 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.³

¹ Thus in the estampage.

² The reading of these lines, due to the damaged writing, is doubtful.

³ *EIAPS*, 1935 and 56, pp. 11-12 (pl. IIIa).

(a) Sharqi inscription, dated A.H. 839, from Ithar Sharif (p. 50)

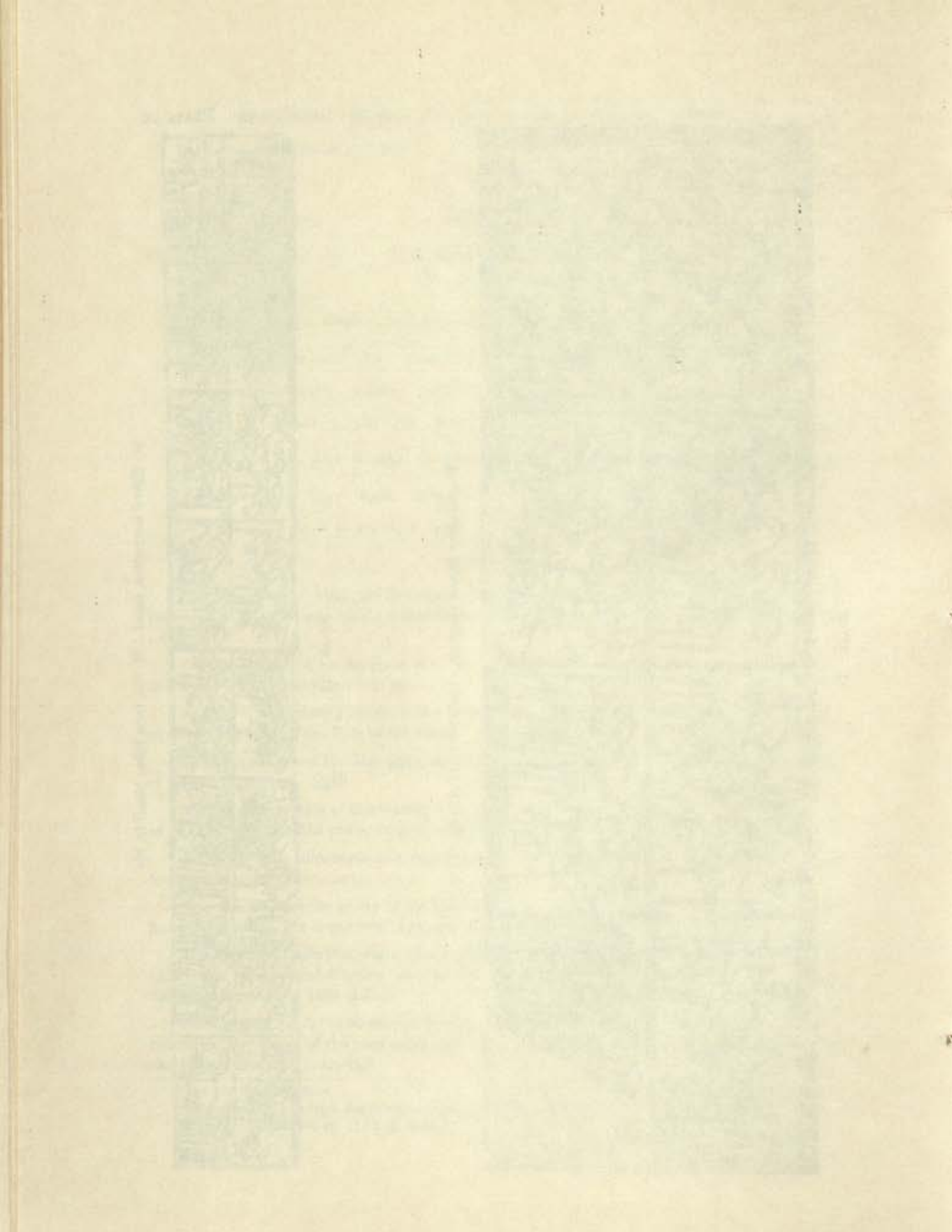


SCALE : 12

(b) Fragmentary Sharqi epigraph, same date, same place (p. 52)



SCALE : 18



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 'Ādil Shāhī 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 Maḥmūd Bahmanī—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 Shāh I Bahmanī, 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 Maulvī Bashīru'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 thirtyfour 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 Rāshtrakūṭas and later on between the Yādavas and the Hoysalas.⁷ It first came under the Muslims in 1313 A.D., when Malik Nāib, 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī'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 Sultān 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 *amīrān-i-ṣāda* of Raichur and Mudgal were ordered by the Sultān to accompany the troops to Gujarat.¹⁰ It is natural that Bahmanī kingdom, established in 1347 A.D.,

¹ E. Rehatsek, 'Three Inscriptions from Raichur', *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI (1882), pp. 130-31.

² K. M. Aḥmad, 'Inscriptions of Raichur in the Hyderabad Museum', *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1939-40, pp. 10-23, pls. IVb-Xa.

³ Z. A. Desai, 'Inscriptions from the State Museum, Hyderabad', *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1959 and 60, p. 32.

⁴ Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Wāqīāt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijāpūr* (Agra, 1915), part I, p. 297 f.n. and part III, pp. 297-357.

⁵ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1958-59, Nos. D, 128-157.

⁶ These have been only enumerated in G. Yazdani, *Report of the Archaeological Department of H.E.H. Nizam's Dominions*, 1929-30, p. 51, App. H.

⁷ P. M. Joshi, 'Rāichur Doāb in Deccan History—Reinterpretation of a Struggle', *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XXXVI (1958), part IV, pp. 379-81.

⁸ T. W. Haig, ed. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1928), p. 118.

⁹ H. K. Sherwānī, *Bahmanis of the Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1953), pp. 23, 438.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

also inherited the *doāb* which towards the close of the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh, its founder, was put along with the capital Gulbarga in charge of Malik Saifu'd-Dīn Ghori.¹ The first clash between the Bahmanī 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 Bahmanīs 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 Rakṣasatagadi in 1565 A.D. As there is no complete accord between the various authorities regarding the Bahmanī-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.² 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 Bahmanī border.³ However, according to some authorities, the Rāya had captured only Mudgal, but retreated leaving fifty elephants and other booty when Muḥammad I appeared.⁴ 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 Bahmanī 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 Bahmanī monarch.⁵

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.⁶ On the death of Mujāhid, Harihara II, the new Rāya, crossed the Tungabhadra and laid siege 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.⁷

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 Bahmanī possessions in the *doāb*.⁸ Firūz Bahmanī who had by this time ascended the throne, defeated Harihara II, made him pay ten lacs of *hūns* as tribute⁹ and appointed Faulād Khān, son of Safdar Khān Sīstānī as the governor of the *doāb*, hitherto a part of the Gulbarga province from which it was now separated.¹⁰

¹ Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

² Firighta, *Tārīkh-i-Firighta*, vol. I (Lucknow, 1864-65), p. 283; R. C. Majumdar and others, ed., *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bombay, 1960), pp. 251-52.

³ Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History* (Madras, 1919), p. 180.

⁴ Firighta, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-90.

⁵ Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-97.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-23.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 126; Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁹ Tabatabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āzīr* (Hyderabad, 1936) pp. 42, 45 gives 30 or 33 lacs *tanka*.

¹⁰ Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

However, some authorities have questioned the success of this expedition.¹ Likewise they have also expressed their doubt on the success of Firūz in his second campaign of 1406 A.D. against Vijayanagara.² From the statement of Tabāṭabā, Professor Venkataramanayya is inclined to infer that the Sultān's campaign was confined to the Deodurg *tāluk* 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.³ 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.⁴ As against this, the success of the campaign is vividly described by Firishṭa 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 Firishṭa 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 not at all unlikely, therefore, that Firūz had gone far beyond Manvi, and Firishṭa may be right in making him go right upto 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 Bahmanīs 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?⁵ Professor Venkataramanayya has also expressed doubts about Dev Rāya's being forced to sue for peace and agree to pay tribute as stated by Firishṭa.⁶ That Firishṭa 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 Bidad and now in the State Museum, Hyderabad. Dated the 21st September 1444 A.D. it also speaks of Dev Rāya as paying tribute to Aḥmad Shāh I.⁷ Also, according to Tabāṭabā, Raichur along with Cheul and their dependencies were granted to Dā'ūd Khān in A.H. 837 (1433-34 A.D.).⁸ Two years later taking advantage of the Bahmanī 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.).⁹

The *doāb* thus seems to have continued to be ruled by Bahmanīs upto 1443 A.D. In that year, Deva Rāya II crossed the Tungabhadra and captured Mudgal, sending his sons against Raichur and Bankapur.¹⁰ 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.¹¹

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 Tabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁰ Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

Anyway, we hear next of the *doāb* in 1492 A.D.¹ when Qāsim Barīd, being alarmed at the growing power of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, invited the Vijayanagara king to attack Raichur and Mudgal in the *doāb* which then formed part of 'Ādil Khān's *jāgīr*.² Between 1443 A.D. and 1492 A.D., the Bahmanīs 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 Bahmanī sovereignty. The said two forts were lost to Nārāyan Nāyaka in 1492 A.D.³ for a while, but were recovered in the same year by Maḥmūd who had come to the rescue of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān and granted to the latter.⁴ Anyway, there appears little doubt that the *doāb* mostly remained in the possession of the Bijapur governors, first under the nominal authority of the Bahmanīs and later on under their independent rule. We have at least two inscriptions at Raichur, mentioning (Ismā'il) 'Ādil Khān which are dated 1510-11 and 1513-14 A.D.⁵ Krishnadevarāya of Vijayanagara is said to have again invaded the *doāb* in 1512 A.D. and captured Raichur which could not be defended by Ismā'il 'Ādil Khān, then a minor.⁶ These authorities also speak of Ismā'il's futile attempt in A.H. 927 (1521 A.D.) to recover the *doāb* from Vijayanagara.⁷ 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 *qaulnāma* issued by Maliku'sh-Sharq 'Ambar. There is one more record (No. 7) acknowledging Maḥmūd Bahmanī's sovereignty and Ismā'il 'Ādil'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 Ismā'il'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 Ismā'il 'Ādil 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.⁸

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 Bahmanī rule had come to a virtual end with the death of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī in 1518 A.D., though their overlords 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 Bahmanī (1397-1422 A.D.) and comes from Manvi, the headquarters of the *tāluk* of the same name in Raichur district.⁹ The slab bearing

¹ Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 383, gives 1493 A.D.

² Tabātabā, *op. cit.* p. 144; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 371; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

³ Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-72.

⁴ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 371, follows Firishṭa but at p. 381 places the event in 1503 A.D., following Tabātabā, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-57. The earlier date seems to be correct, for in A. H. 904 (1498-99 A.D.), Maliku'sh-Sharq Ḥājī seems to have been stationed at Raichur as is implied by inscription No. 5 of this study.

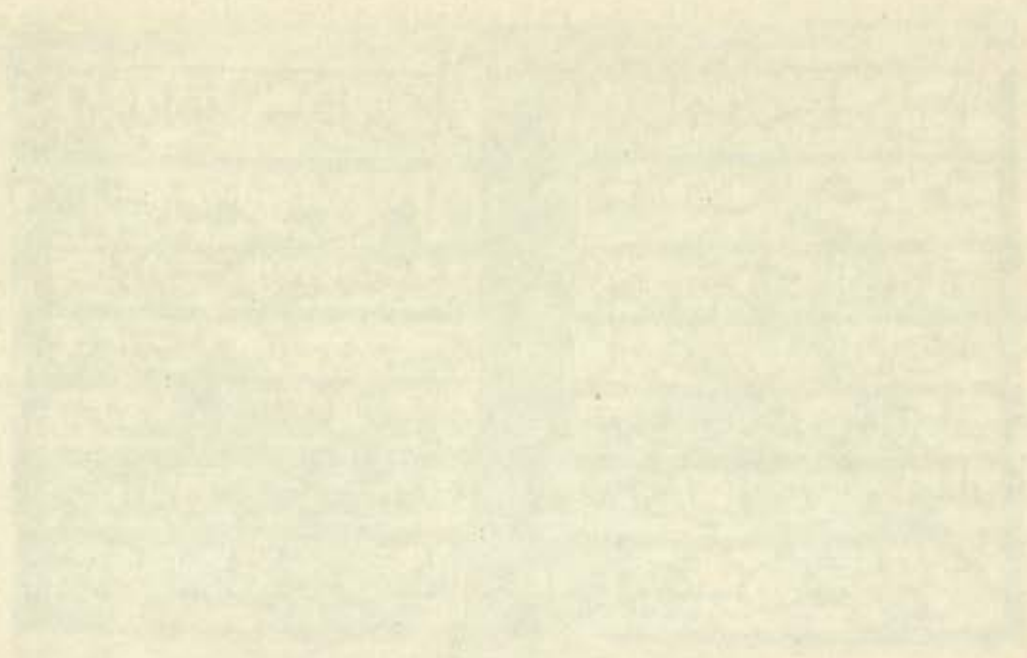
⁵ Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 15, however, takes the date A. H. 916 as Shuhūr San and quotes A. H. 921 (1515 A.D.), as its equivalent.

⁶ Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 314; Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

⁷ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

⁸ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁹ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 215; Bashīru'd-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, part I, p. 297, f.n.



(a) Inscription of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī, dated A.H. 809, from Manvi (p. 57)



SCALE : 18

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



SCALE : 06



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 Bahmanī king's campaigns in the *doāb* and their success. The epigraph refers to the conquest of the fort, evidently of Manvi, by Abu'l-Faṭḥ Firūz Shāh Bahmanī who, it further states, placed it in charge of Malik Saḍdar, the chief of chiefs. It also records that Muḥammad Zāhir Aqchī constructed a mosque on the site of a temple in 1406-07 A.D.

It is difficult to ascertain the identity of Malik Saḍdar who received the charge of the fort and perhaps its dependencies. It may be pointed out in this connexion that according to Firishṭa, Faulād Khān, son of Saḍdar Khān Sistānī was appointed governor of the Raichur *doāb* in 1398 A.D. or about a decade before the date of our inscription.¹ Likewise, nothing is known about Muḥammad Zāhir Aqchī, the builder of the mosque.

An eye reading of this inscription was published by Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, but it is hopelessly corrupt as will be seen from the text quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)

(۱) هو العلم

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (۲) بحمد الله از حکم پروردگار | ز بتخانه شد مسجد دین شعار |
| (۳) {عصر} شهنشاه کشور کشاء | شه دین پنه خسرو تاجدار |
| (۴) جوان ملک فیروز شه بهمنی | که در باغ دینست از نو بهار |
| (۵) ابوالفتح شاهی که پرپشت امپ | بیک عزم دل فتح کرد این حصار |
| (۶) پس از فتح شاهنشاه این قلعه یافت | سر سوردان صفدر دوزدار |
| (۷) بنا ساز این سجدگاه شریف | محمد ظهیر اچمی دین مدار |
| (۸) بهیصد نه از هجرت مصطفی | بنا کرده چون کعبه این یادگار |

¹ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 311.

² Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, has 'شهنشاه'.

³ *Ibid.* omits these two hemistiches.

⁴ *Ibid.* reads 'در'.

⁵ *Ibid.* reads 'بسر'.

⁶ *Ibid.* reads 'ملار'.

⁷ *Ibid.* reads 'بهیصد نناد' and gives in figure A.H. 790

⁸ *Ibid.* reads 'کرد'.

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) Abu'l-Fath, 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, Safdar (lit. the valiant commander) of the age, received (the charge of) the fort.
- (7) The builder of this noble place of prayer is Muḥammad Zahir Aqchī, 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 Ka'ba-like memento.

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

The second inscription was found in the fort of Raichur.¹ The two huge epigraphical tablets said to have originally belonged to the Kamānī gate, no more extant, are now fixed inside the gate called Kāfī-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 *Naskh* of inferior order, containing the First Creed followed by a line in Persian purporting that the gate was constructed by Mallū Khān Hāfiẓ in 1468-69 A.D. in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Humāyūn Shāh, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu'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 Hāfiẓ 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 'Deccanī'.² A noble of high rank, he played an important part in the reigns of five Bahmanī sovereigns, namely, Aḥmad II, Humāyūn, Nizām Shāh, Muḥammad III and Maḥmūd.³ His father's name is given by Firishṭa as Qāsim Baig Saf Shikan.⁴

According to Tabāṭabā, Aḥmad I had devised and conferred the title of Mallū Khān for the *sarnaubat-i-maisara*, and his successor Aḥmad II had also followed his father's policy,⁵ 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 Hāfiẓ 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

¹ *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 128; Bashīru'd-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, part III, pp. 335-36.

² Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 345.

³ Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 7, fn. 3.

⁴ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 362.

⁵ Tabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

subsequently won over and comforted by the queen-mother and was given charge of the Bidar fort.¹ After the death in A.H. 886 (1481 A.D.) of Maḥmūd Gāwān who had held the territory of Bijapur, Mallū Khān was made one of the lieutenants of Yūsuf 'Adil Khān, who received the province of Bijapur.² He is one of the prominent nobles who were absent on the occasion of the coronation of Maḥmūd and it was no doubt due to the great importance attached to these high personages that Malik Nāib Nizāmī'l-Mulk Bahārī made a provision that when they arrived at Bidar the capital, the ceremony would be held again.³

The text of the record under study is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (b)

(a) Upper slab.

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) در عهد محمد شاه بن هما [یو] نشاء بن سلطان علاء [الدین] بنا کرده خان اعظم

ملو خان حافظ سنه ثلاث و سبعین و ثمانمائه

(b) Lower slab.

(۱) این در همیشه در همه عالم کشاده باد دشمن بزیر خاک درین در فتاده باد

(۲) یارب مباد این در خالی ز خان چنین اقبال و عز و دولت [و] شادی مدام باد

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) The First Creed.

(2) In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Humāyūn Shāh, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn, (the gate was) constructed by Khān-i-A'zam Mallū Khān Hāfiz (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 Makkī-Darwāza of the Raichur fort.⁴ The inscriptional slab measures 2.43 m. by 33 cm. and contains only one line of writing in Persian executed in relief in *Naskh* characters. The record

¹ Tabātabā, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

² Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 361.

³ *Ibid.*; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

⁴ Bashīrū'd-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 335, omits these words.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 336, reads 'مال این در عالی بحال خیر'.

⁶ *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 133; Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 51 App. H, No. II or III.

mentions the construction of the gate by the same Mallū Khān Hāfiz in the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh. The text of this inscription also was published by Bashīrū'd-Dīn.¹

Its text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVII (a)

در عهد سلطان محمد شاه بنا کرده خان اعظم ملو خان حافظ سنه اربع سبعين و ثمانمايه

TRANSLATION

In the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, the construction (of this gate) was carried out by Khān-i-A'zam Mallū Khān Hāfiz, in the year (A.H.) eight hundred and seventyfour (A.H. 874-1469-70 A.D.).

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-Gulshan on the outskirts of the town of Raichur.² It consists roughly speaking of six³ lines of Persian prose written in *Naskh* characters of an inferior type and refers to the same Khān-i-A'zam Mallū Khān Hāfiz 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)

(۱) در عهد
(۲) افضل سلاطين
(۳) محمد شاه بن همايون شاه
(۴) بنا کرد خان اعظم
(۵) ملو خان حافظ
(۶) سنه خمسة و ثمانينو ثمانمايه

¹ Bashīrū'd-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

² *ARIE*, *op. cit.*, No. D, 156; Bashīrū'd-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 315; Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 51, App. H, No. XXXIII.

³ The words are not written in regular order in a line; for example “طین” of “سلاطين” in the second line has been inscribed in the first line and “بن” of the third line is written between the first and second lines.

⁴ Bashīrū'd-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 315, reads ‘من’

⁵ *Ibid.* reads ‘ثمانون مایه’.



SCALE : .08

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



SCALE : .15

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-A'zam,
- (5) Mallū Khān Hāfiz,
- (6) (in) the year (A.H.) eight hundred and eightyfive (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.¹ It consists of one line of Arabic and Persian prose written in *Naskh* 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 Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik Hājī, son of Sulaimān Qirmānī² 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 والصلوة على سيدنا محمد وآله اجمعين اما بعد وقف كرد و تصدق نمود طالباً لمرضات الله ملك الشوق المتوكل على الله الرحمانى ملك حاجى بن سليمان قرمانى مقدار نه چاور زمين در گبور

(b) Second slab.

[م]ن اعمال معاملت را لچور بر حفاظ و امام و مؤذن مسجد مسطور قيد هشت چاور زمين براى حافظان و امام و مؤذن و يك چاور براى متولى باشد و ايضا وقف نمود

¹ *ARIE*, *op. cit.*, No. D, 139; Bashīrū'd-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-31. Though this as well as the next inscription do not mention the name of the then ruling Bahmanī king Maḥmūd 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.

(b) *Third slab.*

چهل دکان موصوفه محدوده واقع در رائجورد در جنب مسجد مذکور از تعمیر و دوغن چراغ
و فرش و سایر مصالح وقفی صحیح شرعی و شرط کرد واقف که لعنت بر آنکس باد که
مطلع شود

(d) *Fourth slab.*

و برین وقفیت و تغیر و تبدیل این نماید کما قال الله تبارک و تعالی فی محکم کتابه
مناع للخیر معتد ائیم گردد مورخا سنه اربع و تسعمایه

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'sh-Sharq (who is) dependent upon Allāh the Merciful, Malik Hājī, 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 *Qur'ān* by heart), the *imām* (the leader of prayers) and the *mu'adhdhin* (the caller for prayers) of the said mosque. (Of these), eight *chāwars* of land is meant for the *ḥāfiẓs*, the *imām* and the *mu'adhdhin*, 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. *Qur'ān*), the 'forbiddor of good, transgressor and sinful'.⁵ 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 'گبور'. 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 Bāghirū'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, reads "مصلح الوقفی".

² *Ibid.* reads "شرط گیرد".

³ *Ibid.* reads "کرامت".

⁴ This "و" appears to be redundant.

INSCRIPTION NO. 6

The sixth inscription is found at the village Maliabad in Raichur *tāluk*.¹ The inscriptional slab measuring 60 cm. by 1.71 m. is lying loose in the local mosque and contains a bilingual record of twentyone 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 *qaulnāma* issued in 1513 A.D. by *Maliku'sh-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 *qaulnāma* 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, Ootacamund, 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 *Maliku'sh-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

- (۱) قول نامه از حضرت ملک الشرق ملک عنبر ثاباً
- (۲) کالغش فی الحجر و قایما الی بقا [ء] الدهر در
- (۳) باب آنک مزارعان و بقالان و حایکان
- (۴) و دوغنگران و جمیع اهل محترقه و جمهور
- (۵) سکنه قصبه ملیاباد کی مال دیوان در سالینه بدین
- (۶) تفصیل مزار عان درین گه یک پرتاب بقالان دوگان
- (۷) اول یک هون بزرگ دوم یک پرتاب حایکان هر یک یک
- (۸) هون بزرگ مبدهان ماهه چهارده جیتل بود معاف پنج جیتل
- (۹) قرار نه جیتل و دوغنگران سابقا دوتنکه بود معاف نیم
- (۱۰) تنکه قرار یک تنکه و نیم بیکچاور بیکه زمین مردم کشت
- (۱۱) باغات و مباح هفت تنکه خیاط و جیبی اول جیتل دوم

¹ *ARIE*, op. cit., No. D, 127. Bashir'u'd-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 585, gives an incomplete and a very corrupt reading.

* The reading of the underlined words is tentative.

- (۱۲) سه تنكه اول يكه پرتاب دوم سه تنكه سوم دو
 (۱۳) تنكه غير اين محترفه کرده گرفته آئنده روانه کنند غير
 (۱۴) ازین هیچ ظلم نباید کرد و غير قانون نباید کرد و هبت و
 (۱۵) بیگار و کند و فرمایش معاف زکوة و بر
 (۱۶) قانون باید گرفت ازین بیش نباید گرفت رواداری نباید
 (۱۷) کرد اگر کسی ازین قولنامه بگردد ظلم کند غير قانون
 (۱۸) پیدا آورد لعنت بروی باشد اگر کافر باشد از ذات وی
 (۱۹) برون اید کرة باید که برین قولنامه اقتیاد نموده در معاری
 (۲۰) و آبادانی درکار آرند برین قولنامه معظم روند
 (۲۱) فی التاريخ ۱۳ ماه ذی القعدة سنة ۹۱۸

TRANSLATION

(1) (This) *qaulnāma* (issued) by Ḥadrat-i-Maliku'ah-Sharq Malik 'Ambar (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 *ṭankas* in the past (have)
 exemption of half a
 (10-11) *ṭanka* and have to pay one and a half *ṭanka* ; for each *chāwār* (or) *bigha* land of the
 people (land for residence?), gardens and cattle (i.e. land for grazing), seven *ṭankas* ; the tailor
 and the.....one has to pay one *jītāl* and the other
 (12) three *ṭankas* ;.....the first, one *partāp*, the second three *ṭankas* and the
 third, two
 (13) *ṭankas* ; 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 gratifica-
 tion ?
 (16) forced labour,.....and unauthorised demand are abolished. *Zakāt* and.....may
 be collected in accordance with the law. Neither anything in excess of this should be taken
 nor should there be any leniency



(a) Bahmani record, dated A.H. 918, from Kaichur (p. 65)



SCALE : 09

(b) Another Bahmani inscription, same place (p. 66)



SCALE : 16

- (17) shown. If anybody disobeys this *qaulnāma*, 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 *qaulnāma*, (all)
 should apply it to barren
 (20) as well as habited places (i.e. everywhere), and follow this illustrious *qaulnāma*.
 (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 Bahmanī.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. respectively—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 *radīf* portion in the middle slab is engraved transversely and vertically. The epigraph records the construction of a mosque by 'Ambar in 1513 A.D. in the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī and during the governorship of 'Ādil Khān II by whom Ismā'il 'Ādil Khān, the second Bijapur ruler, is meant. The 'Ambar of this record is undoubtedly identical with Maliku'sh-Sharq '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)

چنین عمارت خوب لطیف شد موجود	(۱) بعهد سلطنت شاه بهمنی محمود
درین خجسته مکان این چنین عمارت شد	(۲) بدولت ملک الملک عادل ثانی
که اسم عنبر و خلش مثال عنبر بود	(۳) بنا نهاد یکی صاحب سخا و کرم
عوض ز خلد بریش جزاهد معبود	(۴) هر آنکسی که دنیا بنای مسجد کرد
تمام گشت عمارت بطالع مسعود	(۵) بسال نوزده و نهصد از مه هجرت

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of the Bahmanī 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'il 'Ādil), such a (beautiful) edifice was constructed in this auspicious place.

¹ *ARIE*, *op. cit.*, No. D, 141; Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *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 Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 322, reads 'کرد'.

⁴ *Ibid.* reads 'غرض که'.

(3) It was built by one (who is) master of charity and generosity, who is named 'Ambar and whose disposition is as (pleasing as) ambergis.

(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.¹ 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 Bahmanī and refers to the construction of a mosque during the time of 'Ādil Khān II, that is to say, Ismā'il 'Ādil of Bijapur, by Khwāja Sumbul. The letters in the date portion have been scrapped 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 Jāmi' 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 Bahmanī.² 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'il '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-ghaibat* 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'il's accession, in about A.H. 917-18 (1511-12 A.D.).

The inscription reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XX(b)

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَالصَّلَاةُ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ
 (٢) قَدْ وَفَّقَ بِنَاءَ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ فِي زَمَانِ السُّلْطَانِ مَحْمُودِ شَاهٍ وَأَوَانَ عَادِلٍ خَانَ
 (٣) الثَّانِي عَبْدُ الضَّعِيفِ نَحِيفٍ مَلْتَجِي خَالِقِ الْكُلِّ خَوَاجِه سَنَبِلِ

TRANSLATION

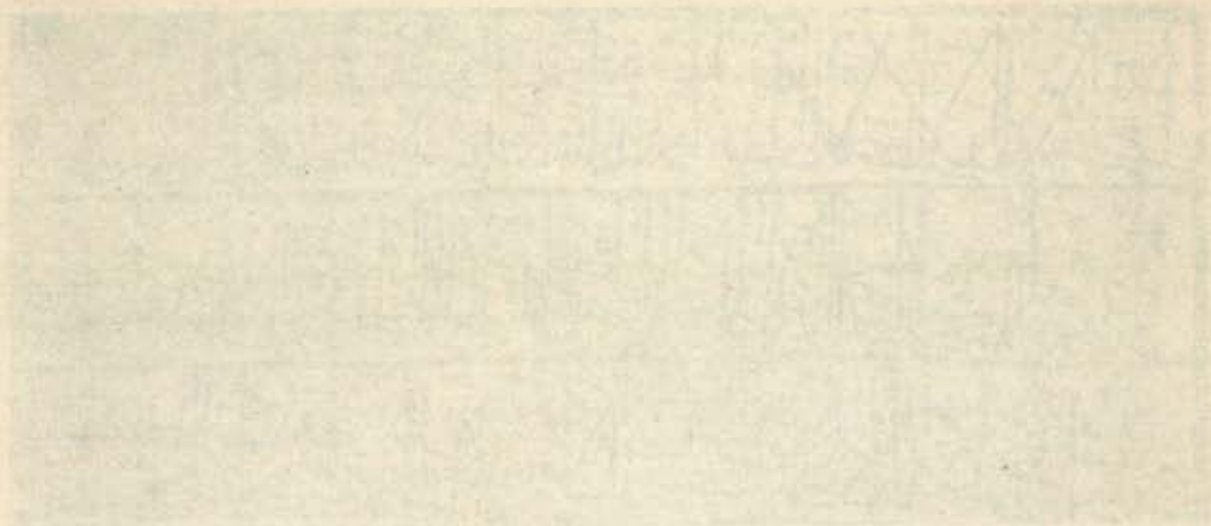
(1) In the name of Allāh. And praise be to Allāh, and salutations upon the prophet of Allāh.

(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 Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh and (during the) time (of government) of 'Ādil Khān the second in....

¹ *ARIE*, *op. cit.*, No. D. 143; Baghīrū'd-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 329; Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 51, App. H, No. XXX.

² M. Nāgim, *Bijapur Inscriptions*, Mem. Arch. Sur. India, No. 49, p. 25, pl. 1, No. 3256.

³ Baghīrū'd-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, reads 'رمضان الثاني'.





SCALE : '07

(b) Record of 'Adil Shāh Fārūqī IV, dated A.H. 997, from Asirgarh (p. 70)



SCALE : '27

SOME MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM KHANDESH

By S. A. RAHIM

A few inscriptions of the Fārūqī kings of Khandesh were studied by me in the last issue of the journal.¹ 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 *tāluka* of Dhulia district in Maharashtra. The huge inscriptional tablet measuring 2.72 by 1.22 m. is fixed over the entrance gate of the tomb facing south² and contains three lines of writing in Persian verse and Arabic prose executed in *Thulūṭh* characters of a fairly high order. The inscription has been twice noticed,³ but the reading given is not only 'hopelessly misprinted',⁴ but full of errors. The record forms the epitaph of Mu'īnu'd-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)

(۱) سورة [جامع] صفات قل هو الله احد
آیت منشور حکمت یفعل الله ما یشاء
قد وقع وفات السلطان الاعظم الاعدل الاکرم اشرف ؟ خوانین
(۲) فی عهده و اشجع خواقین فی عصره الواصل الی رحمة الله الملك المنان معین الحق
و السلطنة و الدنيا و الدین مبارک خان عادل ؟ الغفران
(۳) فی ثانی عشر رجب الدرجه سنه احدى و ستین و ثمنایه
چون در ایمان کشادی راه بخشایش مبذ
بر گنهگاران بحق مصطفی و مجتبی

TRANSLATION

(1) (Verse :) 'Say: He, Allāh, is One' is the chapter⁵ containing an epitome of (His) attributes. The verse diffused with wisdom is 'Allāh does what He wills'.⁶

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

¹ *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)* for 1961, pp. 49-58.

² The border of the gate 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. Horowitz 'List of the Published Mohamedan Inscriptions of India', *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 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 Mu'īnu'l-Ḥaḡ wa's-Salṭanat wa'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Mubārak Khān 'Ādil, 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 Firishṭa, Mubārak Shāh died on Friday, the 12th Rajab A.H. 861,¹ but Ḥājji Dabīr places the event in the last ten days of Jumādā II of the same year.² The present record proves the correctness of the information of Firishṭa.

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 'Alī, situated to the east of the 'Ādil Shāhī tombs on the outskirts of Burhanpur. Amīr Yār 'Alī, al-Mughālī, as he is called by historians, and his brother Ḥusām 'Alī al-Mughālī 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, Firishṭa and others do not contain any mention of Yār 'Alī's career beyond giving his name.³ Fortunately we are told by Ḥājji Dabīr that on the death of 'Ādil Khān II in A.H. 909, Amīr Yār 'Alī leading a strong party of the nobles supported Ghaznīn Khān, son of Dā'ūd Khān, against the latter and proclaimed him the king. But after about a month Yār 'Alī, with the help of two nobles of his group deposed Ghaznīn 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 'Alī. After dispersing them, Yār 'Alī camped for the night in the vicinity of *Bāgh-i-Ardhāula* near Maḥmūdpur and in the course of the night when he was greatly intoxicated, was murdered by one of his slaves. However, Ḥājji Dabīr who correctly places the event in Dhī'l-Qa'da A.H. 909⁴ does not quote the day of the month. Our inscription supplies this omission and further corroborates the historian in the matter of Yār 'Alī's martyrdom. Further, it gives the full name and titles of the said Amīr.

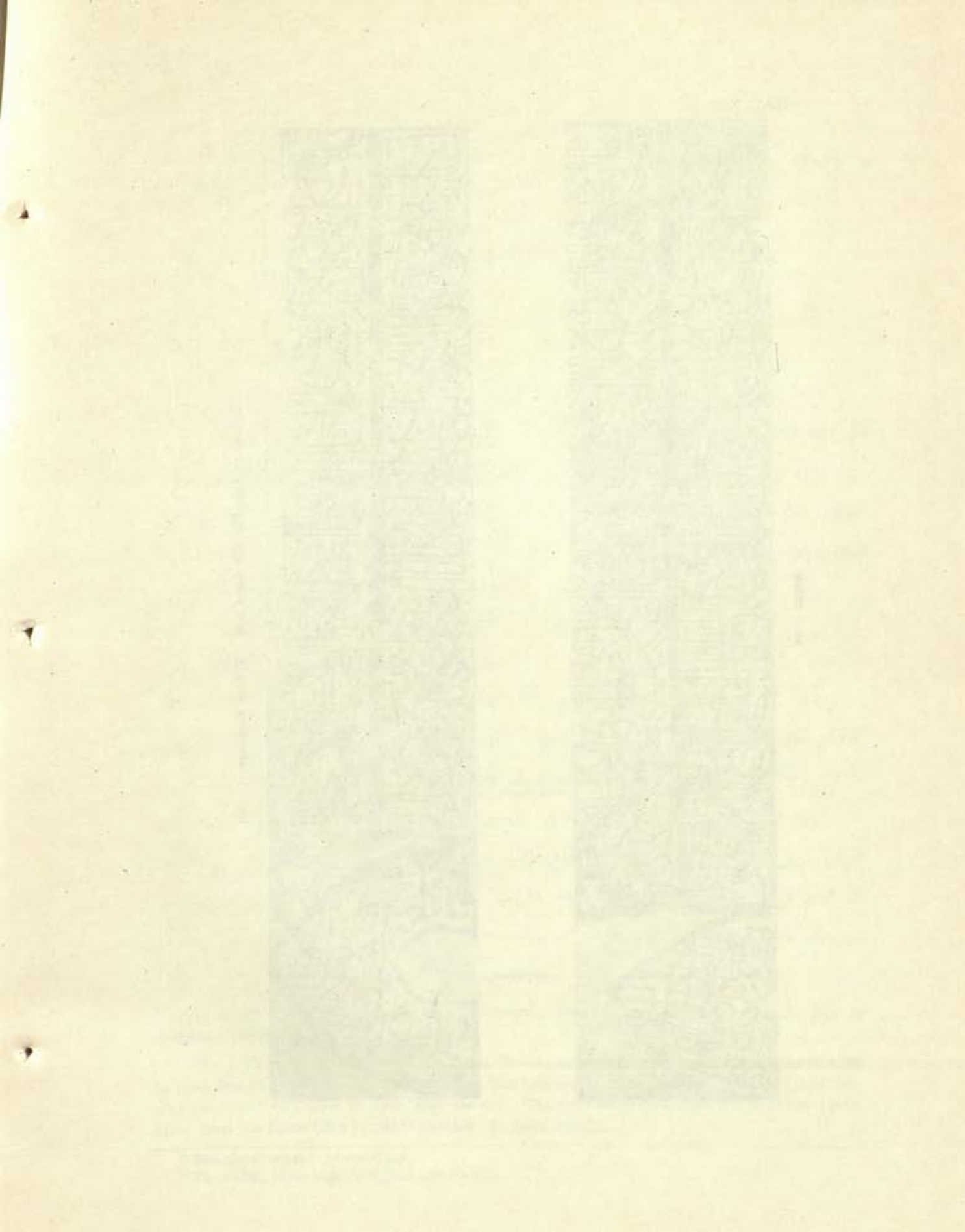
The inscription is executed in beautiful *Thulṭh* characters and its text is in Arabic. The text, as has been stated above, is carved on the four sides of the grave of which, the north, the east and the south ones contain religious texts comprising the traditions of the Prophet and a verse in Arabic,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

¹ Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, vol. II (Lucknow, 1884), p. 281.

² Ḥājji Dabīr, *Zafarū'l-Walīh bi-Muḡaffar wa-Ālīh*, vol. I (London, 1910), p. 53.

³ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

⁴ Ḥājji Dabīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55. It may be pointed out here that Ḥājji Dabīr has described the events as taking place in the same year when 'Ādil Khān II died, i.e. in A.H. 909. Though the printed text of Ḥājji 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, 1929) to A. K. Majumdar, author of the chapter on the Khandesh kings in *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bombay, 1900), not caring to refer to the errata, have rendered Ḥājji Dabīr's account as incorrect.



Epitaph of Amir Yar 'Ali, dated A.H. 909, from Burhanpur (p. 69)



Scale : 14

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.

الموت جسر يوصل الحبيب الى الحبيب من مات فقد قامت قيامته

(b) East side.

(١) قال سيد العرب والعجم صلى الله عليه وعلى اله وسلم المومن حى فى الدارين و
قال عليه الصلوة والسلام المومنون لايموتون بل ينتقلون من دار الى دار ^{و قال}
(٢) و قال عليه السلام والتحية و الاكرام من كان آخر كلامه لا اله الا الله دخل
الجنة و قال صلى الله عليه واله و لاهرمنا من جزيل نواله السخي قريب من الله قريب من
الجنة بعيد من النار

(c) South side.

به ملك ينادى كل يوم لدوا للموت و ابنوا للخراب

(d) West side.

(١) قد اجاب ^{وصى} ربه و رضى بحبه من دار المحنة و الغرور الى دار البهجة و
السرور شهيد ذايقا الشهادة نائلا درجة الشهيد الامير الكبير الكريم الذى قل بمثله تسبح الادوار
ما دار الفلك الدوار من حاز كل قصبة السبق فى الجود فى مضمار الوجود
(٢) وحيد الدهر و فاقد البرايا فريد العصر فى بذل العطايا الفايز برحمة الله الملك
الوالى الولى [الا] مير الاعظم المعظم شجاع الملة و الدولة و الدنيا [و] الدين يار على اسكنه
الله تعالى فى فراديس جنانه و افاض عليه شاييب رحمته و رضوانه فى الثامن و العشرين من
شهر ذى قعدة سنة تسع و تسعمائة

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 Allāh 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 revolutions 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 'Alī, 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 twentyeighth of the month of Dhī'l-Qa'da, the year (A.H.) nine hundred and nine (28th Dhī'l-Qa'da A.H. 909=18th January 1504 A.D.).

The third inscription of the group is from the 'Idgāh 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 Fārūqī 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. 'Idgāh) 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 Jāmi' 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 *Nasḥ*. 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.

که این عمارت فرمود ما را	(۱) [الهی تو د] حمت کن پادشا را
[پادشاهی جاری] کن تا عرش ثنایرا	گذشته عمارت نو ساخت جایرا
که این عجب است هر دو طرف راه	(۲) [منو] د است و جای نمازگاه
نور جو دمیدست خورشید ماه	پیش از ان در چنان سایه پناه

(b) *On the middle arch.*

(۱) الهی تو رحمت کن آن پادشاه را	که این عمارت فرمود ما را
گذشته عمارت نو ساخت جارا	پادشاهی جاری کن تاعرش و ثنارا
(۲) هر انکس چو [آید بو]قت نماز	از نیست مر هر دو طرف [راه باز]
..... در چنان پناه	نور چو د [میلست خورشید]ید ماه

(c) *On the arch, first from the pulpit.*

(۱) شد آن عمارت مبارک تمام	بتاریخ نه صد نود هفت سال عام
بوقت پادشاهی عادلشاه	مرتب شد کار نمازگاه
(۲) در وقت عادل شهنشاه	سر انجام شد کار نمازگاه
الهی تو پناه کن این دیار را	چندانکه خورشید مه آباد را

TRANSLATION

(a) (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.¹

(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 'Adil 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 Jāmī' mosque built by 'Adil 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, literateur and calligrapher of Akbar's court, Mir Muḥammad Ma'gūm, with the poetical name Nāmī, 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 ? Ramaḍān 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 Urdibihisht of the

¹ It is not possible to correctly translate this faulty verse.

Ilāhī year 46 corresponding to *Shawwāl* A. H. 1009 (20th April 1601 A.D.). It also gives the genealogical details regarding Nāmī himself.¹

There is some confusion in the dates quoted in the epigraph. The Ilāhī year 45 and A.H. 1009 are perfectly distinct in this greatly damaged record but Farwardīn of Ilāhī year 45 did not coincide with Ramaḍān of A.H. 1009 but of A. H. 1008. This may have been an inadvertent mistake. Also according to Abu'l-Faḍl, the new Ilāhī year 45 started on the 4th Ramaḍān A. H. 1008,² in which case 11th Farwardīn was 14th Ramaḍān A. H. 1008. However 11th Farwardīn of Ilāhī year 46 was 25th Ramaḍān A. H. 1009. What seems to have happened is that Nāmī 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 Ramaḍān as the equivalent for 11th Farwardīn of Ilāhī 45, being perhaps caught unawares by the fact that in the Ilāhī year 46, 11th Farwardīn was 25th Ramaḍān. Also Abu'l-Faḍl gives the date of Akbar's entry to Burhanpur on the 21st Farwardīn of the Ilāhī year 45 which fell on the 24th Ramaḍān 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:—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (a)

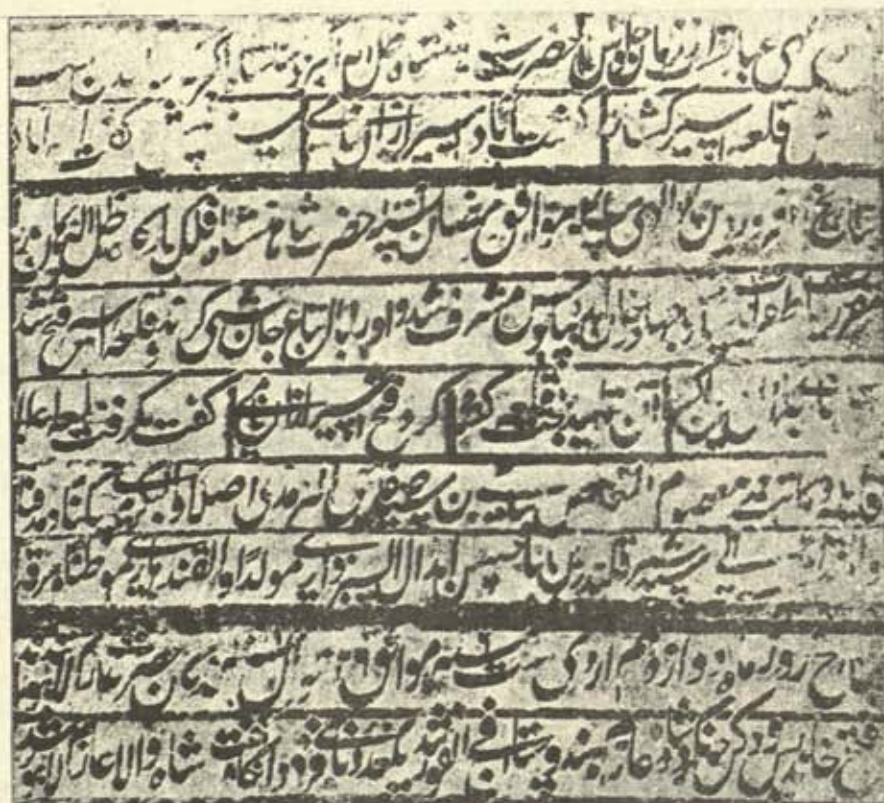
- (۱) [تاریخ الهی عبارتست از زمان جلوس حضرت شاهنشاه ظل اله اکبر بادشاه : شاه اکبر که ز تائید جوان بخت
- (۲) خویش قلعه اسیر کشاد گشت آباد اسیر از ان نامی سنه بیش گفت اله آباد
- (۳) بتاریخ ۱۱ فروردین ماه الهی سنه ۴۵ موافق [۲۵ ر] مضان سنه ۱۰۰۹ حضرت شاهنشاه فلک بارگاه ظل اله برهانپور
- (۴) مقر رایات ظفر آیات ساختند و بهادرخان آمده پیابوس مشرف شد و او را با اتباع جان بخشی کردند و قلعه اسیر فتح شد
- (۵) شاه غازی جلال الدین اکبر آن بتائید بخت قلعه کشا کرد فتح اسیر از ان نامی گفت بگرفت قلعه اعلا
- (۶) قائله و کاتبه محمد معصوم المتخلص به نامی بن سید صفائی الترمذی اصلاً و البکری مسکناً و مدفناً
- (۷) و المنتسب اماً الی سید شیر قلندر ابن بابا حسن ابدال السبزوادی مولداً و القندهاری موطناً و مرقداً

¹ A gist of this record with plate was published in M.A. Suboor, *Bulletins of the Nagpur Museum*, No. 1 (Allahabad, 1920), pp. 8-9, pl. III.

² Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*, vol. III (Lucknow, 1882), p. 530.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 531.

(a) Akbar's inscription, dated A.H. 1009, from Burhanpur (p. 72)

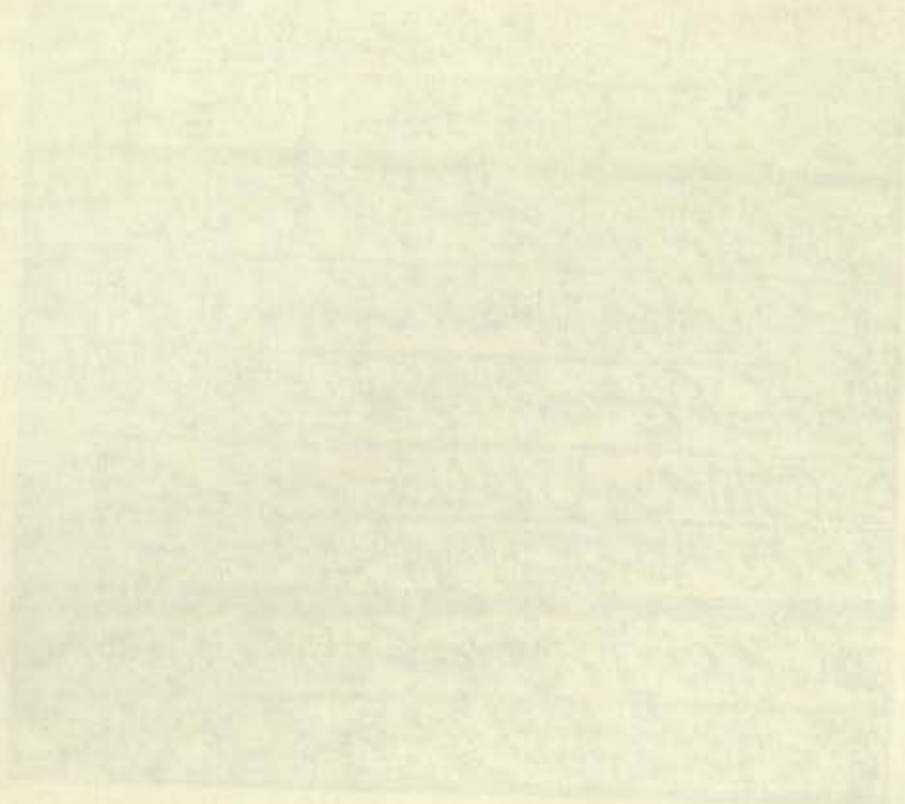


SCALE : -1

(b) Another record of Akbar, same place, same date (p. 74)



SCALE : -08



(۸) بتاریخ روز ماه دوازدهم اردی بهشت سنه ۴۶ موافق ۲۶ شوال سنه ۹۰۰ [۰.]، بلدگان

حصرت عازم لاهور شدند

(۹) فتح خاندیس و دکن چون کرد شاه عازم هندوستان فی الفور شد

یکعدد نامی فزود آن گاه گفت شاه والا عازم لاهور شد

TRANSLATION

(1) The Ilāhī era is meant to commence from the time of accession of His Majesty, the emperor, the shadow of God, Akbar Bādshāh (Verse :) The king who through the support of his young luck

(2) conquered the fort of Asīr; Asīr has become prosperous; hence Nāmī (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 Farwardīn of the Ilāhī year 46? corresponding to the 25th Ramaḍān (A.H.) 1009, His Majesty the emperor with the audience-hall of sky, the shadow of God, made Burhānpūr

(4) the camping ground of the victorious standards and Bahādur Khān having presented himself was granted the favour of paying obeisance (and) the emperor pardoned his as well as his dependants' lives. And the fort of Asīr was conquered.

(5) (Verse): Jalālu'd-Dīn Akbar, the victorious king who with the favour of his luck is conqueror of forts, reduced the fort of Asīr. Therefore, Nāmī (for the chronogram of its date) said, 'He took the lofty fort.'

(6) The composer and engraver (of this) is Muḥammad Ma'sūm, whose pen-name is Nāmī, son of Sayyid Ṣafā'ī, a't-Tirmidhī by origin and al-Bakkārī by domicile and by death, and

(7) related on mother's side to Sayyid Shīr Qalandar, son of Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl, a's-Sabzwārī by birth and al-Qandahārī by domicile and by death.

(8) On the 12th of the month Urdūbihisht of the year 46 corresponding to the 26th Shawwāl (A. H.) 1009, His Majesty set out for Lāhore.

(9) (Verse): When the king conquered Khāndesh and Dakan, he at once started for Hindūs-tān (i.e. North India). Nāmī added one figure and then said (for the chronogram), 'The exalted king started for Lāhore.'

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 Ilāhī 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 Allaha-bad.¹ This is not corroborated by the inscription. The text does not use the word *Ilāhābād* in the sense of the famous city, but in its literal meaning. Likewise, Mr. Suboor in his summary

¹ R.B. Hiralal, *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar* (Nagpur, 1916), p. 71.

of this epigraph states that Akbar marched from Akbarābād to capture the fort of Āsir,¹ 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 'Ādil 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 Nāmī and states that this record was inscribed in A.H. 1009 (1601 A.D.) at the time when Akbar after having conquered Āsir and Aḥmadnagar, started for Lāhore. It also gives the same genealogical details about himself as in the previous record.² The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* 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.

- (۱) انظروا الى اهل القبور فاعتبروا يا اولى الابصار
(۲) لما قيل غفلة الاحياء اكثر ام حسرة الاموات
(۳) قال عيسى عم الدنيا قنطرة فاعبروها ولا تعمروها

(b) Second and third panels.

- (۱) فریاد رحیل از همه کس میشنوی آواز دراز پیش و پس میشنوی
(۲) کرده همه شبگیر بسر منزل دور تو خفته بره بانگ جرس میشنوی
(۳) نامی ز زمانه بار بردار دو آرد بان جهان سبکبار
تو خفته براه و کاروان تیز تو سنگ خودی ز راه بر خیز

(c) Fourth panel.

- (۱) در حینی که حضرت ظل اله جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه از فتح قلعه اسیر
(۲) و "احمد انگر" وا پرداخته متوجه لاهور شدند تحریر یافت سنه ۱۰۰۹
(۳) العبد محمد معصوم بن سید صفائی اباً و البکری مرقداً و الترمذی اصلاً
(۴) و بن سید شیر بن بابا حسن ابدال امأ و القندهاری مشهداً و السبزواری مولیاً

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 "احمد انگر" may be noted. For coins of Jahāngir from Aḥmadnagar 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 possessors 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 Aḥmadānagar set out for Lāhore, (this record) was inscribed. Year (A.H.) 1009 (1601 A.D.).

(3) (Written by) the servant, Muḥammad Ma'gūm, 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 Ḥasan 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-Sarāi* at Burhanpur. The record comprises four lines of writing in Persian executed in *Nasta'liq* of a high order. It mentions the completion of the *sarāi* under royal orders in A.H. 1027 (1618 A.D.) during the governorship of the province of Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān, the commander-in-chief. The work was supervised by Lashkar Khān.

TEXT

Plate XXIV(b)

- (۱) در عهد سلطنت ظل الله فی الارضین نور الدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه غازی
 (۲) خلد الله ملکه و عدله و احسانه و صاحب صوبگی خان خانان سپهسالار
 (۳) خلد شوکنه حسب الامر جهانمطاع باهتمام بنده درگاه خلایق پناه لشکر خان
 (۴) در سنه هزار و بیست و هفت این سرا باتمام رسید کتبه خلف التبریزے

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the shadow of Allāh in the worlds, Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bād-shāh-i-Ghāzī,

(2) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, justice and beneficence, and during the governorship of the province of Khān-i-Khānān, the *sipahsālār* (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 Khān, a servant of the people-sheltering court,

(4) this *sarā* was brought to completion in the year (A.H.) one thousand and twentyseven (A.H. 1027=1618 A.D.). Written by Khalaf a't-Tabrizī.

Lashkar Khān under whose charge the construction of the *sarāi* was carried out is too well-known to need detailed mention here. He was the *ducān* of Khandesh when Khān-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 Khān.¹ His name was Abu'l-Ḥasan Mashhadī.² As regards the scribe, Khālā a't-Tabrizī, no information is available in the annals of the period, but it may be recalled that he had also designed the epigraph of the *ḥammām* constructed at Burhanpur in A.H. 1024 by Khān-i-Khānān.³

The seventh record is found carved on a slab fixed into the compound-wall of the mosque called Masjid-i-Kabīr in the village Shendurni in Jamner *tālika* in Jalgaon district of Maharashtra. The inscriptional 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 Khān Fārūqī, son of Rāja 'Alī Khān, governor of Khandesh on behalf of Akbar. Bahādur Khān 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 Kabīr Khān Ghāzī, son of Sayyid Mir 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 Khān.

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

TEXT

Plate XXIV(c)

(۱) مسجد بهادر خان فاروقی بن راجه علی خان که منجانب شهنشاہ

(۲) اکبر حاکم صوبہ برہانپور خاندیس بود تعمیر کردہ است در احاطہ

(۳) دیوارش؟ مقبرہ کبیر خان غازی بن سید میر احمد کبیر رحمت اللہ علیہ بیست و ہا

ربیع آخر در سنہ ۱۰۷۱

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 *sūba* Burhānpūr-Khāndes. In the compound.

¹ Sayyid Ahmad, ed. *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Allypūrh, 1886), p. 257.

² For details of his career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthirul-Umarā*, 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 Khālafu'n-Nadhīr.

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 1114, from Burhanpur (p. 78) PLATE XXIV



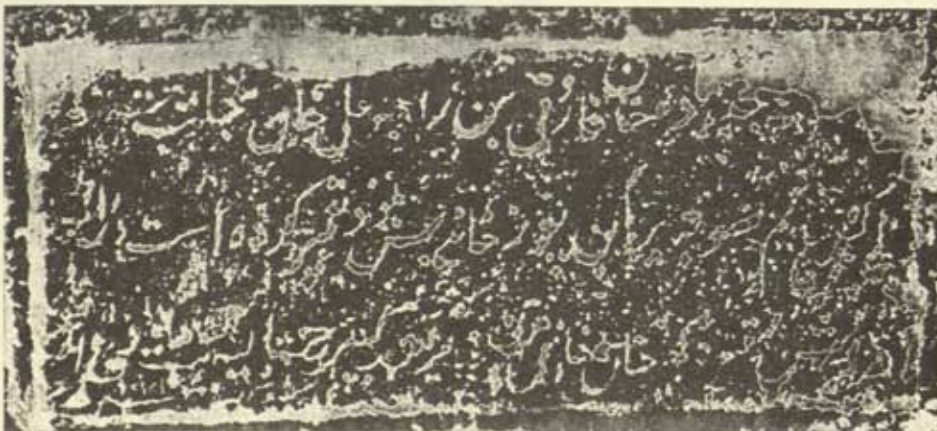
SCALE : .08

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



SCALE : .1

(c) Inscription, dated A.H. 1071, from Shendu ni (p. 76)



SCALE : .22

(b) Epitaph of Hāfiḡa Maryam, dated A.H. 1130,
same place (p. 79)

(a) Epitaph of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, dated
A.H. 1111, from Burhanpur (p. 77)



SCALE : '17



SCALE : '09

(3) of its wall ? (is) the tomb of Kabīr Khān Ghāzī, son of Sayyid Mīr Aḥmad Kabīr, may mercy of God be upon him. 20th of Rabī' 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 Maḥalla Ni'matpūra of Burhanpur and seems to record the date of death of one Mīrzā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, son of Mīrzā Abu'l-Faṭḥ al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusainī al-Injū'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 Thulth, while the tablet measures 30 by 30 cm.

Its text runs as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXV(a)

(۱) میرزا محمد ابراہیم ابن میرزا

(۲) ابو الفتح الحسنی الحسینی الانجوائی

(۳) فی خامس شهر رمضان المبارک سنہ ۱۱۱۱

TRANSLATION

(1) (Death occurred of) Mīrzā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, son of Mīrzā

(2) Abu'l-Faṭḥ al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusainī al-Injū'i

(3) on the fifth of the auspicious month of Ramadān, 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 Ṣūfī Nūr Shāh's tomb in the Maḥalla Ṣiḥat-Kuwān at Burhanpur. Its text is composed by Muḥammad Shāh, son of Hājī Ṣadr Shāh and a disciple of Shāikh Nūr Muḥammad Ridā'i—Ṣūfī Nūr Shāh 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 Muḥammad Shāh respectively. It also supplies some valuable information about Hājī Ṣadr Shāh, Muḥammad Shāh's father, who was, as we shall soon see, an official. We are told that the Hājī was the son of Imām Qulī, son of Shāh Sawār and that he came to India from Bukhārā and populated after his own name two villages, named Ṣadrpūr and Shāhpūr in the *pargana* Shākarpūr in the vicinity (*mudāf*) of Shāhjahanābād (Delhi) and settled there.

Hājī Ṣadr Shāh had also constructed a mosque at Jajmau in Kanpur district of Uttar Pradesh at the instance of Qilich Khān, the *ṣadr*'s-*ṣudūr* and the grandfather of Āṣaf Jāh I, in A.H. 1093 (1682 A.D.).¹ As Qilich Khān whose original name was 'Ābid Khān had spent some years at Bukhārā, first as Qādī and later as Shāikh'l-Islām,² it is a reasonable guess that the Hājī had accompanied him to India and was attached to him. After Qilich Khān's demise, he seems to have been enrolled in the service of the former's son, Nawwāb Ghāzī'u'd-Dīn Bahādur Fīrūz Jang. For, he was in A.H. 1113 the deputy, at Bid in Maharashtra, of Fīrūz Jang when the latter held charge of the province of Deccan—from Bijapur to Aurangabad.³ He seems to have been

¹ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1961-62, No. D. 317.

² For 'Ābid Khān's career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 120-22.

³ *EIM*, 1921-22, p. 16.

mainly responsible for the foundation of the suburb Ghāziū'd-Din-Nagar, a bastion, a mosque in the tomb of Shāhīnshāh Walī, all at Bid, etc., between the years A.H. 1113 and A.H. 1118, as indicated by several inscriptions at that place.¹ At least one of these, dated A.H. 1118, was composed in verse by the Hājī'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 *Nasta'liq* 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)

(۱) صلی الله علیه و سلم بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم قطعه
 (۲) نود نه نام حق احصا نمودن بقول سرورم جنت مرین است
 پسای محصی بهر سه سیر کردی محمد شاه را رخصت چنین است
 (۳) بنده درگاه ولد حاجی صدر شاه ابن شاه امام قلی بن شاه سوار که والد فقیر
 (۴) از بخارا به هندوستان آمده بنام خود قریات صدرپور و شاهپور در پرگنه شکرپور مضاف
 (۵) شاهجهان آباد آباد ساخته وطن اختیار کرد و این خاکپای قطب الهی حضرت شیخ
 نور محمد رضائی

(۶) نور الله قلبی بنوره اینعمارت در سن ظهورابد ۱۱۱۸ تعمیر نمود و تاریخ وصال
 ۲۷ بیست و هفتم شهر رجب سنه ۱۱۱۴ هجری بود قطعه

(۷) در تلاش لفظ تاریخ وصال پیر خود بودم آمد این ندا از غیب درگوش دلم
 کای محمد شاه تاریخ مبارکرا بگو اینکه طالب در حریم یار باهشدد 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.²

(3) The servant of the court, son of Hājī Sadr 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, Sadrpūr and Shāhpūr (called) after his name, in the Shakarpūr pargana in the vicinity of

(5) Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) and settled there. And this dust of the feet of the pole-star of God, Hadrat Shāikh Nūr Muḥammad Ridā'ī,

(6) may God enlighten my heart by his light, constructed this building in the year of *eternal existence*,³ 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 :

¹ *EIM*, op. cit., pp. 19-21, 23-24.

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 Hāfiẓa 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 'Alī-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 Madina, 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 Ghīyāthū'd-Dīn, son of Maṣṣūr al-Ḥusainī al-Injū'ī.

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

TEXT

Plate XXV(b)

(a) Top corners.

كل شئى هالك الا وجهه كل من عليها فان

(b) Within the arch.

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- (۲) اللهم صل على محمد المصطفى
- (۳) و على المرتضى و فاطمة الزهراء و الحسن المجتبى
- (۴) و الحسين الشهيد بكر بلا و زين العابدين
- (۵) و محمد و جعفر و موسى و على و محمد
- (۶) و على و الحسن و الحجة المنتظر المهدى
- (۷) صلوة الله و سلام عليهم اجمعين الطاهرين
- (۸) وفدت على الكريم بغير زاد من الحسنات و القلب السليم
- (۹) فحمل الزاد اتيح كل شئ اذا كان الوفود على الكريم
- (۱۰) تاريخ وفات را چو جستم شد جنت سبز جاى مریم سنه ۱۱۳۰

(c) Around the border.

قد فاتت السيدة المبرورة المغفورة الموقفة قارئة القرآن المجيد وزائرة بيت الله الحرام و مجاورتها فيها حجتين و اداء الحجين و زيارة جدّها سيد المرسلين و جدتها سيّدة نساء العالمين و سائر ائمة الطاهرين صلوة الله عليهم فى روضاتهم المقدسة سمية ام عيسى عليه و على نبينا السلام مریم بنت المرحوم الاجل الامجد محمد بن على موسى الحسينى المازندراني المخاطب بمفتخر خان

فى يوم الخميس ثانى عشر شهر جمادى الاولى سنة ثلثين و مائة بعد الالف من الهجرة النبوية
كتبه العبد المنعم المهموم المحزون المهجور زوجها و ابن ابن اخت ابيها ابو الفضل خان بن
غياث الدين بن منصور الحسنى الحسينى الابخونى

TRANSLATION

(a) 'Everything is mortal except His Face.'¹ 'Everything which is on it (i.e. on the earth) will perish.'²

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

(2-7) *Shiite durūd*.

(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 *qāriyya* of the glorious *Qur'ān*, the visitor of the Holy House of Allāh where she stayed for two years (lit. two *hajjs*), performing two pilgrimages and visiting the tombs of her ancestor, the chief of the prophets (Prophet Muḥammad), of her ancestress, the chief of all the women of the world (Fāṭima), and of the remaining holy Imāms, may blessings of Allāh 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 (Muḥammad), that is to say Maryam, daughter of the late highly respected grandee, Muḥammad, son of 'Alī Mūsā al-Ḥusainī al-Māzandarānī entitled Muftakḥar 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-Faḍl Khān, son of Ghiyāthud-Dīn, son of Maṅgūr al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusainī al-Injū'ī.

Maryam of our inscription is evidently identical with Hāfiẓa Maryam, the tutoress of Princess Zaibu'n-Nisā, daughter of Aurangzeb, according to Shāh Nawāz Khān.³ 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-Faḍl Khān. Likewise, it is not possible to establish satisfactorily the identity of Maryam's father Muftakḥar Khān with the original name Muḥammad, son of 'Alī Mūsā al-Māzandarānī. The only Muftakḥar Khān who is mentioned by historians is Mīr Khalīl, son of A'zam Khān Jahāngīr Shāhī, who later received the title of Khān-i-Zamān. He was associated with Burhanpur in the capacity of governor at least twice and is said to have had constructed his residence in that city.⁴ It is possible that these chroniclers or the copyists may have made some mistake about the true name of the said Muftakḥar Khān, if he is identical with the Muftakḥar Khān of our inscription. In any case, the inscription has preserved the names of two titled grandees of the time of Aurangzeb.

¹ *Qur'ān*, chapter XXVIII, part of verse 88.

² *Ibid.*, chapter I.V, verse 26.

³ Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 828.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 785-792.

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.¹ 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 acknowledgment.—Ed.]

In April 1961, three impressions of a bilingual inscription, found at Bidar and now preserved in the Hyderabad Museum,² 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 verse³ except the word *śrīḥ* at the beginning and at the end, and the words *idaṁ cha* in line 19 just before the date. It is written in *Nāgarī* characters of the 15th century. The change of final *m* and the class nasal to *anusvāra* may be noted as an orthographical peculiarity of the epigraph.

The inscription is dated both in a chronogram⁴ (*tarka-ras-ānala-chandra*) and in figures as the Śaka year 1366, Raktākṣi, Āsvayuja śu. 10, Monday, Śravaṇa-[nakṣatra] and Dhruva-yōga, 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.⁵

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a step-well by Sahanājhā (Persian, *Shahnāz*), queen of the Bahmanī king Aḥmad Shāh I and mother of Maḥmūd Khān, during the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II (1436-58) who was the son and successor of Aḥmad Shāh I.

The record begins with the word *śrīḥ* which is followed by a verse in adoration to the god Aja (unborn), i.e. Brahman (verse 1). Then it introduces the Bahmanī king Aḥmad I (verse 2). His capital, the city Bidar, is next compared with the cities of Mahēndra and Kubēra (verse 3). A hill called Nūnaka is mentioned in relation to the said city (verse 4). Originally, the capital of the Bahmanī kings was at Gulbarga and Aḥmad Shāh I changed the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar.⁶

¹ R. M. Joshi, 'Sanskrit Version of the Bilingual Inscription from the State Museum, Hyderabad', *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1959 and 60, pp. 38-40 (pl. VIIIa).

² *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1956-57, No. D. 7.

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 Daṇḍin 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.

⁶ H. K. Sherwānī, *The Bahmanīs of Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1953), pp. 180-84 and p. 215, n.8.

Verse 5 describes the army of the Bahmanī king and refers to the commanders in charge of his forts and to his Malīkas, Khānas and innumerable castles. Next it is stated that the king's commander imprisoned the living ruler of Rājamahēndra-durga and that his minister made Dēvarāja to pay tribute to him (verse 6).

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

The Bahmanī king had a queen named Bibī Sahanājāh (Shahnāz) (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 ('Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II) son of Sultān Aḥmad (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 Sahanājāh (Shahnāz), may last as long as the sun and the moon endure (verse 15).

TEXT⁵

Plate XXVI

[Metres : verses 1, 3-4, 7, 11-13 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Upajāti* ; verses 5-6, 8 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 9 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 10, 15 *Upagītā* ; verse 14 *Āryā*.]

- 1 Śrīḥ || Ajāya jagad-utpatti-sthiti-samhāra-kāriṇē | triḡuṇā[ya] ḡuṇ-ātita-mūrtayē Brahmanē na-
- 2 maḥ || [1*] Tad-ājñay=ājāyata bhūtalē=smin bhūri-pratāp-ā[na]la-t²pi[t-ā]riḥ | Ahammadō ḍṛipta-narēndra-pakshi-śyē-
- 3 nō mahān Bahmani-pātiśāhah || [2*] Mahēndrasya Kubērsaya nagarī na garīyasī | apēkshā Bēdaram yasya na-

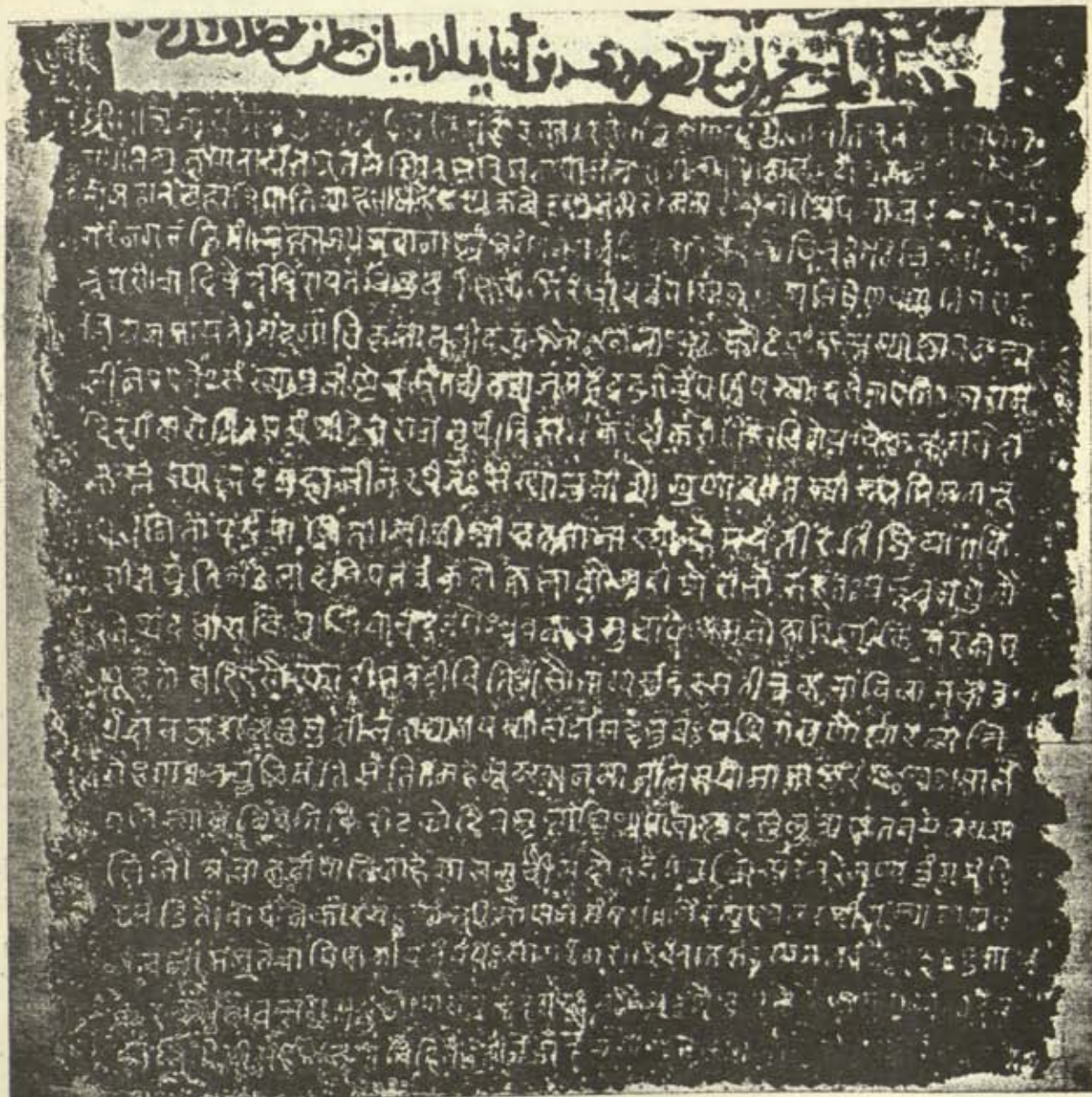
¹ M. S. Sarma, *History of the Redḍi Kingdoms* (Waltair, 1948), pp. 190-93 ; *Epigraphia Indica* (EI), vol. XXXIII, p. 2.

² EI, *op. cit.*

³ Joshi has confused Maḥmūd Khān with Muḥammad Khān who was joined by Devarāja II of Vijayanagara in a conspiracy resulting in an unsuccessful revolt against his brother, the ruling king 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II. The latter pardoned him and gave the *jāgīr* of Rājāchal to him. The Persian portion states that Maḥmūd probably held Māhūr (reading of which in the Sanskrit portion is doubtful) and not Rājāchal. This clearly shows that Aḥmad Shāh I had three sons, namely 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II, the immediate successor, Maḥmūd Khān, son born to him by Bibī 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 *Alābandī* and seems to translate it as 'the servant of God'. It is, therefore, surprising how he ascribes the present record to the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II. Perhaps the name Ahammada in line 2 was taken by him to refer to 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad 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.



- 4 garam naga-ram[jitam(tam)] || [3*] Muktamayaṁ pravāl-ā[ḍhyaṁ] purāṁ śra(śrī)-bha-
vanam hi yat | uchchair=ambhōdhi-vad=bhā[ti] chitram Nānaka-
- 5 bhūdharām(ram) || [4*] Vāditrair=badhirāyatē tribhuvanaṁ [dhūlī]bhir=amdhāyatē
yasmin rājya (rājy=a) bhishōṇayaty=ati-bharād=bhū-
- 6 miś=cha na[mrā]yatē yad-durg-ādhikṛitā malika-ghanāḥ khānāḥ puraḥ kōṭayaḥ kas=tasy=
Āhmada-Bahma-
- 7 nī-narapatēḥ Saṁkhyātum=ishṭē chamūm(mūm) || [5*] [Jīva]d-Rājamahēndra-durga-
nripa[tiṁ] yasy=[āgra]-sēnāpatiḥ kārāmaṁ-
- 8 dīra-gaṁ [karōti] ∪ ∪— śrī-Dēvarājān nripaṁ(pam) | vikrāntaṁ karadīkarōti sachivō
yaś=ch=aikakaḥ sarvadā
- 9 kas=tasy=Āhmada-Bahmanī-narapatēḥ saṁkhyātum=īśō guṇān || [6*] Tasy=āsty=abhimatā
bhū-
- 10 pa-vanitā paryupāsītā | Bībī śrī-Sahanājha-ākhyā hrōpayamti¹ ratim śrīyā || [7*] Kim
- 11 śtadyuti-maṁḍalād=abhipatat kuṁd-ōjva(jjva)lā kaumudī smēr-āmbhōruhataḥ prabhūta-
madhunō
- 12 nishyaṁda-dhārā kimu | kim vā chaṁdramaṇēḥ śravan=nava-sudhā-vē[lā] maṁḍhāriṇī
kim vā ratna-sa-
- 13 mūhatō bahir=asau sphāribhavad-dīdhitīḥ || [8*] Saubhāgya-suṁdara-satīva-kalā-vilāsa- chā-
tu-
- 14 rya-drā(dā)na-kuśalatva-suśīlat-ā[ḍyāḥ] | yasyām sadā saha-bhuvāḥ prathitā guṇ-aughā
ratnāni
- 15 Rōhaṇa-prithu-dyutimaṁti saṁti | [9*] Mahamūda-khāna-nā[mā tanayō]² Mām..³ [pu]-
ram yasyāḥ | pāla-
- 16 yati sm=āvanipati-kirīṭa-kōṭi-pramṣiṣṭ-āṁghriḥ || [10*] Sā ch=Āhmada-Sulutrāṇa-tanayē
naya-śā-
- 17 lini | Allābadī-pātisāhō śāsaty=ūrvīm mahōdayē || [11*] Tasmin puravarē=gaṇya-tuṅga-
maṁdi-
- 18 ra-maṁḍitē | vāpīm=akārayad=ramyām bhūri-sōpāna-saṁpadām-(dam) || [12*] Niṁdaty=
upavanaṁ ramyaṁ yasyā.....va-

¹ Joshi, *op. cit.*, reads: *Sulatānā-Rama hemayanti*.

² These *akṣaras* are engraved on something else previously engraved. The first two of the four *akṣaras* appear to have been corrected from the originally incised word *jani*.

³ The last *akṣara* of this name in three *akṣaras* is written above the line and looks like *rya* or *ff*.

- 19 nam vanam(nam) | manutē ch=āpi pāniyam tam payah sāgarām garam(ram) || [13*] idam
cha | tarka-ras-ānala-chandrai¹ 1366 Śā-
- 20 kē Raktākshi-vatsar-Āśvayujī | māsē śukla-daśamyaṁ Sōmē Śravaṇē Dhruvē yōgē || [14*]..
.....n=Āhmada-Ba-
- 21 hmanī-Bībī-[sa]hanājhayā vihitā | ā-chandir-ārkaṁ.....s=ānamdīnī jagataḥ || [15*]
Śrīḥ ||

¹ Joshi, *op. cit.*, reads: idam chātaka.....chandrah.

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 Aligarh), 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, Rajshahi. 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-Makhtūtāt-i-Fārsiyya*—The Persian Manuscripts Society, Hyderabad-Dn., and was mainly responsible for bringing out important historical works like *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, *Chach-Nāma*, *Riyādu'l-Inshā'* and *Tughluq-Nāma*. 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*.

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-Moslemica*, 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-Moslemica* 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-Moslemica* :—

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, 'Alāu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd, Nāsiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Balban and Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Kaiqubād.
3. A New Inscription of Sultān Nugrat Shāh of Bengal.
4. Inscriptions in Golconda Fort.
5. Two Inscriptions of king Husain 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.
9. Inscriptions of the Bijapur Kings, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, from Naldrug, Nizam's Dominions.
10. Inscription of Khāfi Khān from Narasapur.
11. Inscriptions of the Khalji Sultāns of Delhi and their contemporaries in Bengal.
12. Inscriptions of the Qutb Shāhi kings in Hyderabad City and Suburbs.
13. Inscriptions of Nizām Shāhi Kings from Antur Fort, Aurangabad District.
14. Inscriptions at Bodhan, Nizamabad 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 Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq from Rajahmundry.
21. Some unpublished Inscriptions from the Jaipur State.
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 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji from Rakasgi 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 Dornhalli, 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 Sultān Husain Shāh of Bengal from the village Margram, Police Station Khargram, District Murshidabad.
37. An Inscription from Raisen Fort in the Bhopal State.
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48. A Qutb Shāhī Inscription from Patancheru, Medak District, Hyderabad State.
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50. Inscription of Sultān Balban from Bayana, Bharatpur State.
51. Inscription of Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn Tughluq from Asarawa Khurd near Allahabad.
52. Two Persian Inscriptions from Dhamoni, Sanger 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 Qutbu'd-Dīn from Rasulkhanji Museum, Junagarh.

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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ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

1963

A NEW INSCRIPTION OF SIKANDAR SHAH OF BENGAL FROM BIHAR ?

BY DR. QEYAMUD-DIN AHMAD¹

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 dailies 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 correspondence with Shri Singh requesting him to let me copy the inscription. He very kindly acceded to my request and I accordingly took an estampage.² 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 Taghī Khān, son of Bughrā 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 *Naskh*, 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 *alif* 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 'Abu'l-Mujāhid' it is very likely that the engraver omitted the word 'ابو' before 'المجاهد' in the first line. Another peculiarity about the text of the record is that the well-known *Hadith* 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 (ARIE)*, 1962-63 under No. D, 17.

³ H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. II (Oxford, 1907), Nos. 45-62; Shamsu'd-Din Ahmad, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. IV (Rajshahi, 1960), pp. 34-38.

The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate I(a)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ خَيْرَ الْأَسْمَاءِ بَنَاهَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ الْمُجَاهِدِ سَكَنْدَرِ شَاهِ ابْنِ الْيَاسِ
شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ صَاحِبِ

(٢) الْبِنَاءِ خَانْكَبِيرٍ وَ تَهْمَنَ بِيَنْظِيرِ الْخَطِّ طَغْيِيخَانَ بْنِ بَغْرَاخَانَ أَدَامَ اللَّهُ مَعَالِيَهُ أَصْرَفَ
مَالِهِ بِرِضَاءٍ ؟

(٣) اللَّهُ تَعَالَى - قَالَ النَّبِيُّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا فِي دَارِ الدُّنْيَا بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ قَصْرًا
فِي [١] لَجْنَةِ فِي الْآخِرَةِ مِنَ الْمَحْرَمِ سَنَةِ تِسْعٍ وَ سِتِّينَ وَ سَبْعِمِائَةٍ

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the best of names. This mosque was constructed in the reign of the sultān, warrior in the cause of religion, Sikandar Shāh, son of Ilyās Shāh. The master of

(2) this charitable deed (i.e. the builder) is the great Khān and the unrivalled general, Ulugh Taghī Khān, son of Bughrā Khān, may Allāh perpetuate his glories. He spent his money for seeking the pleasure of

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

Nothing is known about the two personages, Taghī Khān or his father Bughrā Khān mentioned in the inscription. But there should be little doubt that Taghī Khān 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 Shāh 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.

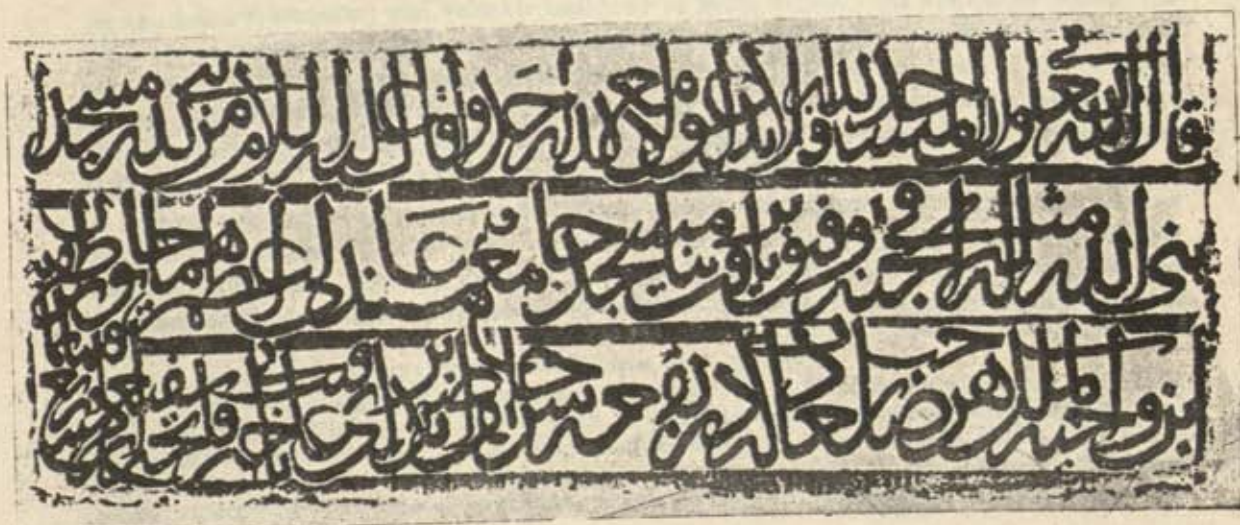
² Italics mine.

(a) Inscription of Sikandar Shāh, dated A. H. 769, from Champanagar (p. 2) PLATE I

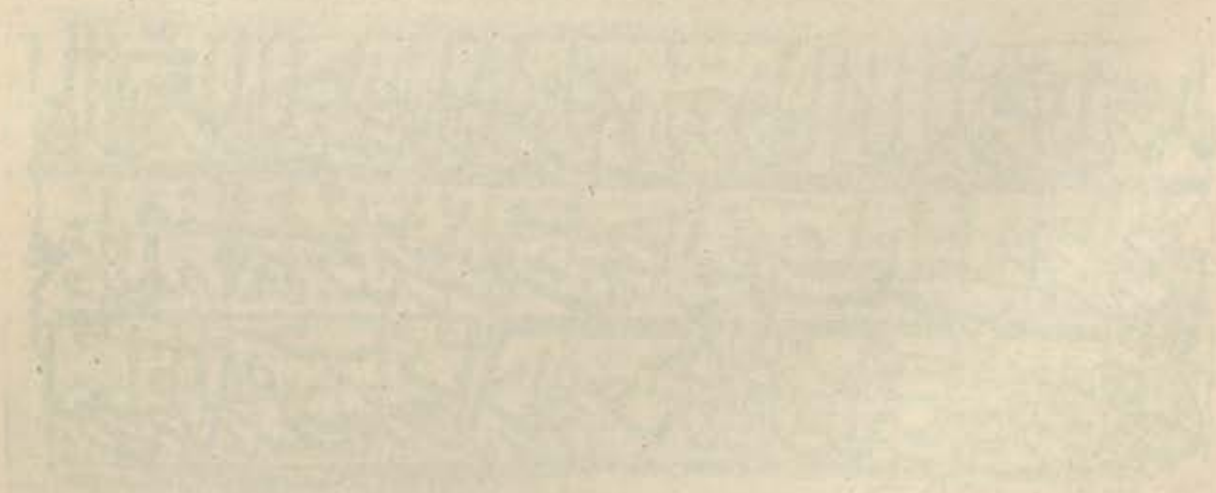
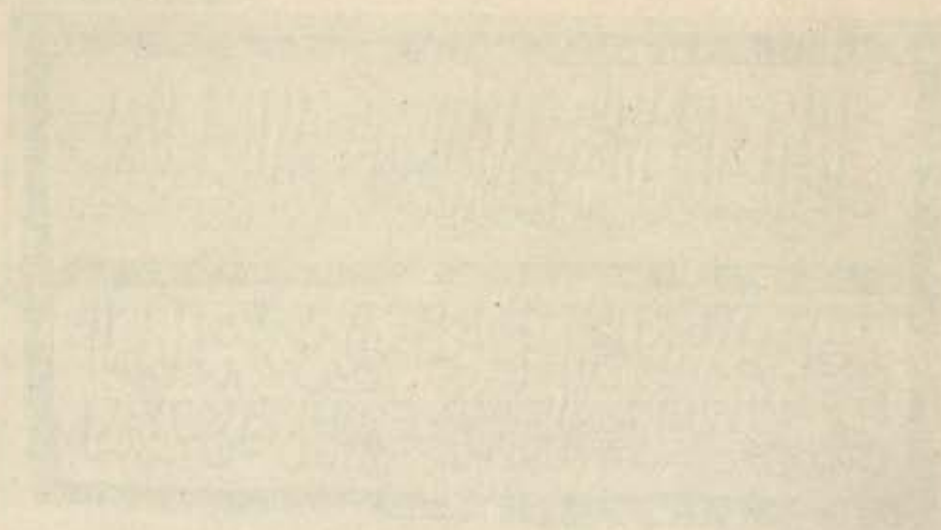


SCALE : ·17

(b) Inscription of Muzaffar Shāh I, dated A.H. 804, from Munjpur (p. 6)



SCALE : ·25



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 Firūz 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.

Firūz Tughluq's two expeditions against Bengal during the reigns of both Ilyās Shāh and Sikandar Shāh are well-known.¹ It is also definitely established that he annexed Bihar from the Bengal rulers. Firūz 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 Firūz Tughluq in village Tajpur-Basahi in District Saran.² This inscription commemorates the construction of a fort by Mukhlis Dā'ūd Khānī in A. H. 774 (1372 A.D.). This is an unimpeachable evidence of the continued political hold of Firūz Tughluq over North Bihar also.

The Tajpur record was inscribed fifteen years after Firūz Tughluq's expedition against Sikandar Shāh. The latter's inscription is dated 1367 A.D. Even if we assume that Sikandar Shāh re-occupied part of North Bihar after Firūz Tughluq's expedition of 1357-58 A.D., how are we to account for the Tajpur inscription of Firūz Tughluq? There is absolutely no evidence to the effect that Firūz Tughluq had to re-occupy North Bihar after 1357 A.D. It is also to be noted that inscriptions of Firūz's successors, Muḥammad Shāh and Maḥmūd Shāh, bearing as late a date as A.H. 810, have been found in Bihar at Bihar Sharif, Maner and Kako.³ 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 Mullā Taqiyyā. He has clearly stated that after the expulsion of Ilyās Shāh by Firūz Tughluq, Bengal lost its hold over Bihar for over a full century and that it was only Bārbak Shāh 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 Sharqīs of Jaunpur. Mullā Taqiyyā's statement on this point is worth quoting, in English translation, in full :—

"Although Firūz Tughluq had earlier overpowered Sultān Shamsu'd-Dīn Ilyās Shāh and had brought the kingdom of Tihut under his control, later on it became an appanage of the Sharqī kingdom. Still later, after 121 years, in A.H. 875, Ruknu'd-Dīn Bārbak Shāh having gathered together the Bengal Afghāns prepared a multitudinous army for the conquest of the Tihut king-

¹ Sir J. N. Sarkar, ed. *History of Bengal*, vol. II (Dacca, 1948), pp. 106-12.

² *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 25. This inscription was first noticed by W. Hoey who described it in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. LXIX (1900), p. 79. However, he could not decipher it and consequently failed to identify the name of the king. An old estampage 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 inscriptional tablet still existed, I visited the place in August 1962 and obtained its estampages.

³ *ARIE*, 1952-53, No. C, 6; *ibid.*, 1953-54, No. C, 100; *ibid.*, 1955-56, Nos. D, 80, 86; *ibid.*, 1960-61, No. D, 8. These have been edited in *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1951 and 1952, p. 15, pl. VIIa; *ibid.*, 1955 and 1956, p. 10, pl. IIc; and *ibid.*, 1961, p. 30, pl. VIIa, p. 33, pl. Xc, p. 34, pl. Xb.

dom which was under the occupation of Hussain 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."¹

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.²

How then we are 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 Aśokan pillar edicts to Delhi by Firūz 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'd-Dīn Husain 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.

¹ Ilyās Rahmānī, 'Abd-i-Islāmī men Darbhanga par ek Majmū'ī Nazar', *Mu'asir*, Patna, May-June, 1949, pp. 100-101.

² *Ibid.*, The text is :

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا في الجنة بنى هذا المسجد
في زمن الامام نايب الخليفة امير المؤمنين ابو الفتح ابراهيم شاه السلطان خلعت خلفه سنة
خمس و ثمانماية

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,¹ 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.² 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.³ They represent all the sultans except Muhammad Shāh I, Qutbu'd-Dīn Ahmad Shāh II, Mahmūd Shāh II, Sikandar Shāh, Ahmad Shāh III and Muzaffar Shāh III.⁴ 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.⁵ 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—noblemen, administrative personnel, saints, etc.—who are otherwise unknown. Among these personages are: Malik Naṣīru'd-Dīn Mahmūd, son of Malik Dā'ūd; Khān-i-A'zam Asad Khān; Khwāja Khāṣṣa, son of Wajih, *hājib* (chamberlain) of the court; Maliku'l-Umarā Malik Marjān Sultānī; Khān-i-A'zam Kamāl Khān; Khwāja 'Alī Khān; and Maliku'sh-Sharq Shams, son of Mubārak, entitled *Shamshīru'l-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. Karīm, son of Khusraw, *mutaṣarrif* (accountant) of the *shiq* of Asāwal (modern Ahmadabad); Malik Khīshbāsh Sultānī, *kotwāl* of the province ('*arga*') of Gujarat; Maliku'sh-Sharq Jamālu'd-Dīn Bihāmad, *nāib* (deputy) of the king; Malik 'Abdu'llāh Sultānī, *kotwāl* of the city of Nahrwāla (modern Patan); Budh, son of Kamāl, royal *aslahadār* (arms-bearer); Malik Aman, *muqti* of Cambay; Malik Sīrāj, *kotwāl* of the city of Nahrwāla; and Jamāl, son of Fathu'llāh, *alias* Malik Makhdūm, *nadīm* (boon-companion) of Mahmūd Shāh I. As against these, only two of the nobles mentioned in these epigraphs are wellknown; Khān-i-A'zam Ulugh Khān and Malik Sārang entitled *Qiwāmu'l-Mulk*.

¹ *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 49-77; *ibid.*, 1961, pp. 1-24; and *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 1-40.

² These have been listed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)* 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, Mahmūd II, Sikandar and Muzaffar 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 Muhammad Turk of Kāshghar 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 Yahyā, son of Tandel Nānyā, on account of his profession: obviously a ship-master, he is mentioned as an employee of Khān-i-A'zam 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.¹ 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*,² but is now reduced to a small town in the *Samī tālika* 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,³ while the district gazetteer briefly reported it to contain 'the name of Zāfar Khān, son of Vajihul-Mulk'.⁴ 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 in relief on a slab measuring 64 by 36 cm. which is fixed over the central *mihrāb* of the said *Jāmi'* mosque.⁵ 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 Masnad-i-'Alī A'zam Humāyūn Zāfar Khān, son of Wajihul-Mulk, in 1401-02 A.D. The style of writing is ornamental *Naskh* with *Tughra* flourishes.

TEXT

Plate I(b)

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

الله مسجدا

(۲) بنى الله له مثله في الجنة توفيق يافت بر بنا [ی] مسجد جامع مسند عالی اعظم

همايون ظفر خان

¹ *ELAPS*, 1961, pp. 2-3.

² *Sikandar, Mir'at-i-Sikandari* (Baroda, 1961), pp. 407, 425, 426; 'Alī Muhammad Khān, *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadī*, Supplement (Baroda, 1930), pp. 203-04.

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.

⁵ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 67.

(۳) ابن وجیه الملک هر صاحب سعادت که در بقعه شریف حاضر آید برای عاقبت
خیر بانه فاتحه شفیع آرد سه اربع و ثمانماید

TRANSLATION

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

(2) Allāh builds for him a similar house in Paradise.' For the construction of the Jāmi'-Masjid, blessed was with divine guidance Masnad-i-Āli A'zam Humāyūn Zafar Khān,

(3) son of Wajihu'l-Mulk. Every fortunate person who visits this noble abode should by reciting *fātiḥa* 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 Jāmi' 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 Khān, '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 Karīm, son of Khusrāw, the *mutasarrif*⁶ (accountant) of the *shiq* of Asawal. According to an epigraph found at Harsol in Sabarkantha district, Karīm was also responsible for the construction of a fort at that place in the following year.⁷ The Harsol 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 Karīm from historical works except that he was one of the nobles who revolted against Ahmad Shāh I immediately after the latter's accession,⁸ these two records provide at least this information that Karīm was the *mutasarrif* of the *shiq* of Asāwalin

¹ *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

² *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 48.

³ For an account of Kapadwanj, see *BG*, vol. III, Kaira and Panch Mahals (Bombay, 1879), pp. 171-73. Some useful references will also be found in S. H. Hodiwala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, vol. I (Bombay, 1939), p. 67.

⁴ Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 80, 111, 103, 399, 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 Jāmi' mosque. But this monument has only one more inscription, also in Persian verse, recording the construction of a mosque in 1370-71 A.D. (*EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 17-18).

⁶ For the duties, etc., of the post of *mutasarrif*, see I. H. Quraishī, *Administration of the Delhi Sultanate* (Lahore, 1944), pp. 208-09.

⁷ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 40. This inscription, now deposited in the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, was edited by me in the *Bulletin of the Museum & Picture Gallery, Baroda*, vol. X-XI (1953-1955), pp. 53-61.

⁸ Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

A.H. 806 and 807. Another interesting feature of these records is the mention of Asāwal in the immediat 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 Harsol in the north and Kapadwanj in the east.

The epigraph is also remarkable for its calligraphical style. The ornamental *Naskh* employed here is similar to, though not so fine as, the Baroda inscription of Zafar *Khān*.¹ Its text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate II(c)

بسعد اختر و میمون زمان و فرخ قال	(۱) بنیک طالع فرخنده مه همایون سال
بنا نهاد حصاری چنین بدیع مثال	(۲) ببهترین بلاد و بنغز تر جائی
مظفر ست بر اعدا[ی] دین همه احوال	(۳) وزیر مشرق و مغرب الغ ظفر خان انک
گزیده طبع و ستوده صفات خوب خصال	(۴) فلک جناب ملک قدر آسمان رتبت
نوید من دخله کان امنای الحال	(۵) چه سان حصار که بر داخلش ملک آرد
ز هجرت نبوی هیصد و ششم از سال	(۶) تمام گشت بماء رمضان و بوده است
قوی چو سبع شداد و متین چو قطب شمال	(۷) بنا[ی] عمر و اساس مراد بانی باد

In the left border.

قرمایش کریم خسرو متصرف شق اساول

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, Ulugh Zafar *Khān* 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'.²

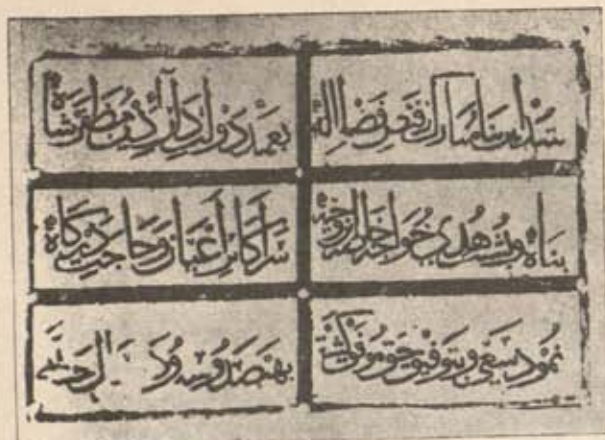
(6) It was completed in the month of Ramadān and it has been from the Migration of the Prophet eight hundred and sixth year (Ramadān A.H. 806=March-April 1404 A.D.).

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

² *Qur'ān*, chapter II, part of verse 97.

PLATE II

(a) Inscription of Muḡaffar Shāh I, dated A.H. 813, from Patan (p. 13)



SCALE : '18

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

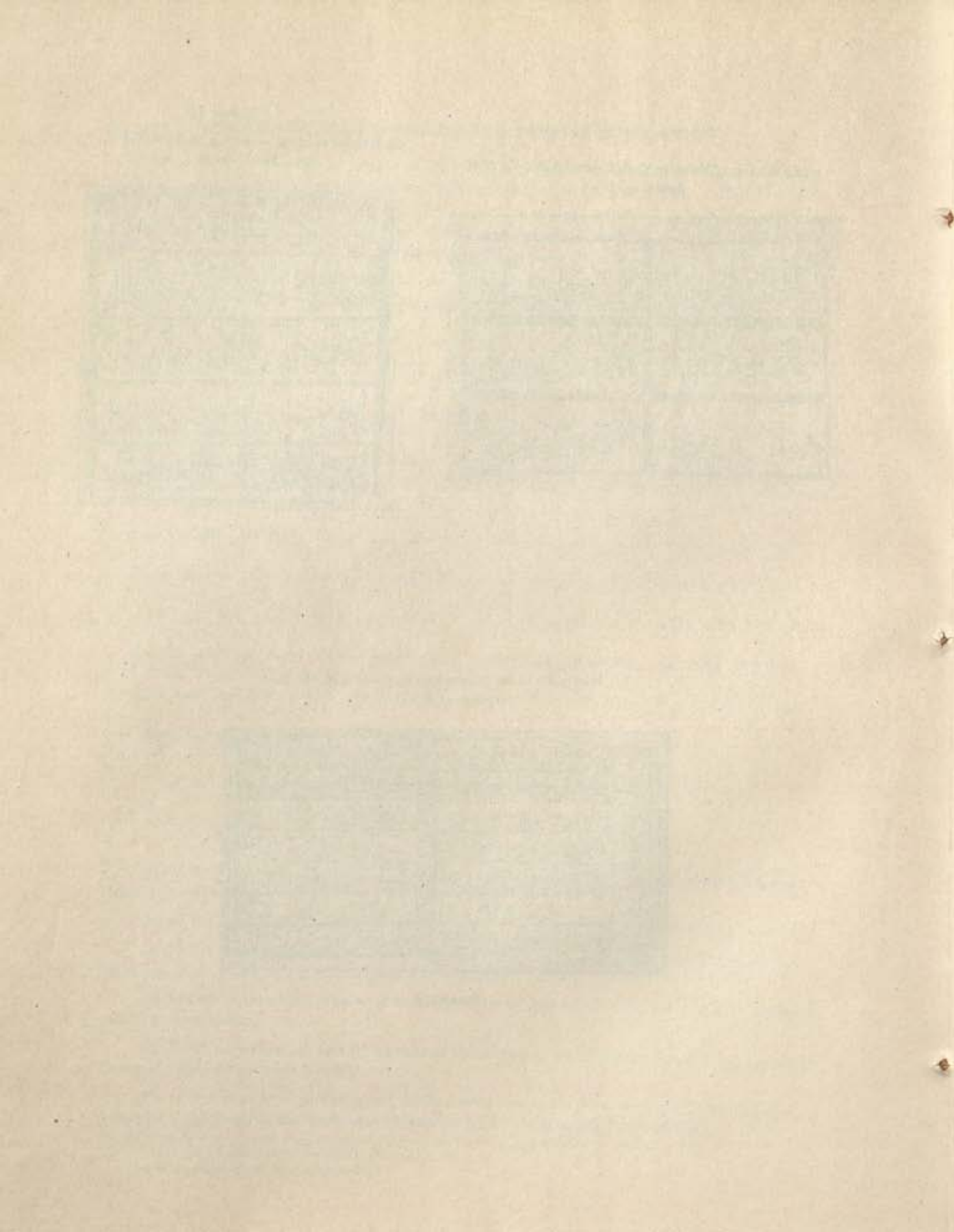


SCALE : '12

(c) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 806, from Kapadwanj (p. 8)



SCALE : '1



(7) May the foundation of the life and basis of the aspirations of the builder be as strong as Seven firmaments and as firm as the Pole star!

In the border.

At the request of Kārīm Khusrāw, *mutasarrif* of the *shiq* of Asāwal.

III. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 807 FROM SAMI

The tablet bearing this inscription measures 57 by 59 cm. and is fixed above the central *miḥrāb* of the Jāmi' mosque at Sami, headquarters of the *tāluka* of the same name in Mehsana district.¹ Sami situated in 23°40' N. and 71°40' E. was, like Munjpur, the seat of a *pargana* during the Sultanate period.²

The record consists of five lines of writing which except for the religious texts is in Persian. It states that the Jāmi' mosque of the *qasba* of Sami was constructed in 1404 A.D. during the time of Masnad-i-'Āli Zafar Khān by Naṣīru'd-Dīn Malik Maḥmūd, son of Malik Dā'ūd. The identity of Naṣīru'd-Dīn Malik Maḥmūd cannot be satisfactorily established. Our epigraph is the only source to quote his name in full. One Maḥmūd Dā'ūd *salāḥdār* is mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī* in connection with Aḥmad Shāh's invasion of Idar not long after his accession.³ In all probability he is identical with Malik Naṣīru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Malik Dā'ūd, of our record. Of course, historical works do mention more than one Malik Maḥmūd, but without parental name, in connection with the events of the period: a Malik Maḥmūd Bargī (or Turkī) was among the nobles who rebelled against Aḥmad Shāh I immediately after his rise to kingship. He was subsequently despatched in A.H. 820 by Aḥmad Shāh against Malik Naṣīr of Khandesh who had besieged Sultanpur near Nandarbar.⁴ The name of Khān-i-A'zam Maḥmūd Khān also occurs in the same connexion.⁵ Then there is Malik Maḥmūd whose son Malik Dāwaru'l-Mulk was a prominent noble of Maḥmūd 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 *Naskh* 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)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ قَالَ اللّٰهُ تَعَالٰی وَ اِنَّ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلّٰهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللّٰهِ اَحَدًا
- (۲) بِنَا كَرْدَ اَيْنِ مَسْجِدِ جَامِعِ دَر قَصْبَةِ سَمِي دَر عَهْدِ مَسْنَدِ عَلٰی ظَفَرِ خَانِ دَامِ عَالِیَا
- (۳) بِنْدَه اَمِيْدُوَارِ بِرَحْمَتِ پُروردگار نصير الدين ملك محمود بن ملك داود
- (۴) بَا مِيْدِ وَعْدِهِ يِيْغَامِيْرِ مُحَمَّدِ مَخْتَارِ مُصْطَفٰى صَلٰى اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَ سَلَمَ مِنْ بَنِيْ مَسْجِدِ
- (۵) اللّٰهُ بَنٰى اللّٰهُ تَعَالٰى لَهٗ بَيْتًا فِى الْجَنَّةِ فِى الْغُرَةِ مِنَ الْمُحَرَّمِ سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَ ثَمَانِيَا

¹ ARIE, 1960-61, No. D, 69.

² Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 407, 455, etc.; 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 203. For an account of Sami, see BG, vol. V, pp. 347-48.

³ Kirmānī, *Tārīkh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī* (MS), pp. 101-02; Dr. S. C. Misra, *The Rise of the Muslim Power in Gujarat* (Bombay, 1963), p. 172.

⁴ Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁵ *Ibid.*

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'.¹

(2) This Jāmi' mosque was constructed in the *qasba* of Samī during the regime of Masnad-i-Āli Zafar Khān, may he remain exalted for ever,

(3) by the creature who is hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, Naṣīru'd-Dīn Malik Maḥmūd, son of Malik Dā'ūd,

(4) in the hope of (the fulfilment 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 Shāh situated opposite to the Police Office near Prince Mahdi 'Alī Khān park at Cambay in Kaira district.² 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.³

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-Āli Zafar Khān by Malik Khūshbāsh, *kotwāl* of the province ('*arṣa*') of Gujarat. 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, *kotwāl* of the whole province of Gujarat, is again interesting.

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

TEXT

Plate III(a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

(۲) بنا کرد این مسجد بنده ختم سلاطین سلطان فیروز انار الله برهانه ملک خوشباش

کو تو ال عرصه گجرات

(۳) بعهد مسند عالی نظیر خان کسرے ثانی

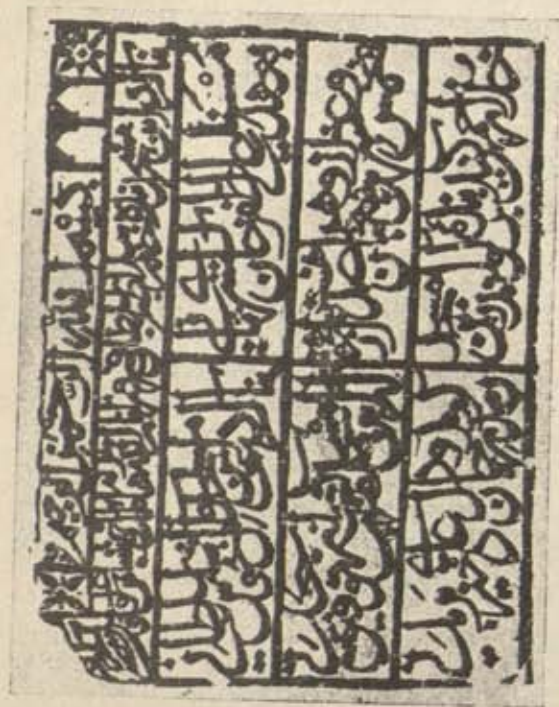
بنا کردست این مسجد ملک خوشباش سلطانے

¹ Qur'an, chapter LXXII, verso 18.

² *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 38. Some inscriptions from Cambay were published in *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 38; *ELAPS*, 1957 and 1958, p. 29; *ibid.*, 1961, pp. 4, 7, 9, 17, 22; *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 3, 5, 19, 20, 26.

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 Shāh I, dated A.H. 807,
from Cambay (p. 10)



SCALE : 15

(b) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 812, from Patan (p. 12)

(i)



SCALE : 11

(ii)



SCALE : 14

(۴) بخمس و عشرين از شعبان و هيصد^۱ هفت از هجرت

که این مسجد مرتب گشت از توفیق سبحانے

(۵) خدا رحمت کند بر بنده کو اندرین مسجد

رسد گوید ز جان و دل دعاے خیر بر بانه

TRANSLATION

(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 Firūz, may Allāh illuminate his proof, (namely) Malik Khūshbāsh, the *kotwāl* of the province ('*arsa*') of Gujarat.

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

(4) It was on the twentyfifth of Shā'bān and eight hundred (and) seven from the Migration (25th Shā'bān 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 Muza'ffar 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 *hujra* situated inside the tomb-enclosure of Makhdūm Husāmu'd-Dīn, a celebrated fourteenth-century Chishtī saint (d. 1336 A.D.), at Patan.² 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.³ 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,⁴ inscribed in Nasikh characters in relief, and states that Khān-i-A'zam Asad Khān constructed a 'noble and agreeable edifice' in 1409-10 A.D. during the reign of Shamsu'd Dīn Muza'ffar Shāh. From the second fragment it is clear that the edifice referred to is the *hujra* (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-A'zam 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 Gujarat sultans.

¹ The upper portion of the letter 'ف' is broken.

² *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 94. For inscriptions and references to the history of Patan, see *EIM*, 1939-40, p. 3; *ELAPS*, 1961, p. 15 and f.n. 4; *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 1, 7, 8, 15; *ARIE*, 1954-55, Nos. C, 51-103; *ibid.*, 1956-57, Nos. D, 90-103; *ibid.*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 59-66; and *ibid.*, 1961-62, Nos. D, 30-41.

³ *ELAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p. 50.

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.

Its text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate III(b)

(a) Outer side.

بنا نهاد اسدخان يعز و حشمت و جاه	(۱) بعهد شاه جهان شمس دين مظفر شاه
که کس ندید نظيرش ز مير و خواجه و شاه	(۲) چنین مقام شريف و عمارت مطبوع
که شد تمام عمارت بعون لطف اله	(۳) گذشت هيصد از هجرت دوازده سال

(b) Inner side.

درو شادی و دولت را قران باد	(۱) ایهی این عمارت دل نشان باد
دعا[ی] خان اعظم جاودان باد	(۲) درو اوراد شب خیزان همه روز
چنان کلید مراد دل چنان باد	(۳) همه اسباب او بر وفق تدبیر

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) In the reign of the king of the world, the sun of the Faith (i.e. Shamsu'd-Din Muzaffar Shāh, Asad Khān 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 (*awrūd*) of those who keep awake at night be always devoted to the prayers for the Khān-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 1954, is to be seen over the central *mihṛāb* of the mosque called Rāngrezon-ki-Masjid at Patan.¹ Also dated in the reign of Muzaffar Shāh I, it records the construction of an auspicious edifice—a mosque if the record is *in situ*—by Khawāja Khāssa, son of Wajih, the doyen among the nobles and the lord-chamberlain (*hājib*) 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 Muzaffar Shāh's rule and of the accession of his immediate successor Ahmad Shāh I.² Even then, the inscription is quite important. The builder Khawāja Khāssa, son of Wajih, though not categorically described so in the record,

¹ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 51.

² The problem of these dates was briefly discussed by me in *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p. 52.

is a brother of Muḡaffar Shāh. For apart from the parental name Wajīh, Khawāja Khāssa is mentioned as the chief among the nobles and the hājib of the court. It is a well-known fact that the office of hājib 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 Nugrat Khān who was left in charge of Malwa after the defeat of Hoṣhang 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)

(۱) شد این بنا [ی] مبارک ز فیض فضل اله
بمهد دولت داراء دین مظفر شاه
(۲) پناه و پشت هدی خواجه خاصه ابن وجیه
سر اکابر اعیان و حاجب درگاه
(۳) نمود سعی و بتوفیق حق موفق گشت
بمهد و مه و د[ه] سال حسبة الله

TRANSLATION

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

(2) The shelter and refuge of guidance, Khawāja Khāssa, son of Wajīh, the chief of the great dignitaries and hājib (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 mihrāb of the mosque in the Phuti-Maḡalla or Pinjarkoṭ 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-Faṭḥ Aḡmad Shāh, by Jamālu'd-Dīn Bihāmad, a purchased slave of the king.

The name of Jamālu'd-Dīn Bihāmad, 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'sh-Sharq 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 Bihāmad, while in the later epigraph his name occurs as Jamāl Bihāmad. In case an iqḍāfat-i-ibnī is intended between the two names, as is very likely the case, it would mean that Jamāl was son of Bihāmad. If so, it is just possible that the father is identical with Bihāmad, later Bihāmad Khān, who was brought up in the house of Fīrūz Khān, a minister of Ghīyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq II (died A.H. 791). Bihāmad accompanied Fīrūz Khān's

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

² The tablet is slightly damaged.

³ ARIE, 1956-57, No. D, 94.

son to Kalpi where he entered into the service of Junaid Khān, another son of Firūz Khān, who was made minister by his brother Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh of Kalpi. Bihāmad Khān also received in fief the town of Erachh in Jhansi district. He is said to have been alive in A.H. 842. One of his sons, Muḥammad, wrote a general history entitled *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*.¹ 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)

- (١) سعى في بناء هذا المسجد بعون الله الملك المنان العبد الراجي الى رحمة الرحمن
جمال الدين
- (٢) بهامد من عبيد خاقان الاعظم و قهرمان المعظم الواقى بتأييد المستعان ناصر الدنيا
والدين
- (٣) ابو الفتح احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان ابتغاء للقاء [ع] الله الكريم
و اعتمادا
- (٤) لقول رسوله الموصوف بخلق العظيم من بنى لله مسجدا يبتغى به وجه الله بنى الله له
مثله
- (٥) في الجنة و قال عليه السلام من بنى لله مسجدا و لو كمفحص قطاة وجبت له الجنة
و وقع الفراغ من هذا البناء
- (٦) بعهد شهر اعظمه الله تعالى بالبيان شهر رمضان الذي انزل فيه القرآن في سنة كانت
تاريخها عشرين و ثمانماية

TRANSLATION

(1) In the construction of this mosque efforts were made, through the help of Ailāb, 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

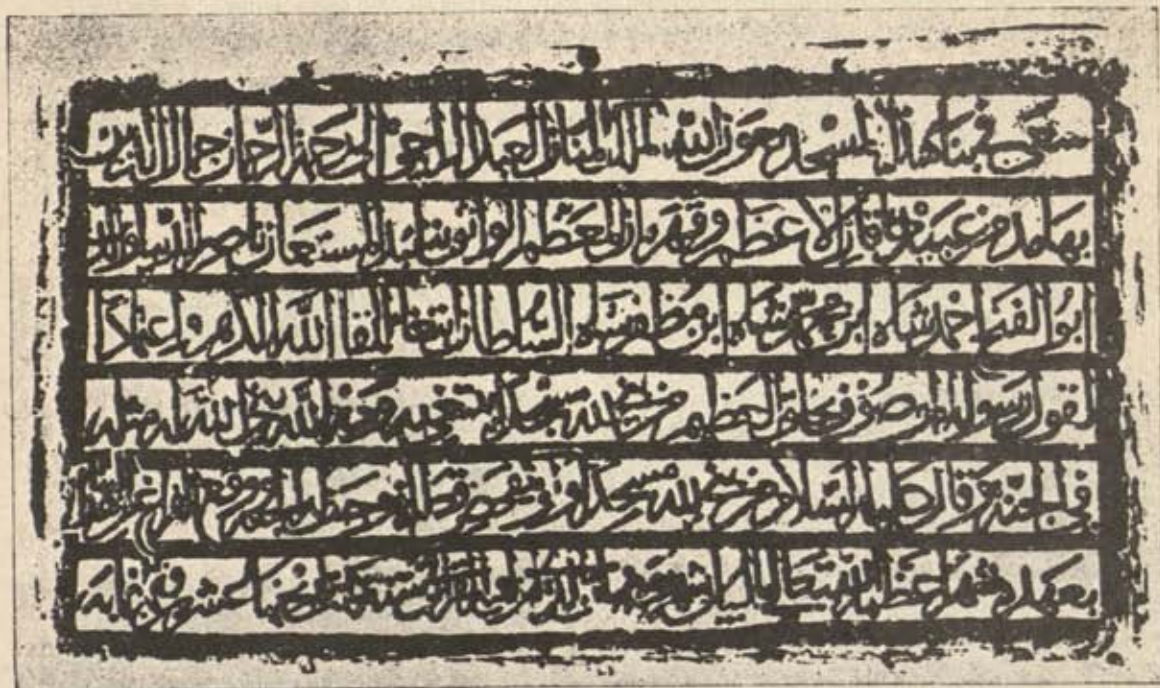
(3) Abu'l-Fath Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh the sultān, by way of obtaining the Face of the Generous Allāh and relying

(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

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi* quoted in S.A.A. Rizwī, *Tughluq-kālīn Bhārat*, part II (Aligarh, 1957), pp. 221-40.

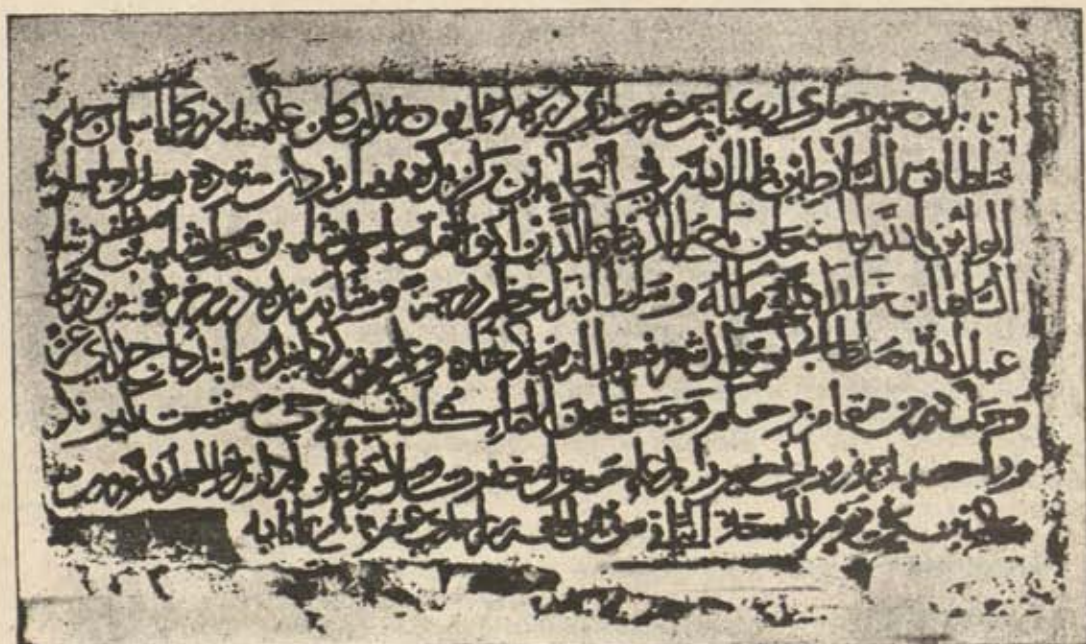
² *Qur'ān*, chapter LXVIII, part of verse 4.

(a) Inscription of Aḥmad Shāh I, dated A.H. 820, from Patan (p. 14)

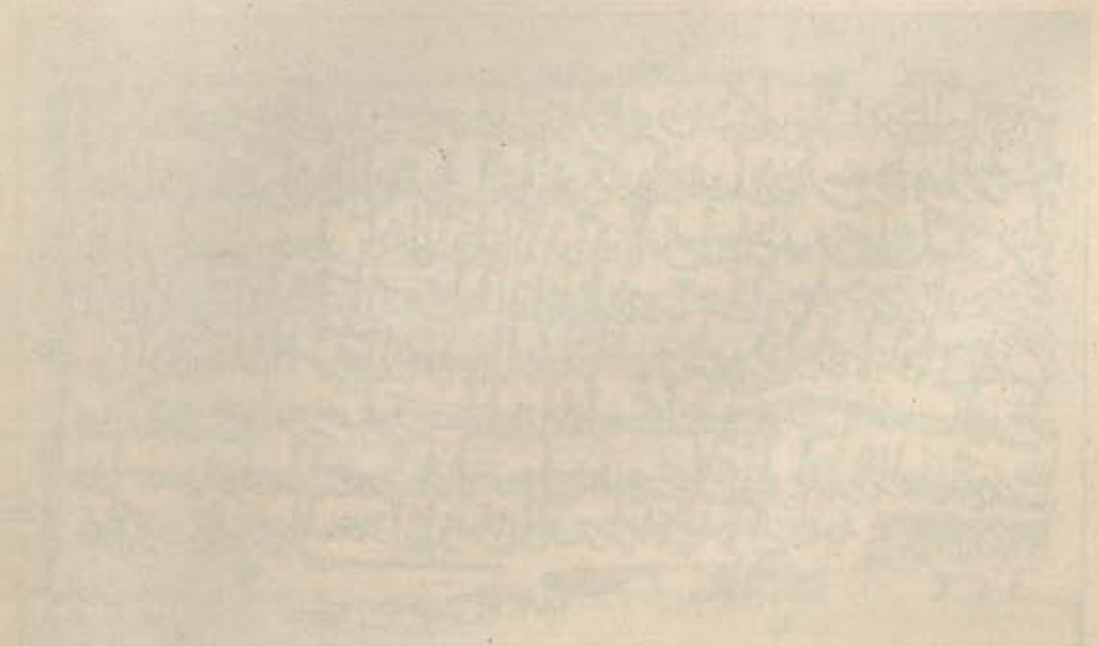
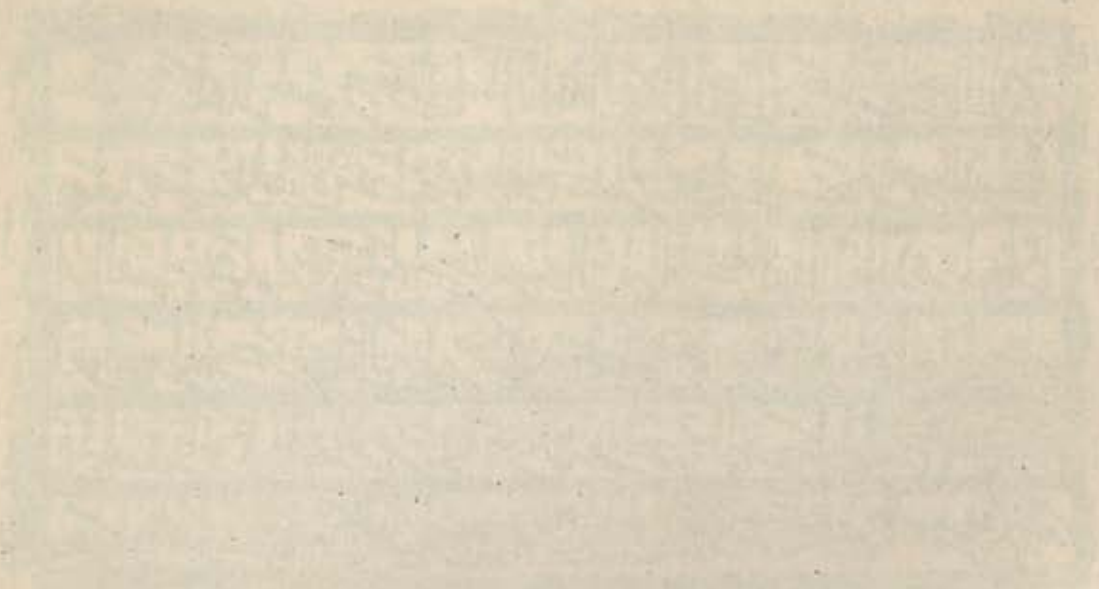


SCALE : 26

(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 Allāh 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 Allāh the Exalted has honoured by mentioning it (in the *Qur'ān*) 'the month of Ramaḍān is that in which the *Qur'ān* was revealed',¹ of the year whose reckoning was twenty and eight hundred (Ramaḍān 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 inscriptional tablet measures 67 by 37 cm. and is fixed on the water-trough for cattle near a well outside the phāṭipāl gate at Patan.³ The record comprising eight lines of Persian interspersed with Quranic texts in Arabic is inscribed in *Naskh* 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 Aḥmad Shāh by 'Abdu'llāh Sulṭānī, the *kotwāl* of the city of Nahrwāla i.e. Patan.

It is not easy to establish the identity of 'Abdu'llāh Sulṭānī.' Historians do mention one Malik 'Abdullāh who was the superintendent of the elephants (*shāḥna-i-fīl*) in the beginning of Maḥmūd 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 Shāh bān 'Imādu'l-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(b)

(۱) بناء این خیر جاری از عنایت حضرت باری در عهد همایون خدایگان عالمپناه درگاه آسمان جاہ

(۲) سلطان السلاطین ظل الله فی العالمین برگزیده فضل یزدان ستوده بعدل و احسان

(۳) الواثق بالله المستعان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه

(۴) السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه اعظم درجته و شانه بنده درم خریدۀ این درگاه

(۵) عبد الله سلطانے کوتوال شهر نهرواله بنیاد نهاده و عمارت مرتب گردانیده تا بندگان

خدای غز

¹ *Qur'ān*, chapter II, part of verse 185.

² M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, vol. I (Bombay, 1938), pp. 122-23.

³ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 89. Another epigraph at the same place is written in *Nāgarī* characters and belongs to the reign of Aurangzeb (*ibid.*, No. C, 90).

⁴ Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Hājji Dabīr, *Zafaru'l-Walīh bi-Muḥaffar wa alīh*, vol. I (London, 1128), p. 15.

(٦) و جل درین مقام بر حکم و جعلنا من الماء کل شئی حی منعت گیرند

(٧) و راحت پزیرند و بانی خیر را بدعاء حصول مغفرت و سلامتی ایمان یاد آرند و

الحمد لله رب

(٨) العالمین فی يوم الجمعة الثالثی من ذی الحجة سنه احدى عشرين و ثمانمائه

TRANSLATION

(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 Allāh in the worlds, chosen by the grace of God, praised for justice and benevolence,

(3) reliant upon Allāh whose help is sought, Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Faṭḥ Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh,

(4) the sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty (and) magnify his status and dignity, by the purchased slave of this court,

(5) (namely) 'Abdu'llāh Sultānī, the *kotwāl* of the city of Nahrwāla, was founded, and its structure completed, so that the creatures of God, be He glorified

(6) and exalted, may at this place in accordance with (Divine) decree 'And we have made of water everything living',¹ 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 Allāh, the Lord of the Creation.'² On Friday, the second of Dhi'l-Hijja, year (A.H.) eight hundred and twentyone (2nd Dhi'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 *mihrāb* in Sām Shāhid's mosque at Kapadwanj.³ 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 Aḥmad Shāh when Maliku'sh-Sharq Jamāl Bihāmad 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, Aḥmad Budh Ḥasanī Muḥammad Budh Ḥasanī commonly known as Sayyid Mekan.'⁴ 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—*wāw*—between the two names. But on the whole I am inclined to take Aḥmad Budh and Muḥammad Budh as brothers. But in that case, whom should the popular name Sayyid Mekan refer to? It can only refer to the father whose name appears to be Budh. In the alternative, the phrase Aḥmad Budh Ḥasanī Muḥammad

¹ Qur'ān, chapter XXI, verse 30.

² Ibid., chapter I, verse 1.

³ ARIE, 1954-55, No. C, 49.

⁴ The name 'Mekan' is to be found even today in Gujarat particularly in the rural areas.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا
الذي كنا لنهتدي لاه
والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين
اللهم صل على سيدنا محمد
وآله الطيبين الطاهرين
الذين هم صلواتك
وآلائك على عبدي محمد
وآله الطيبين الطاهرين
الذين هم صلواتك
وآلائك على عبدي محمد
وآله الطيبين الطاهرين

والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين
اللهم صل على سيدنا محمد
وآله الطيبين الطاهرين
الذين هم صلواتك
وآلائك على عبدي محمد
وآله الطيبين الطاهرين
الذين هم صلواتك
وآلائك على عبدي محمد
وآله الطيبين الطاهرين

والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين
اللهم صل على سيدنا محمد
وآله الطيبين الطاهرين
الذين هم صلواتك
وآلائك على عبدي محمد
وآله الطيبين الطاهرين
الذين هم صلواتك
وآلائك على عبدي محمد
وآله الطيبين الطاهرين

والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين
اللهم صل على سيدنا محمد
وآله الطيبين الطاهرين
الذين هم صلواتك
وآلائك على عبدي محمد
وآله الطيبين الطاهرين
الذين هم صلواتك
وآلائك على عبدي محمد
وآله الطيبين الطاهرين

PLATE V (a) Inscription of Ahmad Shāh I, dated A.H. 826, from Kapadwanj (p. 17)



SCALE : 21

(b) Another record of the same monarch, dated A.H. 828, from Wadhwan (p. 20)



SCALE : 18

Budh Ḥasanī can be taken to mean Aḥmad 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 Bihāmad is identical with Jamālu'd-Dīn Bihāmad of the Patan inscription (No. VII). On the date of this epigraph he enjoyed the title of Maliku'sh-Sharq and was the king's deputy at Kapadwanj. The builders Aḥmad 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 *Naskh* characters in relief and reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate V(a)

- (۱) قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى مسجدا لله تعالى بنى الله له بيتا في الجنة
(۲) بناء هذه المسجد بعهد همايون اعلى لازال اعلى ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح احمد شاه
(۳) بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان بن السلطان بن السلطان خلد الله ملكه النايب
في هذا المقام
(۴) ملكك الشرق ملكك جمال بهامد سلطاني يديم الله معاليه الباقي لهذه المسجد بندگان
خاندان نبوي
(۵) اميدوار بدرگاه خالق قوي احمد بده حسنى محمد بده حسنى المعروف بسيد مكن في
التاريخ العاشر من ربيع الاول سنة
(۶) [۶۰]ت ؟ و عشرين و ثمانماية

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 Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Faṭḥ Aḥmad Shāh,
(3) son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the sultān, son of the sultān, son of the sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, (and in time of his) deputy (nāib) at this place,
(4) Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik Jamāl Bihāmad 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, Aḥmad (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.¹ It has however not been published. Its tablet measuring 55 by 30 cm. is fixed into the west wall, above the pulpit, of the Sad-i-Awwal mosque.² This mosque is locally so named as it is claimed to have been erected in the first *ṣad* (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.³

The text consists of five lines of faultless Arabic inscribed in *Naskh* 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)

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى وَ إِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ اللَّهُ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ
احِدًا وَ قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ
- (٢) مَنْ بَنَى لِلَّهِ بَيْتًا يَعْبُدُ اللَّهَ فِيهِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ مِنَ الدَّرِّ وَالْيَاقُوتِ وَ عَنْهُ عَلَيْهِ
السَّلَامُ مَنْ بَنَى لِلَّهِ مَسْجِدًا وَ لَوْ كَمَفْجَصِ قِطَاةٍ بَنَى اللَّهُ
- (٣) لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ الْمُبَارَكَ بِتَجْدِيدِ الْعِمَارَةِ مِنْ أَسَدٍ بَعْدَ انْقِضَاءِهِ
السلطان العالم العادل
- (٤) الْبَاذِلُ الْأَعْظَمُ نَزَّلَ اللَّهُ فِي الْعَالَمِ الْوَائِقِ بِاللَّهِ الْمُسْتَعَانَ نَاصِرَ الدُّنْيَا وَ الدِّينِ أَبُو الْفَتْحِ
أحمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر
- (٥) شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و أبد رافقه أمين رب العالمين و ذلك في الغره من المحرم
سنة 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'.⁴ 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

¹ *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle (PRWC)*, 1919-20 (Calcutta, 1921), pp. 50 (No. 28), 58.

² *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 54.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. D, 53, 55.

⁴ *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

(a) Inscription of Ahmad Shāh I, dated A.H. 827, from Cambay (p. 18)

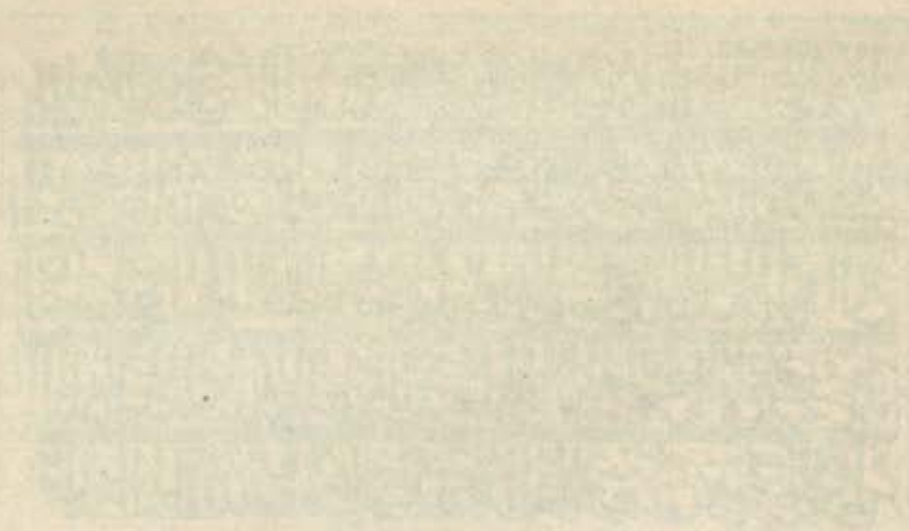


SCALE : 23

(b) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 831, from Cambay (p. 21)



SCALE : 25



(3) for 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 Allāh in the world, reliant on Allāh whose help is sought, Nāgīrū'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abū'l-Faṭḥ Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muḥaffar

(5) Shāh, the sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and cause his kindness to last for ever—Amen, O Lord of the Universe! And this took place on the first Muḥarram, year (A.H.) seven and twenty and eight hundred from the Migration (1st Muḥarram A.H. 827=5th 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 Malik Thānī.¹ These statements are incorrect.

The inscriptional tablet is fixed into the facade of the prayer-hall of the Pādā-Masjid at Wadhwan, capital of the erstwhile state of the same name in Saurashtra.² It is also principal town of the region called Jhalawar whose chiefs occasionally defied 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 Aḥmad 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 Quranic 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 Aḥmad 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 Malik 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.

² *ARJE*, 1954-55, No. C.119.

³ For the history of the city and its remains, see *BG*, vol. VIII, Kathiawar (Bombay, 1884), pp. 691-701.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 693.

⁵ *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 56, 160. These were also published by Mr. Saksena in *IHQ*, vol. 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 verified inscription of Ahmad Shāh.

The style of writing is Naskh of a fairly good order. The text of the record is deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate V (b)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(۲) [و ان ا] لسا جد الله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(۳) شد مرتب بفضل ^۱یزدانه

^۲هیصد و بیست هشت از هجرت بود تاریخ رمضان؟

اندر ایام شاه احمد شاه مالک تاج و تخت سلطان

(۴) ^۳بود بانه

^۴یک از ره مسلمان

یا الهی گناه انکس را در قیامت ^۵رحیم و رحمان

TRANSLATION

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

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

(3) was completed by the grace of God.

Eight hundred and twentyeight from the Migration (of the Prophet) was the date..... of Ramaḍān (Ramaḍān 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.

¹ Saksona, *op. cit.*, p. 771, reads : 'ربانی'.

² *Ibid.* reads : 'بود بانئی آن ملک ثانی' معبد خاص است و بیت شریف.

³ *Ibid.* omits.

⁴ *Ibid.* reads : 'مهربانی کن اندرین مسجد'.

⁵ *Ibid.* reads : 'یک دعا لازم از مسلمانی'.

⁶ *Ibid.* reads : 'خفیف گردانی'.

⁷ *Quard'n*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

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 Furja-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 Malikul-Umarā Malik Marjān Sultānī in 1427 A.D. Among the quite few noblemen bearing the name Marjān, the nearest in time is Malik Marjān Sultānī the governor (*ḥavāladār*), on behalf of Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh II, of the fort of Broach who had successfully resisted the attack on the fort by Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa in A. H. 855.² Presumably he is the same Malik Marjān Sultānī 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, Malikul-Umarā Marjān Sultānī 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)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى وَ إِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا وَ قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَام
- (۲) مَنْ بَنَى لِلَّهِ مَسْجِدًا وَ لَوْ بِمِثْلِ مِغْصَصِ قِطَاةٍ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ وَ عِنْدَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَام إِذَا أَرَادَ اللَّهُ بَعْدَ خَيْرٍ أَجْرَهُ الْخَيْرَ عَلَى يَدِهِ بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ الْمُبَارَكَ
- (۳) بَعْدَ انْهْدَامِهِ مِنْ أَسَاسِهِ السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ الْمُعْظَمُ نَاصِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَ الدِّينِ أَبُو الْفَتْحِ أَحْمَدُ شَاهُ ابْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ شَاهُ ابْنِ مُظَفَّرٍ شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ آمِينَ
- (۴) رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَ قَرْمَاشِ كَارِ ابْنِ مَسْجِدِ مَلِكِ الْأَمْرَاءِ مَلِكِ مَرْجَانِ سُلْطَانِ يَدِينِ اللَّهِ مَعَالِيهِ وَ ذَلِكَ فِي التَّارِيخِ الْغَرَةِ مِنَ الْمَحْرَمِ سَنَةِ إِحْدَى ثَلَاثِينَ وَ ثَمَانِمِائِهِ

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Says Allāh the Blessed and Exalted, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'.⁴ And (the Prophet), peace be upon him, has said,

¹ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 39. There is also a fragmentary epigraph on the central *mihrāb* which contains part of a Qur'anic verse (chapter LIX, verse 23).

² Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Hājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

³ *EIM*, 1933-34 (Supplement), p. 29. Also cf. *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p. 66.

⁴ Qur'an, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

(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-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Faṭḥ Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Muḥaffar Shāh, the sultān, 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 Malikul-Umarā Malik Marjān Sultānī, may Allāh perpetuate his glories. And this was on the date, the first of the month of Muḥarram of the year (A.H.) thirtyone and eight hundred (1st Muḥarram 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 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.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 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 *Naskh* of an ordinary type, and the language is Persian.

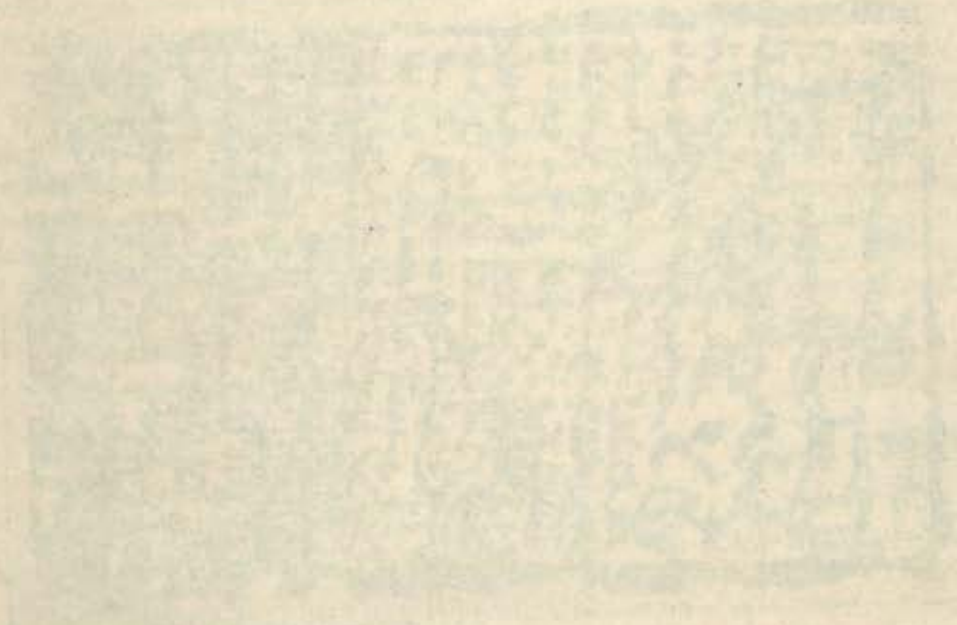
TEXT

Plate VII(a)

- (۱) بتاريخ پانزدهم ماه محرم الحرام سنه سبعه
 (۲) اربعين و ثمان مئيه در عهد سلطنت
 (۳) سلاطين محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن مظفر شاه ؟...
 (۴) قصبه
 (۵)

¹ *ARIE*, 1949-50, No. B, 60.

² *Id.*



(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-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Faṭḥ Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Muzaḥfar Shāh, the sultān, 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 Sultānī, may Allāh perpetuate his glories. And this was on the date, the first of the month of Muḥarram of the year (A.H.) thirtyone and eight hundred (1st Muḥarram A. H. 831=22nd October 1427 A.D.).

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The style of writing of the version in Arabic letters is *Nasḥ* of an ordinary type, and the language is Persian.

TEXT

Plate VII(a)

(۱) بتاریخ پانزدهم ماه محرم الحرام سنه سبعو

(۲) اربعین و ثمان مئیه در عهد سلطنت

(۳) سلاطین محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن مظفر شاه ؟...

(۴) قصبه ۵

(۵)

¹ *ARIE*, 1949-50, No. B, 60.

² *Id.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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(b) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 848,
from Patan (p. 23)



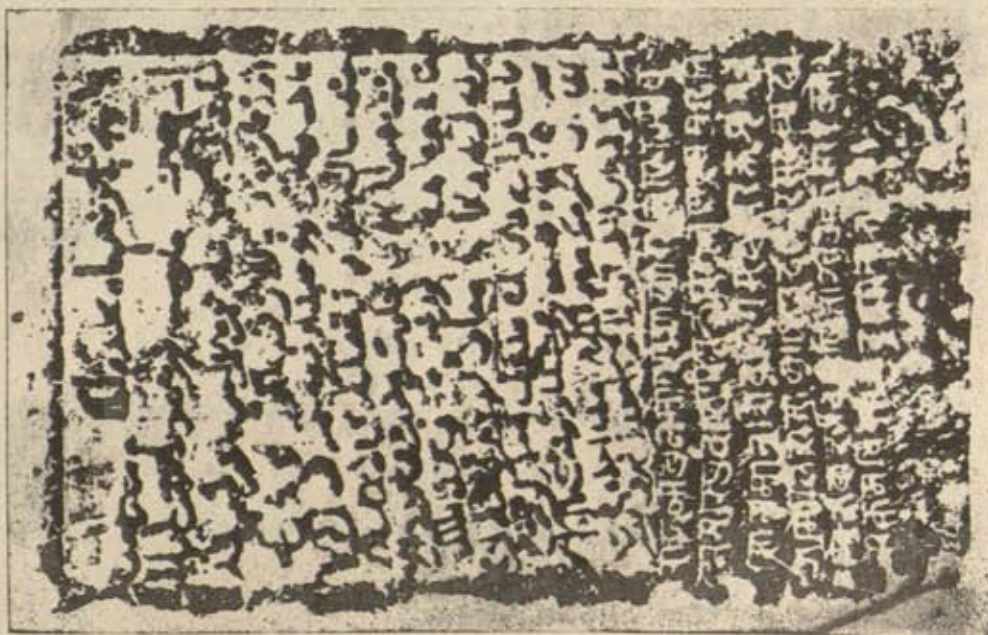
SCALE : 17

(c) Inscription of Mahmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 867, from Maṇḍal (p. 30)



SCALE : 17

(e) Inscription of Muḥammad Shāh II, dated A.H. 847,
from Baroda (p. 22)



SCALE : 2

- (۶) چند سال باشد که ز تحصیل دیرین
 (۷) ست حکومت ؟ خود
 (۸) الملک ؟
 (۹) برای معاف گردیده ست ؟
 (۱۰) کامل
 (۱۱)
 (۱۲) لطایف المکرم اجده
 (۱۳) سعید بن شرف ؟
 (۱۴)
 (۱۵)

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 Khāṭkiwādā at Patan and may not be *in situ*.¹ 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 *Nasḫ* 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 Muḥammad Kāshgharī, 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) Ṣadr, son of Bihrām, son of Zain, (son of) Ṣadr, 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)

(۱) در عهد بادشاه جهان شاه کامران شاه محمد شه شاهان اینجهان
 کرده بناء مسجد این روضه ازان (۲) شیخ زمین جنید زمان قطب عارفان
 شیخ محمد آنک ملقب بترک هست منسوب او بکاشغریست در عهد جهان

¹ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 61. The record was discovered by Mr. A. A. Kadiri.

(۳) پر نور باد مرقد او فضل کردگار امیدوار رحمت پروردگار دان
 بد راجیا؟ بخواجه تاج صدر بن (۴) بهرام زین صدر که مکے است بے گمان
 گشته تمام مسجد مذکور فضل حق تاریخ بود عیصد و چهل هشت اندران
 (۵) [د] حمت خدا بر و که گزارد دران نماز دارد دعا [ی] خیر بپایه او روان
 عاقبت بخیر باد آمین آمین

TRANSLATION

(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 Kāshghar,

(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

Bihram, (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

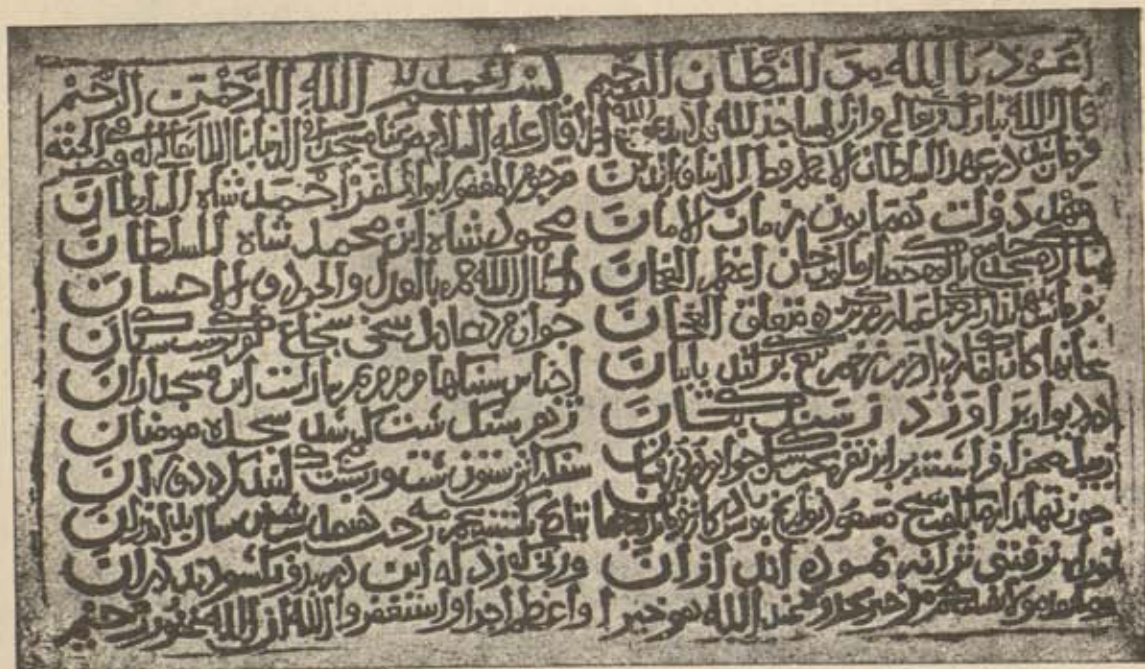
The mosque to which this inscription originally belonged was situated near the Triveni- or Chhoṭā-Darwāza at Somnath in the Junagadh district.¹ It was demolished in recent times, and the epigraphical tablet is also missing. Fortunately an inked rubbing of its inscription which was taken quite some time 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 Firūz 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 *Bismillāh* 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

¹ *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 35.

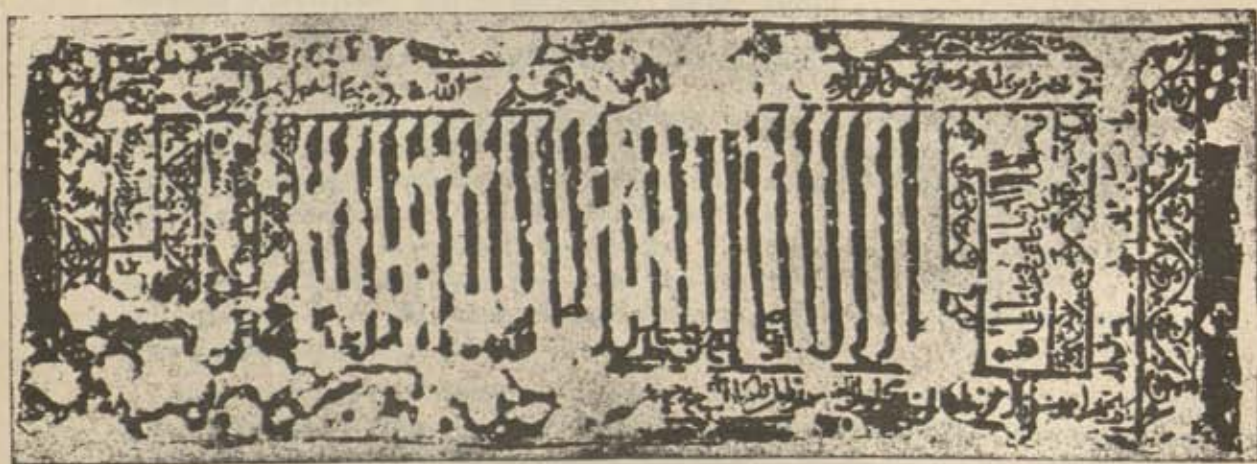
² *ETAPS*, 1962, p. 23, plate VIIb.

(a) Inscription of Mahmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 866, from Malan (p. 27)



SCALE : 21

(b) Inscription of Muḥammad Shāh II, from Somnath (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 *Naskh*, and the record is deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII(b)

(a) In the middle.

قال الله و تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا [مع الله] احدا

(b) In the top border.

(i) Centre

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(ii) Sides

نصر من الله و فتح قريب و بشر المؤمنين - فانه خير حافظا و هو ارحم الراحمين

(c) In the inner right border.

قال عليه السلام الدنيا ساعة فجعلها طاعة

(d) In the inner left border.

(۱) قال عليه السلام المؤمن في المسجد كالسكك في الماء

(۲) [المنافق في] المسجد كالطير في [القفص]

(e) In the outer right, lower and outer left borders.

(۱) کبار ست شه تاجدار

(۲) بزرگی ؟ محمد شه احمد ست ز آل مظفر شه نامدار

(۳) خدا رحمتی کن بران خواجه که خواجه کبار

(۴) بن^۱^۲

(۵)

(۶)

(۷) مرتب شد از فضل پروردگار

^۱ This hemistich probably contains the name of the builder.

^۲ 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'.¹

(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'.²
'And Allāh is the Best Keeper and He is the Most Merciful of the merciful ones'.³

(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 Muẓaffar 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 Jāmi' mosque at Malan in Palanpur *tāluka* of the Banaskantha⁴ district goes to the late-lamented scholar of repute, Maulānā Abū Zafar Nadvī of the Gujarat Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmadabad, who published its purport in his work on the history of Gujarat.⁵ Unfortunately, however, the Maulānā could not decipher the inscription completely nor correctly, and having read *haftṣad* (seven hundred) for *hiṣad* (eight hundred), *bīst* (twenty) for *shast* (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 northernmost 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 *thāna*⁶ and included in the fief of one of the eminent nobles of the state Ulugh Khān. Further it mentions the fort of the town. Lastly, it describes, somewhat clumsily no doubt,

¹ Qur'ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

² *Ibid.*, chapter LXI, part of verse 13.

³ *Ibid.*, chapter XII, part of verse 64.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 56.

⁵ Abū Zafar Nadvī, *Gujarati-no-Itihās* (in Gujarati), vol. II (Ahmadabad, 1949), p. 116.

⁶ *Mālūn*, *thāna* under Palanpur of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *op cit.*, p. 200, is a misprint for Mālān.

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 Shāikh Mas'ūd. It is written in what seems to have been intended to be, but is a very bad example, of Persian verse, so much so that it is extremely difficult to satisfactorily determine where one hemistich ends¹ 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 Jāmi' mosque was issued in the time of the late Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh II; that in the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh I, the mosque in the hilly fort of Mālūn (or Mālwan) was ultimately completed at the request of Kabīr, son of Dīyā, the local *thānadār*, by Khān-i-A'zam Ulugh Khān who eradicated the mine of idolatry, demolished the temples and utilised their building material in its construction; and that Shāikh Mas'ūd was asked by the local official to compose the text. The completion of the mosque took place in 1462 A.D.

Ulugh Khān was the title conferred upon 'Alāu'd-Dīn Suhrāb, the governor of Sultanpur, in A. H. 855, in reward for the service rendered by him to his master Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh at the time of the invasion of Gujarat by Maḥmūd Khājī of Malwa.² His son Bahāu'd-Dīn also held this title presumably after his father's death or retirement. Most probably, Khān-i-A'zam Ulugh Khān of the inscription is the father, because the son is said to have received the title of Ikhtiyāru'l-Mulk some time after the accession of Maḥmūd I and held it at least until about A. H. 888.³ If so, the present epigraph would supply us with a later date in the career of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ulugh Khān who is last heard of as having been sent to fetch Prince Fath Khān to be crowned as Maḥmūd Shāh I in A. H. 862 or 863.⁴ It may be recalled here that an earlier date in the career of Malik 'Alāu'd-Dīn was also supplied by an inscription now stored in the Record Office at Mangrol in Junagadh district.⁵

The style of writing is Nasḥ which, like its text, is of poor quality. The inscriptional tablet is fixed above the central *mihrāb* of the Jāmi' 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)

(۱) اعوذ بالله من الشيطان الرجيم بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله

(۲) قال الله تبارك و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا[۱] مع الله احدا قال عليه

السلام من بنا مسجدا في الدنيا بنا الله تعالى له قصر[۱] في الجنة

(۳) فرمان شد در عهد السلطان الاعظم قطب الدنيا و الدين

مرحوم المغفور ابو المظفر احمد شاه السلطان

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 larger.

² Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 70, 77, 93; Hājji Dabir, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 5, 10, etc.

³ Hājji Dabir, *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.

⁴ Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 93. Cf. Dr. M. A. Chaghtāi, *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad* (Poona, 1914), p. 12.

⁵ *RIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 57-58.

- (۴) بعهد دولت همايون زمان الامان
محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان
- (۵) بناکرد مسجد جامع باکوه حصار مالون خان اعظم الغخان
اطال الله عمره بالعدل و الجود و الاحسان
- (۶) بفرمائش تهاندار کبير ضيا عمارت مرتب کرده متعلق الغخان
جوان مرد عادل سخی شجاع کفر پرست مگان
- (۷) بتخانها کان کفر دار حرب زخم تيغ برکند با بتان
اجناس سنگها مر مر مریم؟ بيازاست اين مسجد از ان
- (۸) در [و] ديوار بر آورد ز سنگ بتان
ز هر سنگ پشت؟ که شد سجده مومنان
- (۹) زيبد صحن افراشته برابر نقره تحت؟ سنگ جواهر در در نشان
سنگتراش ستون شست؟ ور بست و پنج گنبد کرد دور آن
- (۱۰) چون تهاندار ما بگفت شيخ مسعود تواريخ بنويس يادگار توماند در جهان
بتاريخ يکشنبه پنجم مه رجب هيصد شست؟ شش سال يد اندران
- (۱۱) تو راه نر فتي ترا نه نموده اند ازان
ورني که زد که اين در بدو بکشودند دران
- (۱۲) و ما لقد مو[ا] لانفسکم من خير تجدوه عندالله هو خيرا و اعظم اجرا و استغفرو
الله ان الله غفور رحيم

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 '.² (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 sultān, Qutbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, the pardoned and received into Lord's mercy, Abu'l-Muza'far Aḥmad Shāh the sultān.

(4) In the auspicious time of the government and peaceful time of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, the sultān,

¹ Thus in the epigraph.

² Qur'ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

- (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 thānadār Kabīr, (son of) Ḍiyā, 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 *marim* ?
- (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 thānadār said, ' O Shaiikh 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 north-west 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 Muḥammad 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 Tughl 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.

³ Hājji Dabir, *op. cit.*, pp. 883-84; Ḍiyān'd-Din Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firāz Shāhi* (Calcutta, 1862), p. 522.

⁴ *BG*, vol. IV, pp. 345-46.

⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II (1893), p. 27.

⁶ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 22.

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 Maḥmūd 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)

(١) قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم

(٢) من بنى مسجدا لله تعالى بنا الله له بيتا مثله في الجنة بعهد السلطان السلاطين ناصر الدنيا

و الدين

(٣) ابو الفتح محمود شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان

خلد الله ملكه

(٤) و سلطانه باي ابن مسجد شريف بنده نصير شيخو في التاريخ الغره من المحرم سنة

مبعمو ستين و ثمانمائه

TRANSLATION

(1) Says Allāh the Exalted, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'.¹ 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 Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn

(3) Abu'l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar 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.² When the inscription was noticed in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, it was fixed on the structure locally known as Pānch-Bībī-kā-Koṭhā.³ 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.⁴ Then in the course of my subsequent visit to Somnath in 1959, on being

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 EIAPS, 1953 and 1954, p. 50. It was not then in the Museum.

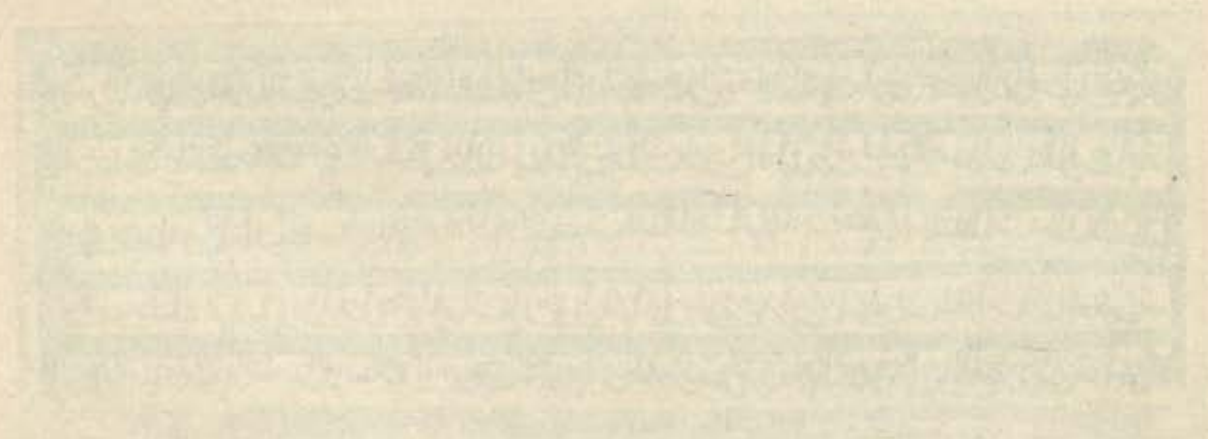
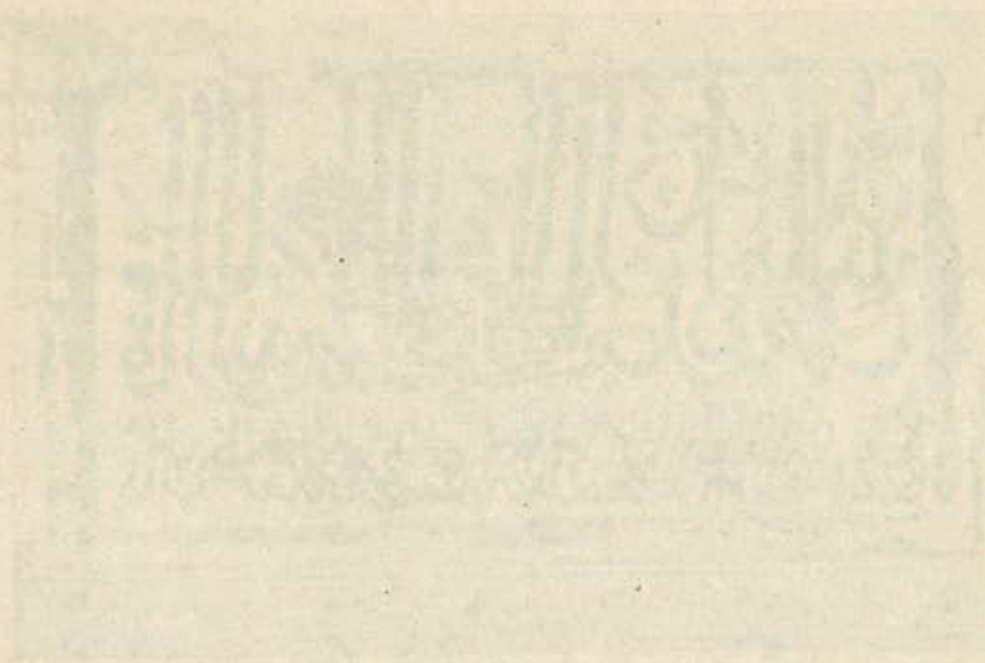


PLATE IX

(a) Inscription of Mahmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 895, from Patan (p. 34)



SCALE : 33

(b) Another inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 877, from Somnath (p. 31)



SCALE : 28

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)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَ إِنْ الْمَسْجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا وَقَالَ
النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ قَصْرًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ بَنَّاكَرْد
(۲) اَيْنَ مَسْجِدَ بِنْدُهُ كَنَاهَكَرَ حَضْرَتِ پُروردگارِ الرَّاجِي إِلَى اللَّهِ بِدِهِ بِنَ كَمَالِ بْنِ شَهَابِ بْنِ
لَدِهِ ؟ بِنَ فَتْحِ لَهُ اَيْنَدِهِ ؟ كَجَرَاتِ اسْلَحِهِ دَارِ سُلْطَانِ الْاَعْظَمِ الْمُعْظَمِ الْوَائِقِ
(۳) بِاللَّهِ الْمَنَانِ نَاصِرِ الدِّينَا وَ الدِّينِ اَبُو الْفَتْحِ مَحْمُودُ شَاهِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ بْنِ اَحْمَدِ شَاهِ بْنِ
مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ بْنِ مَظْفَرِ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ
(۴) وَ ثَبَّتَ دَوْلَتَهُ هَرَّ كَهَ بِيَايَدِ وَ بِهِ بِيْنْدِ دَعَا اِيْمَانِ اَيْنَ حَقِيرِ رَا يَادَ بَاشَنْدَ تَا ثَوَابِ وَ
ثَمَرَاتِ دَرِ نَامُهُ اَوْ ثَبَّتَ اِفْتَدَ اَمِيْنُ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِيْنَ بِمَنِهِ
(۵) وَ كَمَالِ كَرَمِهِ بِخَطِّ الْعَبْدِ الضَّعِيْفِ النَّحِيْفِ الرَّاجِي اِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ الْكَرِيْمِ جَلَالِ ؟ بِنَ
اِسْمَاعِيْلِ بْنِ اَدَمَ غَفَرَ اللَّهُ لَهُ وَ اِلَهُ اَجْمَعِيْنَ يَوْمَ الْاَرْبَعَا التَّاسِعِ عَشَرَ مِنْ رَجَبِ مَرْجَبِ قَدَرِهِ سَنَةِ
سَبْعُو سَبْعِيْنَ وَ ثَمَانِمَايَةِ

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'.¹ 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 ?,² son of Fath, who is emigrant to ? Gujarat, the *aslahadār* of the great and magnificent sultān, reliant

¹ Thus clearly on the stone.

² *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

³ Thus clearly on the stone. The name Lādha or Laddhā is current even now in Gujarat.

(3) upon Allāh the Obliger, Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abū'l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaḥfar Shāh, the sultān, may Allāh 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 Allāh, Jalāl, son of Ismā'il, son of Ādam, may Allāh forgive him and his descendants, all of them ! (On) Wednesday, the twentieth 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 Ḥājī Maḥmūd-i-Nuqaṭī, popularly called Billi-Masjid, situated in the Qāziwāda Maḥalla 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 *mihrāb* in the west wall. According to yet another epigraph in the mosque, Malik Mufarraḥ, royal *dawūdār*, 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 *Bismillāh* in *Kūfī* 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 Mufarraḥ 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 Muḥammad Shāh I 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 Nākhudā Yahyā, son of Tandel Nānyā, son of Naṣīru'd-Dīn Sailānī, a servant (*muta'alliq*) of Khān-i-A'ẓam Kamāl Khān in 1478 A.D. during the governorship of Malik Aman, the *muqti* of the *iqṭā' qṭā'* of Cambay.

No officer of the name Malik Aman is met with in the annals of the period. However, among the nobles of Maḥmūd Shāh I there was one Amīnu'l-Mulk through whose efforts the king became a disciple of the saint Shaikh Sirāj.⁴ There was also one Malik Amīn Nassan Fārūqī called by Ḥājī Dabīr Malik Nassan (variant Minass—Amīn Naṣ ? Turkī), who from A.H. 936 onwards figured prominently in the events of the reign of Bahādur Shāh 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 *Nāgarī* record

¹ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 51.

² For these inscriptions, see *ibid.*, Nos. D, 49, 50, 52.

³ *PRWC*, 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, Amn, Amman, etc.

⁵ Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-09.

⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 272, 281, 304, 318, 322, etc.; Ḥājī Dabīr, *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.).¹ 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'zam Kamāl Khān, no doubt a noble of importance, who is also completely ignored by historians. His servant Nākhudā Yāhyā, 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 ship-masters, as the sobriquets Nākhudā and Tandel used respectively in respect of him and his father² 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.³

The text, engraved in ordinary Naskh in relief, occupies a space of 1 m. by 38 cm. on the slab and reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate X (c)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَ إِنَّ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا وَ
قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ وَهُوَ لَوْ
- (۲) كَمَفْجَصِ قِطَاعَةِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ بَارِي جَلٍّ وَ عَلَا بَرَكَتُ حَضْرَتِ رَسَالَتِ عَلَيْهِ
السَّلَامِ عَمَارَتِ كَرْدِ اَيْنِ مَسْجِدِ مَبَارَكِ دُرِ عَهْدِ هَمَايُونِ سُلْطَانِ اعْظَمِ مَالِكِ رَقَابِ الْاُمَمِ قَاصِرِ
الدُّنْيَا وَ الدِّينِ
- (۳) اَبُو الْفَتْحِ مُحَمَّدُ شَاهِ اَبْنِ مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ اَبْنِ اَحْمَدِ شَاهِ اَبْنِ [مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ اَبْنِ] مَظْفَرِ شَاهِ
السُّلْطَانِ خَلْدِ اللَّهِ مَلِكِهِ وَ سُلْطَانِهِ وَ اِقَاضِ عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ بِذَلِكَ وَ اِحْسَانِهِ بِحُكُومَةِ مَلِكِ اَمِنْ مَقْطَعِ
اِقْطَاعِ كَهْتَبَايَتِ بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ الْمَبَارَكِ بَعْدَ
- (۴) اِنْهَادِهِ مِنْ اَسَاسِهِ مِنْ خَالِصِ مَالِهِ بِمَا اَتَاهُ اللَّهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ وَ كَرَمِهِ بِنْدِهِ اَمِيدُوَارِ
بِرَحْمَتِ پُروردگار ناخدا یحیی ابن تندیل نانیا ابن نصیر الدین سیلانے متعلق خان اعظم خاقان
معظم کمال خان عظم الله قدره و كان ذلك في
- (۵) التَّارِيخِ الْغَرَةِ مِنْ شَهْرِ الْمَبَارَكِ رَمَضَانَ الْمَعْظَمِ قَدَرِهِ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثَةِ وَ ثَمَانِينَ وَ ثَمَانِمِائِهِ
الْهَجْرِيَةِ النَّبَوِيَّةِ حَامِدًا لِلَّهِ وَ مُصَلِّيًا عَلَى رَسُولِهِ

¹ D.B. Diskalkar, 'Inscriptions from Kathiawad', *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, June, 1940, pp. 126-27.

² The name Nāuyā of the father is also not without interest.

³ Cf. Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

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'.¹ 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 sultān, master of the necks of nations, Nāḡirū'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn

(3) Abu'l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of [Muḥammad Shāh, son of] Muẓaffar Shāh, the sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and shower on the world his munificence and favour, (and) during the governorship (*ḥukūmat*) of Malik Aman, *muqṭi*² of the *iqṭā'* 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, Nāḡhudā Yaḥyā, son of Tandel Nānyū—son of Nāḡirū'd-Dīn Sailānī, a servant (*muta'alliq*) of Khān-i-A'zam 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 Ramaḍān of great dignity, of the year three and eighty and eight hundred from the Migration of the Prophet (1st Ramaḍān 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 Sultānī who also does not find mention in historical works. He must be different from the aforesaid saint Shāikh Sirāj who resided at Ahmadabad and had for reasons of secrecy acted as an official during the period he initiated Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh in discipleship.³

The epigraphical tablet measures 43 by 25 cm. and is fixed above the central *mīhrāb* of the Bāzār-ki-Masjid.⁴ 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 *Nasḫ* 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 Sultānī, the *kotwāl* of the city of Nahrwāra (i.e. Patan). It reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate IX (a)

(١) قال الله تبارك و تعالى و ان الساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

¹ Qur'ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

² Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-09; 'Ali Muḥammad Khān, *op. cit.* pp. 96-97.

³ ARIE, 1954-55, No. C, 50.

(۲) بنا کرده مسجد ملک سراج سلطان کوتوال شهر نهرواره در عهد سلطان سلاطین
الزمان ابو الفتح محمود شاه سلطان فی الثلاث و العشرين من شهر رجب رجب سنه خمس و
تسعين و ثمانمائه

TRANSLATION

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

(2) Malik Sirāj Sultānī, *kotwāl* of the city of Nahrwāra, constructed the mosque in the reign of the sultān among the sultāns of the time, Abu'l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd Shāh sultān, on the twentythird of the month of Rajāb, 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 Maḥdūm Shāikh Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn, a disciple of Ḥadrat Nizāmu'd-Dīn of Delhi,³ has an inscription fixed over its left *mihrāb*,⁴ which represents a new record of Maḥmūd Shāh I. Comprising four lines of writing engraved in *Naskh* script with *Tughra* 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 Maḥmūd Shāh I. The name of the builder is not given.⁵ 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 Shāikh Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn, son of Uṭhmān, son of Dā'ūd al-Multānī. The author of the *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadi* gives his name as Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn Uṭhmān, son of Dā'ūd Multānī, which is incorrect.⁶

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)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(۲) قال الله تبارك و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا فانه خير حافظا و
هو ارحم الراحمين

¹ The reading of the underlined words is tentative.

² Qur'ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

³ For an account of the saint, see Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnatu'l-Agfiyā*, vol. I (Kanpur, 1902), p. 343; 'Alī Aḥmad Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 113; 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān, *Tadhkirat-i-Auliya-i-Dakan* (Hyderabad), pp. 278-80.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C.91.

⁵ According to *ibid.*, No. C. 92, the mosque was renovated by the celebrated Sayyid Qāsim, son of Sayyid Maḥmūd Bāriha, in 1588 A.D.

⁶ 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *op. cit.* 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān, *op. cit.*, also wrongly gives his name as Uṭhmān and makes him a son of Dā'ūd.

- (٣) قد رحل العالم الرباني شيخ حسام الدين بن عثمان بن داود الملقب بقدره
نور؟ الى يوم القيمة نوره من دار الفنا الى دار [ا]لبقا يوم
- (٤) الاربعاء في الثامن ذي القعدة سنة ست و ثلاثين و سبعمائة و بنى هذا المسجد في عهد
سلطان محمود شاه بن محمد شاه سلطان في التاريخ الثاني؟ من شهر المحرم احدى و تسعمائة

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
- (2) Allāh the Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'.¹ 'For Allāh is best as Protector and He is the Most Merciful among the merciful ones.'²
- (3) The divine gnostic Shaiḥ Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn, son of Uṭmān, son of Dā'ūd al-Multānī, may Allāh sanctify his secret and cause his light to remain till the day of Resurrection, departed from the abode of transitoriness to the abode of the perpetuity (i.e. expired) on
- (4) Wednesday, the eight of Dhī'l-Qa'da, year (A.H.) six and thirty and seven hundred (8th Dhī'l-Qa'da A.H. 736³=18th June 1336 A.D.). And this mosque was built in the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh sultān on the date, the second? of the month of Muharram, (year A.H.) one and nine hundred (2nd Muharram A.H. 901=22nd September 1495 A.D.).

XXII. EPITAPH DATED A.H. 904 FROM CAMBAY

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-ulla bin Miyan (alias Mamālak Muḥammad), the companion of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh (Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh II of Gujarat) died Friday, 6th Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 904 A.H.'⁴ 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 Shaiḥ 'Alī Jaulaḳī locally known as Parwar Shāh or Parwāz Shāh situated to the north of the town of Cambay.⁵ The tomb may be rightly called a gallery of inscribed tombstones; as many as twentyfive tombstones are preserved there. Some of these have been published while all of them are listed.⁶

The language of the inscription is Arabic. The text runs into seven lines and records that Jamāl, son of Fathu'llāh, son of Jamāl, son of Miyan, commonly known as Malik Maḥdūm, died as a martyr in 1498 A.D. The interesting feature of this record is that it speaks of the late Malik Maḥdūm as the boon-companion or favourite courtier (*nadīm*) of Maḥmūd Shāh I. Unfortunately

¹ Qur'ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

² *Ibid.*, chapter XII, verse 64.

³ Ghulam Sarwar, *op. cit.*, wrongly puts the death of the saint in A.H. 735.

⁴ *PRWC*, 1919-20, pp. 49 (App. Q, No. 10). Maḥmūd Shāh II is a mistake for Maḥmūd I which has been corrected in *ibid.*, p. 58.

⁵ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 76.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nos. D, 69-83; *ibid.*, 1959-60, Nos. D, 122-129; *ELAPS*, 1961, pp. 17, 20, 23; *PRWC*, 1919-20, pp. 49-50; App. Q, Nos. 1-25.

(b) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 904,
from Cambay (p. 37)

(a) Inscription of Mahmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 901,
from Patan (p. 35)

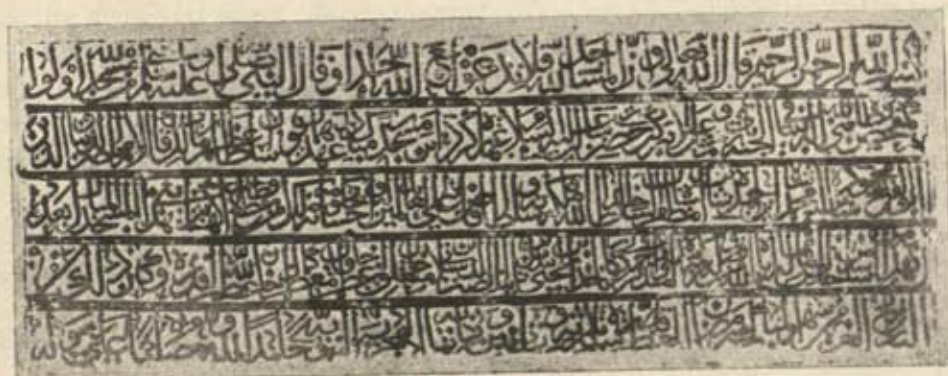


SCALE : 19

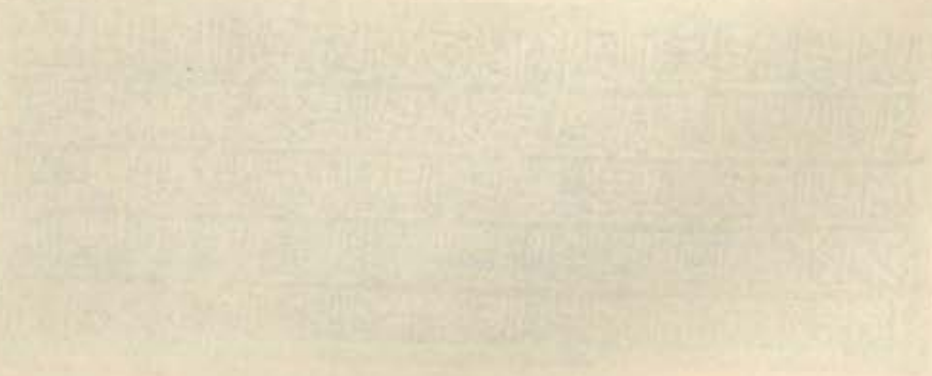
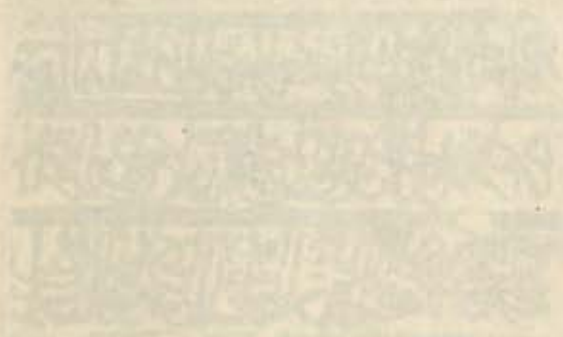


SCALE : 23

(c) A third record of the same monarch, dated A.H. 883, from Cambay (p. 33)



SCALE : 13



no particulars of Malik *Makhdūm* are available in historical works. However, they mention one *Jamāl* whose son *Tāj* was given the title of *Wajīhu'l-Mulk* by Bahādur *Shāh* in about A.H. 932,¹ but whether he is identical with the deceased it is difficult to say.

The style of writing of the epigraph is *Thulūṭh-cum-Riqā'* of a fairly good order. The epitaph reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate X (b)

(١) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان

(٣) و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم خالدين

(٤) فيها أبدا هذا قبر المرحوم المغفور الشهيد الراجي الى رحمة الله

(٥) الكريم جمال بن فتح الله بن جمال بن ميان المدعو بملك مخدوم نديم

(٦) سلطان الزمان محمود شاه السلطان و دفن في ليلة الجمعة السادس

(٧) من جمادى الاولى سنة اربعمو تسعماية

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.'² This is the grave of the one who is taken into Allāh's mercy, the pardoned, the martyr, the hopeful of the mercy of Allāh

(5) the Generous, *Jamāl*, son of *Faṭḥu'llāh*, son of *Jamāl*, son of *Miyān*, commonly called *Malik Makhdūm*, the *naḍīm* (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

¹*Sikandar, op. cit.*, p. 259.

²*Qur'ān*, chapter IX, verse 21 and part of verse 22.

of the Sultanate period.¹ 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.²

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 Qiwāmu'l-Mulk constructed a mosque and a fort in 1499-1500 A.D. during the reign of Mahmūd Shāh I.

Malik Sārang Qiwāmu'l-Mulk is too well-known a figure of the reign of Mahmūd Shāh I to need any detailed mention here. He lived to serve Bahādur Shāh, grandson of the latter.³ He not only founded the quarter called Sārangpur in the city of Ahmadabad but also constructed at least two mosques there as recorded in their inscriptions.⁴ It was as early as in A.H. 875 that his rank was raised and his title Mukhlisū'l-Mulk substituted by a higher title Qiwāmu'l-Mulk.⁵ 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 Rayania 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 *Thulth* with *Tughra* flourishes, and the text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate IX (c)

(۱) الوائى بالله المنان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد

شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

(۲) خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بناكرده حصار بامسجد مبارك سارنگ المصطفى من الحضرة

العليا بقوام الملك منه خمس و تسعمائة

TRANSLATION

(1) The reliant on Allāh the Obliger, Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Fath Mahmūd Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar 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) Qiwāmu'l-Mulk, (in) the year (A.H.) five and nine hundred (A.H. 905=1499-1500 A.D.).

¹ It is worthwhile to remember that almost all the architecturally important brick structures of the Sultanate period were constructed in the reign of Mahmūd Shāh I.

² *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 155.

³ For his career, please see Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-08, 126, 145-46, 179, 187, 194, 198, 199, 201, 213, 224-25, 265, 268, etc.; Hājji Dabīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 22, 25, 33, 100, 104, 112, 113, 115, etc.

⁴ Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 61.

⁵ Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 126; Hājji Dabīr, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

(b) Another record of the same king, dated PLATE XI
A.H. 921, from Cambay (p. 42)

(a) Inscription of Muzaffar Shāh II, dated A.H. 918,
from Cambay (p. 40)



SCALE : -15



SCALE : -17

(c) Inscription of Mahmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 905,
from Rayania (p. 38)



SCALE : -19



Muzaḥaffar Shāh II

XXIV. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 917 FROM JAMBUSAR

Jambusar is a *tāluka* headquarters in the Broach district. The only monument worth notice in this old town is the Jā'ni' mosque, of brick, situated in the Qāziwādā 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 *miḥrāb* 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 Muzaḥaffar Shāh 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 Shamsu'd-Danyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'n-Naṣr are also absent.

The style of writing of the record is *Thuluth* 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 الاعظم مظفر شاه ابن محمود شاه السلطان مد الله
عمره في سنة سبع عشر و تسعمائة

TRANSLATION

The building of this mosque was completed by the order of the great king Muzaḥaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh the sultān, may Allāh 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 Purānī-Mandī now housing the Gujarātī Mukhya Kanyāshālā—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 Mandawī 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-Julūs 6 and Sanh-i-mangūr 2.³ This is not correct as we shall presently see.

The inscriptional 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 *Naskh* with seventeen lines in Persian which form the

¹ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 57, where due to oversight the date was given as A.H. 914 (1508-09 A.D.).

² *Ibid.*, 1956-57, No. D, 62.

³ *PRWC*, 1919-20, pp. 50, No. 39, 58.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 63.

text of an order issued by Muzaffar Shāh 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 Khanbāyat 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 *Tughrā* 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-Dīn*.¹ This type of dating to the best of my knowledge is found only in the inscriptions of Muzaffar Shāh 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)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(۲) اَعْلَاهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى شَانَهُ وَ تَوَالَى اِحْسَانَهُ سَايَهُ مَعْدَلَتِ حَضْرَتِ سُلْطَنَةِ

(۳) پَنَاهِی ظِلِّ الْهِی شَمْسِ الدُّنْیَا وَ الدِّینِ اَبُو النَّصْرِ مَظْفَرِ شَاهِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ

(۴) بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ بْنِ اَحْمَدِ شَاهِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ بْنِ مَظْفَرِ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ خَلْدِ اللَّهِ

(۵) مَلِكِهِ بِرِمْفَارِقِ اَهْلِ اِسْلَامِ پَايْنَدِهِ وَ مُسْتَدَامِ دَارِدِ بَنَا بِرِ رِفَاهِیَّتِ

(۶) حَالِ وَ فَرَاغِ بَالِ سَكْنِهِ وَ مَسَاوِرَانِ خَطِّهِ كَهْنَبَايَتِ بَعْضِ اَبْوَابِ كِه

(۷) دَرِ خَطِّهِ مَذْکُورِ دَسْتُورِ شَدِهْ بُوْدِ وَ مَقْرَرِ گَشْتِهْ مَعَاْفِ وَ مُسَلِّمِ فَرْمُودِهْ اَنْدِ ؟

(۸) بِدِیْنِ تَفْصِیْلِ قِیْمَتِ غَیْرِ عَدْلِ دَرِ قَرْضِهْ وَ مِلْدَهْ رَصْدِ وَ دِهَارَهْ وَ خِدْمَتِی بِقَیْجِهْ

(۹) كِه اَزِ قَرْضِهْ بِخَطِّهِ دِیْبِ وَ بَنَادِرِ دِیْگَرِ مِیْبَرَنْدِ وَ حَاسِبِیْ ؟ هِنْدِیْهِ وَ دَوَادُو ؟

(۱۰) وَ پُوْتَدَارِیْ ؟ اَمِیْرِ بَحْرِیْ وَ هِنْدِیْهِ دَاخِلِ نَوْبَرِزِیْ وَ شَحْنِهْ دِیَوَانِیْ وَ فَرُوعِیْ

¹ The present record has in addition the designation (after his kunya Abu'n-Nagr) *Sana Manşār* literally meaning 'victorious year.'

² *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p. 68.

- (۱۱) و تہانداری و شہنہ دیوانی کوتوالی و برین جملہ و در فرضہ و مقدمہ و رصد
(۱۲) و خدمتی نقود؟ فرضہ و مروارید و ہر؟ فروشیے مثل گزر و جزان کہ ہسرنی
(۱۳) آرند و دوشش زوادیہ سوداگران و نو بہرہ نقود ازان یعنی ردونقرہ لگیرند
(۱۴) و خدمتی صرافان در منہ رصد و داغ مواشی و خدمتی پوتداران
(۱۵) محلہا و خدمتی کندوئے کہ داخل ریاست؟ است فمن بدلہ بعد ماسمعہ
(۱۶) فانما اثمہ علی الذین یبدلونہ و ذلک الرابع و العشرین من ربیع
(۱۷) الاخر تمام ثمانیہ عشر و تسعمایہ سنہ منصور ثانی جاوسنہ شمسینہ

TRANSLATION

- (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-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'n-Naṣr Muḡaffar Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh.
(4) son of Muḡammad Shāh, son of Aḡmad Shāh, son of Muḡammad Shāh, son of Muḡaffa Shāh, the sultān, may Allāh perpetuate
(5) his kingdom, permanently and for ever 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 (khitta) of Khanbāyat (i.e. Ḡambay), 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 ? (dihārat) 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 ? (hāsibī) of exchange-bill ? (hundīya) and dawādaw?,
(10) treasurership (pot-dārī) of the admiralty, and the exchange-bill ? (hundīya) of the produce of new agricultural lands ? (naubarī) and superintendence of the office (shahna-i-diwānī) 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 ? (nuqūd) 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,

¹ Thus on the stone. In view of the text in lines 8 and 14, one “و” 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 fardī and mandawī-i-raḡad, see ‘Ali Muḡammad 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'i*¹ which are within the state. 'Then whoever alters it after he had heard of it,

(16) the sin of it is only upon those who alter it.'² And this (order) was issued on the 24th Rabi'

(17) u'l-*Ākhar* in the year (A.H.) eighteen and nine hundred, the victorious year (*sana Mangūr*) second of the *Shamsiyya* regnal year (24th Rabi' II A.H. 918=9th July 1512 A.D.).

XXVI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 921 FROM CMBAY

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-Maḥalla at Cambay.³ It records the fact that *Khawāja* *Ṣandal*, a servant of *Khawāja* 'Alī *Khān*, son of *Nizām Gilānī*, constructed a mosque in 1515 A.D. during the reign of *Muzaffar 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 *Khawāja Ṣandal*, the builder, is difficult to establish, and so is that of his master *Khawāja* 'Alī *Khān Gilānī*.⁴

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 *Khawāja* 'Alī *Khān*.⁵

The script employed in inscribing the text is *Nasikh*, and the text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XI (b)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَ بِهِ نَسْتَعِينُ

(٢) وَ إِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا [إ] مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا وَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى

(٣) اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ بَنِي اللَّهِ مَسْجِدًا وَ لَوْ كَمُفْصَصَ قِطَاةٍ

(٤) بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ قَصْرًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ وَقَالَ اللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَ تَعَالَى

(٥) فَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا يَرَهُ وَ مَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ شَرًّا يَرَهُ

(٦) عَمْرٍ وَ بَنَى هَذِهِ الْمَسْجِدَ الْمُبَارَكَ خَادِمُ خَوَاجَةِ عَلِيخان بن نظام گیلانی وَ هُوَ خَوَاجَةُ صَنْدَل

(٧) فِي الزَّمَانِ السُّلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ مُظْفَرِ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ خَلْدِ اللَّهِ مَلِكِهِ وَ ذَلِكَ فِي الْغُرَةِ

(٨) مِنَ الْمَحْرَمِ سَنَةِ إِحْدَى وَ عَشْرِينَ وَ تَسْمَايِهِ

¹ Could this be the vernacular word *kandōi* which in Gujarati means a confectioner?

² *Qur'ān*, chapter II, part of verse 181.

³ *ARIE*, 1936-37, No. D, 60.

⁴ In about A.H. 905, a noble Sayyid Barānāhar entitled 'Alī *Khān* Mandwālī fled to Gujarat from Malwa and received Broach in fief. His son also held this title (*Hājji Dabir*, *op. cit.*, pp. 118, 211, 214, etc.). But he seems to be a different person.

⁵ *PRWC*, 1919-20, pp. 50 (No. 38), 58.

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. And of Him we seek aid.
- (2) 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh.'¹
And the Prophet, may salutations
- (3) and peace of Allāh be upon him, says, 'He who builds for Allāh a mosque, even if it be like the nest of a sandgrouse,
- (4) Allāh builds for him a palace in Paradise'. And Allāh 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'.²
- (6) This blessed mosque was built and constructed by the servant of Khwāja 'Alī Khān, son of Nizām Gilānī, and he is Khwāja Šandal,
- (7) in the time of the great sultān Muẓaffar Shāh the sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom. And this was on the first
- (8) of Muḥarram, year (A.H.) twentyone and nine hundred (1st Muḥarram 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.³ It was copied by me in 1962.

The tablet on which this epigraph is engraved is now built into the right baction of the south gate of the fort at Sankheda, a *tāluka* headquarters in the Baroda district.⁴ 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.⁵ 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'n-Naṣr Muẓaffar Shāh, a well and a mosque were constructed by Faṭḥ Khān, son of Rājan Khān, son of Asad Khān, in 1515 A.D. This inscription also, like the other two inscriptions of Muẓaffar Shāh studied in this article (Nos. XXV and XXVIII), bears the regnal year with its usual designation 'Šamsiyya'.

According to the information furnished by the Government Epigraphist for India who was requested to examine it, the *Nāgarī* inscription contains the date Vikrama Samvat 1572, Śaka

¹ Qur'ān, 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.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 34.

⁵ For the history of the town, see *BG*, vol. VII, Baroda (Bombay, 1883), pp. 556-67.

1437, Dakshināyana, Varshā-ritu, Bhādrapada śu[15] Friday, Lunar eclipse.¹ But since the writing is damaged, apart from the name Fāt Khān, son of Rājan Khān, son of Asad Khān, no other details could be made out.

The Persian version is incised on the slab in *Naskh* 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 calligraphical 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)

(۱) [الوائق بتأيد] الرحمن ابو النصر مظفر شاه
 (۲) سلطان بن محمود [د] شاه سلطان بن محمد شاه سلطان
 (۳) بن احمد شاه سلطان بن محمد شاه سلطان بن
 (۴) بن مظفر شاه سلطان چاه و مسجد بنا کرده فتحخان
 (۵) بن راجنخان بن اسد خان مرحوم بتاریخ سیزدهم ماه رجب رجب
 (۶) قدره سنه احدى و عشرين و تسعمایه سنه خمس شمسیه

TRANSLATION

- (1) The reliant on the support of the Beneficent, Abu'n-Naṣr Muzaḥfar Shāh
- (2) sultān, son of Maḥmūd Shāh sultān, son of Muḥammad Shāh sultān,
- (3) son of Aḥmad Shāh sultān, son of Muḥammad Shāh sultān,
- (4) son of Muzaḥfar Shāh sultān, the well and the mosque were constructed by Faṭḥ Khān,
- (5) son of Rājan Khān, son of Asad Khān who is taken into the mercy (of God), on the date thirteenth of the month of Rājab, may God increase
- (6) its dignity, of the year (A.H.) twentyone and nine hundred, Shamsiyya (i.e. regnal) year five (13th Rājab A. H. 921=23rd August 1515 A.D.).

It is not possible to identify Faṭḥ Khān, 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.² 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.³ The original name of the town was in recent times changed by a ruling chief after his name Himatsinhji.⁴

¹ The lunar eclipse had occurred on the previous pūrṇamī (i.e.) of Śrāvaṇa.

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. cit.*, p. 57.

⁵ The ground for changing the name of the town was to prevent its being confused, for postal purposes, with Ahmadnagar in Maḥarashtra.

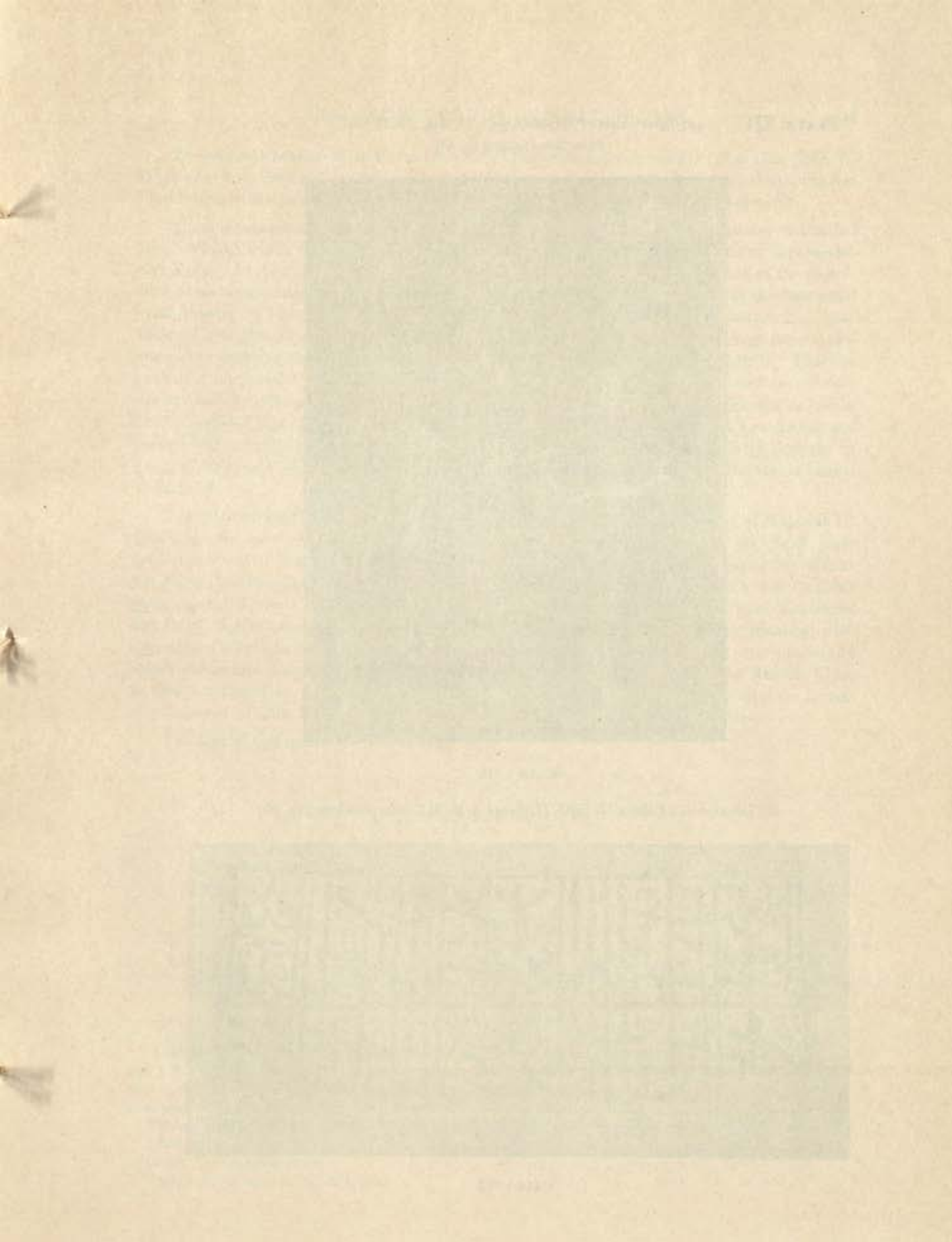


PLATE XII

(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 Qāzī's Vāvḍī¹ which is a very handsome structure in the architectural tradition of the Gujarat 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 Shamshīru'l-Mulk, the builder, was a son of Aḥmad Shāh I.² 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 Mubārak Sultānī entitled Maliku'sh-Sharq Shamshīru'l-Mulk in the twelfth regnal year equivalent to A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.). This epigraph also quotes and designates the regnal year as Shamsiyya. 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 Shamshīru'l-Mulk figures in the events of the reign of Muzaffar II. But since we hear of one Shamshīru'l-Mulk in connexion with the events that took place immediately after the death of the latter³ it is reasonable to hold that he enjoyed this title in his reign also. This Shamshīru'l-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 Hājji Dabīr among the foremost nobles of Bahādur Shāh. He is evidently identical with Shamshīru'l-Mulk Sultānī who was in A.H. 956 made the governor of Junagadh with practically whole of Saurashtra under his authority.⁴ One Shamshīru'l-Mulk, brother of Fathū Muḥafiz Khān, is also mentioned in connection with the events of a subsequent date.⁵ Of the two, the former may be identical with Maliku'sh-Sharq Shamshīru'l-Mulk Sultānī of our inscription.

The text of this record reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XII (a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَ بِهِ نَسْتَعِينُ
(۲) در عهد سلطان سلاطین الزمان
(۳) المؤید بقائید الرحمن شمس الدنیا و الدین
(۴) ابو النصر مظفر شاه السلطان بناکرده
(۵) شمس مبارک سلطانے المخاطب بملک

¹ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 74.

² *BO*, 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 *Firishṭa, op. cit.*, p. 215; *Nizāmud-Dīn Aḥmad, op. cit.*, p. 496.

⁴ *Sikandar, op. cit.*, pp. 293, 318; *Hājji Dabīr, op. cit.*, pp. 227, 236, 256, 298. Both these authors append the sobriquet *Nautigā* to his name.

⁵ *Hājji Dabīr, op. cit.*, pp. 324, 393.

(٦) الشرق شمشير الملك مد الله عمره
 (٧) در شهور سنه اثني عشر شمسيه الثاني و العشرين
 (٨) من شهر ذى القعدة عام ثمانو عشرين
 (٩) و تسعايه يوم الاثنين تحرير يافته
 (١٠) شد هر كه بخواند بدعاء ايمان ياد آرد

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, 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-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn*
- (4) *Abu'n-Naṣr Muzaḥḥār Shāh*, the sultān, (this step-well) was constructed
- (5) by *Shams*, (son of) *Mubārak Sultānī* entitled *Malik*-
- (6) *u'ah-Sharq Shamsḥīru'l-Mulk*, may Allāh prolong his life !
- (7) In the months of the year twelve *Shamsiyya*, on the twenty second
- (8) of the month of *Dhī'l-Qa'da*, year (A.H.) twentyeight
- (9) and nine hundred, Monday (22nd *Dhī'l-Qa'da* A.H.928=13th October 1522 A.D.), it was inscribed.
- (10) Whosoever reads (this) may remember (the builder) with prayers for (his) faith.

Bahādur Shāh**XXIX. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 936 FROM BHAMER**

The only epigraph of Bahādur Shāh in the present study is fixed over the central *mihrāb* of a mosque at Bhāmer in the Sakri *tāluka* 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.

Bhāmer, 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 Sultānate period. It lay on the regular route from Gujarat to Deccan. It was at this town that the army sent by Aḥmad Shāh to the help of Firūz Shāh Bahmanī who had declared hostilities against Vijayanagara received the news of the latter's death and returned to Gujarat.³ Again, in A. H. 867, when Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa had invaded Deccan, Nizām Shāh Bahmanī sought help from Maḥmūd Shāh I who himself marched towards Deccan, but when he was at Bhāmer, he was informed by the envoy of the Bahmanī king that Maḥmūd Khaljī had retreated.⁴ Also, when Maḥmūd Shāh 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 Bhāmer and Dirmāl which were conquered by 'Imādu'l-Mulk Isan.⁵ It appears that Bhāmer continued to be part of the kingdom until the time of Bahādur Shāh.

¹ *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 114. For his new record from Bhāmer, see *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 184.

² *BG*, Vol. XII, Khandesh (Bombay, 1880), p. 434.

³ Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Hājji Dabir, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

⁴ Hājji Dabir, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 166. Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 113, has Nandarbar instead of Bhāmer.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 147. This conquest is also referred to in another record from Bhāmer, recently brought to light (*ARIE*, 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 Dilāwar Khān in 1529-30 A.D. during the reign of Qutbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn 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 Dilāwar Khān 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 Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Khatri married to Alp Khān. One more person Faṭḥullāh 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 Khatri¹, whose caste-name Khatri is also borne by the former's father-in-law.

The epigraph reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (b)

(۱) من بنی لله مسجدا بنی الله مثله فی الجنة بانے این مسجد والدہ دلاور خان شهید
بنت ملک غیاث الدین کہتری منکوحہ الپخان نبسہ ؟
(۲) فتح الله در عهد قطب الدنيا و الدین بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه سلطان
رحمة الله عليهم فی سنه ست و ثلاثین و تسعمایه

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 Dilāwar Khān, daughter of Malik Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Khatri (and) wife of Alp Khān, grandson? of

(2) Faṭḥullāh, in the reign of Qutbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Bahādur Shāh, son of Muḥaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd 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 Saraspur 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 Muḥammad Khatri according to an inscription from Broach (*RIIM*, 1933-34, Supplement, p. 30.).

² *ARIE*, 1958-57, No. D, 15.

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 Böhra 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 Qutbu'd-Din Abu'l-Faḍl Bahādur Shāh and completed in 1539 A.D. during the rule of Maḥmūd Shāh III by Shaikhā, son of 'Isā, 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, Hājji Dabīr calls him Abu'l-Muzaḥḥar Ghāzī Saḥānu'd-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 Miḡān Ḥaḥīm, son of the builder and of Shaikh Jū, son of Shaikhā, son of Mānījū, both of whom are mentioned with the sobriquet Munjāl.³

The text of the epigraph is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (a)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(٢) قَدْ أَبْدَى حَقْرَ هَذَا الْبَيْرِ الْمَعْدُوبِ مَأْوَهُ عَذَابُ زَلَالٍ وَ وَقَفَ بِهِ لَاسْتِنْفَاعٍ

(٣) الْخَلْقِ وَلَمْ يَأْتِ بِهِ وَقْفًا حَلَالًا مَعَ عِمَارَاتِهِ الْمَعْمُورَةِ وَ اشْجَارَةِ الْمَغْرُوسَةِ الْمُثْمَرَةِ ابْتِغَاءً

(٤) لَوَجْهِ اللَّهِ الْعَظِيمِ وَ رَجَاءً لَشَفَاعَتِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَ أَهْلِهِ الْمَكْرَمِ فِي عَصْرِ السُّلْطَانِ الْمَشْرُوفِ

(٥) بِتَشْرِيفِ الرَّحْمَنِ تَطْلُبِ الدُّنْيَا وَ الدِّينِ أَبُو الْفَضْلِ بِهَادِرِ شَاهِ بْنِ مَظْفَرِ شَاهِ

(٦) سَنَةِ ٩٣٠ فِي شَعْبَانَ وَ أَتَمَّهَا فِي عَهْدِ سُلْطَانِ سَلَاطِينَ الزَّمَانِ الْوَاتِقِ

(٧) بِتَأْيِيدِ الرَّحْمَنِ نَاصِرِ الدُّنْيَا وَ الدِّينِ أَبُو الْفَتْحِ مُحَمَّدُ شَاهِ بْنِ

(٨) لَطِيفِ شَاهِ أَخِي بِهَا [دَرْ شَاهِ] ابْنِ مَظْفَرِ شَاهِ ابْنِ مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ ابْنِ

(٩) مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ ابْنِ أَحْمَدَ شَاهِ ابْنِ مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ ابْنِ مَظْفَرِ شَاهِ

(١٠) السُّلْطَانِ خَلْدِ اللَّهِ مَلِكِهِ وَ سُلْطَانِهِ شَيْخَا بْنِ عَيْسَى الْمَلْتَبِ

(١١) بِوَسْعِ نَجَالِ جَعَلَ اللَّهُ لَهُ هَذِهِ الْخَيْرَ مَقْبُولَةً جَارِيَةً وَ سَقَاءَ مَنْ حَوْضَ الْكُؤُورِ شَرِبَهُ صَافِيَةً

سَنَةِ ٩٣٩

¹ *ARIE*, 1957-58, No. B, 141.

² His coins have the legend Qutbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl. For references, see *RIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p. 70 and f.n.3.

³ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 13-14. The name Munjāl was borne by the celebrated minister of the famous Chaulukya king of Gujarat Siddharāja Jayasinha. Also, the name of one Vohrā Munjāl of Modh race occurs in an inscription dated 1282 A.D. from Wadhwan (*IHQ*, vol. IV, p. 766, f.n.3.).



SCALE : 19

(b) Inscription of Bahādur Shāh, dated A.H. 936, from Bhamer (p. 47)



SCALE : 21

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 sultān who is favoured
- (5) with the robe of honour of the Beneficent, Qutbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl Bahādur Shāh, son of Muẓaffar 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, Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl Maḥmūd Shāh, son of
- (8) Latīf Shāh, brother of Bahādur Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of
- (9) Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh,
- (10) the sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, by Shaikhā, son of 'Isā, entitled
- (11) Munjāl, may Allāh make for him this bounty acceptable and ever-running, and give him pure drink from the reservoir of *Kauthar*, (In the year A.H.) 946 (1539 A.D.).¹

XXXI. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM CAMBAY

I found the loose fragmentary slab containing this inscription in 1959 in a small mosque near the Lāl-Maḥal at Cambay.² The slab being fragmentary, a considerable portion of the text is lost. The surviving two lines only contain the usual genealogy of the king Maḥmūd 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 *Naskh* of a fairly good type.

The surviving text is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate XIV (b)

(۱) و کان ذلک فی عهد السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو [الفتح]

(۲) محمود شاه [بن] لطیف شاه اخ بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه بن محمد شاه

بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

¹ The Sanskrit version referred to above bears the date equivalent to 12th October 1536 A.D.

² *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 103.

TRANSLATION

(1) And this took place in the reign of the great king Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abū[-l Fath] Mahmūd Shāh, [son of] Latif Shāh, brother of Bahādur Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the sultān....

XXXII. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM SOMNATH

The fragmentary slab bearing this record is to be found in the Archaeological Museum at Somnath.¹ 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 *Naskh*, 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.²

(۱) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

(۲) تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى

(۳)

(b) Horizontal writing.

(۱) بِفَرْمَانِ؟

(۲) قَالَ الْ[نَبِيُّ]

(۳) اَيْنَ مَسْجِدَ بِنَا كَرْد

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.....

¹ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 166.

² The reading of this portion is tentative,

(a) Inscription of Muzaffar Shāh II, dated A.H. 921, from Sankheda (p. 44)



SCALE : .25

(b) Inscription of Mahmūd Shāh III, from Cambay (p. 49)

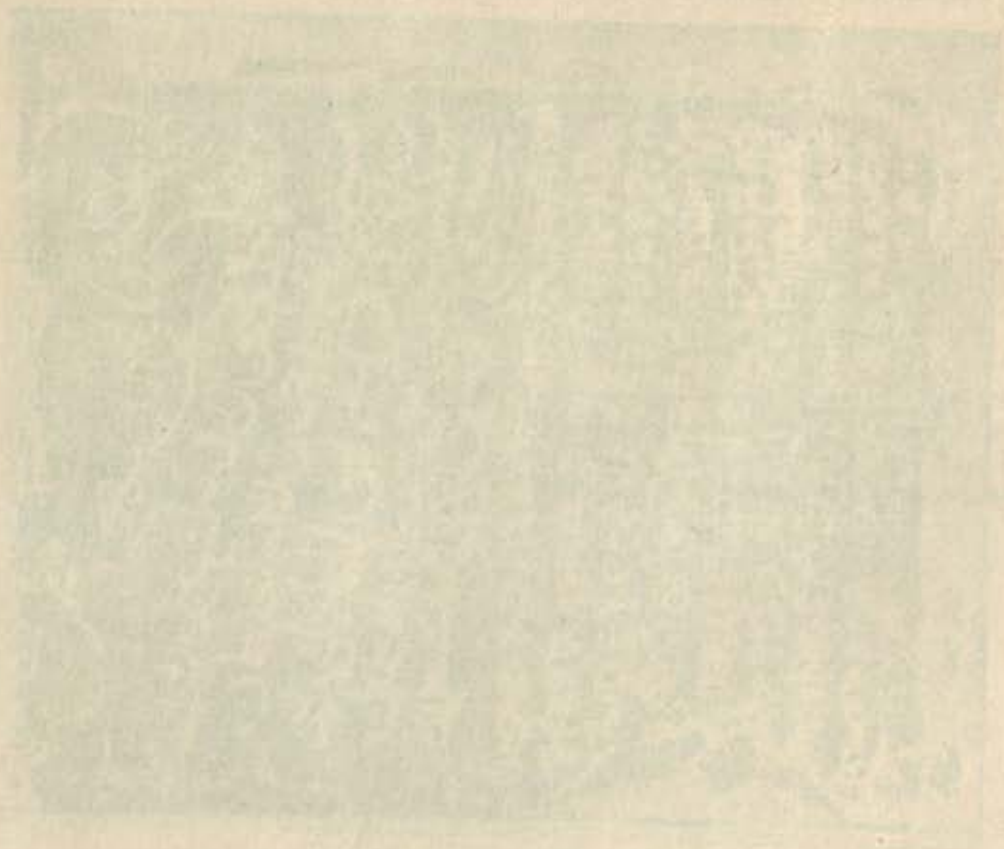


SCALE : .25

(c) Fragmentary inscription from Sonmāth (p. 50)



SCALE : .24



SOME MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM VIDARBHA

By S. A. RAHIM

The Vidarbha or Berar region comprises, strictly speaking, of four districts of Akoaia, 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 Mangrulpir and Balapur and one each from Patur, Akot and Lakhanwada.

The earliest of these records is to be seen at Mangrulpir, headquarters of the *tāluka* of the same name in Akola district. The town of Mangrul lying between 24°4' and 20°50' N. and 77°9' and 77°42' E. is suffixed by the epithet Pir, referring to the saint Hayāt Qalandar or other saints who lie buried there,¹ 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 Amānu'llāh² which is situated in the same enclosure along with that of his disciple Shāh Aman Sāhib. 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,³ which is in conformity with the evidence of the inscription making the spiritual guide Shāh Amānu'llāh 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'liq*, 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 Amānu'llāh 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 Jalnāpūr in Berar on the 15th of Shah'bān 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 hemistich appears to be A. H. 1006 in words but the figures at two places indicate A. H. 1007.⁴ 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.

¹ C. Brown, *Central Provinces and Berar District Gazetteers, Akola District*, Vol. A (Calcutta, 1910), p. 354.

² *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1960-61, 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 ٩٠٠٤ or ٩٠٠٤ which obviously stands for 1007. For a date quoted in a like way, see *Epigraphia Indo-Muslemica (EIM)*, 1935-36, p. 57, pl. XXXVII.

The readable portion of the text is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate XV (c)

(۱) آنک از جمله دلها دل او آگاهست	قطب الاقطاب جهان شاه امان الله است
عجایب مظهر علیا ست پشت کاخ دیوارش	(۲) بسان کعبه آمد مزار؟ رخسارش؟
چنان عالیست از تعظیم بنیاد بنای او	ز رفعت سرهمی ساید چرخ دوارش
(۳) بحکم شه مراد ابن جلال الدین محمد شد	بسال الف شش؟ آرامست آنرا سبز معارش
سنه ۹۰۰۷	۹۰۰۷

On the left side.

بتاریخ بست پنجم شهر جمید الثاني دو شنبه کتبه

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, Shāh Amānu'llāh.

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 Shāh Murād, son of Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad (Akhar). 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 Jamīd 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 *tāluka* of the Akola district.¹ 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 Shāh Begam, daughter of Daryā 'Imād Shāh of Berār when she was married to Ḥusain Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar.² 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 Āstāna-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 Pīran. 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.

¹ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 203.

² *Tārīkh-i-Firāqī*, vol. II (Kanpur, 1865), p. 124. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. VI (Oxford, 1908), p. 173, also gives the same version but Brown, *op. cit.*, makes her a daughter of the king of Ahmadnagar.

(a) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1091, from Lakhanwada (p. 55)



SCALE : 2

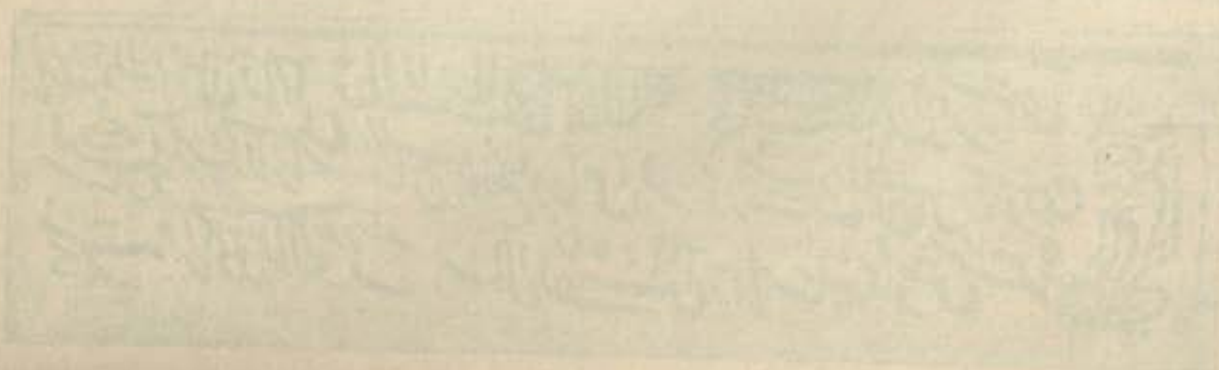
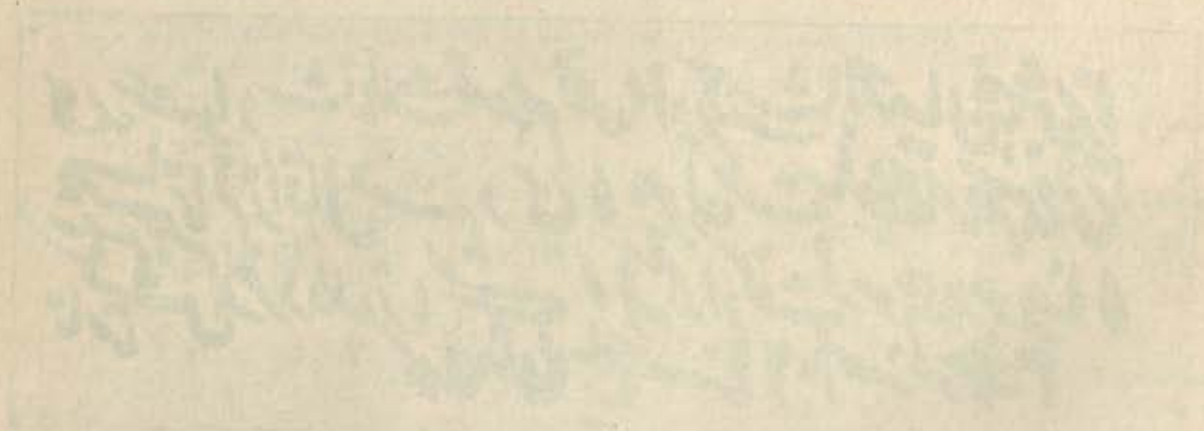
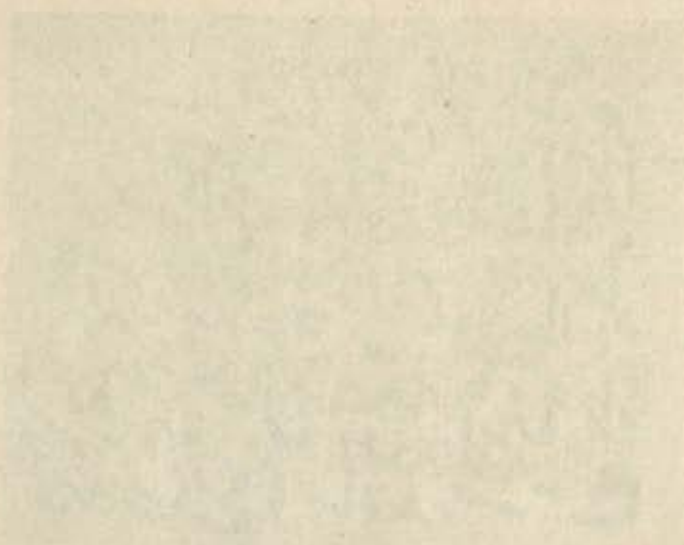
(b) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1069, from Karanja (p. 53)



SCALE : 26

(c) Inscription of Akbar, dated A.H. 1007, from Mangrulpir (p. 52)





The text of the record comprising three lines of Persian verse and one in prose reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XV (b)

- (۱) در عصر پادشاه ملک قدر جم شکوه اورنگ شاه آنکه جهانبانیس سزا
 (۲) شد مسجدی تمام ز اقبال خسروی پیرن بخت ساخت چو فردوس خوش فزا
 (۳) تاریخش از خرد طلبد [م] ز هاتے آمد ندا و گفت ز "موجود جورضا"
 (۴) تحریر فی التاريخ سلخ سنه ۱۰۶۹ سنه احد 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; Pīran 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 *Dhī'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 *Pīran*.

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.² 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 *Muhammad Ashraf* 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)

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله حقاً حقاً
 (۲) در زمان عدل عالم گیر شاه دین پناه آنکه نزد جود عامش بحر و کان باشد خجل

¹ The letter 'م' 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. Hiralal, *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.

- (۳) از مریدانش محمد اشرف پاک اعتقاد موضع را دید کان بتخانه بودی متصل
 (۴) چون خلیل از امر حق بشکست آن بتخانه را داد ترتیب بنای مسجد [ی] بس مستقل
 (۵) سنه هزار و هفتاد و هشت
 (۶) گشت تاریخ این بنای عاقبت محمود را کعبه حاجت روا و معبد ارباب دل

TRANSLATION

- (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 'Ālamgīr, the king who is the asylum of Faith (and) whose universal generosity makes the sea and mine shame-stricken,
 (3) one of his devoted servants, Muhammad Aḡhrāf 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 *Ka'ba* and place of worship for men of hearts.

Muḥammad Aḡhrāf 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 Ghāt-Darwāza situated on the top of the hill at a distance of about 2 miles to the south of the village Lakhanwada in the Khamgaon *tāluka* of Buldana district.² The epigraph was listed by Cousens who merely described it as containing 'five lines of inscription in Persian'.³ 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 inscriptional 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.⁴ 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.⁵ 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 *Tājū'l-Mulk*. The text also calls the hill as Dhadham, which is evidently the Dhaddam of the maps.⁶

¹ This should be "موضع".

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, *Ma'āṭ al-Umarā*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1894), pp. 798-813.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 801-02.

⁶ There does exist a village Dadham at a distance of about two or three furlongs from the hill.

(a) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1078, from Akot (p. 53)



SCALE : 17

(b) 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)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
 (۲) در عهد ظل سبحانی اورنگ زیب بادشاہ
 (۳) عالم گیر حسب الفرمودہ تاج الملک خان جہان بہادر
 (۴) کوکلتاش در سال بیست و چہارم جلوس دروازہ
 (۵) بر گذر کو ہی دہدہم بنیاد پذیرفت

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
 (2) In the reign of the shadow of the Glorious Lord, Aurangzeb Bādshāh
 (3) 'Ālamgīr, by the order of Tāju'l-Mulk Khān-i-Jahān Bahādur
 (4) Kokaltāsh, 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 Dārwa gate of the city-wall.¹ Comprising three lines of writing in Persian, it places the construction of Māhūr gate in the 42nd regnal year (1698-99 A. D.) of Aurangzeb when the *qasba* of Kāranja-Bibi was included in the fief of Rustam Khān and the *faujdar* of the place was Qādī Bashīru'llāh.

It is difficult to say if Rustam Khān whose name occurs as the *jōgirdār* of Kāranja in our record is identical with Sayyid Rustam Khān who was appointed his deputy in Berar by Firūz Jang in about the 33rd regnal year of the emperor; he is stated to have held Bālāpur and other places in his fief.² The epigraph is also important in that it provides the name of the *faujdar*, viz. Qādī Bashīru'llāh, but no further particulars about him are forthcoming. It is also to be noted that the gate is designated in the text as 'Māhūr 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)

(۱) اللّٰه اکبر
 (۲) ایزد سبحان شاہ اورنگ زیب رستم خان جاگیردار قصبہ کارنجہ ہے ہے
 (۳) سنہ چہل دو جلوس والا عمل قاضی بشیر اللہ فوجدار دروازہ ماہور مرتب باقت بالخیر

¹ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 204.

² Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, pp. 502-04.

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Great.

(2) The Glorified God. (In the reign of) Shāh Aurangzeb (and during the time of) Rustam Khān, the *jāgirdār* of the *qaṣba* of Kāranja-Bībī

(3) (in) the year fortytwo of the auspicious accession (A. H. 1109-10=1698-99 A. D.) (during) the time of Qādī Bashīru'llāh, the *faujdār*, 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 *Nasta'liq* 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 Zulaikḥā*. 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 Bābū Rāi.

The text is read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVI (c)

(۱) هو القادر

(۲) الہی غنچہ امید بکشاہی گلی از روضہ جاوید بنمای

(۳) بخندان از لب آن غنچہ باغم وزاد گل [عطر] پرورکن دماغم

(۴) در عہد سلطنت شاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر جاگیر رستم خان قاضی بشیر اللہ

(۵) فوجدار قصبہ کارنجہ بے بے دروازہ دکھن در سنہ ۴۳ چہل و سہ مرتب شد

On the left side.

داقم شیامجی بابورای

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 'Ālamgīr and (when) the *jāgīr* was held by Rustam Khān, (in the time of) Qādī Bashīru'llāh,

(5) the *faujdār* of the *qaṣba* of Kāranja-Bībī, the Dakhan gate was constructed in the (regul) year 43, fortythree (A. H. 1110-11=1699-1700 A.D.).

¹ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 208.

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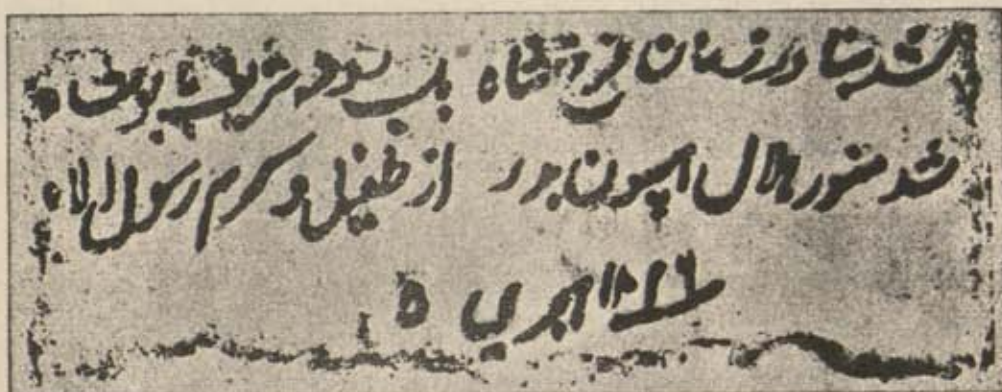
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(a) Inscription of Muḥammad Shāh, dated A.H. 1139,
from Karanja (p. 58)



SCALE : 09

(b) Inscription of Farrukh Siyar, dated A.H. 1126, from Patur (p. 57)



SCALE : 18

(c) Inscription of Muḥammad Shāh, dated A.H. 1139, from Karanja (p. 58)



SCALE : 18

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 *tāluka* of the Akola District.¹ Noticed here for the first time, it is inscribed on the third gate of the *dargāh* of Shāikh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz commonly known as Shāh Bābū or Shāikh Bābū after whose name the village is called Pātūr Shāikh 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 Naṣīru'd-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī and died in A. H. 791.²

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 inscriptional 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)

(۱) شد بنا در زمان فرخ شاه باب روضه شریف بابوشاه
(۲) شد منور هلال همچون بدر از طفیل و کرم رسول الله
(۳) سنه ۱۱۲۶ هجری

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 (*Hilāl*) became resplendent (*Munawwar*) like full-moon (*Badr*).
- (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.³ 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.⁴

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 Amīn Qulī Khān in the reign of Farrukh Siyar at the time when Muḥammad Amīn Khān held the fief. The *jāgīrdār* Muḥammad Amīn Khān as well as the builder Amīn Qulī 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'.

¹ *ARIE*, No. D, 196.

² 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān Malkāpūrī, *Tadhkirat-i-Auliya-i-Inkan*, vol. I (Hyderabad), pp. 527-30. A biography of the saint in Urdu, entitled *Sawānī-i-'Umrī*, by Rahmatullāh Klān was published in 1933 A. D.

³ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 194.

⁴ For particulars about the town, see Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-14.

The inscriptional tablet measures 77 by 25 cm., and the text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (b)

(۱) یا وهاب
 (۲-۳) بمهد فرخ فرخ سیر شهبی عادل
 که خاکبوس جنابش. عروج کیوانست
 بدور صاحب جاگیر اهل سیف و قلم
 امیر عالم و فاضل محمد امین خان است
 دلا ز روی کرم در هزار و یکصد و سی
 بگو که بانی مسجد امین قلی خان است
 ۱۱۳۰ ۱۱۳۰

TRANSLATION

(1) O Bestower!

(2-3) (This mosque was built) in the auspicious reign of Farrukh 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 Muhammad Amīn 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 Amīn Qulī 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-Wāhid in A.H. 1139 (1726-27 A.D.) in the reign of Muhammad 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-Wāhid. But he must be identical with Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wāhid, son of Saifu'lāh, the *faujdar*, who constructed some edifice seven years later in the tomb of Dādā Hayāt Qalandar at Mangrulpir which is situated at a distance of 18 miles from Karanja (p. 59). In other words, 'Abdu'l-Wāhid 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 XVII (c)

(۱) بمهد والی عالی محمد شاه دین پرور ز عبد الواحد ساعی بنای باب شد تازه
 ۹
 (۲) چو تاریخ تمام او ز قتل خویشتن جستم بگوش جان ندا آمد زهی بافیض دروازه
 ۱۱۳۹

¹ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 206.

² *Ibid.*, No. D, 207.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا
ما كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله
والحمد لله رب العالمين

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا
ما كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله
والحمد لله رب العالمين

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا	ما كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله
والحمد لله رب العالمين	والحمد لله رب العالمين	والحمد لله رب العالمين

(a) Inscription of Muḥammadh Shāh, dated A.H. 1166,
from Mangrulpir (p. 59)



SCALE : 13

(b) Inscription of Farrukh Siyar, dated A.H. 1130, from Balapur (p. 58)



SCALE : -24

(c) Inscription of Shāh 'Ālam II, dated A.H. 1187, from Balapur (p. 60)



SCALE: -14

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-Wāhid.

(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 Hayāt Qalāndar at Mangrulpir.¹ 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.² The epigraph contains four lines inscribed in ordinary *Nasta'liq* characters. The language is Persian. It records the building of the *dālān* (verandah) in the 15th year of the reign of MAHAMMAD Shāh in A.H. 1146 (1733-34 A.D.), when the place was included in the fief of Nizāmu'l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. It names Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wāhid, son of Saifu'llāh, the *faujdar*, as the builder. Nizāmu'l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, the celebrated founder of the Āṣaf Jāhi dynasty of Hyderabad, needs no description.³ 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)

(۱) در عهد مبارک محمد شاه بادشاه و جاگیر نواب نظام الملک
(۲) آصف جاه بتاریخ پانزدهم شهر رمضان المبارک سنه
(۳) یکهزار و یکصد و چهل و شش هجری مطابق سنه شانزده جلوسه این دالان
(۴) از دست شیخ عبد الواحد ابن سیف الله فوجدار ترتیب یافت

TRANSLATION

(1) In the auspicious reign of Muḥammad Shāh Bādshāh (and in) the *jāgīr* of Nawwāb Nizāmu'l-Mulk

(2) Āṣaf Jāh, on the fifteenth of the month of the blessed Ramaḍān of the year

(3) one thousand one hundred and fortysix from the Migration corresponding to the sixteenth year of accession (15th Ramaḍān A.H. 1146=1733-34 A.D.), this *dālān*

(4) was constructed by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wāhid, son of Saifu'llāh, the *faujdar*.

The last inscription is to be seen on the facade above the arches in the Bādshāhpūre-kī-Masjid at Balapur.⁴ 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,⁵ by Ḥaḍrat

¹ ARIE, 1960-61, No. D, 199. For particulars about the life and tomb of the saint, see 'Abdu'l-Jabbār, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-82; Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-55; and Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

² Hiralal, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

³ Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 837-848.

⁴ ARIE, 1960-61, No. D, 190.

⁵ For Āṣaf Jāh II, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 868-75.

Sayyid Jalāl *alias*? Shāh Sāhib. The name of the builder so occurs in the versified text as to indicate that Jalāl and Shāh Sāhib 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'liq* on three slabs jointly measuring 43 by 28 cm.

TEXT

Plate XVIII (c)

(a) Rightslab.

- (۱) این مکان تعمیر شد در دور آصف جاه حال
(۲) حامی دین شاه عالم بود سلطان الملوك

(b) Middle slab.

- (۱) حضرت سید جلال و شاه صاحب در صفر
(۲) کرد این مسجد بنا در چشم حاسد باد دوک

(c) Left slab.

- (۱) در هزار و یکصد و هشتاد و هفت آمد بنا
(۲) سجده گاه حق پرستان معبد اهل سلوک^۱

سنه ۱۱۸۷ 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) Ḥadrat Sayyid Jalāl and (*alias*?) Shāh Sāhib, 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. KADIBI

My study of the eight inscriptions of the Bahmanī kings from Raichur district in Mysore State, which appeared in the last issue of this Series,¹ was prefaced with a brief recapitulation of the struggle for supremacy over the Raichur *doāb* between the Bahmanī kings and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, in which I had stated that in the final stage, the struggle was carried on by the 'Adil Shāhī rulers of Bijapur as successors to the Bahmanī authority in that region. It would not therefore be out of place to recount in brief the history of the *doāb* in the light of epigraphical and other evidences during the period 1530-1565 A.D.

It has been asserted that on the death of Ismā'īl 'Adil Khān in 1534 A.D., Krishnadeva Rāya's successor Achyutadeva Rāya lost no time in invading the *doāb* and subdued the Bijapur territories as far north as Krishna, forcing Mallū Khān, the Bijapur king, to sue for peace.² 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 Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I, moved towards Raichur, the former to conquer and the latter to defend the *doāb*, and Ibrāhīm apprehensive of the designs of Asad Khān, the famous 'Adil Shāhī general, made peace with Achyutadeva by surrendering the *doāb*.³ According to some, the surrendered territory did not include Raichur city.⁴ But the Muslim chroniclers do not mention at all these expeditions. According to them, after 1530 A.D., the invasion of the *doāb* did not take place until A.H. 950 (1543-44 A.D.) in the reign of Ibrāhīm I, when the allied forces of Burhān Nizām Shāh I and Rām Rāya marched on to recover Sholapur and the *doāb* respectively.⁵ Moreover, in 1536 A.D., the *doāb* or at least a part thereof was in 'Adil Shāhī possession as is indicated by a Persian inscription from Mudgal.⁶ It would appear that except for, if at all, temporary vacation, the *doāb* was under the continued hold of the 'Adil Shāhī kings from 1530 A.D. till 1552 A.D. despite the desperate efforts of the kings of Vijayanagara to wrest it from them.⁷ It was only in 1552 A.D.⁸ that the allied forces of Rām Rāya and Burhān Nizām Shāh were able to conquer the *doāb* and annex it to the Vijayanagara kingdom not to be recovered by the Bijapur king 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I until the defeat of the Vijayanagara king at the battle of Raksatagadi in 1565 A.D.⁹

The sixteen 'Adil Shāhī 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,¹⁰ while the eye-copies of all, accompanied by a photographic illustration of only one,

¹ *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIASP)*, 1962, pp. 53-66.

² K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *History of South India* (Madras, 1955), p. 275; Krishnaswami Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History* (Madras, 1919), pp. 137 (f.n.2), 160.

³ Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, vol. II, part III (Bangalore, 1930), pp. 1992-93. This would mean that Achyutarāya's reported capture of the *doāb* in 1534 A.D. must have been vacated, since he was required to conquer it in 1535-36 A.D.

⁴ Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* (London, 1924), p. 176.

⁵ Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, vol. II (Kanpur, 1884), p. 29; 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* (Hyderabad, 1936), pp. 337, 340; Dr. P. M. Joshi, 'Raichur Doāb in Deccan History—Reinterpretation etc.', *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XXXVI (1958), pt. iv, p. 384.

⁶ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1958-59, No. D, 125.

⁷ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 347; Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

⁸ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

⁹ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-41.

¹⁰ E. Rehatsek, 'Three Inscriptions from Raichur', *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI (1882), pp. 130-31.

were published by Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad in his Urdu work.¹ These records mention five 'Ādil Shāhī kings: Nos. 1-4 represent Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, Nos. 5-6 'Alī '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'lim-Burj bastion near the Andherī-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 Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad 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'liq* characters and mentions the construction of the bastion through the efforts of Aḥmad Hājī Gūnābādī 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 Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad. However his reading including that of the missing portion is not free from mistakes.

TEXT

Plate XIX (a)

- (۱) [معمار قضا چو هست] در حسن عمل بانی بنائے نیلگون برج حمل
(۲) [تاریخ بناشت] ن [بید] مثل آمده است برج فلک دولت و اقبال ازل
(۳) [بدور خس] رو عادل که روز خصم ازو شب شد بسعی احمد حاجی گوناپادی 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 Aḥmad Hājī Gūnābādī.

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 Aḥmad Hājī of Gūnābād, obviously an official, is unknown to history.

¹ Bashīru'd-Dīn, *Wāqī'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijāpūr*, part III (Agra, 1915), pp. 325-27, 329, 332-35, 339.

² *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 131.

³ Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

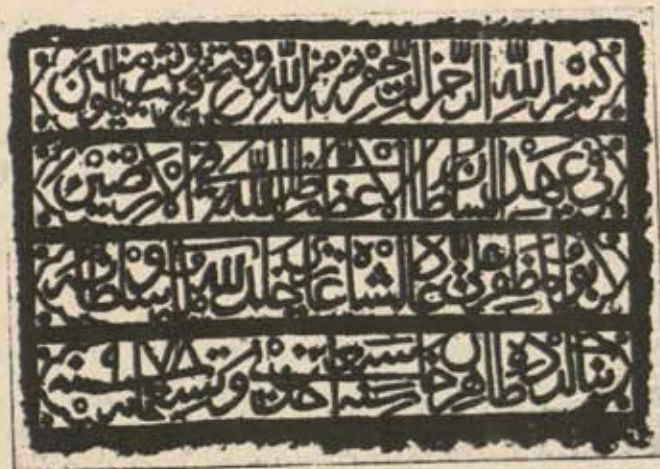
⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*

(a) Inscription Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, dated A.H. 953, PLATE XIX
from Raichur (p. 62)



SCALE : '07

(b) Inscription of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I, dated A.H. 978,
same place (p. 65)

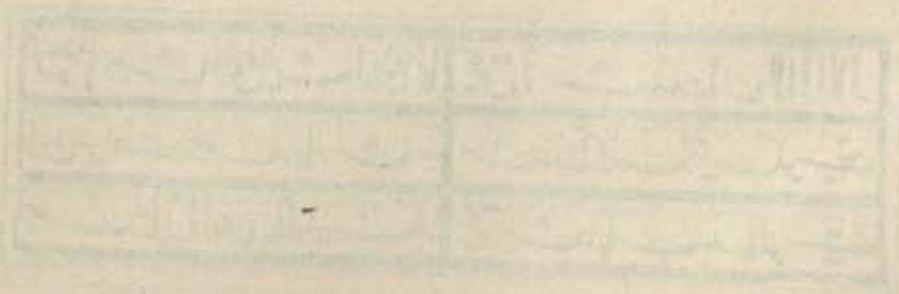
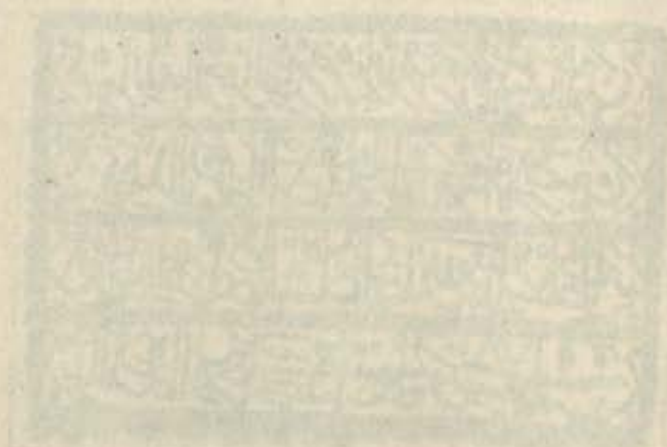


SCALE : '07

(c) Inscription of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, dated A.H. 958, same place (p. 64)



SCALE : '09



The second inscription of the reign of Ibrāhīm I is fixed on the facade of the bastion near the Khusraw Burj.¹ The inscriptional tablet measures 1.82 m. by 90 cm. and contains four lines of Persian poetry executed in ordinary *Nasta'liq* characters in relief placing the construction of the bastion in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil 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)

(۱) بستم درین حصار بتوفیق کردگار	برجی که کوتاه است ازو دست اهل غدر
(۲) چون سرزند و مطلع او طلعت هلال	باشد ز روی مرتبه چون بر میهر بدر
(۳) در روزگار عادل دوران تمام شد	آن عبادی که ساخته جا بر سریر حدر
(۴) چون نسبت رفیع ز قدرش بدیع نیست	تاریخ او ست برج رفیع بلند قدر

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, 'Ādil (lit. just) of the age, the 'Ādil (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 hemistich yields the year A.H. 955 (A.D. 1548-49).

The third inscription of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, fixed on the facade of the Kāfi gate of the fort,² measures 3.65 m. by 60 cm. and contains two lines of writing in Arabic and Persian prose executed in relief in *Nasikh* characters. A major portion of the epigraph consists of religious text with the scant historical information that the gate was constructed by Shamsīrū'l-Mulk in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil 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 *Shuhūr* equivalent.³

Shamsīrū'l-Mulk, as his title suggests, must have been the governor of the *doāb* in the stormy days (1530-31 A.D.), when the struggle for supremacy over the *doāb* was at its height. He is also mentioned in a record from Mudgal dated A.H. 943 (1536-37 A.D.) as the official of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I.⁴ However, contemporary Persian works do not mention his name.

¹ *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 132; Baghīrū'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

² *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 179. The reading of Baghīrū'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 333, is as usual not free from mistakes.

³ Cf. M. Nāgim, *Bijapur Inscriptions*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 49 (Delhi, 1949), p. 98.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 125.

The text has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XX (b)

(۱) نصر من الله وفتح قريب و بشر المومنين لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله على ولي
الله قاله (sic.) خيرا (sic.) حافظا و هو ارحم الراحمين سنة ٩٥٧
(۲) اللهم صل على محمد مصطفى و على المرتضى و الحسن و الحسين و العباد و الباق
و الصادق و الكاظم و الرضا و التقى و التقى و العسكرى و المهدي - در عهد همايون سلطان
ابراهيم عادلشاه بناكرده شمشير الملك غره ماه رمضان سنه خمسين و تسعمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) 'Help is from Allāh and victory near : and deliver good news to the believers.'¹ Shiite Creed. 'And Allāh is the best keeper. And he is the most Merciful of the merciful ones.'² In the year (A.H.) 957.

(2) Shiite *Durūd*. In the august reign of sultān Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (I), (this gate) was constructed by Shamsihīru'l-Mulk on the 1st of the month of Ramaḍān of (the Shuhūr) year nine hundred and fifty (1st Ramaḍān A.H. 957, Shuhūr 950=13th September 1550 A.D.).

The slab containing the fourth inscription of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I is fixed on the inner side of the gate of the lake near Andheri-Bāoli,³ near the inscription dated A.H. 953, mentioned above. It measures 1.45 m. by 40 cm. The text consists of three Persian couplets carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* 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)

(۱) نشوده باد بشادی همیشه این درگاه بحق اشهد و ان لا اله الا له (sic.)
(۲) این عمارت بعهد عادلشاه شد مهيا بخير و نيكويي
(۳) بهر تاريخ اين بنا گویند فتح شد باب مدعا گویند

TRANSLATION

(1) May this threshold (gate) ever remain open in happiness, by the grace of (the text) 'I bear witness that there is no god but Allāh'.

(2) This building was completed with goodness and beauty in the reign of (Ibrāhīm) 'Ādil Shāh (I).

(3) For the date of this construction it is said, 'you may say that the door of wishes has opened'.

¹ Qur'ān, chapter LXI, part of verse 13.

² *Ibid.*, chapter XII, part of verse 64.

³ *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 180; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 332. His reading is correct except in two places.

(a) Inscription of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, dated A.H. 955, from Raichur (p. 63)

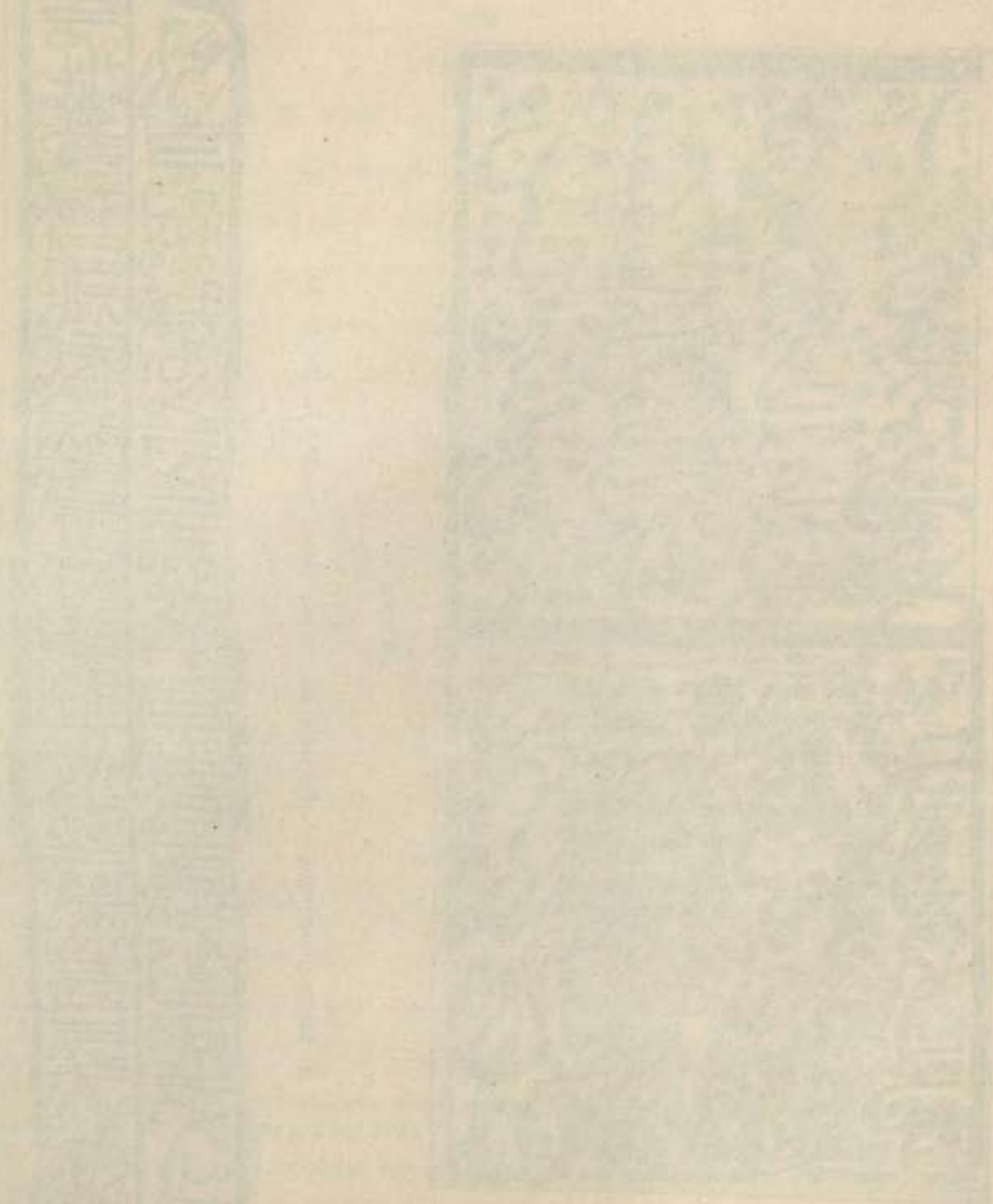


SCALE : '09

(b) Another inscription of the same king, same place, dated A.H. 957 (p. 64)



SCALE : '05



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The last hemistich forms the chronogram yielding A.H. 958 (1551 A.D.).¹

The fifth inscription is dated in the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh 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.² 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.'³ But the slab was fixed in its present place some time before Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad wrote his book in 1915 A. D.⁴

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 Tāhīr Khān as the builder and refers itself to the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. 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.⁵ 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 Tāhīr Khān, the builder of the bastion. But that he may have been an 'Ādil Shāhī official of rank is a reasonable guess.

The text* of the epigraph reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIX (b)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ نَصْرٌ مِّنْ اللّٰهِ وَفَتْحٌ قَرِیْبٌ وَبَشْرُ الْمُؤْمِنِیْنَ
 (۲) فِی عَهْدِ السُّلْطٰنِ الْاَعْظَمِ ظِلُّ اللّٰهِ فِی الْاَرْضِیْنَ
 (۳) اَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ عَلِیُّ عَادِلْشَاہ غَازِی خَلَدَ [۱] اللّٰہَ مُلْکَہُ وَ سُلْطٰنَہُ
 (۴) بَنَّا کَرْدُو طَاہِرْ خَاں سَنَہٗ اَحَدَے سَبْعِیْنَ وَ تَسَعِ مَایَہٗ سَنَہٗ ۹۷۸

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-Muzaffar 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh Ghāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,
 (4) (this bastion) was constructed by Tāhīr Khān in the (*Shuhūr*) year nine-hundred and seventyone, (A.H.) year 978 (*Shuhūr* 971, A.H. 978=1570-71 A.D.).

¹ Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, having read "گوی" instead of "گویے" calculated the date as A.H. 948,

² *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 146; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

³ Rehatsek, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

⁴ Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*

⁵ Nāḡim, *op. cit.*

⁶ Cf. Rehatsek, *op. cit.* and Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*

Qur'ān, chapter LXI, part of verse 13.

The second epigraph belonging to the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I is fixed into the right *mihrāb* in the west wall of the Jāmi' mosque inside the fort.¹ 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 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh in 1577-78 A.D.² The text in the central portion comprises Quranic verses carved in relief in *Naskh* 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 اله الا الله محمد رسول الله على ولي الله اللهم صل على محمد المصطفى و على المرتضى و
الحسن و الحسين و العباد و الباقر و الصادق و الكاظم و موسى الرضا و محمد التقي و على التقي
و العسكري و المهدي

(b) Central portion.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا انا انزلناه في ليلة القدر و ما ادريكم ما ليلة القدر
ليلة القدر خير من الف شهر تنزل الملائكة و الروح فيها باذن ربهم من كل امر سلام هي حتى
مطلع الفجر كل من عليها فان و يبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال و الاكرام

(c) Bottom.

در زمان دولت شاه عالمپناه جمجاه على عاد الشاه سنة ٩٨٥

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.'³ *Qur'ān*, chapter XCVIII 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, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh (in) A.H. 985 (1577-78 A.D.).

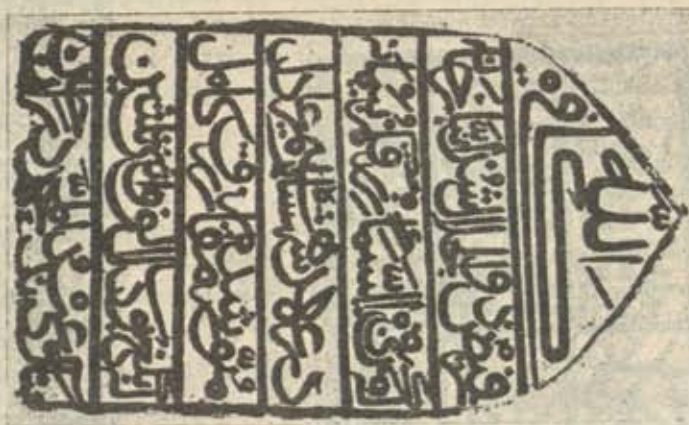
¹ *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 134; Bashīrū'd-Dīn, *op. cit.* p. 325, with a plate.

² Bashīrū'd-Dīn, *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.

(a) Inscription of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II,
dated A.H. 1032, from Raichur (p. 75)



SCALE : .17

(b) Inscription of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, dated
A.H. 985, from Raichur (p. 66)



SCALE : .07

(c) Another record of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, dated
A.H. 1032, from Raichur (p. 72)



SCALE : .08

(a) Inscription of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II, dated A.H. 991, .
from Raichur (p. 69)



SCALE : .12

(b) Another record of the same king, from Raichur,
dated A.H. 990 (p. 68)



SCALE : .15

(c) A third record of the same king, from Raichur, dated A.H. 990 (p. 67)



SCALE : .07

The next three epigraphs are to be found on the *diḍḍī* (small gate) and the bastion of the *parkoḍa* above it which are situated near the Baṇḍā-Bāoli within the rampart of the fort on the side of the Makki gate. They refer to the construction of the *diḍḍī* and a well and also to the completion of the work of the *parkoḍa* and the city-wall by an official.

The first of these three epigraphs is fixed on the southern facade of the *diḍḍī*.¹ The huge slab measuring 3.5 m. by 28 cm. contains only two lines of writing in Persian verse executed in relief in *Naskh* characters. The text which is carelessly composed records the construction of the *diḍḍī* (small gate) and the ditch near the precipice by Yūsuf 'Alī *qandildār*, in the first year of the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh (II) i.e. in 1582 A.D. Incidentally this epigraph is the earliest among the hitherto published records of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II, his earliest inscriptions being dated A.H. 991.²

The builder Yūsuf 'Alī *qandildār* does not find mention in contemporary records. He was an official of the court of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II. The sobriquet *qandildār* 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 text³ of the record reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXII (c)

(۱) شاه عالم پناه ابراهيم	کو نشست بجای عادلشاه
دولت او همیشه افزون باد	بر سریر سپهر و حشمت و جاه
مستند او همیشه قائم باد	بطفیل علی و لطف اله
کرده اندر زمان او بنیاد	این عمارت که کس ندارد یاد
هست خندق تا ^{کره} کده (sic.) [کنده؟]	خلق ز آب حیات او زنده
(۲) دوستانش بفتح و فیروزی	دشمنانش همیشه باد تباه
هر که کرده بنای این خندق	دارد امیدها بحضرت حق
بود یوسف علی قندیلدار	اندران وقت باعث این کار
سال تاریخ این اگر خواهی	یافت در نهصد و نوک اتمام

سنه ۹۹۰^۴

¹ *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 182; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-18.

² Nāḡim, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 51, 66.

³ Cf. Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

⁴ The word ^{کره} is probably कर्ह of Marāṭhi meaning a precipice.

⁵ 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-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1939-40, plate Xa.

TRANSLATION

(1) The refuge of the world is king Ibrāhīm ('Ādil Shāh II) who has succeeded 'Ādil Shāh (i.e. 'Alī 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 'Alī 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 'Alī qandildār (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 *diqdī*.¹ It records that the *diqdī* (small gate) and the (nearby) well, begun in the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I, were completed along with the *parkota* and the rampart in 1582 A.D. in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II by Yūsuf 'Alī qandildār. 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.²

The inscriptional slab measuring 54 by 49 cm. contains four lines of Persian verse and prose, carved in relief in *Naskh* characters, which have been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXII (b)

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| کرد بنیاد ددی و این چاه | (۱) در زمان علی عادلشاه |
| کار پرکوته و حصار اتمام | (۲) مت در عهد شاه ابراهیم |
| اندر اینجا مشقت بسیار | (۳) کرد یوسف علی قندیلدار |
| ۹۹۰ فی سلخ شهر رمضان المبارک سنه ثلاث و ثمانین و تسعمایه سنه | (۴) |

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh (I) the foundation of the *diqdī* and this well was laid.

(2) The construction of the *parkota* and the rampart was completed in the reign of Shāh Ibrāhīm ('Ādil Shāh II).

¹ *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 181; Baghīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

² Baghīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, reads the portion containing the date purposely as “تسعمایه تسعین” obviously to suit the date in figures, since he was confused by the date 983 in words and 990 in figures.

(3) Yūsuf 'Alī *qandildār* exerted greatly in this place.

(4) On the last day of the month of Ramaḍān, (*Shuhūr*) year nine hundred and eightythree, (A.H.) 990 (30th Ramaḍān 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 Parkoṭa-Darwāza mentioned above.¹ Its tablet measuring 85 by 55 cm. contains six Persian couplets carved in four lines in *Naskh* 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, Yūsuf 'Alī *Khān* the servant of the king, constructed the *diḡḡī* 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-Diḡḡī*.

The text² reads as follows :—

TEXT

- Plate XXII (a)

(۱) بدور شاه ابراهيم عادل	که شد از عدل او عالم گلستان
درينجا بود کوهی بس عجوبه	(۲) که در رفتن شدندى خلق حيران
بکند آنرا و در جایش ددی ساخت	بتوفيق خدا و شاه مردان
(۳) چو نام اين ددی کرد او توکل	مرتب ساختن از فضل يزدان
بسی کوشيد در اين کار ز اخلاص	(۴) غلام شاه دين يوسف عليخان
چو کار قلعه از وی يافت رونق	بتاريخش "نظام" 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 *diḡḡī* in its place through the guidance of God and *Shāh-i-Mardān* (i.e. 'Alī).

(3-4) Since he constructed it through the favours of God, he named it *Tawakkul-Diḡḡī*.

In this work Yūsuf 'Alī *Khān*, 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 *nizām* in the last hemistich yields the year A.H. 991 (1583 A.D.).

¹ *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 183: Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

² Cf. Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*

The *Dāru'l-Muḥalla'a* or the Reading Room situated inside the Kāṭī gate of the town bears two inscriptions of the same purport. The tablet containing one of them is fixed into a niche.¹ 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 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad, the governor. It is dated 1622-23 A.D. in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II.

'Abdu'l-Muḥammad of this inscription is Malik 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad, son of Malik Raiḥān, a notable grandee. Persian chronicles including the *Basātinu's-Salāṭīn* of Mirzā Ibrāhīm Zubairī are silent about him. But he is mentioned in an inscription from Siruguppa as the *sarḥawāladār* 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.²

The text³ of the inscription reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (b)

(a) Around the border.

قل اللهم مالك الملك توتى الملك من تشاء و تنزع الملك ممن تشاء و تعز من تشاء
و تذل من تشاء بيدك الخير انك على كل شئ قدير تولج الليل فى النهار و تولج النهار فى الليل
و تخرج الحي من الميت و تخرج الميت من الحي و ترزق من تشاء بغير حساب

(b) In the centre.

(۱) الله كائن

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بحرمت محمد منور است جمال	(۳) ز فضل ذو الجلال شد عمارت اين كمال
بنا كردند عبد المحمد امير عامل	(۴) در عهد شهسواد ابراهيم عادل
با فوق كشك نور على نور مقام	(۵) مزین گشت تسع محرابها تمام
رو بطرف باب الفتح با جنوب علامت	(۶) ترقى يافت اين عمارت زين سعادت
بمرتبه يكهزار اثنى ثلثين عزت	(۷) فرخست بتاريخ سال از هجرت

¹ *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 129; Baghīru d-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

² For details and references, see *ELAPS*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 41-42.

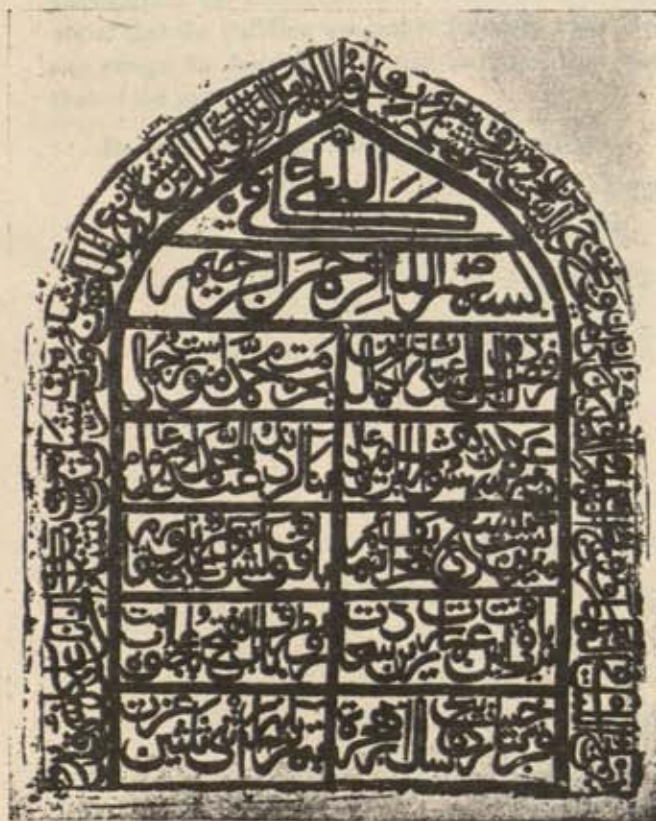
³ Cf. Baghīru d-Dīn, *op. cit.*

(a) Inscription of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, dated A.H. 1032,
from Raichur (p. 74)



SCALE : ·26

(b) Another record from the same place (p. 70)

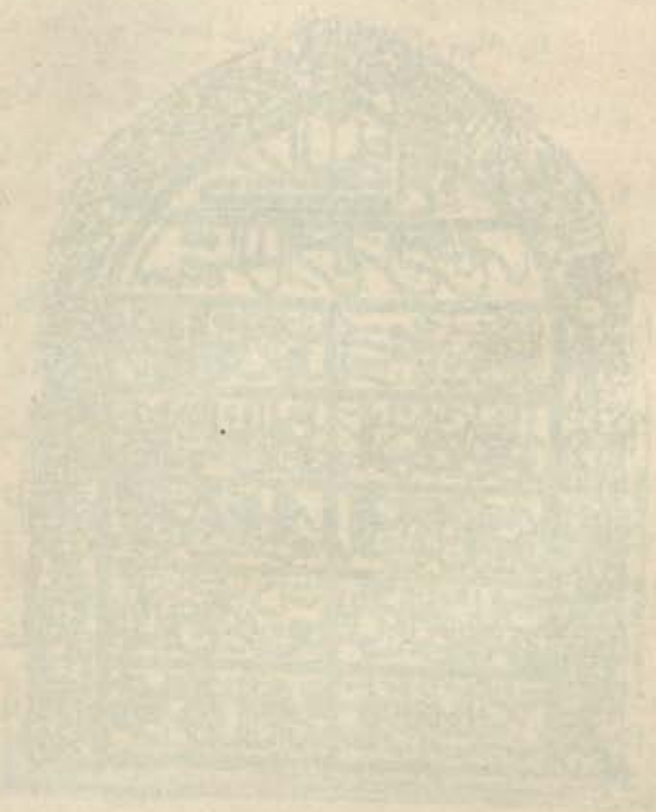


SCALE : ·14

(c) A third record from the
same place (p. 71)



SCALE : ·125



TRANSLATION

- (a) *Qur'ān*, chapter III, verses 25-26.
- (b) (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 *Naskh* 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)

(۱) بنائی چنین قصر عالی مشید

- ۷۰ - ۲۰۰ - ۹۰ - ۱۰۰ - ۵۰ - ۱۰ - ۵۰ - ۳ - ۱۰ - ۱ - ۱ - ۵۰ - ۲ (۲)

۱۰۳۲ سنه = ۳ - ۱۰ - ۲۰۰ - ۳۰ - ۱۰ - ۳۰ - ۱

(۳) بماناد چون طاق گردون مؤید

(۴) بدور براهیم عادل شهشه

(۵) مهیا شد از طبع عبد المحمد

(۶) چو خواهی بتاریخ این پی بری

(۷) بکن عد مصراع اول چو ابجد

¹ *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 130; Bashiru'd-Din, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

² Cf. Bashiru'd-Din, *op. cit.*

- (۸) بر ضایر بلا نظایر متعاقبان اهل زمانه معلوم باد که این عمارت را
 (۹) اساس و بنیاد نهاده بنای معلی ساخته اند و پیش ازین عمارت
 (۱۰) محض دیوار حصار بود هیچ عمارت نبود و السلام

TRANSLATION

- (1) *May the building of such a lofty (and) strong palace—*
 (2) $2+50+1+1+10+3+50+10+50+100+90+200+70+1+30+10+40+300+10+4=$
 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 'Abdu'l-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 *mihrāb*.¹ It belongs to the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. The arch-shaped slab on which it is engraved in ordinary *Naskh* 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 'Abdu'l-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.*

الله لا اله الا هو الحى القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما فى السموات وما فى الارض
 من ذالذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشئ من علمه
 الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات والارض ولا يوده حفظهما وهو العلى العظيم

¹ *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 135; Baghīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

(b) *Main portion.*

(۱) الله كافى

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۳) بحق لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۴) وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(۵) چراغ و مسجد و محراب و منبر ابو بكر و عمر عثمان [و] حيدر

(۶) بنا گشته مسجد بلطف اله بدور ابراهيم عادالشاه

(۷) ز هجرت هزار و سی دو درین نشانی عبد المحمد همین

سنه ۱۰۳۲

(۸) چه خوش کرده بناء مسجد جامع بدور شاه ابراهيم عادل

(۹) بود بانی غلام شاه عبد المحمد بتوفیق خدا و سعی کامل

(۱۰) مرتب ساخت جامع را بدو سال ثوابش جاری و حسنات حاصل

(۱۱) ز هجرت یکهزار و دیگرش سی ازان رو گشته تاریخ آن غل

سنه ۱۰۳۰

(۱۲) ساخت راجا کار مسجد را تمام تا بپاشد جای او جنت مقام

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.'¹

(4) Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and Ḥaidar (i.e. 'Alī) 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 thirtytwo of Hijra. Year (A.H.) 1032 (1622-23 A. D.). This is a memento of 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad.

- (7) What a beautiful Jāmi' mosque has been constructed in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh!
 (8) The slave of the king (namely), 'Abdu'l-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 *Naskh* characters on a rectangular tablet measuring 36 by 24 cm. which is fixed into the niche above the left *mihrāb*.² The Persian fragment which is yet another example of poor versification records that Malik 'Abdu'l-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)

- (۱) ملک عبدالمحمد ابن ریحان بدور شاه ابراهیم عادل
 (۲) ساخت جامع تا ابد باشد نشان که بلغ بود سال تاریخ آن
 (۳) نزلنا هاهنا ثم ار تحلنا کذ الدنيا نزول و ارتحال
 (۴) یظن المرء فی الدنيا خلود (sic.) خلود المرء فی الدنيا محال

TRANSLATION

- (1) Malik 'Abdu'l-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 *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 136; Baghīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

(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 :) *Baligh*. (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)

(۱) الله كافى

(۲) ز فیض ذو الجلال شد انبار خانه

(۳) که من فی السماء رزقکم پیمانه

(۴) در عهد شهنشاه ابراهیم عادل

(۵) منور شد مقام رزق کامل

(۶) که بلغ بود سال الف و اثنی ثلثین

(۷) بنا کردند عبد المحمد دران حین

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 :) *Baligh* (yielding A. H. 1032 (1622-23 A. D.).

(7) At that time it was constructed by 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad.

¹ *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 183; Baghīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

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 Šarrāf Bazār outside the fort.¹ The inscriptional 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 *Naskh* 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 Abū'n-Naṣr Sultān 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.*

يا ايها الذين آمنوا اذا نودى للصلاة من يوم الجمعة فاسعوا الى ذكر الله و زد (sic.) البيع
ذلكم خير لكم ان كنتم تعلمون

(b) *Main portion.*

(۱) الله كافي

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - لا اله الا [ا] لله محمد رسول الله

(۳) و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(۴) بنا شد مسجد بر دين احمد شده باقى او عبد المحمد

(۵) بدور شاه ابراهيم عادل روان شد كار او بيحصر و بيحد

(۶) ز هجرت يكهزار و سى و هشت است كه شد مسجد مرتب وقت اسعد

(۷) بوقت بو النصر سلطان محمود ز بهر مومنان ثواب بيعد

(c) *Right side.*

سنة ۱۰۳۸

(d) *Left side.*

شهور سنة ثلاثين و ثمان و الف

(a) Inscription of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh, dated A.H. 1038, from Raichur (p. 76)



SCALE : 11

(b) Inscription of Sikandar 'Adil Shāh, dated A.H. 1084, from Raichur (p. 77)



SCALE : 08

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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.'¹
 (4) The mosque is constructed in accordance with the religion of Ahmad (Prophet Muhammad) ; its builder is 'Abdu'l-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 thirtyeight from the Migration (of the Prophet) when the mosque is completed at a most auspicious time
 (7) during the reign of Bu'n-Naṣr sultān Mahmūd (*recte*, Muhammad) (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 thirtyeight.

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 *dargāh* of Sayyid Abdāl Ḥusainī.² The huge inscriptional slab measuring 2.85 m. by 35 cm. contains three Persian couplets arranged in a single-line and carved in relief in *Naskh* 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 sultān Sikandar Qādiri 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.³

The builder Āqā Khusraw, who also finds mention in an earlier record from Raichur,⁴ played an important role during the reigns of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II and Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh. In the reign of the former the unsuccessful rebellion of Sidi Jauhar entitled Ṣalābat Khān was followed by the revolt of the *qal'adār* of Raichur, a partisan of the latter. But by the time 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh reached Raichur, the loyal garrison arrested the *qal'adār* and surrendered the fort to the king. 'Alī '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.⁵

The text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIV (b)

در زمان خسرو سلطان سکندر قادری شد مهیا کار این دهلیز باصنعتگری

¹ *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

² *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 184 ; *Bashīru'd-Dīn*, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

³ *EIM*, 1907-08, p. 8 ; *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 92 ; *ibid.*, 1962-63, No. D, 127.

⁴ *EIM*, 1939-40, p. 22.

⁵ For particulars, see Zubairi, *op. cit.*, pp. 386, 464-67, 524, etc.

چون تامل کردم از تاریخ آن گفتا خرد کو در مزخ و زین تاریخ ختمش بنکرے
 ہائے این کار آقا خسرو غلام شاہ را کن بلفخ خویش یارب روز محشر یاوردے

TRANSLATION

In the reign of the king, Sultān Sikandar Qādirī, 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 Āqā Khusrāw, the slave of the king.

The chronogram yields A.H. 1084 (1673-74 A.D.).

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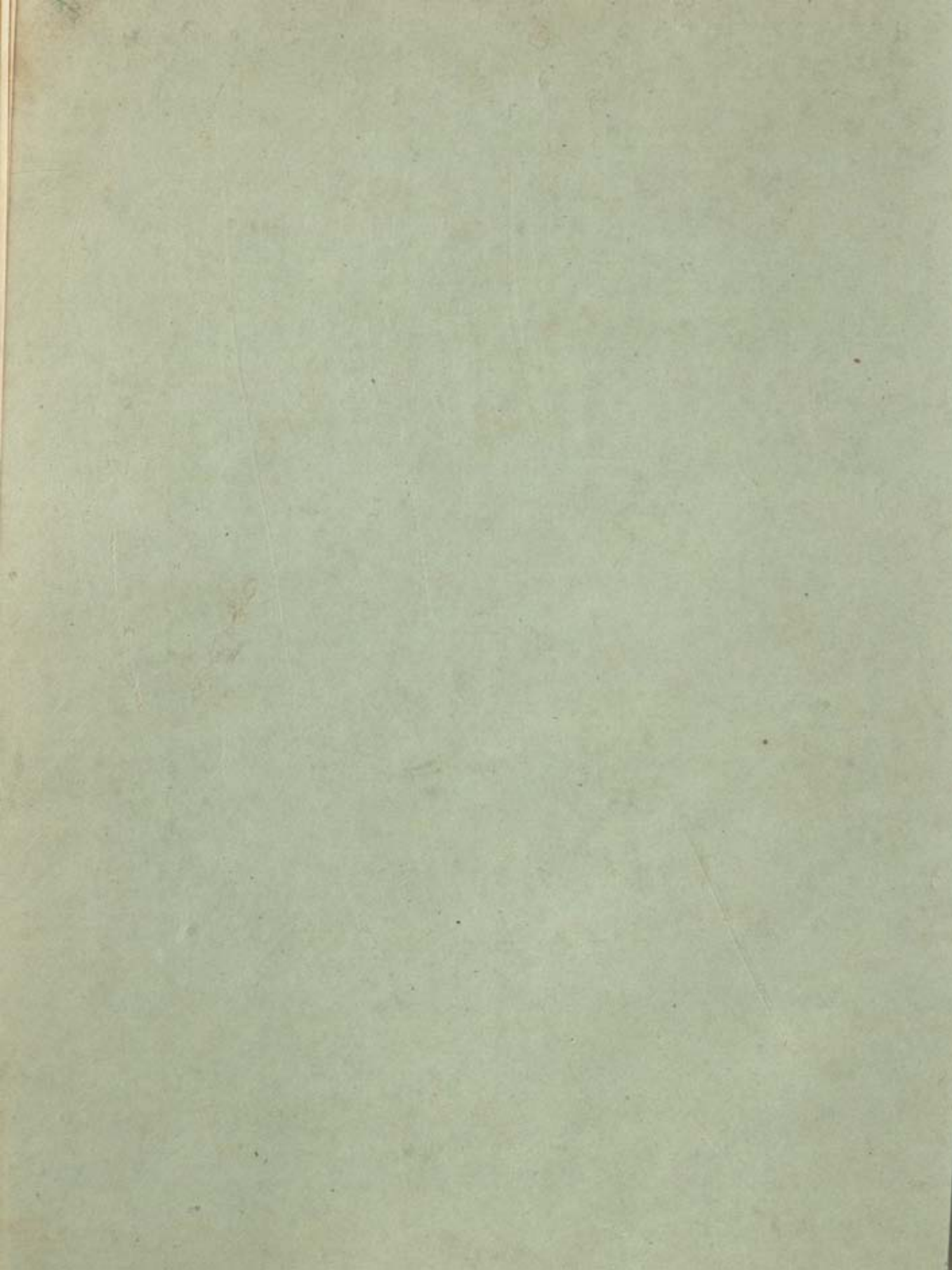
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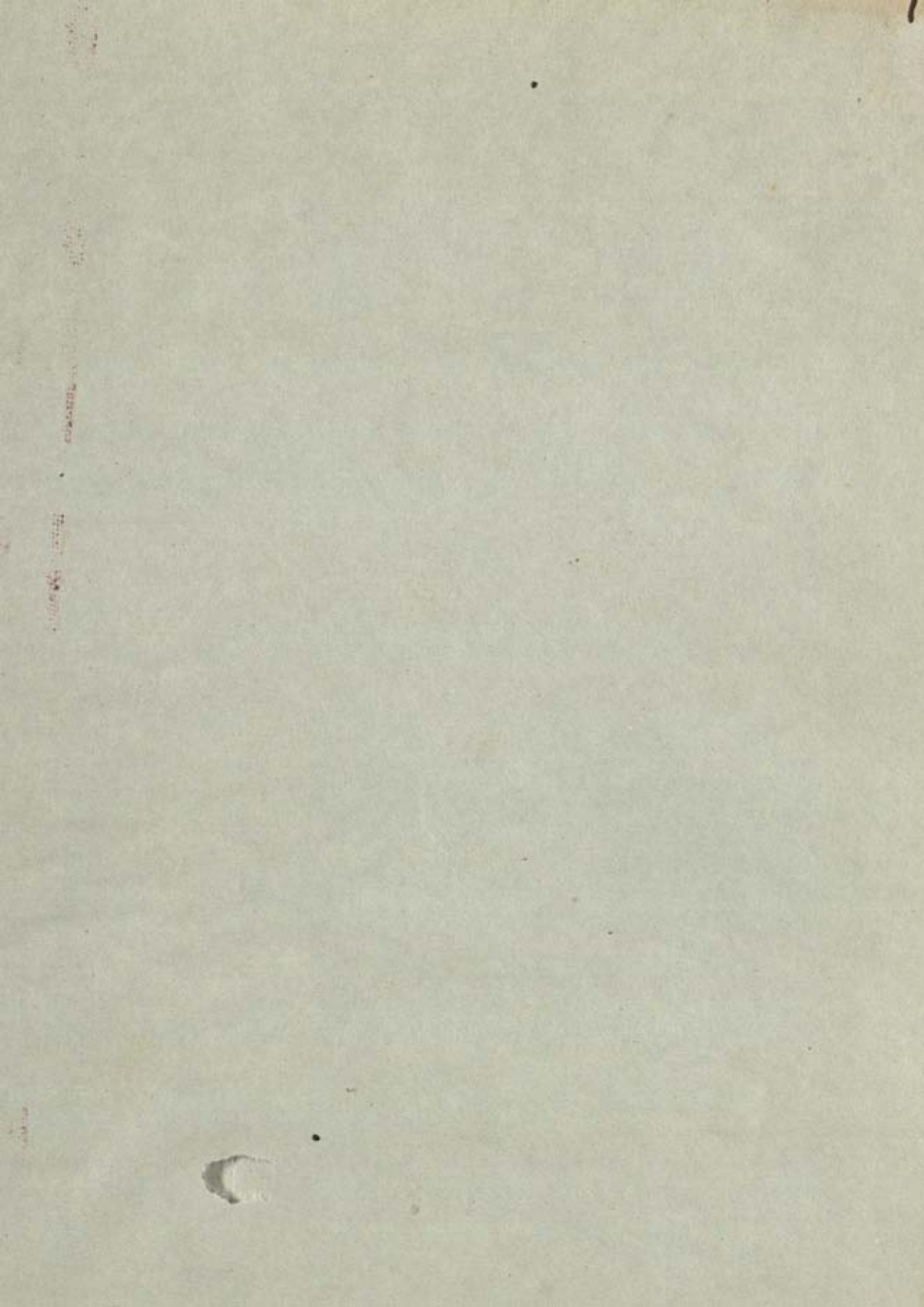
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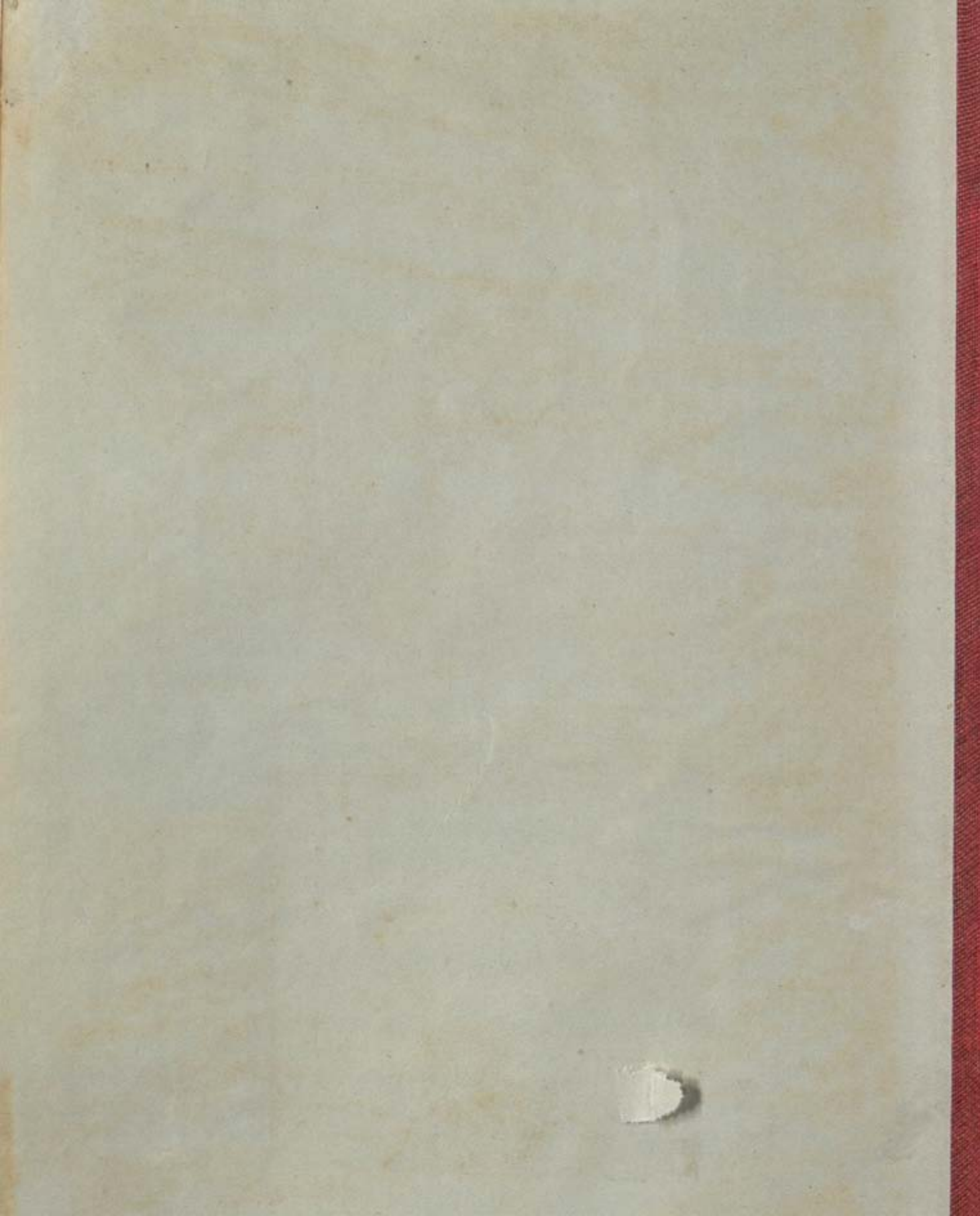
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