EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC & PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1964 and 65

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

The task of making available to the world of scholars the benefits of study and research on Indian inscriptions would have remained incomplete without the reprinting of volumes of Epigraphia Indica (Arabic & Persian Supplement). This series, under the title Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, published from 1907 to 1940, was revived in 1949 and since 1951 in its present form. This valuable material is being published in 13 volumes. The present one is 10th in the series and will be followed in quick succession by subsequent ones.

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

K.V. RAMESH
DIRECTOR (EPIGRAPHY)

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KHALJI AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM UTTAR PRADESH

BY W. H. SIDDIGI AND DR. Z. A. DESAI

The available historical material on the Sultanate period, particularly in respect of different regions and provinces, is much limited, partly because, these areas, generally speaking, were ignored by contemporary chroniclers who were mainly concerned with activities at the centre. An important source for the regional history is provided by epigraphical data. This is also true of Uttar Pradesh, but no systematic efforts have been made in recent years to utilize this important source material. No doubt, isolated efforts were made in the past, and quite a few epigraphs from the province dated in the reigns of the Khalji and Tughluq dynasties were published.1 Even then, a considerable number of inscriptions of these rulers still remains unpublished. In this article, we propose to publish eighteen epigraphs, copied in recent years. They are published here for the first time except in the case of a few whose texts have been quoted elsewhere without illustrations and critical notes.

Needless to say, these records constitute an important source for the regional history of the state over a period of a little more than a century. They supply information not to be found elsewhere, recording as they do the names of some officials, saints and the like personages who are otherwise not known. The calligraphy of some of these is also quite remarkable.

'Alau'd-Din Khalji

1. INSRIPTION, DATED A.H. 696, FROM KOT

This inscription constitutes the earliest known record of 'Alau'd-Din Khalji. It was copied, along with another, also of the same king, from a small mosque at Kot in the Khaga tahsil of Fatehpur district.2 This small decayed village is situated on the northern bank of the Yamuna on the ruins of an ancient fort at the height of about thirty-five metres.3 Among its old remains may be seen the tomb and mosque of Saidan Shâh Fatihpuri, the successor of the well-known saint Husâmu'l-Haq of Manikpur; there are also few other mosques and tombs now in ruins, which were presumably built in the Mughal period.4 The mosque bearing the present inscription is locally called Ladin-ki-Masjid (i.e. 'Alau'd-Din's mosque)—evidently on the basis of the two inscriptions referred to above—and is said to have been rebuilt on the same site with the material

1 For these, please see Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (ELM), 1917-18, pp. 17 (pl. IVa), 21 (pl. Vb), 30 (pl. Xa), 36-37 (pl. XIVa), 42 (pl. XIVb); ibid., 1937-38, pp. 7 (pl. IIb), 39 (pl. XIb), 60 (pl. XXIc).
4 Khân, op. cit., p. 22.
of an earlier mosque, which was alleged to have been constructed in A.H. 595 (1198-99 A.D.) in the time of Shihābū’d-Dīn Ghūrī by Malik Bābur alīs Malik Bhabhal of Khokhar community; and was washed away by the Yamuna about a hundred and fifty years ago.¹

The epigraph is engraved in relief in four lines on a large slab measuring 91 by 52 cm. which is fixed into the north wall of the said mosque. It records the construction of a building of unspecified nature in A.H. 696 or 1296 A.D. and not in A.H. 693 as stated by Nevill.²

The most important aspect of this inscription is that it was set up within the first few months of the accession of ‘Alāū’d-Dīn Khaljī, which took place first at Kara immediately after the assassination of his uncle on the 16th (according to Amīr Khursaw) or 17th (according to Baraṇī) of Ramadān A.H. 695 and secondly in Delhi on the 22nd Dhī’l-Ḥijja A.H. 695 (20th October 1296 A.D.).³

The inscription is also interesting in another respect: it will be observed that the text quotes the title Sikandar-i-Thānī (second Alexander), which clearly shows that it was adopted by ‘Alāū’d-Dīn immediately on his accession and not after 1299 A.D. as is stated by Baraṇī and accepted by later writers.⁴

The language of the record is Arabic, and the style of writing is bold Nasīkh, typical of the records of ‘Alāū’d-Dīn, but a little unartistic. Sher Aftān Khāṅ had also published its text, but it is neither complete nor correct.⁵ We have deciphered it as under:

**TEXT**

Plate I(a)

(1) [بني هذ العماره في عهد السلطان المظفر علا دنيا و الذي سكندر الثاني يبن الخلافة أبو المظفر محمد](d)

(2) شاه السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين خليفة اضعف عباد الله

(3) الأكبر الحسين بن عمر في العهده من صفر سنة سبتمبر و ستمة

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This building was constructed during the reign of the magnificent sultan ‘Alā-

(2) u’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn, the second Alexander, the right arm of the caliphate, Abū’l-
Muṣaffar Muḥamma[d]

(3) Shāh the sultan, helper of the leader of the Faithful (i.e. Caliph), may (Allāh) perpetuate his kingdom, by the weakest of the creatures of Allāh

(4) the great, Ḥusain, son of ‘Umar, on the first of the month of Ṣafar, year (A.H.) six and ninety and six hundred (1st Ṣafar A.H. 696–29th November 1296 A.D.).

We are unable to establish the identity of the builder.⁶

¹ Khāṅ, op. cit., pp. 20–21. Needless to say, there is absolutely no substance in Sher Aftān Khāṅ’s identification of ‘Alāū’d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh of the present epigraph with the Ghūrid king who had died almost a century ago.

² Nevill, op. cit.

³ Amīr Khursaw, Khaṣṣ’īn’ul- Futūḥ, ed. Muḥammad Wahid Mirzā (Calcutta, 1953), p. 12. for the second event, Baraṇī, Tāriḵ-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī (Calcutta, 1882), p. 242, does not quote the month. He simply states that ‘Alāū’d-Dīn was crowned in the months (Shāhūr) of the year A.H. 695.

⁴ Baraṇī, op. cit., p. 263; Dr. K. S. Lal, History of the Khaljīs (Allahabad, 1950), p. 90.

⁵ Khāṅ, op. cit., p. 21.

⁶ Ibid., p. 26 reads the name of the builder as Akbar Ḥasan, son of ‘Umar and makes wild suggestions about the identification of both the father and the son.
(a) Inscription of ‘Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī, dated A.H. 696, from Kot (p. 2)

(b) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 710, from Bulandshahr (p. 4)
II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 706, FROM JAJMAU

The second inscription of 'Alāu’d-Dīn Khālījī was copied in 1961 from Jajmau in Kanpur District. Situated on the bank of the Ganges about four miles to the east of the district headquarters, Jajmau is a place of antiquarian interest, and one can still see the remains of its past glory in the form of large mounds and ruined monuments of different periods. It has been mentioned by Al-Birūnī and later on by Abu’l-Faḍl.

The slightly damaged epigraphical tablet bearing this valuable record measures 1.24 m. by 32 cm., and is set up over the central miḥrāb of the ‘Idgāh, situated in the old locality of the town. The monument itself is a remarkable structure. The inscription consists of three lines of writing in Arabic executed in relief in Nashk style of a fairly good order. The arrangement of its letters is pretty and their fine execution is quite pleasing. The writing being slightly damaged, a few words are not clearly legible.

According to the epigraph, the building—by which in all probability the ‘Idgāh is intended since the tablet appears to be in situ—was constructed by the order of the great Malik Saifu’d-Daulat wa’d Din Yusuf Khānī in 1307 A.D. during the reign of ‘Alāu’d-Dīn, by Muwaffaq, son of Musayyad.

The text of the inscription is quoted below:

**TEXT**

Plate II(a)

(1) بنيت هذه العمارة في عهد السلطان العالم العادل المستموم علاء الدنيا و الدين

سكندر الثاني أبو المظفر محمد

(2) شاه السلطان خالد ملكه ناصر الملوك الكبير (ب) العادل الغازى (؟) سيف الدولة و

الدين يوسف خان دام اقباله

(3) في الغرة من رجب سنة ست و سبعاً المعز موفق بن مسيد اصلحه الله اموره

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This building was constructed during the reign of the magnificent, just and learned sulṭān ‘Alāu’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn, the second Alexander, Abu’l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad

(2) Shāh the sulṭān, may (Allāh) perpetuate his kingdom, by the order of the great and the just Malik, champion of Faith, Saifu’d-Daulat wa’d-Dīn Yusuf Khānī, may his good fortune last for ever,

(3) on the first of (the month of) Rajab, year (A.H.) six and seven hundred (1st Rajab A.H. 706-6th January 1307 A.D.). The builder is Muwaffaq, son of Musayyad, may Allāh improve his affairs for him!

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4 The term mi’smār is found loosely employed in inscriptions. It may mean builder as well as architect or mason. But builder seems to be more appropriate here.
Malik Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Din Yusuf Khānī under whose orders the building was erected was evidently an officer of position. But it is quite difficult to identify him with certainty. There are quite a few nobles of rank of the time of Khaljī and early Tughluq periods who bore the name Yusuf and in one case even the title Saifu'd-Din. For example, Malik Yusuf was the deputy at Depalpur during the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Din Tughluq. But no title is mentioned along with his name. Then, Malik Saifu'd-Din Yūsuf was shahna-i-pil under the same king. Malik Yusuf Şāfī Khān and Yusuf Bughrā are other well-known figures of the period. But in this connexion, it is worthwhile to remember that the name recorded in the text is Yūsuf Khānī and not Yusuf Khān. Broadly speaking, the name Yusuf Khānī may be interpreted to mean that he was an attendant or trusted leutenant of Yūsuf Khān. But it is difficult to determine the identity of the latter. In any case, our inscription indicates by implication that Malik Saifu'd-Din Yūsuf Khānī was an officer of rank in the reign of 'Alāu'd-Din Khaljī and had most probably held the charge of Jaiamau.

About Muwaffaq, the builder who built the 'Idgāh, we have no information. His name seems to indicate his Arab extraction.

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 710, FROM BULANDSHAHAR

Another new record of this king found recently is from Bulandshahr, headquarters of the district of the same name. The old name of the town was Baran, and it is a place of considerable antiquity. It possesses a few tombs and mosques of the early Muslim period, but none of any architectural significance. Incidentally, the earliest epigraphical records of the Muslim period found here include a unique though fragmentary inscription of queen Radiyya.

The arch-shaped tablet, measuring 63 cm. from apex to bottom and 1 m. in width, on which the record under study is engraved, is now fixed into the eastern wall of the older part of the Jāmi' mosque, but it is difficult to say if it is in situ. It contains six lines of writing in Arabic, the first three of which are devoted to religious texts and the remaining record the construction of a building in a mosque in 1311 A.D. during the reign of 'Alāu'd-Din, by Muḥammad son of Muḥammad, entitled Jalāl, who was secretary (muḥarrir) to Muḥammad son of Muḥammad Sultān, the kōwāl. The style of writing is Naskh.

The text has been read as follows:

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<td>(1) aḥd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Qala rūsl allāh ʿalaiḥa wa-salām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) mīn bānī thāʾ mūṣjadā bānī allāh lā hā yaṣṣītā ʿalī bi-l-jāfnna</td>
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1 Baranī, op. cit., p. 424.
2 Iṣārī, Fuṭūḥu's-Salāṭin (Agra, 1938), pp. 376, 397, records his name as Yusuf and post as shahna-i-pil, but Yahyā, Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahī (Calcutta, 1931), pp. 110, 127, omits the name and refers to him as Malik Saifu'd-Din shahna-i-pil.
4 For details, see Imperial Gazetteer of India (IG), (Oxford, 1908), vol. IX, pp. 57-58.
5 ARIE, 1962-63, No. D, 250. The inscriptions from Bulandshahr were copied by Shri A. A. Kadiir, Epigraphical Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.
6 Ibid., No. D, 256.
KHALJI AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM UTTAR PRADESH

(6) خلاف الله و الدهن ابي المظفر محمد شاه السلطان خلد براء ملكه و سلطانه العبد محمد

محمد الملقب بجلال المجر القحو مهد سلطانى كوتوال

في الغرة من رمضان سنة عشر و سبعية

TRANSLATION

(1) Allâh.

(2) The Apostle of Allâh, may Allâh’s blessings and salutations be upon him, has said,

(3) ‘One who builds for Allâh a mosque, Allâh will build for him a house in paradise’.

(4) The construction of this building in the auspicious mosque was ordered in the reign of the great and illustrious sultân,

(5) ‘Alâu’d-Dunyâ wa’d-Din Abîl-Muţaffar Muḥammad Shâh the sultân, may Allâh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, by the servant, Muḥammad (son of) Muḥammad, entitled Jalâl, secretary (muţarrir) to Maḥmûd, son of Muḥammad Sulţâni, the kotwâl,

(6) on the first day of Ramadân, year (A.H.) ten and seven hundred (1st Ramadân A.H. 710=22nd January 1311 A.D.).

The builder of the mosque, Muḥammad entitled Jalâl, is not known to history. It is only from the present epigraph that we get the valuable information that he was secretary to the kotwâl of the town, Maḥmûd son of Muḥammad Sulţâni. The latter may, however, be identified with some certainty. We are told that Maḥmûd (son of) Muḥammad received the title Mir Khân on the accession of Qâbu’d-Din Mubârak Shâh in A.H. 1316 A.D.¹ He is very likely the same person.

IV. ANOTHER INSCRIPTION FROM KOT

The fourth inscription of ‘Alâu’d-Din Khaljî also comes from the Lâdîn-ki-Masjid at Kot mentioned above (p. 2). The inscripational slab measuring 56 by 30 cm. is fixed into the southern wall² and contains a record of two lines in Arabic executed in Nashâ of a fairly good type. Unfortunately, the tablet seems to have been badly damaged and even cracked in places, with the result that this interesting record has suffered much damage. The writing is greatly affected: not only is its year illegible, but even the names of the persons mentioned therein are not absolutely clear. From whatever portion of the text is decipherable, it seems to record the construction of a mosque during the governorship of Malik Tâju’l-Haq wa’d-Din by Kamâlu’d-Din Malik Jiwand (?). In any case, there is absolutely no basis for the reading of the date as A.H. 590 (1194 A.D.), which in turn gave rise to such farfetched theories about the first Muslim contact with the place as are recorded along with the local traditions by Nevill and Sher Afgan Khân; the latter also quotes an incomplete and corrupt reading of the epigraph.³ There is no doubt at all about the reading of the name and titles of ‘Alâu’d-Din.

¹ 'Asbîyâ, op. cit., p. 83.
The text reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate II(c)

Plate II(c)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر عمارة هذ المسجد في عهد السلطان المعظم علاء الدنيا

و الدين سكندر الثاني ابي المظفر محمد شاه

(2) السلطان خلد ملكه في نووب الملك العادل تاج الحق و الذين كمال الدولة

و الدين ملكه جيوند (3) في الثامن والعشرين من

و سبعمدیة

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allâh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. The building of this mosque was ordered in the reign of the magnificent sultân, 'Alâu'd-Dunyâ wa'd-Dîn, the second Alexander, Abî'l-Muqaffar Muhammad Shâh

(2) the sultân, may (Allâh) perpetuate his kingdom, (and) during the time of the just Malik Tâjûl-Haq wa'd-Dîn . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [by ?] Kamâlu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dîn Malik Jîwand (?), on the twentyeighth of (the month of) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . seven hundred . . . . . .

Malik Tâjûl-Haq wa'd-Dîn whose name it is not possible to decipher, may have been one of the quite a few noblemen bearing this title who flourished at about this period. To name only a few, Malik Tâjû'd-Dîn Kûchâ was a distinguished noble of Jalâlû'd-Dîn Khâlîjî and had iqâtî in the eastern region. Then there were Malik Tâjû'd-Dîn Ja'far, Malik Tâjû'd-Dîn Kâfûrî and Malik Tâjû'd-Dîn Kûhrâmî. Barânî also mentions one Sayyid Tâjû'd-Dîn, the qâdî of Kara during the reign of 'Alâu'd-Dîn Khâlîjî, who was renowned for his learning and whom he had met. We have not been able to get any reference to Malik Kamâlu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dîn Malik Jîwand, the builder of the mosque, who must have been a prominent figure of his time and who may have held some office at Kot or in its neighbourhood as his title tends to suggest.

V. INSCRIPTION FROM BULANDSHAHR

The fifth inscription is a fragmentary but new record of 'Alâu'd-Dîn Khalîjî and was found by Shri A. A. Kadiri in 1961. The tablet, which measures 67 by 34 cm, in its present state, is fixed into the extreme right side of the eastern wall of the Mughal-Masjid in Maâlla Shaikhân at Bulandshahr. Considerable portion of the tablet seems to have been lost, for it appears that the text consisted of not less than six hemistiches in any case. The extant text which merely contains a little more than two hemistiches, is too meagre to yield full purport. Nevertheless, it seems to indicate that a fort or city-wall was constructed in the reign of the king whose title was second Alexander. It is true that the object of construction and the king's name are missing in the extant text, but from the hemistich, ' if Alexander the first constructed one strong

1 The reading of the underlined words is purely tentative.
2 Yahyâ, op. cit., p. 63.
4 Ibid., p. 349.
(a) Another epigraph of 'Alā'udd-Dīn Khaljī, dated A.H. 706, from Jajmau (p. 3) **PLATE II**

(b) Record of the same king, from Bulandshahr (p. 7)

(c) Another record of the same king, from Kot (p. 6)
wall,' the text must imply that the second Alexander had constructed more and stronger walls. Since 'second Alexander' was the title adopted by 'Alau'd-Din, and the calligraphy is also similar to that of his inscriptions, there should be little hesitation in assigning the record to his reign.

The style of writing is conventional bold Naskha characteristic of the early Khalji records, and the language is Persian verse.

The extant text reads as under:

**TEXT**

Plate II(b)

(1) أَكَّرَسَ سَكَانَدُوْرَ أُولٍ كَرَدُّ يَكَّ سُدَّي

(2) هَمَايُونَ بَادَ مَتْ دُعُبَ يَفُلْكَ مَيْ كَنَدُ مَلَكَ أَمَيْن

**TRANSLATION**

(1) . . . . . . . . for the awe of religion.

If Alexander the first constructed one strong wall,¹ . . . . . . . . . .

(2) . . . . . . . . may prove auspicious! To this prayer the angels in the heaven say Amen.

**Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh**

**VI-VII. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 726 AND 728, FROM BUDAUN**

The two epigraphs of Muḥammad bin Tughluq included in this study are from Budaun (written variously as Budaon, Badaun and Badāyūn), headquarters of the district of same name. The region had come under Muslim occupation very early, and among its first governors were Shamsu’d-Dīn Iltutmīsh and his son Ruknu’d-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh.²

The first of these inscriptions and the sixth of the article appears above the northern entrance of the Jāmī’ mosque³ which was originally constructed by Iltutmish and later on extensively restored in the time of Akbar.⁴ It is written in two lines in Arabic on a slab of stone measuring 80 by 45 cm. and assigns the construction of a building, the nature of which is not specified, in 1325-26 A.D. by the order of Abu’l-Mujahid Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh to Ḥusain, son of Ḥusain, the khotābāk of Badā’īn region. It is difficult to determine the nature of the original building which was built by the order of the king. In case it is in situ, it would mean that the Jāmī’ Masjid had also been repaired and restored in the fourteenth century.

The style of writing is Naskha of a fairly good type; the elongated shafts of the letters are to be noted in particular.

¹ The reference is to sādd-i-Sikandar.
² For the history and account of the buildings of the town, see A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XI (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 1-11 ; Nevill, *op. cit.*, vol. XV, Budaun (Allahabad, 1907), pp. 31-62, 183-96. A few works on the history and monuments of the town have been written in Urdu, of which the most comprehensive is M. Rāgīu’l-Dīn’s *Kanzu’l-Tārikh* published at Budaun in 1907 A.D.
The text reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate III (a)*

(1) امر بهذه العمارة الحضرة الأعلى ظل الله الرحمن بو المجاهد محمد بن تغلتشة السلطان
(2) خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه في سنة ست و عشرين و سبعمائة عمارة حسن بن حسين
كون تواليك يخطه بدانون

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This building was ordered to be constructed by His Most Exalted Majesty, the shadow of the Beneficent Allāh, [A]bu'l-Mujāhid Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh, the sultan,

(2) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in the year (A.H.) six and twenty and seven hundred (A.H. 726–1325-26 A.D.). Its builder is Ḥusain, son of Ḥusain, kotwālbek ¹ of Budāʿūn region.

It is difficult to determine the identity of Ḥusain. That he was kotwālbek of the Budaon region is recorded nowhere else, and hence the importance of the inscription. No doubt, ʿĪṣāmī does mention an officer of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh bearing this name,² who later deflected to and received the title of Gurgḥāsp from ʿAlāʾu'd-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh in 1347-48 A.D., but whether both are identical, it is difficult to say.

The other inscription of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh from Budaun is engraved on a tablet measuring 73 by 25 cm. which is now fixed into the north wall inside the tomb of Mīrān Muḥamad Shahīd.³ It consists of three lines of writing in Arabic executed in relief in fairly elegant Nashk characters.

The object of the epigraph is to record the construction of a new building by Muḥammad Sultānī, evidently an official, in 1328 A.D. The text does not clarify as to what new building was constructed, nor does the epigraph seem to be in situ. Nevertheless, the record is important in that it has preserved the name of an official. Also, the use in the text of the titles professing allegiance to the caliph may be noted.

The text of the epigraph is quoted below:

**TEXT**

*Plate III (b)*

(1) اتفق عمارة جديد في عهد سلطان أعظم أبو المجاهد في سبيل الله محمد بن
(2) تغلتشة السلطان ناصر أمير اللومتين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و علي أمره و شانه
(3) العمارة محدد سلطاني يوم أحدى الثالث من ربع الآخر سنة ثمان عشر و سبعمائة

¹ Blakiston, *op. cit.*, p. 2, reads kotwād instead of kotwālbek. Also, the reading of the epigraph in Radjiu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 42, is incorrect in places.
(a) Inscription of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh, dated A.H. 726, from Budaun (p. 8)

(b) Another epigraph of the same monarch, dated A.H. 728, from the same place (p. 8)

(c) Inscription of Firuz Shāh, dated A.H. 761, from Jajmau (p. 9)
(1) The new construction took place during the reign of the great sultan, Abu'l-Mujahid in the path of Allah, (namely) Muhammad, son of

(2) Tughluq Shâh, the sultan, nāgirī amir'il-mu'minīn (lit. helper of the leader of the Faithful), may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and elevate his affair and dignity.

(3) The builder is Muhammad Sultânî. On Sunday, eighth of Rabî'u'l-Ākhar, year (A.H.) twentyeight and seven hundred (8th Rabî' II A.H. 728=21st February 1328 A.D.).

We have no definite information about the identity and career of Muhammad Sultânî, the builder. That he was an official of importance is evident from his appellation Sultânî. Now one Malik Muhammad Hirevî was sent by the Sultan to Multan to receive Khudâwandzâda and it was there in 1333 A.D. that Ibn Battûta had met him.¹

Firûz Shâh

VIII-IX. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 761 AND 762, FROM JAJMAU

Firûz Shâh Tughluq is represented by ten inscriptions in the study. The earliest two of them were copied in 1961 from the tomb and the mosque of the saint Makhâdim Shâh at Jajmau.² The tablet bearing the earlier of the two, and the eighth record of the article, measures 1.3 m. by 40 cm. and is fixed on the main entrance of the tomb.³ It contains three lines of Arabic writing, executed in relief in Nashâk script of a fairly high order, which recalls to mind the calligraphy of 'Alau'd-Din Khalji's inscription from the same place (p. 3 supra). The epigraph refers to the foundation of the tomb of Shaikh 'Alau'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Din Yūsuf by the martyred gads Ghiyâthu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Din Muhâmmad, son of Yûsuf Shaikhzâda and records 1360 A.D. as the date of its completion by Abu'l-Mubârak Muhâmmad.

The text reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate III (c)

(1) This building was constructed in the reign of the learned, just and generous sultan, reliant on the support of the Beneficent, Abu'l-Muzaffar Firuz Shah the sultan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, and by that is meant the mausoleum of the departed and pardoned Shaikh 'Alau'd-Din Yusuf.

(2) And the founder of this blessed mausoleum was the martyred sadr Ghiyathu'l-Hasq wa'd-Din Muhammed, son of Yusuf Shaikhzada (and the builder is the creature)

(3) (who is) humble, Abu'l-Mubarak Muhammed, may Allah improve his condition; (it was completed on) the fourteenth of Rabi'u'l-Awwal, year (A.H.) sixtyone and seven hundred (14th Rabi'I A.H. 761-3rd February 1360 A.D.). The writer (is) Zahir, son of Naqir.

The inscription under study is interesting from a historical point of view. The founder of the tomb Ghiyathu'd-Din Muhammed, the sadr, is not known from other sources. He is mentioned in the text as the son of Yusuf Shaikhzada, by which evidently his father, the saint, was known. From the next inscription dated in the following year and from the Sharqi record referred to above, it is clear that he was the son of the saint 'Alau'd-Din Yusuf. Our epigraph indicates that the saint was also known as Yusuf Shaikhzada though it is equally likely that the appellation Shaikhzada may have been intended for the son himself after the fashion of the Arab writers. The latter is mentioned in the record as martyr, but no details are available. He appears to have held the office of sadr as is implied from the text. The founder's son Abu'l-Mubarak Muhammed who completed the tomb, and also constructed the mosque nearby, as we shall soon see, is likewise not known from any other source.

'Alau'd-Din Yusuf appears to be a renowned saint whose tomb is even now visited in large numbers by people of all communities coming from distant places, and a farmaen of Firuz Tughluq registering a grant of land to the saint's descendants can still be seen with a leading advocate of Allahabad and Kanpur, Mr. Hasin Ahmad Faruqi who is a direct descendant of the saint. This farmaen may have prompted Mr. Nevill not only to ascribe the Sharqi record to Firuz Tughluq's reign, but also to claim that all three records in the enclosure mention the visit of the Tughluq king to the shrine and his gift of land to the saint's descendant Ghiyathu'd-Din Muhammad. These statements are incorrect. Again, a local tradition recorded by Nevill making the saint a contemporary of Qublu'd-Din Aibak is also proved baseless by these epigraphs, for the tomb could not have been founded much earlier than the date of the epigraph, as the founder was the son of the saint; in other words, the saint was a contemporary of the Khaljits at the earliest. It is surprising that no explicit mention of a personage of his stature is found in contemporary or later works including hagiographies. Now Barani lists one Maulana 'Alau'd-Din, the sadru'zhariat, among the learned men of the time of 'Alau'd-Din Khalji. In view of the title sadr used in the text of the present record for his son Shaikh Ghiyathu'd-Din Muhammad, it is likely that the saint is identical with him. In any case, the epigraph furnishes information about the saint and his descendants.

The other record from the mausoleum, also dated in the reign of Firuz Shah, is carved on a tablet measuring 70 by 29 cm, which is fixed on the inner side of the northern door of the mosque. It consists of three lines of writing in Arabic, inscribed in relief in Nasir style identical with that

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1 Mr. Siddiqi who claims to have examined the farmaen states that it appears to be genuine.
2 Nevill, op. cit., p. 301.
3 ibid.
4 Barani, op. cit., p. 353.
(a) Another epigraph of Firūz Shāh, dated A.H. 762, from Jajmau (p. 11)

(b) Record of the same king, dated A.H. 765, from Jaunpur (p. 12)

(c) Inscription of the same monarch, also dated A.H. 765, from Allahabad Museum (p. 11)
of the previous epigraph. It states that a noble edifice, by which evidently the mosque is meant, was constructed by Abūl-Mubārak, son of the martyred sādr Ghīyāthu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn Muḥammad and grandson of Shaikh 'Alāu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn Yūsuf in 1361 A.D., almost a year after the saint's mausoleum was built. It will be observed that here only the kunya of the builder is given. His name Muḥammad is not mentioned.

Its text reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate IV(a)*

(1) بنيت هذه العمارة الشريفة في عهد السلطان العالم المعدل الباذل أبو المظفر فيروش شاه

(2) خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و بانيها العبد الضعيف أبو المبارک بن الصدر السعيد الشهيد

(3) [son of] the pardoned Shaikh 'Alāu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn Yūsuf. And this was on the twenty-ninth of Safar, year (A.H.) sixtytwo and seven hundred (39th Safar A.H. 762–8th January 1361 A.D.).

The persons mentioned above have been already discussed in the preceding lines.

**X. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 765, FROM THE ALLAHABAD MUSEUM**

The tablet bearing the next inscription measures 1.23 m. by 30 cm. It is now preserved in the Municipal Museum at Allahabad,

* The word šīn seems to have been left out inadvertently by the scribe.

1. *AJIE, 1958-59, No. D, 183.* It was copied in 1959 by Shri I. A. Omeri, Epigraphical Assistant, since transferred to the National Museum, New Delhi.
TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was constructed in the reign of Firūz Shāh (through) the efforts of the weak creature Bahādur, a servant of Maulānā Sirāju’d-Din, may Allāh illuminate his grave, on the fourteenth

(2) of Şafar, may Allāh end it with bounty and victory, year (A.H.) sixtyfive and seven hundred (14th Şafar A.H. 765=22nd November 1363 A.D.).

About the builder Bahādur or his master Maulānā Sirāju’d-Din, we have no information.

XI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 765, FROM JAUNPUR

The eleventh inscription comes from Jaunpur, headquarters of the district of the same name. It is carved on a loose slab measuring 40 by 30 cm. which reported to have been brought from the Jhānjhri-Masjid to the Atāla-Masjid where it is now kept near the central miḥrab. Its text has been previously published. Running into three couplets in Persian inscribed in six lines in Naskh style, it refers to the construction of a mosque in 1364 A.D. The way in which the name of the builder is given in the epigraph is somewhat intriguing. The relevant text has: Khwāja Kāmil-i-Khān-i-Jahān, which may be taken to indicate either Khwāja Kāmil, son of Khān-i-Jahān, or Khwāja Kāmil entitled Khān-i-Jahān or the perfect Khwāja Khān-i-Jahān. Khān-i-Jahān was the title of Maqbul, the eminent nobleman and minister who had served both Muḥammad bin Tughluq and Firūz Tughluq. On his death in 1370 A.D., the title Khān-i-Jahān and the minstership were conferred on his son Jūnān Shāh. Since Maqbul held the title Khān-i-Jahān at the time of our record, the second alternative of ‘Kāmil entitled Khān-i-Jahān’ is out of question. Therefore, either the term Kāmil is used as an adjective, in which case the builder would be Khān-i-Jahān, the perfect Khwāja, or Khwāja Kāmil-i-Khān-i-Jahān has idāfati-šabi in which case Khwāja Kāmil would be a son of the minister. We prefer to take the latter meaning. In either case, the importance of the record cannot be under-rated. It is likely that Khwāja Kāmil, whom historical works completely ignore, was connected with Jaunpur in official capacity. It may be remembered that Khān-i-Jahān was not directly connected with Jaunpur and also that according to Shams Sirāj ‘Affī, he had a number of sons.

The text reads as under:

TEXT

Plate IV (b)

شکر مر حق را که عهد ملتک فیروز شا

خسروی کنند برافت اهل ایمانا مداد

1 For the history and monumental remains and inscriptions of Jaunpur, see A. Führer, The Shārīq Architecture of Jaunpur (Calcutta, 1889), pp. 4-58; Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (JRA), vol. XVII (1905), pp. 131-42; Mūhammad Faṣḥu’d-Dīn, The Shārīq Monuments of Jaunpur (Allahabad, 1922); Pecce Brown, Indian Architecture, vol. II (Bombay, 1942), pp. 43-47. As in the case of Budān, a few books on the city, which is termed Shīrāz of India, have appeared in Urdu, the most comprehensive being Iqbal Ahmad’s voluminous Tūrīk-i-Sāfrār-i-Hind, Jaunpur, published at Jaunpur in 1923.

2 ARIE, 1958-59, No. D, 202. This epigraph was also copied by Shri I. A. Omeri.

3 Führer, op. cit., p. 38; JRA, 1905, p. 138. Their readings are not free from mistakes.

4 Shams Sirāj ‘Affī, Tūrīk-i-Firūz Shāhī (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 425-427.

5 Ibid., p. 399.
(3) در زمان شست و پنج و هفتصد از بلگری
(5) غریه شوال یکشنبه بروقت سازوار
(7) ضاحب خیرات خواجه کامل خانمجان
(9) کرد این مسجد بنا بپره و نیای کردگار

TRANSLATION

(1) Thanks to God that in the reign of the sovereignty of Firuz Shāh,
(2) a king who, on account of his kindness, is the mainstay of the men of Faith,
(3) in the year (lit. time) sixtyfive and seven hundred, if you look well,
(4) (on the) first day of Shawwal, Sunday, at an agreeable time (1st Shawwal A.H. 765-2nd July 1364 A.D.),
(5) the master of charity, Khwāja Kāmil (son of) Khān-i-Jahān
(6) constructed this mosque for the pleasure of the Creator.

XII-XIII. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 777, FROM VARANASI

These two inscriptions are from Varanasi (Banaras), headquarters of the district of the same name. Among the architectural remains of early as well as later Muslim period found in the city and its vicinity, is the tomb of Sayyid Fakhr’ud-Din Shahīd in the locality called Bakaryā-Kund.¹ The present inscriptions, which are identical in purport, constitute the earliest Muslim records found so far in the city.

One of these is carved on a stone roof-beam in the mosque of the above tomb² and occupies a writing space of 1.08 m. by 30 cm. The letters are slightly affected due to wear and tear of time.

The record contains five lines of text in Persian which are inscribed in relief in Nastāq script of a good stylistic type. It assigns the construction of the mosque, domed porch, inner apartment, steps of the water-tank and compound wall of the mausoleum of Sayyid Fakhr’ud-Din Shahīd ‘Alawi to one Dīyā (son of) Aḥmad in 1375 A.D. Whatever origin the building materials used in the building might indicate, there is nothing in the texts of this as well as the next inscription, as the texts quoted below will show, to afford a ‘fresh example of the policy of the Muslim rulers of the period of appropriating Hindu temples for which Varanasi offered an unusually ample field’.³ Such a careless statement coming from so reputed a scholar as A. Führer is highly regrettable.

TEXT

Plate V (c)

¹ For a detailed description of the building, see Führer, The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh (MANWP) (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 200-01.
² ARIE, 1958-59, No. D, 189, where Rabī’ II is a misprint for Rabī’ I.
³ Führer, MANWP, p.201.
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(3) طاب الله ثراه و جعل الجنة مثواه بعهد سلطان الاعظم الواثق بتأليه الرحمن
ابو المظفر فيروز شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

(4) عمارت بناة مسکن ضیاء احمد است حق تحاکی بناه مسکن خود را عاقبت بیخبر
گرداند بحق محمد و آله اجمعین

(5) نفی الگر منه شهر زیب و عید سبع و سبعین و سبعینة

TRANSLATION

(1) [In the name of] Allah the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Through the help and grace of the Nourisher and the support of Divine bounty, the mosque, dome of the entrance, ğu'ira (i.e. inner apartment), stairs of the tank and the encircling wall of the blessed tomb of Sayyid Fakhrud-Din Shahid 'Alawi,

(3-4) may Allah purify his grave and assign him place in Paradise, were constructed by the humble slave Dīyā, son of Ahmad, in the reign of the great sultān, reliant on the support of the Beneficent, Abu'l-Muqaffar Fīrūz Shāh the sultān, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom! May God the Exalted render happy the end of His humble creature for the sake of Muḥammad (the Prophet) and his progeny!


The other record is engraved on a tablet measuring 52 by 38 cm. which is fixed in the outer wall of the enclosure of the above tomb.1 Of its five lines, the first is in Arabic and the rest contain two Persian verses. The style of writing is Nashī of a pleasing type. The record refers to the construction of the domed entrance of the tomb of the Sayyid, by Dīyā'u-d-Duwal, evidently the same Dīyā of the previous record, in the same year, i.e. 1375 A.D.

The text of this epigraph reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate V (a)

(1) هو العالم
(2) بناه كنيد دهليز روضه سید
(3) بعهد دولت فيروز شاه اعظم بود
(4) گنشه هفص و هفتاد و [هفت] از هجرت
(5) ماه عقل خیا الدول بنا فرمود

1 ARIE, 1938-59, No. D, 198. Both these epigraphs were copied by Shri I. A. Omeri.
(1) He is Omnicient!

(2) The construction of the dome of the porch of the tomb of the Sayyid was (i.e. took place)

(3) in the auspicious reign of the great Firuz Shâh.

(4) Seven hundred and seventyseven (years) had passed since the Migration (of the Prophet),

(5) when the sun of Reason, (namely) Dîyâu’l-Duwal constructed it (A.H. 777=1375 A.D.).

Nothing is known regarding the saint Sayyid Fakhru’d-Din Shahid ‘Alawi, who is mentioned as a martyr, and that is rather surprising. Likewise, no information is traceable from available historical works about Dîyâ, son of Aḥmad. But it is almost certain that he was an official of importance, perhaps in charge of the city or district of Varanasi at the time, as is indicated by his title-name Dîyâ’l-Duwal given in the second record, where, it is also interesting to note, he is spoken of as the ‘sun of Reason’. It is difficult to say if he has anything to do with Malik Dîyâ’l-Din, entitled Dîyâ’l-Mulk, mustauf-i-mamâlik and poet of the time of Firuz Shâh Tughluq.

XIV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 777, FROM SAMBHALHERA

The next record of this group was copied from Sambhalhera in Muzaffarnagar district by Shri A. A. Kadiri. Now a decayed small village, Sambhalhera was, during the Mughal period, one of the principal seats of the famous Sayyid families of Bāriha.

This valuable record was forwarded by Mr. A. C. Cadell the then Civil Surgeon of the District to Mr. H. Blochmann, who published it along with a brief note. Blochmann, however, was not able to decipher the text satisfactorily. The most serious omission in his reading was his inability to read the deceased’s name.

The loose inscriptional slab, now kept in the Riyāsat-ki-Masjid of the village, is said to have originally belonged to a tomb, whose occupant is locally known as Mas’ūd. It measures 75 by 24 cm. and is badly damaged: a big circular cavity has appeared in the middle, consequent upon its being used as mortar for pounding grain. As a result, a few words in the first and second lines are lost.

The text runs into three lines inscribed in four vertical panels. It consists of a fragment of four Persian couplets preceded by the First Creed executed in relief in Nashâ style of a high order, reminiscent of the style of the contemporary epigraphs of Bihar. It records 1375 A.D. as the date of the construction of the mausoleum. The portion of the text comprising the last word of the first couplet in the third line, which contains the name of the occupant of the tomb,

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1 Shams Sirāj ’Affī, op. cit., pp. 464-66, 475-76, 480-81, 484.
2 According to H. Blochmann, who published its reading in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (PASB), 1872, p. 166, the ascertained date of the Sayyid settlement could be taken back as early as, if not earlier than, the reign of Firuz Shâh Tughluq. This conclusion, evidently drawn from the epigraph under study is unwarranted, since the epigraph does not make any mention of the Bāriha Sayyids.
3 Ibid., pp. 165-66.
5 The missing words have been supplied in brackets from Blochmann’s reading except مسعود instead of مسعود in line 3.
is damaged, and hence the name is lost. But it appears to have been Mas'ūd. He was, according to the remaining text, son of Sālār and grandson of Ḥusain 'Alawi. Its text is quoted below:

TEXT

Plate V (b)

لا إله إلا الله

(1)

إفتتاح بناء إبن روضه

بيست [روس] جماد الأول بود

(2)

هندس و هغت از هفتاد

رفته از هجرت [روس وودود]

(3)

عهد له[روز شاه عالی بخت]

عرش لخت و مظفر و محروم

(4)

این حظیره مبارک علوي

ابن سالار بن حسن [مسعود]

حق تعالى بفضل و رحمت خود

پرستان د در سرای خلود

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.

The construction of [this tomb] commenced on the [twenty-third] of Jumāda'īl-Ūlā

(2) (after) seven hundred and seventy-seven (years) had passed from Migration [of the beloved Prophet] (23rd Jumāda I A.H. 777=20th October 1375 A.D.),

[in the reign of] Firūz Shāh of high fortune, (whose) throne is sky (and who is) victorious and praiseworthy.

(3) This auspicious mausoleum belongs to [Mas'ūd], son of Sālār, son of Ḥusain 'Alawi.

May the Exalted God, through the bounty of His Mercy, take him to the eternal abode (i.e. Paradise)!

About Mas'ūd, we have no authentic information, but according to Mr. Cadell, his father Sālār 'Alawi is identical with a saint Sālār Auliya who is mentioned in the genealogical tables of the Chaudhari clan of the village. 'Īṣāmī does mention one Mas'ūd who probably held the post of 'Ārid in the closing years of the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh. But whether he has anything to do with Mas'ūd of our record cannot be ascertained.

XV-XVI. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 734, FROM BANGARMAU

The next two epigraphs of Firūz Shāh are from Bangarmau, an ancient place which is now reduced to a small town in the Saūpur tahsil of Unnao district. Tradition assigns the foundation of the town to a saint 'Alāū'd-Dīn by name, whose tomb is situated in the heart of the town and goes under the name of Barī-Dargāh. Nearby is another octagonal tomb, locally called Chhoṭ-
(a) Inscription of Firuz Shah, dated A.H. 777, from Varanasi (p. 14)

(b) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 777, from Sambhalhera (p. 16)

(c) Another record for Firuz Shah, dated A.H. 777, from Varanasi (p. 13)
Dargāh, now in ruins, which contains in all three epigraphs, of which two are studied here.¹ One of these does not mention the reigning king, but it is evident from the purport that it was set up at the same time.

The large slab measuring 2.27 m. by 20 cm. is damaged and the letters, particularly in the right side, have somewhat flaked off. Fixed on the entrance of the Dargāh,² it contains a record of seven Persian verses, inscribed in relief in two lines in the usual Naskh script. The epigraph has sufficient historical value. It records the construction of the tomb by Muqarrabu’d-Dīn, who is reported to be a companion of Mafkharu’l-Umarā Malik Sultānshah, in 1383 A.D. under the supervision of Jalāl, son of Khusraw of Bangarmau. This Muqarrabu’Dīn and his senior companion Malik Sultānshah were famous nobles,³ who figured prominently about a decade later in the political conflict at Delhi under the later Tughluqu.⁴ Malik Sultānshah had received the iqṭā’ of Samana in 1388 A.D., but had hardly held it for a year when he was killed by rebel nobles in 1389 A.D.

The text of this epigraph reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate VI(a)*

(1) ضمیر گند غیب علی و اعظم
شہنشاہ جب پر روزہ نشان کیت
موقع قبیلہ از حق پہر این خیز
ونقق مفخری الامراء حضرت
جلال خسر و پتلمرو هم
مقاوم شاہ کن نزد روزی برندوس
ز تاریخ این و امام

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This great and lofty tomb was constructed in the auspicious reign of the magnificent king, emperor of the world, Firuz Shah, who has mastered kingship.

Muqarrabu’d-Dīn, respected in both the worlds, received divine guidance for carrying out this charitable work.

(He) is a companion of Mafkharu’l-Umarā of the court, Malik Sultānshah, the respected chief.

..........Jalāl, (son of) Khusraw Bangarmawi (i.e. of Bangarmau) was made the supervisor for this (building).

May Allāh grant them place in paradise and spare them the fire of hell!

¹The third inscription is in Arabic verse. It is composed by Majd, son of Šāfi and records 8th Mubarram A.H. 782 (11th April 1380 A.D.) as the date of the death of the saint ‘Azīrz-‘Haq (ARIÉ, 1961-62, No. D, 323).
³Yahyā, *op. cit.*, pp. 140, 142, 145, 189, 190, 195, 199, 208-09.
It was in the seven hundred and eightyfourth year from the date of the Prophet (A.H. 784=1383 A.D.). And Allāh knows the truth!

The fact that Malik Sulṭānshah held the title of Mafṣḥar-ul-Umārā and Muqarrabu’d-Dīn was his companion is nowhere recorded, and thus our record is the only source for this information. Likewise, Jalāl, son of Khusrav of Bangarmau, under whose supervision the tomb was built, does not find any mention in contemporary or later works. Jalāl appears to have been associated with local administration.

The tablet bearing the other inscription from the Chhoṭ-Dargāh measures 2.27 m. by 30 cm. and is fixed on the inner side of the southern entrance. It comprises two verses in Persian arranged in two lines and executed in relief in Naskh style of the same type. It is, in a way, in continuation of the previous epigraph in that it gives the day and the month of the year of the construction of the same tomb.

It has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate VI(b)

(1) بعد جمعه هفدهم از ماه نُصْرالعَمَدَ بِعَلِّم
کا يَجْمَعَنَّ گنبد یا اینجا ز فضل حق شدست

(2) هندس و هشتاد و چهارم سال از هجر رسول اینست تاريخ یا تحقیق نیست
답 یمهدست

TRANSLATION

(1) It was after Friday prayers on the seventeenth of the month of Dhi’l-Qa’dā, when such a (lofty) dome was built here through the grace of God.

(2) Seven hundred and eightyfour years from the Migration of Prophet (17th Dhi’l-Qa’dā A.H. 784—22nd January 1383 A.D.) is the correct date of the construction; the rest (i.e. any other date) is false.

XVII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 786, FROM KOH INAM

The last record of Firuz Shāh and the seventeenth of this group is from Koh Inam, a very small and decayed village in the Sirathu taksīl of Allahabad district. Situated as it is on the old road from Kara to Delhi via Kannauj, its claim to antiquity is supported by the remains of old buildings and maunds extending over a considerable area. The village was razed to the ground in 1858 A.D. during the people’s revolt against the British rule.

The present epigraph may be seen to the right of the main entrance of the Jāmi’ mosque which has been thoroughly renovated during recent years. Inscribed over an area of 80 by 55 cm., its text of four lines is in Persian verse of mediocre quality, is executed in relief in ‘fair Naskh letters, and runs to the effect that the Jāmi’ mosque was built at the instance of Qāḍī Ḥusām-u’d-Dīn Hasan, the sadr, in 1384 A.D.

2 Major H. S. Jarett published its text in PASB, 1880, p. 72, without illustration. His reading is correct.
3 ARIE, 1961-62, No. D, 297. There are two more inscriptions on the same mosque, but they contain only religious text.
It has been read as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate VI(d)*

1. بنا شهد مسجد جامع ممور بعید شاه عادل هفت کش [شور]
2. شه فیروز شاهنشاه غانی بناء خیبر قاضی
3. حسام الابن حسن صدر زمانه که فتلاش گشت درور (sic.) عالم شناسه
4. بالله مال رمضان گشت موجود ز هجرت هنیم شیت بود

**TRANSLATION**

1. The glorious Jami' mosque was built in the reign of the just king of the seven [climes],
2. king Firuz, the emperor (who is also) the champion of Faith, (and) the suggestion for the construction of the charitable edifice was made by Qadi
3. Husaamud-Din Hasan, the sadr of the age, whose bounty became conspicuous in the world.
4. It came into existence on the last day of the month of Ramaḍān (when) seven hundred (and) eighty-six (years) had passed from the Migration (30th Ramaḍān, A.H. 786=15th November 1384 A.D.).

Qadi Husaamud-Din Hasan is an obscure figure in history. It is only from this epigraph that even his name is known. From the appellation sadr suffixed to his name, it is clear that he had held that post at least at the time of the epigraph.

**Muhammad Shāh**

**XVIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 792, FROM BUDAUN**

The eighteenth and the last inscription to be studied here represents the only record in the present article of Nasirud-Din Muhammad, son of Firuz Shāh, and also his only epigraph so far found in Uttar Pradesh. Hence its importance. It is engraved in relief on a slab of stone measuring 73 by 25 cm. which is fixed over the inner side of the western gate of the porch opening into the Dargah of Ḥaḍrat Badru'd-Din Shāh Wiliyat at Budaun. Its reading was published by Radujd Din, but it is faulty. This valuable record states that the tomb of the saint Ḥaḍrat Badru'd-Din was constructed in 1390 A.D. by Khidr, son of Naṣrullāh, who was the kotwāl of the district (khitīta) of Budaun. It is composed in Persian and inscribed in three lines. The style of writing is conventional Nasīḥ of a very high order and is of practically the same type as is found in the Tughluq inscriptions of Bihar. Admittedly, its calligraphy is the most elegant and beautiful in the present lot of epigraphs.

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1. *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 224, where its correct purport was given for the first time. It was copied by Dr. Z. A. Desai, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur. For other inscriptions on the Dargāh, see *ibid.*, Nos. D, 225-29.
The text reads as under:

**TEXT**

Plate VI(c)

(1) عماارة گلدان سلطان الزمان ناصر الدین والدین محمد شاه فیرز شاه السلطان
(2) خدای ملک به این روشن مشایخ کیا کیا بدریله والدین ضایع راجی حضرت آل
(3) خضر ابن نصر الله کو توال خالد یداون جازه الله فی النبلین من ذین الحجۃ سنة الثی
و تسعین و سبعاً

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The building of the tomb (took place in) the reign of the sultan of the age, Nāṣirūd-Dunyā wa’d-Din Muhammad Shāh (son of) Fīruz Shāh, the sultan,

(2) may (Allāh) perpetuate his kingdom! The founder of the edifice of the mausoleum of the great Shaikh Badrūl-Millat wa’d-Din, may (Allāh) sanctify his grave, (is) the hopeful of the presence of God,

(3) Khıdır, son of Nasrūlāh, kotwāl of the district (khitta) of Budā‘un, may God reward him! On the second of the month of Dḥi’l-Hijja, year (A. H.) ninety-two and seven hundred (2nd Dḥi’l-Hijja A. H. 792=11th November 1390 A. D.).

Nothing is known about the builder Khıdır. As regards his father, Nasrūlāh, Shams Sirāj ‘Afīf mentions one Qāḍī Nasrūlāh who was qāḍī of the army of Fīruz Shāh in A. H. 777 (1375-76 A. D.). Then we know of Nasrūlāh, brother of the famous ‘Ainul-Mulk Mūltānī, governor of Oudh under Mūhammad bin Tughrul, who had unsuccessfully revolted against the latter. Whether any or both of these two personages have anything to do with the father of the builder of the tomb, it is difficult to find out. Historical works are silent on these points. Therefore, too, the information supplied by the record under study that Khıdır had constructed the tomb of the saint, whose spiritual follower he may have been, is known for the first time from the present epigraph; this information, though meagre, is valuable for the history of Budaun.

As regards the saint, Badrūd-Dīn Shāh Wilāyat, he lived some time during the second half of the thirteenth century A.D. His full name was Shaikh Abū Bakr Mu'ītāb. The famous divine, Shaikh Naṣirūd-Dīn Chaīrāgh-i-Dihlī, is reported to have met and held him in high regard. The exact date of his death is not known. The title Saḥib-i-Wilāyat is used by Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Ḥaq of Delhi, who places his tomb behind the Shamsī-Idgāh.

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1 Shams Sirāj ‘Afīf, op. cit., pp. 378-79.
2 Iṣāmī, op. cit., p. 455.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BAHMANIS OF DECCAN

BY A. A. KADIRI

So far, about thirty Bahmani inscriptions have been published in the earlier issues of this series. I propose to study here seventeen more epigraphs which have been found in recent years. These range in their dates from A. H. 760 (1358-59 A. D.) to A. H. 917 (1511-12 A. D.) and represent the reigns of six kings, viz. Muhammed Shāh I, Muhammed Shāh II, Firuz Shāh, Ahmad Shāh II, Humayun Shāh, and Mahmūd Shāh.¹

Muhammad Shāh I

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 760, FROM DAULATABAD

This inscription constitutes the earliest record of Muhammad Shāh I² and is quite interesting. It is carved on a huge slab measuring 2·68 m. by 57 cm., which is fixed on the central mihrab of the ‘Idgah at Daulatabad, in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra.³ Its text consists of nine Persian couplets inscribed in relief in three lines in Nasḵ characters, typical of the mural records of the early Bahmanis. The writing is slightly damaged, rendering its decipherment somewhat difficult. It mentions that the naẓẓ̄gāh (i.e. ‘Idgah) was constructed during the reign of Muhammad Shāh by Ulugh Qutluq Bahārām Khan in 1359 A.D.

The builder Bahārām Khan was a grandee of considerable importance. On the accession of Alau’d-Din Hassan Bahman Shāh, one Bahārām was made vakil-i-dar, while another, nāb-i-ārid of the royal army.⁴ Bahārām of our inscription perhaps is identical with the latter. Firīshṭā calls him Bahārām Khan Māzandarānī and refers to his having received charge of Daulatabad fort from Bahman Shāh in about 1348 A. D.⁵ According to Tabāṭābā, who also refers to his appointment to the charge of the Daulatabad fort a few months before the death of Bahman Shāh, he was the king’s sister’s son.⁶ Again, according to Firīshṭā, Bahārām Khan was only in charge of the fort, while the province of Daulatabad was given by Bahman Shāh to his own nephew, i.e. brother’s son Khan Muhammad, who continued in the governorship even after Bahram Khan had revolted against the king. As against this, Sir T. W. Haig asserts that when Bahman Shāh divied his kingdom into four provinces, the king’s nephew Muhammad entitled Bahram Khan was appointed governor of the province of Daulatabad and that Bahram Khan was a son-in-law of Bahman Shāh.⁷ Haig seems to have mixed up the accounts of Firīshṭā and Tabāṭābā. The account of Firīshṭā, in view of its details, etc., seems to be more correct.

¹ These epigraphs, except otherwise stated, were copied by Dr. Z. A. Desai, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.
² Of his two inscriptions, so far published, the one from Gulbarga is dated A. H. 760 (Epigraphies Indiques (EIM), 1907-08, pp. 1-2), while the Bhingar inscription contains his name but was set up after the accepted date of his death (ibid. 1933-34, Supplement, p. 4, pl. 1a.)
⁴ Iṣaṁ, Futūḥān-i-Salāṭīn (Agra, 1938), pp. 526-27.
⁶ Tabāṭābā, Barḵān-i-Moḏʿābīr (Delhi, 1926), p. 29. Firīshṭa, op. cit., p. 293, does not mention the kingship, though he states that Bahram Khan was like a son to the king.
⁷ Firīshṭa, op. cit., p. 280.

(21)
Anyway, Bahram Khan unsuccessfully revolted against Muhammad Shâh in about 1365 A.D. when the latter was preoccupied with Vijayanagara, but did not meet with any success and had to quit the kingdom. Details of this revolt, gleaned from original sources, have been given by Professor Sherwânî in his book. However, the motive for the rebellion attributed by Tabâštâbâ, namely that the receipt of the charge of Daulatabad where Bahman Shâh had ascended the throne made Bahram Khan entertain the vain idea that he was intended to be the successor to the kingdom, has not been discussed by Professor Sherwânî. In any case, Bahram Khan did not entertain any such idea until A.H. 780; the date of our record.

The text of the epigraph has been read as under:

**Text**

**Plate VII(b)**

(1) Namaage Hamaion Zoono Fossil Allah

Jahan Keshad Mohamad Shah Abin Shaheshah

Bil Mehem Abin Eshagh Eshagh Sah

Ched Mehe Sah Dzgar Aord Jeshad Meah

Zoul Mezhier Mandad Shfouin Aiel Gana

Kerm Beid Dzﻟدند Gheri Aiel Klalad

Eurast Khe Z,Rshk Weist Cherad Dztna

Kani Ziyad Bae Azas Aeiis Cheradek

Hezar Chendan Emees Meed Badeh Bidade

**Translation**

(1) (This) auspicious nâmâzgân, through the help and bounty of Allah, was constructed in a wonderful style, in the reign of the shadow of Allah,

the pivot of the world, ruler of the east and the west, world-conqueror, Muḥammad Shâh, son of the late emperor;

it was built by Ulugh Outulgh (lit. powerful and great warrior) of the time and place, magnificent hero Bahram Khan with star-like army,

(2) in the auspicious month of Shawwâl and the year (A.H.) seven hundred and sixty. What a month that it will bring another year within the next four months! (Shawwâl A.H. 760 = August-September 1359 A.D.).

Since about the construction of a mosque, there is an authentic tradition representing the saving of the Bringer of sure news and the Intercessor of the sinful (i.e. Prophet Muḥammad),

to the effect that, the builder of a mosque will be favoured with a palace in Paradise (and) none except young servants wearing caps will wait upon him (in Paradise),

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2 Tabâštâbâ, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
PLATE VII

BAHMANS OF DICHAN

(a) Epigraph of Mahammad Shab I Bahman, dated A.H. 772, from Khudabad (p. 22)

(b) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 760, from Daulatabad (p. 22)

Scale: 1:22

Scale: 1:83
Plate VIII

(a) Record of Muhammad Shâh I Bahmani, dated A.H. 768, from Gulbarga (p. 23)

(b) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 774, same place (p. 26)
(3) may its building (i.e. of the namāgāh), from envy of which the sky is doubled up, always prove auspicious to the king and Khān of the world!

For the sake of the holy house (at Jerusalem) and by the reverence of Ka‘ba (at Mecca), (may God) increase the honour of the builder every moment!

May he live in ever-increasing dignity thousand times the number of prostrations which people offer (here) on the occasion of the two ‘Idas!

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 768, FROM GULBARGA

The slab containing this inscription is fixed on the outer northern wall of a well near the tomb of Khwāja Shaikh Muḥammad Sirājū’d-Dīn Junaidī, at Gulbarga in Mysore state. It is slightly damaged, with the result that the writing thereon which was in low relief has been further obliterated particularly in the portion above the middle of the right half of the slab. Measuring 43 by 32 cm., it contains nine verses in Persian, inscribed in an equal number of lines in relief in Nasīḥa characters recording the construction of the well by the amīr of Turks, Abū Muḥammad Tabrizī, under the supervision of Khwāja Kabīr, a descendant of Muḥammad Khalkhālī in 1367 A. D., during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Bahman Shāh.

Nothing is known about the builder and the supervisor beyond what is stated in our epigraph. It is very likely that these men were, if nothing more, at least men of local importance.

The text has been deciphered as follows:

TEXT

Plate VIII(a)

۱ بعهد دولت میمون بادشاه جهان
۲ که هست مهر جهان تاب و سایه یزدان
۳ امیر گرکان بانی [این] خجمت میان
۴ حسن (۷) نسب شد و تبرپی آمدست نشان
۵ مثل نور بروش امید باد روان
۶ بناته کهند بانی از دل و جان
۷ نگاه دارش بادا خداد جاویدان
۸ که از مهد خلخلی اوست در گیان
۹ نموده روي دهم روز از م شیبان


The obliterated text appears to read something like: شیخ زمان جنید زین. Any way, the idea seems to be that the well was constructed for the benefit of the visitors or the inmates of the tomb.
TRANSLATION

(1) In the auspicious reign of the king of the world, asylum as well as distributor of the world, dispenser of justice of the age,

(2) king of the time, Muḥammad Shāh, son of Bahman Shāh, who is a world-illuminating sun and shadow of God,

(3) at an auspicious time and moment, this well was constructed; the builder of (this) blessed place is the amīr of Turks,

(4) praiseworthy (and) pride of the world, Abū Muḥammad, who is of a noble descent and known as Tabrizi,

(5) for the sake of the tomb [of the saint ............] I may hope travel (like) light towards his soul!

(6) Whosoever drinks water or performs ablutions therefrom, should remember the builder by reciting ḥādīth with his heart and soul.

(7) May the eternal Lord protect the person who gets it cleaned and repaired!

(8) Khwāja Kabīr, who is the descendant, in the world, of Muḥammad Khalkhāl, was appointed to supervise (the construction).

(9) (It was constructed) in the year (A. H.) seven hundred and sixty to which were added eight and on the 10th of the month of Sha‘bān (10th Shābān A. H. 768=11th April 1367 A.D.).

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 772, FROM KHULDABAD

The loose tablet bearing the third inscription of Muḥammad Shāh I is lying in the dargāh of Ḥadrat Burhān-ud-Dīn, at Khuldabad in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra. Measuring 82 by 71 cm., it is inscribed with seven lines of writing in Persian verse in Nasḵā characters. The record refers itself to the reign of Muḥammad Shāh I and assigns the construction of a well to Khān-i-A‘gam asfār Khān in 1370-71 A.D.

Khān-i-A‘gam Ṣafdar Khān appears to be none other than the great Ṣafdar Khān Sistānī, a distinguished noble who served under five Bahmani kings. He was appointed as the first governor of Berar and Mahur in about 1358 A.D. by Bahman Shāh. Then, Muḥammad Shāh I, on his accession, favoured him with a robe of honour and the title Majlis-i-‘Ālī. He accompanied the king in his campaigns against Telangana in 1362 A. D. and also in 1363 A. D. He enjoyed confidence of the next ruler Mujahid Shāh, and when in 1377 A. D. Mujahid Shāh crossed Tungabhadra to reach Adoni, he was ordered to lay siege to the citadel. He was for some time with Mujahid Shāh in his last hunting expeditions. When the latter was assassinated, Ṣafdar Khān took possession of the royal elephants and returned to his province without waiting to offer allegiance to the new king, but when Muḥammad Shāh II ascended the throne, he returned to the capital to pay obeisance. He continued to be the governor of Berar till his death which occurred in the reign of Ghiyāṭu’d-Dīn Tahamtan Shāh and was succeeded by his son Ṣalābat Khān.

The record is thus important since it commemorates the name of one of the first tarafdārs of the Bahmani kingdom who enjoyed the high post for well nigh half a century. It also indicates by implication that Khuldabad was included in the province of Berar.

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1 See note 2 on the previous page.
3 Firdūsī, op. cit., pp. 280, 282, 284, 285, 287, 296, 299, 300, 301, 304. It is rather surprising that Ṭabāṯabā does not mention Ṣafdar Khān.
The text of the record is read as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate VII(a)*

(1) شد این بالین با ان چه بالین
(2) که دیگر هم مناسب نپست با این
(3) که عرش باد افزون یا بب گیم
(4) نصیر الامام اسماعل جهانگیر
(5) پادشاه آباد دوست میرزا علی
(6) خوان اعظم شد بانی
(7) میرزا سید پائیر تحقیف و تحقیق
(8) چه این بالین چرب مرتب گشت شیرین

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This well was constructed—but what a well it is that no other well compares with it!—
(2) in the time of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, may he have a long life! Amen, O Lord!
(3) (He is) the conqueror of the time (and) Alexander of the age, the foot of whose throne
  touches the forehead of Pleiades.
(4) It was constructed by the great Khān Ṣafdar Khān, may his enemies be always sorrowful!
(5) May he always be successful on the high seat of prosperity, with hundred times more
  power (and) thousand times more honour and dignity!
(6) For this good deed which proceeded from his hands, the angels shower praise by their eyes.
(7) In the year (A.H.) seven hundred and seventy as well as two (A. H. 772=1370-71 A. D.),
  such a sweet well was constructed.

**IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 774, FROM GULBARGA**

The fourth inscription of Muḥammad Shāh I is engraved on a slab measuring 1·05 m. by 56 cm.
which is fixed over the main gate of the Barf-Masjid situated in the Mumīnpura locality at
Gulbarga. It consists of four lines in Persian prose and verse executed in Nāshk script which
is remarkable more for the boldness and Tughrā tendencies of its letters than for the exquisiteness
of their outline. Nevertheless, the calligraphy is, if not exquisite, of a fairly high order and
pleasing.

It is a pity that the tablet containing this remarkable record is damaged, having cracked into
two pieces which have been cemented together; the lettering has also suffered much. However,
it is a matter of satisfaction that the text has been deciphered in full. The epigraph states that
a mosque and a well were constructed by Rajab, son of Jalāl, an official of high status, in 1373
A. D., during the reign of Abu'l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Shāh. The portion of the text
containing the designation of Rajab being damaged, it is not possible to decipher it completely.

beyond any doubt. But the word after shahna is mort probably bār; no other reading seems to be possible. If so, it would indicate that Rajab was the shahna-i-bār.

It is not possible to identify Rajab beyond any doubt, but in the list of the newly appointed officers of Bahman Shāh, we come across Rajab, the shahna-i-bārgāh. It is very likely that he is identical with Rajab of our record.

The text has been deciphered as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate VIII(b)*

(1) يسُم الله الرحمن الرحيم سلسلة قياس مر صائم بيهون و قادر كن فيكون جل حلاله و عم نواله ك در اين عهد همانيون و نويت ميمون خداوند عالم اعظم سلاطين العرب و العمجم

(2) ظل الله في الارضين خليفة الرحمن امير ذو الآمن و الآمان لاهل الايمان و امرت ملكه سليمان أبو المعفور محمد شاه السلطان بن السلطان خليفة الله ملكه و سلطانه و اعل امره و شاهانه

اين مسجد فردق سا

(3) و معبد بيت معمور آسا تمام شد توفيق يافت بر بنا (؟) ملكه الآمرين بنادة إيدوا، برحمت

پروداد رجب جنر شجنه بار (؟) بتاريخ پنجمان(؟) ماه ربيع الأول سال بر هفتصد هفتمد جهار از

هجزن بنى مختار خاتم المرسلين رسول

(4) رب العالمين صلى الله عليه و آله الأخبار:

شكر حق وا كه مسجد و بالين

شده عمارة بدين نكو اتين

ملكه خاد تا جهان ياند

اين دعا باد مستجاب آمين

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Unlimited praise is due to the matchless One and the mighty Lord of the universe—may His glory be exalted and His bounty be universal!—that in this fortunate reign and auspicious turn of the lord of the world, greatest among the sultāns of Arabia and Persia.

(2) shadow of Allāh in the worlds, vicegerent of the Merciful, leader who provides peace and security to the believers. heir to the kingdom of Solomon, Abūl-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh the sultān, son of the sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and elevate his authority and power. this lofty mosque.

(3) and place of worship resembling the Bait-i-Mawār was completed. For its construction, guided by God was the slave, Maliku’l-Umarī (lit. prince among the nobles), hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, Rajab (son of) Jalāl, shahna-i-bār (†). On the fifth of the month of Rabī’ul-Awwal, year seventy-four after seven hundred from the Migration of the chosen Prophet, the last of the apostles, the apostle of

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1 Igāmī, op. cit., p. 527.
(4) the Lord of the worlds, may the salutations of Allah be on him and his noble progeny! (5th Rab’u’l-Awwal A. H. 774=4th September 1372 A. D.). (Verse)

Thanks to God that the mosque and the well were constructed in this nice manner.

May the kingdom of the king endure as long as the world lasts! May this prayer be accepted! Amen!

V. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM KOPPAL

The fifth inscription of this group and the last of Muhammad Shah I is unfortunately fragmentary, having lost about one sixth of its portion on the left, which contained its date portion.1 The epigraphical tablet measuring 1.06 m. by 25 cm. appears to have been lying loose in the Koppal fort, when its inked rubbings found in the old records of my office were prepared about three decades back. In the winter of 1962, in the course of my visit to Koppal to obtain a fresh estampage of the epigraph, I was dismayed to find the tablet missing. On enquiry, I learnt that it did lie by the side of the fort-wall only about a couple of months prior to my visit.

The surviving text consists of three lines of Persian verse carved in relief in Nasikh characters of the typical early Bahmani inscriptions. It records the construction of a well in the enclosure of the tomb of Khwaja-i-Jahân A’zam-i-Humayûn, at the orders of his wife, in the reign of Muhammad Shah, son of Bahman Shah. It also mentions Tâjû’d-Dîn Muhammad who in all probability supervised the construction.

Khwaja-i-Jahân A’zam-i-Humayûn of the text appears to be none other than the minister Muhammad, son of ‘Aimû’d-Dîn, who was given the title of Khwaja-i-Jahân by Bahman Shah immediately after his accession in 1347 A. D.2 When Pocha Reddy, still professing loyalty to the Tughluq cause, rebelled at Gulberg, Khwaja-i-Jahân, then at Miraj, was ordered to go there. Khwaja-i-Jahân, who was later joined by Quﬁbu’l-Mulk, was able to reduce Gulberg after some difficulty. He also played an important part in the suppression of the revolt of Muhammad bin ‘Alam and ‘Ali Baig Natthu at Sagar in 1352 A.D.3

Nothing else is known about Khwaja-i-Jahân from historical works. It is surprising that Firginta should have totally ignored a noble of his stature, while Tabatahâ and Isâr-I merely give detailed accounts of the above events. Even the exact time of his death is not known. In view of the paucity of material, the epigraph under study furnishes very important evidence on the approximate time of the death of the said minister. Since the step-well in his tomb was constructed by his wife in the reign of Muhammad I who died in 1375 A. D., it is clear that Khwaja Jahân had died long before that year. Had the date of the record survived, the approximate year also would have been known. In any case, the epigraph proves the inaccuracy of Tabatahâ’s statement.

The text has been deciphered as under:

**TEXT**

Plate IX(a)

3 For details, see ibid., pp. 540-44; Sherwâni, op. cit., pp. 55-56; Tabatahâ, op. cit., pp. 16, 19, 20.
(1) This blessed well was constructed in a pleasing form and wonderful style, in the reign of the king of the world, that is to say, Muḥammad, son of the sultān, the noble descendant of the magnificent king Bahman Shāh.

(2) This wonderful structure of the world is situated in the enclosure of the tomb of Khwāja-i-Jahān.

It was constructed in a pleasing and attractive manner by the wife of Aʿẓam Humāyūn, so that the people may visit it (i.e. the tomb and) also.

(3) Work through sincerity. Built it on a strong foundation. Taj [u'd-] Din Muḥammad. The date till its completion was ten.

Muḥammad Shāh II

VI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 781, FROM GULBARGA

The first of the two inscriptions of Muḥammad Shāh II included in this article is also his earliest. The tablet on which it is carved, measuring 90 by 50 cm. and now lying loose in a mosque in the Shāh Bāzār-Maḥalla at Gulbarga is badly damaged like some other epigraphical tablets of the Bahmani period in that place; it has lost some portion at the top right corner, and the original bas-relief of its damaged letters has also lost its prominence. On account of these factors, it was not possible to decipher its text completely.

The five-line text contains nine verses in Persian, carved in relief in Naṣīḥ script and runs to the effect that the construction of a mosque took place between 11th December 1379 A. D. and 9th January, 1380 A. D. during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh II. The portion containing the name,

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1 Only the upper portions of the letters in the third line having survived, the reading of its text is tentative.
2 His published epigraphs are dated A. H. 793 and 794, for which please see EIM, 1931-32, pp. 10, 11, 12, 16.
(a) Fragmentary record of Muḥammad Shāh I Bahmani, from Koppal (p. 27)

(b) Damaged epigraph of Muḥammad Shāh II, dated A.H. 781, from Gulbarga (p. 29)
etc. of the builder cannot be satisfactorily deciphered due to the damaged nature of the text, but one of his titles Maliku’sh-Sharq is quite legible and so is the concluding part of the other title, viz., u’l-Mulk, while his name appears to be Abājī.

The deciphered text is quoted below:—

**TEXT**

Plate IX (b)

(1) دوران دانکه خاصه آن صاحب جودی که با کرده از وکیله که شده از برکت طاق بکیله‌ان

(2) شه دهر و سلیمان زمانه

(3) شه دین پرور و دین‌دار مهدی شه اعظم

(4) گشت جوکان هفت‌صد هشتاد و یک از روی سینن

(5) شهر بوده رضوان عظمه الله که باشد

(6) خیرها کرده

(7) ایل گنبد نام

(8) الملك معظم ملك الشرق اباجی

(9) پاد تا دور نلفک پاق و پایده بعالم

**TRANSLATION**

(1) time, so that men of charitable disposition became through him. Especially that lord of generosity who constructed a mosque out of sincerity, a mosque which has become through (Divine) blessings unique in the world.

(2) the king of the world and Solomon of the time, since in his kingdom is revealed the expanse of the kingdom of Solomon, the faith-nourishing and religious-minded king Muhammad Shāh, the great, world-conquering, world-bestowing and world-protecting.

(3) When the reckoning of years was (A.H.) seven hundred (and) eighty and one, this monument was completed through the bounty and mercy of God.

The month was Ramadān, may Allāh increase its greatness, the days of fasting of which cause remission of affliction and of sins (Ramadān A. H. 781-11th December 1379-9th January 1380 A.D.).

(4) of lineage and select reputation did charitable deeds may reward for this bounty accrue to... u’l-Mulk, the magnificent Maliku’sh-Sharq Abājī (?), who is... ocean of generosity and mine of favours.
(5) May the life of the person, i.e. the builder, by whom such a good work has been founded last for ever in the world till the revolution of the sky (lasta)!

VII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 797, FROM GULBARGA

The other record of Muhammad Shâh II in the present group is also engraved on a loose slab measuring 1.24 m. by 40 cm., which is now lying in the small mosque situated in the north-west area of the fort at Gulbarga. The text of this important epigraph contains eleven couplets in Persian inscribed in six lines. The writing is mostly obliterated rendering the decipherment difficult. But with great efforts, a major portion of the text has been deciphered and full purport made out. It assigns the construction of a mosque to Mubârak Sulţânî in 1394-95 A. D. during the reign of Muhammad Shâh. The epithets used with the name of the Bahmani king in the previous epigraph as well as in the present record corroborate Firishta's assessment of Muhammad Shâh as a religious-minded and cultured man.*

Available contemporary chronicles fail to mention Mubârak Sulţânî, the builder. But he appears to be identical with the official of the same name who finds mention in four records from Sagar in Gulbarga district, as the koteel of the fort in A. H. 793 and 794. In that case, the present record would provide more information about the subsequent career of this official. By A.H. 797, the date of our record, he had become a minister, for he is so designated in the text, which in addition records his official titles Masnad-i-'Ālî Nigâmu'l-Mulk and personal title Fakhru'd-Dim. The epigraph is thus very valuable and interesting.

The text, which is inscribed in relief in Nasîrî characters of the usual type, reads as under:

**Plate X(b)**

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(1) اين مسجد مبارك ك و اهل دين
(2) كه صن د(؟) مثال و بنيت
(3) يارب مكر ز كميغ فرح اين(؟)
(4) در عهد شهردار جهاندار دين پناد
(5) شاه جهان محمد كرم سعي او شد است
(6) خير خاص مسند عن نظام ملک
(7) فخر دول مبارك سلطنان آن وزیر
(8) در سال هصف و نود و هفت سال تمام
(9) در شكل هنجر بيت المعمور كشته است
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INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BAHMANIS OF DECCAN

TRANSLATION

(1) This blessed mosque and ........................................ for the religious people on account of which the earth ................................ on the sky. .......................................................... and the courtyard ................................................. The Empyrean and the Paradise are full of praise for it.

(2) .......................................................... that unparalleled and match less building .............................................. earth. If it is said that the Paradise is proud of it, it would not be a lie; here is a true proof .......................................................... print on the earth.

(3) O Lord! have they perhaps taken its plan from the Ka'ba? Or is this itself the Ka'ba certainly and truly?

In the reign of the world-maintaining king, the shelter of religion, the sultan, who .......................................................... signet of Jamshid,

(4) the king of the world, Muhammad, by whose efforts the pillars of religion have become lofty and firm.

this special good deed has been done by Masnadi-‘Alî Nigâmu’l-Mulk who is wise like Āṣaf,1 .......................................................... and dispenser of justice,

(5) Fakhr-i-Duwal (lit. pride of the governments) Mubârak Sulṭânî, the wazir, the traces of whose righteous deeds are evident in the whole universe.

In the year (A. H.) seven hundred and ninety and seven (A. H. 797=1394-95 A. D.) was completed this auspicious abode through the grace of the Creator of the world.

(6) In appearance, it has become like the Bait-i-Ma’mûr (i.e. Ka'ba). O Lord, may it remain like this for ever!

Firuz Shâh

VIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 818, FROM MIRAJ

The loose tablet containing the first of the two inscriptions of Firuz Shâh studied here was found by me in 1962 in the Shâh Dongri-Masjid in Momin-Mahalla at Miraj in Sangli district of Maharashtra.2 It measures 75 cm. in length and 37 cm. in width and is inscribed with what is incidentally the only Bahmanî record found in the town which, it may be remembered, was one of their earliest possessions. In 1347 A.D., Miraj, Hukeri, Raybag, Kalhar (Kharad) and Gulbarga were put in charge of the founder of the dynasty Hasan, then entitled Zafar Khân.3 After his independence, he seems to have placed Miraj under the charge of Muhammad, son of ‘A’inu’ d-Din entitled A’zam-i-Humâyûn Khwaja-i-Jahân.4 But in about 1353 A.D., it was assigned to the sief of Prince Muhammad who had received the title of Zafar Khân from his father Bahman Shâh in the preceding year.5 On his return from the Mudhol expedition, Bahman Shâh came to Miraj along with his son and stayed there for two months, and it was from here that he visited Konkan on a hunting expedition before proceeding to Sagar on his way to Gulbarga.6 Of the

1 King Solomon’s minister Āṣaf, son of Bar khâyî, is proverbial for his wisdom and sagacity.
3 Firuzgaht, op. cit., p. 275; Sherwâni, op. cit., p. 50.
5 Taḥtaqaht, op. cit., p. 29; Isâmi, op. cit., p. 559; Sherwâni, op. cit., p. 58.
subsequent history of Miraj under the Bahmanis until the time of Ahmad Shah II BahmanI, we get no information in historical works. And therefore, the importance of the present epigraph of Firuz Shah cannot be overstressed.

It is worth pointing out that the Imperial Gazetteer1 does not take notice of the Muslim possession of Miraj first under the Bahmanis and later under the 'Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur, right from the fourteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was taken by Shivaji. But more surprising is the fact that even the revised edition of the Kolhapur district gazetteer merely surmises the establishment of Muslim authority at Miraj some time before 1413 A.D., the date in which according to it the inscription under study was set up.2

The epigraph under study contains eight lines, the first six of which are devoted to religious text. The calligraphy of this epigraph, which is Nashah, suffers in comparison with that of the Gulbarga inscription of the same king dated A.H. 819 (No. IX, infra). The record refers itself to the reign of Taju‘d-Dunya wa‘d-Din Abu‘l-Muzaffar Firuz Shah and states that it was at the instance of Suhail Suljani, the kotwalbek of the city of Mubarakabad (i.e. Miraj) that some edifice was constructed in 1416 A.D. The object of construction is not specified, but it was in all probability a mosque as is indicated by a later epigraph from the town, which states that the mosque originally constructed in the year (Shuhur) 816 was reconstructed in A.H. 1096 (1685 A.D.), during the reign of Sikandar ‘Adil Shah.3 There being no other epigraph bearing the above date at Miraj, it is almost certain that our epigraph had originally belonged to that mosque. It will be observed that the date of the epigraph is Shuhur Sana 816 which is equivalent to A.H. 818.

The inscription is important since it has preserved the name of an important official, Suhail Suljani. Historical works altogether ignore him, though he was the kotwalbek of Miraj. As regards the sobriquet Mubarakabad (lit. auspicious abode), used for Miraj, it is stated to have been chosen by the saint Siraju‘d-Din Junaidi at the request of the first Bahmani king.4 It has also been used by Persian chroniclers.5

The text has been read as follows:

Plate X (a)

(1) Bism Allah al-Rahman al-Rahim Allah la Allahu ya Waib Ya Waib Allah ala al-Hamid
(2) samawat wa laa nima laa manfa‘
(3) shuwa‘ ala ilahah ilaa man‘in
(4) ma‘in, la‘aliya‘ yasr iyya‘
(5) mu‘ayyadun shin‘a‘ min Allah
(6) ashawat wa alarz wa
(7) yuwa‘u aqla wa‘ala al-‘ulum

2 Maharashtra State Gazetteers (MSG), Kolhapur District (Bombay, 1960), p.64, f.n.2. It is not known if the present epigraph was known to the compilers, since the object of construction which is according to them 'a mosque' is not specified there. Also, the date 1413 A.D. is wrong; it was perhaps taken as an equivalent of A.H. 816 and not Shuhur 816.
5 Tabataba‘, op. cit., pp. 18, 76, 150.
(a) Record of 'Aläu'd-Din Ahmad Shāh II, dated A.H. 837, from Gulbarga (p. 35)

Scale: 3

(b) Epigraph of Firūz Shāh, dated A.H. 819, same place (p. 33)

Scale: 25
TRANSLATION

(1-6) In the name of Allāh, the Benevolent, the Merciful. O Bestower! O Bestower! Throne Verse.¹

(7) In the reign of the sultān of age and time, Tāju’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn Abu’l-Muṣaffar Fīrūz Shāh the sultān, [the mosque was constructed]

(8) at the suggestion of the servant of the royal court, Suhail Sulṭānī, kotwālbek of the famous city Mubārakabād (i.e. Miraj), on the 2nd of Dhi’l-Qa’dā, Shuhūr year 816 (i.e. A. H. 818) (2nd Dhi’l-Qa’dā Shuhūr 816–3rd January 1416 A. D.).

IX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 819, FROM GULBARGA

The other inscription of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh is engraved on a slab measuring 80 by 33 cm. which is fixed on the main gate of the Kharbāza-Gumbad at Gulbarga.² A glance at the plate will show how badly the epigraphical tablet, like its other counterparts at Gulbarga, is affected by weather and neglect, and consequently the decipherment of its text has posed a great challenge.

Its text of ten Persian couplets profaced by Arabic text engraved in six lines in relief in beautiful Naṣīrī characters, akin to those employed in previous epigraphs records that the tomb over the mortal remains of an official, Malik Ḥoghāngh, of Turk origin, who was the deputy (ṣūb) sarpardadār was constructed in 1416 A. D. during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh. It is a pity that I have not been able to trace any information from available chronicles about Malik Ḥoghāngh Turk the deceased. However, it is interesting to note that he belonged to the Turk faction as is clear from his name. The text does not seem to contain the name of the builder, being somewhat vague on the point in the first couplet of the last line. Could it mean that the late Malik had himself constructed it in his lifetime?

The text has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate XI (b)

(1) بَيْنَ الْمَلَكِ وَالْمَلَكِ إِنَّ ذَاتَ الْفَتْحِ يَمْكُونُونَ كُلَّ مِنْ عَلَيْهِمْ فَانَ وَيَضِيَ إِنَّ ذَاتَ الْفَتْحِ يَمْكُونُونَ كُلَّ مِنْ عَلَيْهِمْ فَانَ وَيَضِيَ

(2) اِنَّ رَوْضَةَ نَفْسِ كَيْدِ خَوْشُ تُرْ زَانَ جَانَانَاتِ نَفْسِ كَيْدِ خَوْشُ تُرْ زَانَ جَانَانَاتِ

fraudus dānī ast tu gōtīk kē br ḍāmīn

ya jēnt tāwān tāwān zā āmān jānānast

¹ Qur’an, chapter II, verse 255.
² ARIE, 1958-59, No. D, 111.
(1) Allāh, the Glorified and Exalted, has said, 'Every soul must taste of death; then to Us you shall be brought back.' 1 Everyone on it must pass away. And there will endure for ever the person of your Lord, the Lord of glory and honour.

(2) This beautiful mausoleum, which is more pleasant than Paradise (is such that) for its watchmanship angles are on their way from the sky.

It is as if a second Paradise on the earth. Or is the highest heaven manifest in the world on account of it?

(3) The sanctity of Khalil (i.e. prophet Abraham) is envious of the crescent (of its pinnacle?). The garden of Iram fights shy of it, and verily, there is occasion for it.

Location like this exalted place and such atmosphere, no man may have seen in a tomb ever since this world has existed.

(4) Do you know who is the nobleman to honour this place? It contains the holy remains of the slave of the emperor of the time

Ftrūz Shāh-i-Bahman, the possessor of crown and tribute, who is the chief of the world and solace of its people, viz.

(5) the exalted Malik, who was the deputy (nāib) to the sar pardada, Hoshang by name and Turk by descent, while his designation is evident.

He passed away from (this) world on the thirteenth day of Šafar. May he be covered by the mercy of the Merciful, Who is Benevolent!

(6) The builder of this mausoleum is a man of wisdom, that is to say, one who is in the protection of the Lord whose belp is sought.

It was the thirteenth date and day Friday (of the) year (A. H.) eight hundred and nineteen (13th Šafar A. H. 819=12th April 1416 A. D.) that this abode was constructed.

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1 Qur’ān, chapter xxix, verse 57.
2 Ibid., chapter iv, verses 26-27.
The first among the four epigraphs of the reign of 'Alū' d-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh II is found on a tomb near the Masjid-i-Langar Khāna at Gulbarga. It runs into five lines of Arabic prose and states that the tomb of a saint Hāji Zaidā of Marāgha, a disciple of the eminent saint Sayyidī Aḥmad al-Kabīr was constructed in Shawwāl A. H. 837 (April-May 1434 A. D.), during the reign of 'Alū' d-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh.

No information is available about the occupant of the tomb Hāji Zaidā of Marāgha. That he was a disciple and spiritual successor of Sayyidī Aḥmad al-Kabīr and hence, by implication a saint of note, is evident from the text. Incidentally, Zaidā is an honorific form of the name Zaid. Another aspect of the epigraph worth notice is that it speaks of Aḥmad Shāh II as reigning in Shawwāl A. H. 837. This may help to remove uncertainty in the date of the accession of that monarch. According to Persian historians, Aḥmad Shāh I died on the 28th Rajab A. H. 838, while modern scholars prefer 29th or 30th Ramaḍān A. H. 839 on the basis of the inscription on his tomb at Bīdar. But as has been pointed out by Haig, the year in the copy of the said inscription supplied to him might be variously read as A. H. 837 or 839. Unfortunately, Yazdānī and Bāshiru'd-Dīn published the text of this epigraph without its illustration, and therefore it is difficult to be definite about the year. On the other hand, Sherwānī writing some time ago had calculated the date to be 28th Rajab of A. H. 837, but he also subsequently accepted the year A. H. 839 on the basis of the said epigraph. Now the record under study clearly bears the date A. H. 837 and mentions Aḥmad Shāh II as the ruling king. This would indicate that Sherwānī's earlier reckoning conform to this date at least as far as the year is concerned. However, the Bīdar inscription requires to be examined before a final verdict is pronounced on the subject.

The slab bearing the epigraph measures 60 by 30 cm. It is somewhat weathered, and the writing is damaged. But the damage has not prevented a full decipherment of the text which runs as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XI (a)*

(1) Bnītī hā rūlah mabārakah al-Shāfīyya al-murrātah al-munawwarah on ḥāṣib al-shāfiyya al-bāhir al-kāmil

(2) wu nūr al-shāfīyya

---

2. Marāgha is in the Tabrīz province of Iran.
TRANSLATION

(1) This blessed, noble, scented and illuminated tomb was constructed over the grave of the Shaikh, (who is like) a full moon and all-embracing light,

(2) traveller (on the path of devotion), devout, pardoned, one who was shown mercy, leader of the men of path, spiritual successor of His sublime and exalted holiness, pole-star among saints, crown of the chosen ones, follower of the path of prophets,

(3) brighter than the sun and more luminous than the resplendent full moon, martyred chief, sultān, Sayyid Ahmad al-Kabīr, may Allāh sanctify his revered soul, viz. Hajj Zaidā of Marāgha,

(4) may Allāh illuminate his soul and his grave, in the reign of the great sultān ‘Alā’ud-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn Abu’l-Muṣaffar Ahmad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh, the sultān, may the exalted Allāh help him,

(5) on the date i.e. in the honoured month of Shawwāl, year (A.H.) seven and thirty and eight hundred from the Migration (of the Prophet), on whose lord, may the best of salutations and peace be! (Shawwāl A. H. 837=May-June 1434 A. D.)

XI. UNDATED INSCRIPTION FROM DAULATABAD

The second inscription of Ahmad Shāh appears on the main gate of the Yak-Minar mosque situated at the foot of the Chānd-Minar inside the Daulatabad fort. It contains only one Persian couplet, one hemistich of which is written horizontally in bold letters on the tablet measuring 82 by 71 cm, and the other, vertically, in a minute hand on its left. The style of writing is Nashī. The text merely invokes prayers for the happiness of the king ‘Alā’ud-Dīn i.e. Ahmad Shāh II and expresses a wish that the edifice may prove auspicious for him.

It is difficult to say if the epigraph is in situ, and hence it is not possible to determine the nature of the edifice. The mosque being new, it is likely that the edifice referred to in the inscription might be the Chānd-Minar itself. The epigraph was first noticed by Bashru’d-Din Ahmad whose reading is incorrect and moreover, he makes out ‘Alā’ud-Dīn to be a brother of Ahmad Shāh II.¹

² For the inscription of the Minār now fixed into the southern wall of the mosque, see ibid., No. P. 35.
³ Bashru’d-Dīn, op. cit., p. 278.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BAHMANIS OF DECCAN

TEXT

Plate XIII (a)

(a) Horizontally.

إيا سلطان علاء الدين دلت شاد

(b) Vertically.

مبارك باد اين فرحنه بنيد

TRANSLATION

(a) O sultān ‘Alāu’d-Dīn! may your heart be pleased!

(b) May this blessed foundation (building) prove auspicious for you!

XII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 861, FROM DAULATABAD

The tablet bearing the third record of Aḥmad Shāh II is fixed on the southern outer wall of the Masjid-i-Hauḍ at Kagzi pura near Daulatabad. Measuring 68 by 75 cm., it is inscribed with a text of six lines in Persian prose in Naskh characters in relief. But the execution is unartistic if not crude. Also, the letters are placed one above another and the execution of their curves and shafts is not very conventional. The tablet is considerably damaged.

According to the text, the mosque situated on the tank Zainsar was constructed in 1458 A. D. during the reign of sultān ‘Alāu’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn Abu’l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad Shāh by Malik ‘Almsh-Shārqq Malik Parwīz, son of Qaranfāl Sultānī, who describes himself as a slave of Shihābū’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh I.

It will be seen that the epigraph furnishes the original name Zainsar of the tank, which must have been so called after the celebrated saint Zainu’d-Dīn Shirāzī (died A. H. 771) who lies buried nearby at Khuṣhad. Also, this and another epigraph of the same king from Khuṣhad (No. XIII, infra) provide some useful information about Parwīz Sultānī, who, as we know from the Chānd-Minār inscription, referred to above, was sent to Daulatabad by Aḥmad Shāh I in about A. H. 846, and had constructed the Minār three years later. According to these two records, Malik Parwīz continued to be in charge of Daulatabad region until at least A. H. 862, the date of the later record. They also make it clear that the contempt and haughtiness with which Haig described the Chand-Minar inscription as ‘bombastic and ridiculous’ and its contents as ‘the insolent boast of the African slave’ is, to put it very mildly, quite unworthy of the pen of that great historian. African slave though he may have originally been, Parwīz was, far from being a low official, a noble of first rank as is reflected by his title Maliku’sh-Shārqq.

2 The thānedār of Fathabād in A. H. 866, Maliku’sh-Shārqq Muḥammad Parwīz Sultānī, mentioned in Tabāṣṣabā, op. cit. p. 102, may have been a son of this Parwīz.
3 EIM, 1907-08, pp. 22-23.
The text of the record has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate XII (a)

Plate XII (a)

(1) این عمارت مسجد بالایی [حفظ زینتر باکری در

(2) عهد سلطان السلاطین علاء الدین

(3) والدین ابو المظفر احمد شاه احمد شاه السلطان

(4) الولی البهمنی بتاریخ چهارم ماه جمادی الآخر احمد ستین ثمنا و سخت

(5) عمارت مسجد بنده درگاه یزدی ملک الشرک پرویز قرنفل سلطان

(6) بنده خدااگان مغفور شرا بالدینی و الدین احمد شاه الولی البهمنی المرحوم

TRANSLATION

(1) This building of the mosque on the (bank of the) Zainsar tank was constructed in the

(2) reign of the sultan of sulţâns, 'Alâudd-Dunyâ

(3) wa'd-Din, Abu'l-Muqaaffar Ahmad Shâh, son of Ahmad Shâh, the sultan,

(4) al-Wâli al-Bahmani, on the 4th of the month of Jamâda 'l-'Akhar, (A.H.) sixty-one and
eight hundred (4th Jumâda II A. H. 861=29th April 1457 A.D.).

(5) The construction of the mosque (was carried out by) the slave of the divine court, Maliku'ish-
Sharq Parwiz, (son of) Qaranfâl Sulţânî,

(6) servant of Khudâygu'-i-maghfûr (lit. pardoned lord). Shihâbu'd-Dunyâ wa'd-Din Ahmad
Shâh al-Wâli al-Bahmani, the deceased (lit. taken into God's mercy).

XIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 862, FROM KHULDABAD

The fourth and the last, but posthumous, record of Ahmad Shâh II and the thirteenth of the
group is built up into the south wall of the old mosque situated in the enclosure of the tomb of the
saint Burhânü'd-Din Gharîb at Khuldabad. It is extremely interesting as it belongs to the period
of interregnum after the death of Ahmad Shâh II. Historians are unanimous about the year
of his death but they differ as to the date and month: 21st Jumâda I of A. H. 862 is given by
Nizâmu'd-Din Ahmad. Tabâta, op. cit., p. 37.

3 Tabâta, op. cit., p. 37.

3 Firîghta, op. cit., p. 338.

3 Sherwâni, op. cit., p. 248.

3 This seems to have been the title used for Ahmad I after his death.


3 Nizâmu'd-Din Ahmad, Tabagât-i-Abkarî, vol. III (Calcutta, 1931), p. 34.
The epigraph credits the late sultan Ahmad Shāh II with the intention of constructing a Jāmi' mosque in the enclosure of the raufdatain i.e. tombs of the two saints Burhānū'd-Dīn Gharib and Zainu'd-Dīn Shahrāzī, but before his wish could take a concrete shape, he died. Consequently, the mosque was constructed under the orders of his heir-apparent—wali 'abd—whose name, it may be noted in particular, is not specified, by Parwīz, son of Qaranfal Sulṭānī of the previous record. The mosque was completed in 1458 A. D.

The epigraphical tablet measures 1 by 1.3 m. and the text consists of eight lines of Persian prose inscribed in bold Naskh style which is better devised than that of this nobleman's previous epigraph. But the language is rather clumsy.

The text reads as follows:

**TEXT**

Plate XII (b)

(1) सल्तनतुल्लूस्तूम्दिम उले दिन दिना

(2) वे दिन अम्हद बने अम्हद शाह दुली

(3) वहली बना मस्जिद जाम्म नक्दिक हस्तर

(3) रो और कततीन नतर करदे बूढ़ने दर

(5) एथन आन एन दर फरा यदार भा रलांट करलांट

(6) ता नतर अंशुन बहुम औ लय शेक अद बनद दरक

(6) यालांट यारबीर ट्रेनल सल्तनती बतारी खुच माह जमाद

(8) अल्करी सन्न नतेन सेटी औ तानाये मस्जिद जाम्म तमाज तमाज करदे

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The great and magnificent sultan 'Alau'd-Dunyā

(2) wa'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh al-Walī

(3-4) al-Bahmani had vowed to construct a Jāmi' mosque near the two holy tombs, (but) in

(5) the meantime he passed away from the transitory world to the eternal world.

(6) so that the building to be constructed under the vow (remained unbuilt, and ultimately)

(7) by the order of the heir-apparent, at the hands of the slave of the

(7) divine court, Parwīz, (son of) Qaranfal Sulṭānī, on the 10th of the month of Jumād-

(8) a'l-Ukhrā, year (A.H.) sixtytwo and eight hundred (10th Jumādā II A. H. 862=25th April 1458 A.D.), this Jāmi' mosque was completed.
Humayun Shah

XIV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 862. FROM GULBARGA

This badly damaged epigraph, tentatively assigned to the reign of Humayun Shah, is bilingual. The Persian portion comprises seven verses in Persian which are executed in Naskh script of a fairly good type, and the Sanskrit text is written in Nagari characters. These occupy a writing space of 95 by 52 cm.

The tablet, fixed on the eastern wall of the Bauli-Qalandar Shahr at Gulbarga, has weathered so much that most of the letters have either peeled off or are worn out, and hence only a tentative reading thereof could be prepared. It seems to record that a step-well was constructed in 1458 A.D. during the reign of Humayun Shah. The Sanskrit version seems to name the builder as Ijalidevi.2

The text has been read as follows:

TEXT

Plate XIII (b)

1) شكر مر خلاق لايق حمد بهندوز واد
وين متاح قيمتي و رايوان هر سو بداد
نعت مصطفى خوانم هم
2) انگک او کردست روشن شرع تا يوم الناد
(3) بعد هجر مصطفی هيسد ذكر دو سال شامت
آمه عهد شه هييون شه بهمن نزاد
(4) انگک در عهنش ذکر ملك فخر رستان
نام(؟)...او داده همچون نسبت..بداد
(5) إیلجهین چاری پکرد
هم ز فیض خوشی...کشاد
(6) صاف و مشکو
هر که آپ خورود ازین باليں بلیک کرد پاد
(7) باتي این خير را يا رب دهى متن د در عدن(؟)
تحتها الانتهار تجري تا ابد آباد پاد آمين

TRANSLATION

(1) Praise be to the Creator who is worthy of unlimited praise! And may this valuable and yet gratis commodity be available everywhere!

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(a) Undated record of 'Alau’d-Din Ahmad II, from Daulatabad (p. 37)

(b) Damaged record of Humayun Shah, dated A.H. 862, from Gulbarga (p. 40)
(a) Record of the time of Humayun Shah, dated A.H. 863, from Pargi (p. 42)

(b) Another record of the same king, same date and same place (p. 41)

(c) Record of Mahmud Shah Bahmani, dated A.H. 917, from Panhala (p. 44)
(2) I recite the praise of the Chosen one (i.e. Prophet Muḥammad) who has illuminated the path (of Religion) till the day of Resurrection.

(3) In the year eight hundred and sixtytwo after the Migration of the Chosen Prophet (A. H. 862=1458 A. D.), it was the time of king Humāyūn Shāh, descended from Bahman,

(4) in whose reign, Dhakī'ul-Mulk (lit. pious man of the kingdom) and pride of the righteous (1), whose name (1) ......................... like his origin.

(5) Such a flowing bounty was executed ......................... from his own munificence and opened .........................

(6) ...................... pure and musk-scented. Whosoever drank water from this well, remembered (the builder) with good remembrance.

(7) O Lord! grant the builder of this bounty a like thereof in Paradise! May the state promised in 'And below it flow the streams' be true till eternity! Amen!

XV-XVI. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A. H. 864, FROM PARGI

The next two inscriptions of the reign of Humāyūn Shāh which are identical in their main purport are from the Jāmi' Masjid at Pargi in the Mahbubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. They are important in having some bearing on the controversial problem of the unpopularity of Humāyūn Shāh who does not appear to be as ruthless and tyrannical as is alleged by Firishta, Tabātabā and others. The glowing tributes paid to him by the celebrated Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān, the account of Humāyūn's character given by Professor Sherwānī and the assertion of Dr. P. M. Joshi that 'the picture of Humāyūn's tyranny is overdrawn by early chroniclers', are in a way corroborated by one of these records.

One of these epigraphs records the construction of a mosque by 'Ali, son of Shaikh Hasan Dhāsherwānī in September-October 1460 A. D., during the reign of Humāyūn Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī. It will be noted that the date is given in figure which is a somewhat unusual feature. The epigraphical tablet measuring 85 by 45 cm. is fixed on the right side of the facade of the said Jāmi' mosque. The text of two lines in Arabic is executed in Naskhī letters of a fairly good type and reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XIV (b)

(1) ابتداء هذان المسجد في العهد و الزمان السلاطين العلائهد و الأحسان الواثق بتاليد

الملك الغني

1 Only one of these mentions Humāyūn Shāh.

2 Firishta, op. cit., pp. 340, 43.

3 Tabātabā, op. cit., p. 95.


7 No early epigraph seems to have been found bearing the date in figure. However, the figure 743 occurs in a damaged inscription on a brick now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow, and the same has been taken to indicate its date (cf. EM, 1937-38, p. 41, pl. XIIIb). Also, a record of A.H. 845 quotes the date in figure as well as in words (pp. 55-56, infra).

8 ARIE, 1983-84, No. D, I.
The construction of this mosque was begun in the reign and time of the sultan, master of justice and kindness, reliant on the support of the Independent king (i.e. Allāh).

Humāyūn Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh al-Walī al-Bahmani, by one who turns in need to Allāh the Nourisher, ‘Alī, son of Shaikh Hasan Dḥāsherwānī. It was completed in the month of Dhi’l-Hijja, year (A.H.) 864 (September-October 1460 A. D.).

The tablet containing the other record is fixed on the left side of the facade of the Jāmi’ mosque. This record is identical in purport but the builder, ‘Alī Dḥāsherwānī is further stated here to be a servant of Makhādu ‘Mujibbul’lāh. While the builder ‘Alī is an unknown figure in history, his master seems to be identical with the famous saint ‘Shāh ‘Mujibbul’lāh, grandson of Shāh Nī’matullāh Kirmānī and son-in-law of Aḥmad Shāh II. He played an active part in the political affairs of the day.

The slab measures 80 by 20 cm, and has cracked in the middle, but no damage is caused to the text. It contains two lines in Arabic with the exception of one word which is in Persian. The style of writing is Naskh of a slightly inferior type. The text reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XIV (a)*


**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficient, the Merciful. ‘And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh’. The builder of this mosque, who is a servant (muta’allaq) of Makhādu ‘Mujibbul’lāh, is the weak creature, (needy) of the mercy of the Nourisher, ‘Alī, son of Shaikh Hasan Dḥāsherwānī. It was completed in the month of Dhi’l-Hijja, year (A.H.) 864 (September-October 1460 A. D.).

Maḥmūd Shāh

**XVII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 917, FROM PANHALA**

The seventeenth inscription under study and the first in this group of Maḥmūd Shāh is engraved on a tablet measuring 83 by 45 cm, which is now preserved in the Kolhapur Museum.
writing space is cut into two rectangles, one within the other, the inner one containing a chronogram of two verses in Persian and the border between the two rectangles containing a text in Persian prose recording the names of the Bahmani sovereign, his 'Adil Shāhī vassal and the builder. The style of writing is Nasta’īq which is again interesting for an epigraph dated A. H. 917.1

The text records the construction of a tank at Pānāla, by Malik Sikandar Haidari, the thānedār, during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmani and ministership and rule of 'Adil Khān Ghāzī. The date is contained in a chronogram which when worked out yields A. H. 917 (1511-12 A.D.). The name of 'Adil Khān is not specified in the text, but he is evidently Ismā'īl who had succeeded his father Yūsuf in A. H. 916.2

This record, which was rendered into English by Watson,4 is the earliest Muslim inscription from Panhala, the Bahmani stronghold in the south-west of the kingdom. After reducing Mudhol, Bahman Shāh had camped at Miraj, from where he marched towards Konkan and conquered Dabhol and on his way back took Karhad and Kolhapur from their Hindu chiefs.5 Kolhapur appears to have been a Bahmani possession since. When Maḥmūd Gāwān led an expedition against the Rāja of Sangameshwar in 1470 A.D., he first arrived at Kolhapur6 to set up his camp for the rainy season. After the expedition, he placed Kolhapur region in charge of his slave Khushqadam, who had already held Dabhol and Karhad. Later on, all these districts were transferred to Najmu’d-Dīn Gīlānī.7 On the latter's death, his servant Bahādur Gīlānī established himself on the western coast seizing Goa, Dabhol, Kolhapur, Panhala, Karhad, Miraj and Belgaum, but had to take shelter in the Panhala fort on the approach of the Bahmani king Maḥmūd Shāh. The latter, however, finding it difficult to reduce Panhala in the immediate future called off the siege and left for Kolhapur and Dabhol. Bahādur foolishly left Panhala and was killed in 1494 A.D. after a few manoeuvres. The above territory was then entrusted to Malik Hyās, entitled 'Ainu'-l Mulk Kan'ānī who was killed in 903 A. H. and at the instance of Yūsuf 'Adil Khān of Bijapur, his jāgar was transferred to and his title conferred upon his eldest son Miyān Muḥammad. The Bijapur chief also made him the sipahsādār of the army. But subsequently, some time after the middle of 1503 A. D., Yūsuf's apprehension of 'Ainu'-l-Mulk's large army and the latter's resentment on the proclamation of the Shi'a creed by the former, resulted in 'Ainu'-l-Mulk's discharge from the post of commander-in-chief and transfer from theief of Goa, Panhala, etc., to that of Hukeri and Belgaum.8 The name of the next incumbent to theief of Panhala and Goa does not seem to be recorded in history. Anyway, Malik Sikandar Haidari, the thānedār of our record, appears to be in charge of the Panhala fort on behalf of the 'Adil Shāhī ruler in 1511-12 A. D., the date of the epigraph.9

The rebellion of Bahādur having abundantly proved the importance and impregnability of Panhala fort, great care was taken to fortify and improve its defences thereafter. The reservoir

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1 In Deccan, the earliest epigraph executed in Nasta’īq style is stated to be dated A. H. 928 (EIM, 1921-22, pl. Xb). The text of our record gives A. H. 917 as the date of the construction, which means that as is usual in the case of Persian and Arabic inscriptions of India, the date is that of writing also.
2 For another inscription of his, recording the construction of a bastion or bastions in A. H. 918, also at Panhala, see ARIE, 1963-64, No. D, 189.
3 Firigha, op. cit., p. 373.
5 Ismā'īl, op. cit., pp. 560, 561, 562; MSG, Kolhapur District, p. 64.
6 MSG, Kolhapur District, p. 65.
7 Ibid., p. 66; Firigha, op. cit., p. 368.
8 Firigha, op. cit., p. 370; Tabātaštā, op. cit., p. 154.
9 For details, see Firigha, op. cit., pp. 364, 370, 372; ibid., vol. II, pp. 9, 11; MSG, Kolhapur District, p. 67; Tabātaštā, op. cit., p. 159.
10 Subsequently, Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I deserting Bijapur had temporarily established himself at Panhala.
referred to in our record may have been the first step towards this end. The gates etc. were built, according to inscriptions occurring on them, in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I and not by Bahmani kings as stated in the *Imperial Gazetteer.*

The text of our record reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XIV (c)*

(a) **Border:**

در ذیزان با ما پهلو آدل سلطان ماجود شاه بهمی خلد الله تعال ملکه و سلطانه و در آوان وزارت و حکومت عادلخان غازی خلد ایام دولته و باشارت ملک سکندر حیدری تهاندار اذام دولته تعییر این حوش واقع شد

(b) **Middle:**

(1) گر تاریخ حوش و عمار او خواهی از من طلب بوجه نکو
(2) پاب حونی پناله تاریخی ملک سکندر ست عمار او

**TRANSLATION**

(a) In the reign of the just king Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmani, may the exalted Allah perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, and in the time of the ministership and rule of 'Ādil Khān Ghāzi, may the days of his government last for ever, and at the instance of Malik Sikandar Ḥaidari, the thūn(e)dār, may his rule endure, the construction of this reservoir took place.

(b) (1) If thou wishest (to know) the date of the reservoir and (the name of) its builder, ask me in a proper manner.

(2) Its date is (contained in the chronogram:) the gate of the reservoir of Panāla, and its builder is Malik Ḥisamdar.

The chronogram contained in the phrase 'the gate of the reservoir of Panāla' works out to A.H. 917 (1511-12 A. D.).

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1 *ARIE*, 1962-63, Nos. D, 190, 193, 200, 202, 203, 204, 206, etc.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SULTANS OF MALWA

By S. A. Rahim and Dr. Z. A. Desai

Of the twentythree inscriptions of the Sulțāns of Malwa, which are edited in the following lines, thirteen are from Chanderi and one from Fatḥabad, a suburb of Chanderi, two from Manḍu and one each from Pirānpur, Shivpuri, Ranōd, Ujjain and Dhar, all in Madhya Pradesh and one from Talbahat in Jhansi district of Uttar Pradesh.¹ The king-wise break up of these records is: Dilāwar Khān and Hoshang Shāh Ghori, 3 each; Maḥmūd Khāji, 6; Ghīyāthu’d-Din, 9; and Nāṣiru’d-Din, 2.² The present article introduces for the first time two authentic inscriptions of Nāṣiru’d-Din.³

Most of these inscriptions are published here for the first time, though some were briefly, and that too in most cases wrongly, noticed in the archaeological reports, as will be pointed out in the respective places. Quite a few of these records are historically important, and otherwise too, interesting. For example, the Talbahat record (No. II) quotes the full name and titles of Dilāwar Khān. Similarly, the fact that the title of Alp Khān, better known by his regal name Hoshang Shāh, was Husānu’d-Din is only known from two records in this article (Nos. IV & V). Another very interesting and new piece of information furnished by one of these records (No. V) is that Alp Khān who succeeded his father in A.H. 809,⁴ had not assumed the name Hoshang Shāh until A.H. 820. Then, these epigraphs mention for the first time some of the Malwa ministers, noblemen of the first rank, learned men and saints, whom historical works have ignored. These include Malik Sālār, Taghī, son of Fakhr, Malik Lādan, Malik Husain, Muḥammad, son of Zain, Jamāl, son of ‘Ula and Shaikh Burhān. Even about nobles like Sher Khān or Mālū Khān, who find mention in historical works, these epigraphs have some new information to give.

Another aspect of their importance is the palaeography of these records. While in broad outlines, the script employed therein conforms to the conventional Naṣkh as was prevalent under the later Tughluqs, nevertheless, in its modified form, it has assumed a distinct character. This article, then, will also provide material for a comparative study of the calligraphy of the inscriptions of the neighbouring kingdoms of Malwa, Gujarāt and Deccan which vied with each other for supremacy not only in political sphere but in cultural fields as well.

Dilāwar Khān

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 806, FROM UJJAIN

This epigraph, published here for the first time, consists of five verses in Persian engraved on a slab measuring 80 by 70 cm. which is fixed over the main entrance of the Binā Nīv-ki-Masjid

¹ Unless otherwise stated, these epigraphs were copied by Shri S. A. Rahim, Epigraphical Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.
² Inscriptions of the Sulțāns of Malwa have been published in the Epigraphia Indica-Meclemita (EIM), 1909-10, ibid., 1925-26 and ibid., 1939-40 and Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS), 1955 and 1986. For want of illustration, it is not possible to verify the assignment of the inscription on the Bāz Bahādur-kā-Mahal at Manḍu to Nāṣir Shāh by Zafar Ḥasan in EIM, 1909-10, p. 24, No. XVIII.
³ See foot-note 4 on p. 49.
at Ujjain. Its five-line text is badly damaged. The style of writing is Naksh of a tolerably good type.

This inscription is the earliest record, discovered so far, of the kingship period of Dilawar Khān, who had thrown off the Tughluq yoke in A.H. 804 (1401-02 A.D.). After extolling his virtues and achievements, it states that the Jāmiʿ mosque was built and completed by him in A.H. 806 (1403-04 A.D.). Our reading of the same is given below:—

TEXT

Plate XV (a)

(1) شه ملوك مدوار زمان دلدور خان
(2) میر هن است چو خرمشد در جهان امروز
(3) چو کرد مسجد جامع بناء درین خصه
(4) چو ام تاریخ هیصد و شش سال
(5) مراد دنیا و دن در کنار آق آباد

Translation

(1) The king of kings (and) the pivot of the Time (is) Dilawar Khān, who is an absolute monarch in the vast expanse of the earth.

(2) It is as clear as the sun in the world today that he is the sovereign of the kingdom of the world deservedly.

(3) Since he laid the foundation of a Jāmiʿ mosque in this place, it has become unique under the dome of this (sky) of nine forts.

(4) It was completed in the year (A.H.) eight hundred and six, through the blessings of the aspirations of the Khān (and) through the help of the Creator (A.H. 806-1403-04 A.D.).

(5) May the desire of this world as well as the next be within his embrace, through the help of the Fulfiller of needs and Distributor of livelihood!

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 807, FROM TALBAHAT

The second inscription of Dilawar Khān is from Talbahat in the Lalitpur tahsil of Jhansi district in Uttar Pradesh. It was first noticed by Dr. A. Führer in his List thus: 'On the tomb of Pir Tāj Bāj there is a long Arabic inscription of A.H. 874.' Neither the date of the record is A.H. 874 nor is its language Arabic.

The epigraphical tablet which measures 1.5 m. by 25 cm. is now built up in the northern wall of the Dargāh of Pir Tāj Bāj. It originally belonged to a mosque as is clear from the text. The

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1 Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIÉ), 1966, No. D, 147. It was copied by Shri W. H. Siddiqi, Senior Epigraphical Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.

2 ARIÉ, 1963-64, No. D, 386. It was copied by Shri A. A. Kadiri, Epigraphical Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.

MALWA SULTANS

(a) Record of Dilāwar Khān, dated A.H. 806, from Ujjain (p. 46)

(b) Another record of Dilāwar Khān, dated A.H. 807, from Talbhat (p. 47)
writing thereon is damaged on the whole, but in few places the letters have completely flaked off. It contains a three-line record in Persian engraved in relief in Naṣḵa characters, which assigns the construction of a mosque in 1404 A.D. to Ulugh Qutluq Shamsu’d-Daulat wa’d-Din ‘Amid, son of Dā’ud Ghori, entitled Dilāwar Khan.

The epigraph is quite important: While Dilāwar Khan’s name ‘Amid also occurs in his other inscriptions,² the present record invests him with the title Shamsu’d-Dunya wa’d-Din, which also occurs in his inscription from Chanderi (No. III). But his other three inscriptions call him Naṣiru’d-Din.³ These are dated A.H. 807 and 808 and are from Dhar and Mandu. The present record was inscribed on the first day of the year A.H. 807, while the date of the above-mentioned Chanderi record, which is fragmentary, is lost. Then, which of the two sets of titles Dilāwar Khan had adopted? It is difficult to give a categorical answer to this question. But it may be that the titles Shamsu’d-Dunya wa’d-Din were replaced sometime in the beginning of A.H. 807 by Naṣiru’d-Dunya wa’d-Din.

The text of the epigraph reads as under:

**TEXT**

Plate XV (b)

(1) ﷺ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم محمد ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ 

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of Allah, the Beneficient, the Merciful. Boundless praise and countless eulogies are due to the Creator who created the world with His art and ordained the building of the mosques for the worship of His servants. And scented salutations

(2) are due to the chief of the Prophets who .......... has uttered this saying (?), regarding the construction of the mosques, 'He who builds a mosque for Allah, the Exalted Allah builds for him seventy palaces in Paradise.' The builder of this mosque is Ulugh Qutluq

(3) A'żam Mu'aggam, commander of the Time (?), .......... of Irān and Tūrān, Shamsu’d-Daulat wa’d-Din 'Amid, son of Dā’ud Ghori, entitled Dilāwar Khan, may Allah prolong his age! On the first of the month of Muḥarram, year (A.H.) eight hundred and seven (1st Muḥarram A.H. 807=10th July 1404 A.D.).

**III. FRAGMENTARY EPIGRAPH FROM CHANDERI**

The third and the last inscription of Dilāwar Khan, also a new record, is to be found on the Jam'i mosque at Chanderi in the Guna district of Madhya Pradesh.⁴ The three-domed mosque,

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¹EIM, 1909-10, pp. 11-12.
²1642., pp. 11, 28. However, in one epigraph he is called Naṣiru’d-Din (ibid., p. 20).
built in the Maitwa style of Indo-Islamic architecture, is reported to be the biggest in size not only in the region but also in the whole of the erstwhile Gwalior State in which the town previously lay.¹

The fragmentary tablet bearing the epigraph measures 92 by 32 cm. But as it is fixed on the eastern wall of the mosque which is a later reconstruction, it is doubtful if it is in situ. It contains four lines of writing in a mixture of Persian prose and verse, which is considerably damaged on account of the weathering of the stone: the letters in the four lines that have survived have flaked off in a few places, but the concluding portion containing the date is totally lost. It is, therefore, difficult to determine the purport of the record, but from the extant text, it transpires that a lofty edifice was constructed during the time of Dilāwar Khān. Whether the edifice was a mosque or some other monument, it is not possible to say.

The epigraph is remarkable for its style of writing which is Nasīḥ of a fairly high order. It is also historically important in that, it quotes, as stated above, Shamsu’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn as the royal titles of Dilāwar Khān. It is a pity that the date portion is lost; otherwise, it might have been possible to find confirmation or otherwise of the surmise mentioned above about the time of substitution, if at all, of one set of titles by another. The text of the inscription has been deciphered as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XVI (c)*

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم این .......[گلداند]......ارجمند............پیت معمور و بقیه

غوش پر نور و آنیانا

(2) ابواب(؟) فتح و ایوان فتح و فتح بعید مینت خان كبير و خاقان جهانگیر

المال عام و عالمان اعظم همايون

(3) دلوار خان :

در زم جو مصد رستم در پرم هز[ای]ران جم

در جود [د]و لک حاتم در سدل انشیروان

زاد الله قدره

(4) .......چمن ملقک داره و گل کلین دولتیاره اقتاب آسان بر و امانان شمس الدولة

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

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

و الدین دلوار خان

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. This ......... dome and precious ........... Populated-House² and pleasant and illuminated edifice and this building

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¹ *Annual Administration Report on the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State (ARADG), for 1934-35, p. 3.*
(2) of open gates and the pavilion of conquest and victories (was constructed) in the auspicious reign of the great Khān and world-conquering Khāqān, refuge of the world and its inhabitants, A’gam Humayūn.

(3) Dilāwar Khān: (verse)

He is like hundred Rustams in battle and (like) thousands of Jamshīdas in assembly;
in generosity, he is equal to two lakh Ḥātiva and in justice he is Anauṣāhirwān.

May Allāh increase his status!

(4) garden of sovereignty and race of the roseate of fortune, sun of the sky of goodness and obligation, Shamsu’d-Daulat wa’d-Dīn Dilāwar Khān .................

Hoshang Shāh

IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 817, FROM MANDU

This important record constitutes the first inscription of Dilāwar Khān’s son and successor Hoshang Shāh (1406-1435) in this group and also the earliest among his epigraphs discovered so far. Its slab is now deposited in the Archaeological Museum housed in the Dharamshāla which forms the verandah of the enclosure of Hoshang Shāh’s tomb at Mandu. Its original findspot is not known. It bears an eight-line text in Persian prose, executed in Naskh script of a fairly high order, which recalls to mind the calligraphy of the inscriptions of the later Tughluqs and of the almost contemporary Zafar Khān of Gujarat. The record states that in 1414 A.D., during the reign of Ḥusānu’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn A’gam Humayūn Alp Khān, a mosque was constructed by Faḍlu’llah, son of Mubārak, son of Farīd Kāfūrī. The builder is not known to us.

This is an extremely important record in more than one respect. Firstly, it quotes the full titles of the king, which are exactly the same as found on his coins. Of course, in another inscription, dated A.H. 820, which is being republished (No. V), the same titles are used. But as the date and the name of the king were not deciphered in its previously published text, this important information was overlooked.

But the other and more important aspect of this (as well as the next) inscription is the use of the name Alp Khān which has a bearing on the time of the assumption of the royal name Hoshang Shāh. It is generally believed that Dilāwar Khān was succeeded by his son Alp Khān under the royal name Hoshang Shāh; in other words, the said name was assumed on accession. But in these two inscriptions which were set up, in the capital, in A.H. 817 and 820, the name Hoshang Shāh is absent, which is quite significant. It shows that the name Hoshang Shāh was not adopted by Alp Khān at least until A.H. 820. While no date is found on his coins containing the name Hoshang Shāh, his earliest inscription bearing this name is dated as late as A.H. 828 (No. VI).

4 The generally accepted date of Dilāwar Khān’s death is A.H. 808, which does not seem to be correct, in view of his inscription of A.H. 809. It is surprising that Zafar Ḥasan, who edited this inscription (op. cit., p. 17, pl. No. 2), overlooked this fact while giving the earlier year in his article (op. cit., p. 7).
The epigraphical tablet which is slightly weather-beaten, measures 37 by 57 cm., and the text reads as under:

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)
(1) بدورة خداگان سليمان نگین و بهد
(2) شهردار مکندر آلین خسرو هفت
(3) کشور سیمران هفت اختر حسام
(4) الدنيا و الذين اعظم همین البنغان
(5) خلد سلطنته موفق گشت بر پنا
(6) و اتمام این مسجد بندن امیदوار حضرت
(7) الله فضل الله مبارک فرد کازیری
(8) فی الرااح و العشرين من رجب ستی عشر و تمامامه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the great lord having the signet of Solomon and in the time of
(2) the monarch possessing the authority of Alexander, ruler of the seven
(3) countries, champion of the seven stars, Ḥusām-
(4) u'd-Dunya wa'd-Dīn A'īsam Humayūn Alp Khān,
(5) may his sovereignty last for ever, successful was in laying the foundation
(6) and completion of this mosque, the creature, hopeful of the kindness of
(7) God, Faḍlullāh, (son of) Mubārak, (son of) Farid Kāfūrī,
(8) on the twentyfourth of Rajab, year (A.H.) seventeen and eight hundred (24th Rajab
A.H. 817=9th October 1414 A.D.).

V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 820, SAME PLACE

The fifth inscription of the group and second of Hosḥang Shāh fixed on the Pahredāron-ki-
Masjīd at Mandū1 was edited by Maulāvi Zafar Ḥasan in an early issue of this series,2 but in view
of the damaged writing, he was not able to give a correct or complete reading, particularly
in regard to the name Alp Khān and the date. The revised reading of the late Dr. Ghulām Yazdānī
was also unsatisfactory. His decipherment of the date was partially, and of the imaginary
place, as the capital of Dhār and of the name Alp Khān as Alqāb, wholly wrong. He correctly
deciphered the word 'twenty' in the date, but erroneously read the hundred figure 'eight' as 'nine'.3
With some effort, we have been able to decipher the whole text, and its complete reading quoted

2 Zafar Ḥasan, op. cit.
3 Yazdānī, op. cit.
(a) Record of Hosang Shāh, dated A.H. 817, from Mandu (p. 50)

(b) Another record of Hosang Shāh, dated A.H. 820, from the same place (p. 51)

(c) Fragmentary record of Dilāwar Khān, from Chanderi (p. 48)
INScriptions of the Sultans of Malwa

below is, we believe, sufficient excuse for republishing this interesting and historical epigraph. The record assigns the construction of a mosque by Masnad-i-All Ḥusāmu’d-Dunya wa’d-Dīn Alp Khān, also known as Shāh-i-‘Alam (lit. king of the world), in 1417 A.D.

The historical importance of this record has been already pointed out (p. 49). But another interesting point about his epigraph is that it quotes Alp Khān’s royal sobriquet as Shāh ‘Ālam, which it will be remembered, is absent in his earlier record of A.H. 817. This may be interpreted to mean that after that date, but some time before or in A.H. 820, he had adopted Shāh ‘Ālam as his formal title, subsequently to be replaced, perhaps, by Hoghang Shāh.

The text, which occupies a writing space of 60 by 55 cm. on the stone, is in Persian and runs into six lines. Its style of writing is Naṣkh of the same type as in the previous epigraph. It has been deciphered as under:

**TEXT**

**Plate XVI (b)**

1. [Translation starts here]

**TRANSLATION**

1. By the help of Allāh, the Munificent Lord, the building of this mosque was completed by
2. the great Amīr and mighty Khān, generous, striver (in the path of religion), militant, commander,
3. Masnad-i-‘All, Ḥusāmu’d-Dunya wa’d-Dīn A’gam Humāyūn
4. Alp Khān addressed as Shāh ‘Ālam, may his kingdom endure for ever, at the time
5. when the signs of happiness were resplendent and at the hour when the rays of bounties were shining,

VI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 828, FROM CHANDERI

This inscription, third of Hoghang Shāh and sixth of the present study, is from Chanderi. Engraved on the lintel of a door in a tomb situated in the north-east corner of the family graveyard

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of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, it was briefly noticed in the report of the Gwalior State Archaeological Department about four decades back,¹ but has not been published so far.

The text of the record consisting of ten verses and a line in prose is inscribed in twentyone horizontal panels on an area of only 88 by 16 cm, with the result that the letters are written in a minute hand and, also, one upon another. Moreover, the slab is also slightly weather-beaten. These factors have made the decipherment very difficult, but fortunately, with sustained efforts, we have deciphered the complete text except a few words in the central panel of the third line. The record purports that the tomb of Shaikh Burhān'u'd-Dīn, a celebrated saint of his time, who died on the 14th October 1420 A.D. was constructed by the king's minister Malik Sālār in 1424-25 A.D., when Malik Naṣrū'd-Dīn held the iqṭā' of the shīq of Chanderi. Verse 9 also mentions one Jamāl, son of 'Ullā, in connexion with the protect, which can be taken to mean that he had actively supervised the work or had planned it. The text also mentions Shams, son of Farīd, as the person who composed the text and one Saifu'd-Dīn, son of Shajāwal as the 'slave of the court,' evidently an official.

We have stated above that the epigraph under study is the earliest to record the king's title Hoghang Shāh. Historians seem to imply that he assumed the name on his accession.² But since inscriptions only style him as Alp Khān until A.H. 820, the name Hoghang Shāh must have been adopted in or before A.H. 828, but in no case earlier than A.H. 820.

The epigraph also mentions a few important personages. The minister Malik Sālār is not traceable in historical works. The muqṭī' of the shīq, Malik Naṣrū'd-Dīn, is mentioned in a few more records from Chanderi as the governor of the place.³ He is perhaps identical with Malik Naṣrū'd-Dīn Dabīr Jurdānī, who was concerned in an unsuccessful revolt immediately after the accession of Mahmūd Khālījī, and was not only pardoned but also received the title of Nuṣrat Khān and the sīf of Chanderi.⁴ The saint Shaikh Burhān is again difficult to identify;⁵ and so is Saifu'd-Dīn. As regards Jamāl, son of 'Ullā, we do come across a learned man with this name in another inscription from Chanderi itself, which is dated A.H. 867 (No. XI). But whether he is identical with Jamāl of our inscription, it is difficult to say with certainty.

The style of writing employed is Nashī of a fairly good order, and the quality of verse is also quite good. The text reads as under:—

**TEXT**

Plate XVII (c)

(1) بعهد دولته هو شناشلا روی زین
بیسن حله نمایشی نشانده شناشلا نگین
بناء رویه رنوشان صفت بکر متن
بونت صاحب اقطاع شق چندربی

¹ *ARADG*, 1924-25, Appendix E, 6, merely states: Records that the tomb was built during the reign of Hoghang Shāh and gives the name of a saint of the time who is obviously the inmate of the tomb.
³ *ElM*, 1925-26, pp. 21-22, pl. Xa; *ibid.*, 1939-40, p. 44, pl. IXa.
⁵ At least two saints with this name find mention in epigraphs, but they seem to be different (*ElM*, 1955 and 1956, pp. 119, 190; *ARIE*, 1961-62, Nos. D, 48, 49; and Nos. XXII and XXIII, *infra*).
(1) In the time of Hosang Shâh (i.e. king) of the earth, this tomb like the highest heaven was constructed.

What a dome of light (it is) in the courtyard of the green dome (of the sky)! It is as if the bezel has been set in the circle of the ring.

Malik Sâlâr, the exalted and noble minister of the king, laid the firm foundation of the tomb like Rîwân,

in the time of the holder of the igtâ‘ of the shiq of Chanderi,

(2) Malik Naṣîru’d-Dîn who is subservient to His Exalted Majesty.

When this tomb was constructed, the date was eight hundred and twentyeight years from the Migration (A.H. 828=1424-25 A.D.).

It was sixth of the month of Shawwâl (and) eight hundred and twentythree years after the Migration (6th Shawwâl A.H. 823=14th October 1420 A.D.) when His Holiness the Shaikh departed (from this world).

(He was) the world of knowledge, Burhân-i-Dîn (lit. demonstration of Faith) and ‘pole-star of the world. Alas, when Burhân (demonstration) left, Dîn (Faith) was saddened.

(3) He departed towards the garden of the Paradise in order that the black-eyed houris might use the dust of his feet as collyrium (for their eyes).

Jamâl, (son of ) ‘Ulâ, received Divine guidance for its construction .....................

new .......... method ......

Since Shams, (son of) Farîd, has composed (the text containing) the dates of both (events), may God always be his helper in his affairs!

The servant of the (royal) court, Saifu’d-Dîn, son of Shajâwal (?).

Maḥmûd Shâh I

VII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 845, FROM RANOD

The seventh inscription of the study and the first of the six epigraphs of Maḥmûd Shâh Khaljî (1436-1469 A.D.), which is published here for the first time, appears on the central mihrâb of a
mosque now used as a class-room of the Higher Secondary School at Ranod in Shivpuri district of Madhya Pradesh. The tablet measuring 28 by 42 cm. contains nine couplets in Persian verse, inscribed in fairly good Naskh.

The text records that the mosque in the qazba of Ranod was built by Malik Husain in 1441 A.D. during the reign of the king. The builder Malik Husain, being a local chief, does not find mention in historical works, and evidently our record is the only source which has preserved his name. Also interesting is the fact that the record was found as far north as Ranod, thus indicating the extent, at least at this time, of the Malwa sultan’s authority.

The quality of verse is quite mediocre, and the orthography is also faulty at places. The text is read as under:

**TEXT**

Plate XVII (a)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) نخسيس مخن در ثناء خدا

(3) خدائي وكه از نطفاً انس آفرد

(4) نور محمد بحکمت درو

(5) طالوع [کرds بس جنان همچون ما]

(6) در عهد شهنشاه محمود شاه

(7) بنا گنین مسجد عماد دین

(8) که ملک حسین نامور باصفا

(9) پناکرد مشته کشور کشـا

(10) که تا قام قیامت شده نام او جماد اول نه ماه العظالم

(11) پناهی نهاد تینج سال

(12) مرتب شد از عون حق ذوالجلال

**TRANSLATION**

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

(2) The first words should be devoted to the praise of God, because He is worthy of praise and eulogy;

(3) that God, who created the human-being from sperm and (so to say) brought out rain from a drop.

(4) He created human beings from the light of Muhammad through His Wisdom and conferred honour on every Prophet through it.

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2. Evidently “شاية” is intended.

3. Either “اختهام” or “اشتهام” is intended.
PLATE XVIII

(a) Inscription of Mahmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 864, from Chanderi (p. 57)

(b) Record of the same king, dated A.H. 867, same place (p. 59)

(c) Another record of Mahmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 845, from Shivpuri (p. 55)

Scale: 22

Scale: 16

Scale: 2
(5) In the reign of the emperor Maḥmūd Shāh (who) has risen above the head of the world like moon,

(6) in the town (qābla) of Ranod, the best place, such a mosque (which is like) the pillar of Faith was built.

(7) It was built by the worthy conqueror (of the region), who (is) the famous and pious Malik Ḥusain.

(8) He has become famous till the day of Resurrection, since such a good work has been carried out at his hands.

(9) The construction was completed on Friday, the first of the respected month of Jumād First;

(10) in the year eight hundred fortyfive, it was completed through the help of God, the Lord of Glory (1st Jumādā A. H. 845=17th September 1441 A.D.).

VIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 845, FROM SHIVPURI

The tablet bearing this inscription, second of Maḥmūd Shāh and eighth of the article, is fixed on the entrance gate of the Jāmī’ mosque at Shivpuri. Measuring 93 by 32 cm., it contains a record of four lines in Persian-mixed Arabic. Unlike in the case of the inscriptions of the Malwa kings, which are usually executed in good calligraphical style, the Naskh script employed in this epigraph is quite crude, and the orthography is also faulty. The composition, too, leaves much to be desired. Then, the date is given not only in words but also in figures which is again an unusual feature. While these factors may not justify a doubt about the genuineness of the epigraph, the strong possibility that the present record may represent a faithful copy of the original inscription, whose tablet went out of use due to damage or weathering, cannot be ruled out.

The epigraph records the construction of a mosque by Maḥammad Turkān and Aḥmad Turkān in 1441 A.D. during the rule of Maḥmūd Shāh. In the report of the Gwalior Archaeological Department where it was first noticed, the builders were described as Muḥammad Shirqā and Aḥmad Sher Shāh. Its text is published here for the first time.

TEXT

Plate XVIII (c)

(1) بناء هذه المسجد جامع في عهد سلطان العصر
(2) و الزمان في سبيل الله محمود شاه خليجى نصاب عباد الله

2 The text seems to have been suggested by that of an inscription of Muḥammad bin Tughand Shāh from Ranod (ibid., No. D, 73 and Introduction P. 29).
4 Perhaps the word “المجاحدد” is left out before this word.
5 The “و” in these two words is written as “و”.
6 This is a mistake for “أضعف”.


TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of this Jāmū' mosque took place in the reign of the sultan of the age and time, [striver] in the path a of Allāh, Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī. The building was completed by the weakest of Allāh's creatures,

(3) Muḥammad Turkān and Aḥmad Turkān in the reign of the kingdom, (in) the month of Rajab,

(4) year, (A.H.) eight hundred and five (and) forty. 845 (Rajab A. H. 845=November-December 1441 A. D.).

No information is available to us about the builders.

IX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 850, FROM MANDU

The squarish tablet bearing the ninth inscription of the article and third of Maḥmūd Shāh is lying loose along with few others in the above-mentioned Museum in the Dharamshālā at Mandu.\(^2\) Measuring 61 by 60 cm, it seems to have weathered considerably as is clear from its damaged lettering. This has, however, not affected the purport of the record, according to which Nīzāmu'l-Mulk, the favourite minister of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Khaljī, constructed a tomb in 1446-47 A. D.

The minister Malik Nīzāmu'l-Mulk finds frequent mention in historical works. He held the title Mughīru'l-Mulk until the accession of Maḥmūd Khaljī, who conferred the title of Nīzāmu 'l-Mulk upon him and made him his minister.\(^3\)

The text consists of a poetical fragment of four verses in Persian inscribed in four lines in Naskh characters of a fairly good type and reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XVII (b)

\(^{1}\) This should be "تامانه."  
\(^{3}\) For details see *Firuziha*, op.cit., pp. 243, 245, etc.; *Nīzāmu'd-Dīn*, op.cit., pp.,546, 550, etc.
TRANSLATION

(1) A thousand thanks to God and a hundred thousand salutations on that select prophet Muṣṭafā, may peace be on him!

(2) In the reign of the Khālijī king, 'Ālāū’d-Dīn Maḥmūd, the lord, may . . . . . . be to his liking!

(3) Niẓāmu’l-Mulk, the favourite of the king of sea and land, through whose counsel, administra-
tion of the kingdom was well conducted,

(4) completed through praiseworthy efforts, the building of the tomb like Ṭīḏwān in the year

X. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 864, FROM CHANDERI

This damaged record, the tenth of the study and fourth of this king, is inscribed on a squarish
tablet measuring 43 by 45 cm, which is fixed into the western side of the step-well locally called
Chandiya-Bāori at Chanderi. The letters in some portions of the text have peeled off, and even
elsewhere, they have lost their shape. Added to this, the style of writing tends to cursiveness,
and the versification is poor. Under the circumstances, a complete decipherment of the record
is not possible. While most of its text has yet been read, the name of one of the two builders
has un fortunately defied decipherment. The epigraph was first mentioned and stated to be
illegible in the Gwalior archaeological report.³

Comprising twelve hemistiches of Persian verse inscribed in equal number of lines, the inscrip-
tion purports that the step-well was built in 1459-60 A.D. by two persons belonging to the Baqāl
(grocer) community, the name of one being Chāndī. It further reports that the shiq of Chanderī
formed the iqtā‘ of Mahābat Khān Sultānī. The latter was a well-known official of Maḥmūd
Khālijī. He was killed in the battle fought between his master and Niẓām Shāh Bahmani of
Deccan two years after the date of the record.²

The style of writing is Nashk, and the text reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (a)

(1) بعهد خسرو گیبان یل جانجش دین یرود
(2) شه محمود خلجشان علاء دین
(3) ندیم چاهابی و نیزم
(4) درو آبی مصنا بین چو آب چشمه کوتر
(5) مپایخانست سلطان مقطع شق چندری
(6) ز او(؟) راجا . . . . . . بوئدنا صاحب بذل یکدیگر

² ARADG, 1924-25, Appendix E, No. 11.
* Niẓāmu’l-Dīn, op.cit., p. 559; Firigha, op.cit., p. 252.
TRANSLATION

(1-2) In the reign of the ruler of the world, life-impartment and Faith-nourishing hero, the Khaljī king Maḥmūd 'Alā‘udd-Dīn.

(3-4) A well was built which is more than the well of Babylon and Zamzam. In it find pure water like the water of the stream of Kauṭhār.

(5-6) Maḥābat Khān Sulṭānī is the muqṭī of the shiq of Chānderī.

On his behalf were master of generosity.

(7-8) The two builders of the well were...and Chānd, the baqqāls,

may God, the Provider of livelihood and Lord of might preserve them!

(9-10) But they are (?) brother’s son Chānd.

They were such men of wisdom, both of them, though not very rich.¹

(11-12) From the Migration, the year was eight hundred and sixtyfour (A.H. 864=1459-60 A.D.),

when this big well was beautifully and nicely built.

XI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 867, SAME PLACE

The eleventh inscription of the study and fifth of Maḥmūd Shāh is to be seen on the tomb of Mahma Shāh situated on a hill about three kilometres north-west of Chanderī.² Published here for the first time, it is not in situ, since it records the construction of a step-well. The epigraphical tablet was broken into six pieces which have now been cemented together and built into the wall at the headside of the grave. It measures 53 by 61 cm. It will be seen that the slab has undergone some damage on account of weathering, and the sharpness of the outlines of its letters is lost.

The text consists of seven verses in Persian. The style of writing, which is Naskh, is remarkably good and quite pleasing to the eye. The epigraph purports that Jānāl, son of Ulā and grandson of Muḥammad and great-grandson of Khīḍr, constructed first a lofty dome and then a

¹ From this verse, it may be inferred that the builders were employed in the secretarial section of the government.
step-well in 1462-63 A.D. during the reign of Maḥmūd Khālji. While we are not in a position to identify the builder, the record compares him, in respect of virtues, with the four caliphs, and or account of his learning, he is called the second Abū Ḥanīfa. Thus, while this hyperbolic praise is evidently a figment of the poet’s imagination, it may safely be presumed that Jamāl was respected for his learning. It will be recalled that we have already come across one Jamāl, son of ‘Ulā in an earlier inscription of A.H. 828 (No. VI), but it is difficult to say if both are one and the same person.

Its text has been deciphered as follows:

TEXT

Plate XVIII (b)

(1) بعهد خسرو خن و بشر سليمان فر
(2) شهد اسمه رد را جو فراچه بابل را ست
(3) جمال ابن علال بن محمد بن خضر
(4) بميدان صفين در حبان عثمان
(5) نخست برده نا گنبد فلک آسا
(6) یکرنه تنگی بی دین این سما گنبد
(7) پدست هیدهت ای شست هفته سال پنا

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the king of genii and mankind, having the glory of Solomon, the respected and venerated Maḥmūd Shāh, the cherisher of Faith.

(2) this square well like the well of Babylon has been constructed; the taste of its water is not to be found either in the water of Zauzum or Kauthar.

(3) Jamāl, son of ‘Ulā, son of Maḥmūmād, son of Khidr, who in knowledge and practice is another Bū Ḥanīfa.

(4) (and) who in truth and shyness is a companion of (i.e. like) Abū Bakr and Uthmān, and in justice and generosity like ‘Umar and Ḥaidar respectively,

(5) constructed first a dome like the sky which carries its head above the pinnacle of the Empyrean.

(6) If the heaven did not have it as the support, the existence of the seven skies in their present position would have been doomed.

(7) The year of its construction was eight hundred and sixtyseven from the Migration of the beloved Prophet Aḥmad (A.H. 867=1462-63 A.D.).

XII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 867, SAME PLACE

The twelfth epigraph is another newly discovered record of Maḥmūd Shāh and his sixth and last in this group. Inscribed in fairly good Nashk letters on a slightly damaged tablet

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1 The famous jurist of Islam and founder of one of the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence,
measuring 64 by 31 cm., which is set up above the central mihrāb of the Mott-Masjid of Chanderi,1 this four-line record contains seven Persian verses assigning the construction of a mosque and lay out of a garden in its precincts to Muḥammad, son of Zain, the nāʾib-i-’ard. The work was carried out in 1462 A.D.

The builder’s identity is obscure. His claim to recognition is supported by his official position—he was the deputy ʿārid either of the kingdom, or as is more likely, of the province. But historical works completely ignore him. The inscription is thus quite important.

Its text has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIX (a)

(1) الله - الله

ای که مسجد شد مرتقب عهد سلطان جهان
خسرو محمود خلیجاش مهدی زمان
عکس آن باغ است خلیج...باغبان
در حرم بستر خاک ساخت چو باغ ارم
(2) بانی مسجد محمود زین نایب عرش کوست
در وغاکاران ثانی و در سخا حنیم شبان
تا ابد یکجو نیواده دیر[یر] آسان
هرچه او یکدم سیاقت می کند بالا تنافق
(3) بانی و اولاد بانی دا خدا یا گرم
تا قیامت از خلیجات زمانه ده امان
غرعه مه بدل؟) ربع الأول تاریخ آن

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh, Allāh. The mosque was constructed in the reign of the king of the world, who is the king like Dārā, Alexander and Arduwân.

(2) The sun of both the worlds and moon of justice and generosity is the king Maḥmūd Khaljī Shāh, leader (mahdī) of the Time.

In its compound is laid out a garden like the garden of Iram, whose mere reflection is the evergreen garden of Paradise.

(3) The builder of the mosque is Muḥammad, (son of) Zain, the nāʾib-i-’ard, who is in battle another Karrār (i.e. ‘Allī) and is in generosity like Ḥātim.

Admittedly, whatever amount of accounts work he does in one moment, even the secretary of the sky cannot do a single word thereof till eternity.

(4) Oh God ! through Your favour, protect the builder and his descendants from the disturbances of the time.

The year was seven and sixty and eight hundred from the Migration of Musṭafā, (and) it was the first day of the month of Rabī’u’l-Awwal (1st Rabī’ I A.H. 867=24th November 1462 A.D.)

(c) Inscription of Mahmūd Shāh I, A.H. 867, from Chanderi (p. 60)

Scale: 25

(b) Record of Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn, A.H. 888, findspot not known (p. 61)

Scale: 3
Ghiyāthu’-d-Dīn Khaljī

XIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 888, FROM UNKNOWN PLACE

The findspot of this interesting and historically important inscription, first of Ghiyāthu’-d-Dīn Khaljī (1469-1500 A.D.) and thirteenth in the article, is unfortunately not known. An old estampe thereof was found among old impressions lying in our office. Efforts to trace the actual place of the record from gazetteers and similar sources have not yielded any result. From the text, it was reasonably surmised that the inscription might have existed at Sehore, a district headquarters in Madhya Pradesh, but it was reported to be untraceable by the members of our office who were deputed to copy inscriptions there. In short, the epigraph for the present survives only in the single old copy of the estampe from which it is edited here.

Its text comprises ten lines of closely written text in minute hand on an area 58 by 40 cm. But the inked rubbing is not satisfactory. However, concentrated efforts have resulted in unravelling practically the whole text which purports that Masnad-i-‘Āli Mallū Khān, the senior, had built a mosque in 1454 A.D. during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī, but after his death, in 1483-84 A.D., his son Masnad-i-‘Āli Mallū Khān, who was the muqti of the ʿālia of Ajmer, for arranging the marriage of Asad Khān(1), Sharaf Khān and Lād Khān, who were evidently his sons, came to Sehore from Ajmer, accompanied by seven thousand troops and ten elephants, and finding that the mosque constructed by his father had become old, gave orders for its reconstruction on a larger scale. This was during the reign of Mughal Khaljī wa’-d-Dīn Ghiyāsh Shāh.

The inscription thus furnishes very valuable information. While both the father and son are not unknown to students of history, the details given above are not to be found in historical works. Its importance also lies in the fact that it is the earlier of the two epigraphs which quote Ghiyāsh Shāh’s royal title not recorded even on his coins; the other inscription which in addition bears his kunya, is also studied in the following lines (No. XVIII).

The epigraph has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate XIX(b)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم مسجد بنيان كردي خان أعظم و خاقان معظم سنده عالى

ملوخبان

(2) مرحم مغفور بهـد دولت سلطان عادل باطل (Sic.) محمود شاه خلجي در سنه ثمان

خمسين و ثمانياه

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1 This will be noticed in ARIE, 1964-65.
2 Office of the Superintendent for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.
3 There are quite a few places bearing the name Sehore in Madhya Pradesh. It is likely that the record under study exists in one of these places.
4 The term Khānsādīn preceding these names seems to indicate the relationship.
بعد وفات خان معظم مسند عالی ملوخان مرحم در سنه سنه ثمانین ثمانامه خان
اًظم و خاَلق معظم پهلوان(؟)
(3) الزمان تهمت گیلان اذ اعظم قُتل معظم مسند عالی ملوخان ابن ملوخان مقطع
شَق اچیمیر
(4) با هفت هزار سوار و ده ١٧٣٧ (؟) پیل با کوکبی تمام از اچیمیر برای خواستگاری
خان زادگان معظم و مکرم
(5) خان اسد خان(؟) شرفخان ولادخان که گوی پایان نادر و ١٨٤١ اند امکان قاهر اند در
(6) قصب سهور آنده مسجد مئذکور بینر مبارک دید که عمارت اول است فرمایش کردند
از سر پیاد زیاد کردند
(7) دست کتابنده به هدف دنیایی کنده سلطان السلطان میغی الدینا و الدین غیاث شاء
(8) ابن محمود شاه خلیج خلیج الشرکه درین مسجد نامز قرار برای ایمان
مسند عالی ملوخان مرحم و ایمان مسند عالی خان(؟) ملوخان دعاء کند

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. The mosque was constructed by the great Khān and exalted Khāqān, Masnad-ī-‘Ālī Mallū Khān.

(2) the deceased and the pardoned, in the time of the kingship of the just and generous sultān Mahmūd Shāh Khaljī, in the year fiftyeight (and) eight hundred (A.H. 858-1454 A.D.).

(3) After the death of the late Khān-i-A’zam Masnad-ī-‘Ālī Mallū Khān, in the year eighty-eight and eight hundred (A.H. 888-1483-84 A.D.), the great Khān and the exalted Khāqān, the champion

(4) of the Time, Rustam of the world, Ulugh-i-A’zam, Qutlugh-ī-Mu’azzam, Masnad-ī-‘Ālī Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān, muqti of the shiq of Ajmer,

(5) marched from Ajmer with seven thousand horse, ten elephants and full retinue for arranging the marriage of the exalted and respected Khānzādas (i.e. sons of Khān),

(6) Khān Asad Khān, Sharaf Khān and Lād Khān who are among the exceptional ball-throwers and mighty…………………- flingers,

(7) came to the qaṣba of Sehore² and, having inspected the above-mentioned mosque whose previous building had become old, ordered so that it was reconstructed, extended and

(8) completed in the time of the kingship of His Majesty the sultān among the sultāns, Mughīthu’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn Ghiyāth Shāh,

¹ Evidently, زنجير is intended here.
² The reading of this word is rather doubtful.
³ This implies that Mallū Khān hailed from this place.
Plate XXI (a) Epigraph of Shiyathu’d-Din, dated A.H. 890, from Chanderi (p. 63)

Scale: ·2

(b) Another version of the same record (p. 65)

Scale: ·21
(9) son of Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom. Whoever offers prayers in this mosque is requested to pray for the faith of the late

(10) Masnad-i-ʿĀlī Mallū Khān and for the faith of Masnad-i-ʿĀlī Khān Mallū Khān.

XIV-XV. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 890, FROM CHANDERI

The next two inscriptions of Ghiyāth Shāh are from the Qādiyān-kā-Bāqī at Chanderi. The tablet bearing one is fixed to the right of the stairs leading from the west. It is square-shaped, being 55 cm, a side, and inscribed with a poetical fragment in Persian consisting of sixteen verses running horizontally into nine lines. The calligraphy of the epigraph is quite pleasing, and as such, must have been designed by an expert; it is Naskh with tendencies towards cursiveness. However, the letters are written in smaller hand and quite close to one another. This fact alone made the task of decipherment difficult, but what has further made it so is the quality of versification: the language particularly is clumsy and somewhat unintelligible; which fact, it is hoped, will be considered a sufficient excuse for somewhat free translation of the text. The inscription was first referred to in the Gwalior archaeological report, where no particulars thereof were given.3

The epigraph records the construction of a step-well, a mosque and a garden by Qādi ibn Mihrān in 1485 A.D., when Sher Khān was the muqti of the place under Ghiyāth Shāh. It further relates that while there were a number of wells in the locality, the water of none was found to be as good and sweet as that of this well. The text is composed by Muḥammad, son of Khwāja.2

It is difficult to identify Qādi ibn Mihrān who is spoken of as an eminent person. The other record on the same step-well refers to him as Malik Qādi ibn Mihrān indicating his association with the government. From his name, he appears to be of Arab extraction, if not immediate domicile.

The text runs as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XX (a)

(1) Bism Allāh al-rahman al-rāhīm

(2) Ham dam dard-e aza abi haat- haa maa shah qand-sa kand haa haa-

(3) Ham das aina ra aina kād aab rooi kāda kand sahaat hah haa-

(4) Ham kād markand-sa azad-sa shah in qand kād qand in qand-

(5) Ham kād shah al gastan shah haa al gastan shah-

(6) Ham udd shah khān qand qand- qand-

(7) Ham qand qand qand qand qand-

(8) Ha-allāh kād udd bāgī shah-

2 ARADG, 1924-25, Appendix E, No. 16.
3 He also composed the text of inscription No. XXVII.
4 The word “ba-allāh” is thus spelt in the epigraph.
(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Praise be to God who has made water the source of life and gave from water grades to the things of the universe.

He has in the same way imparted such water (i.e. lustre) to the face of the prophets that they lead the whole world towards Paradise.

(3) He also made people generous from it so that they might practice generosity for the house of the Prophet (Muḥammad).

Everyone practised (generosity) according to his ability, in the reign of a king whose indication is such:

(4) in the time of the Khaljī king, Sultān Ghiyāth-i-Din, when the muqti in this land was Sher Khān who is like ‘Ali,\(^1\)

Qādī ibn Mihrān, in the hope of seeing the face of the Prophet, built a step-well, a mosque and a garden for the sake of God.

(5) God guided him and gave him courage to build this beautiful and bright structure.

Although there were innumerable step-wells in this region, all were dry and of no use.

(6) Qādī through the bounty of the Glorious God has attained success and sufficiency. And may he remain for ever through the true faith of men of aspirations!

Nobody has seen this type of pure water. For this region, this bounty of the Generous God is sufficient.

(7) The sweet water is like sugar and honey. The date of the completion of this work is (A.H.) eight hundred and ninety (A.H. 890–1485 A.D.).

---

\(^1\) This is a hint that his own name was ‘Ali (see p. 73 infra).
Oh God! Through your favour, accept his (builder’s) intention and grant him the intercession of the Prophet on the day of Retribution.

(8) Every learned man who will read this poem of memento, should pray with his heart, saying, ‘Oh Creator God!
protect the faith of the man who has constructed this long-lasting well from the deceit (and) mischief of Satan.’

(9) For this good deed, it is hoped of the favour of God that his good action will be accepted.
The helpless Muhammed, son of Khwāja, has composed this, and hopes that men of understanding will pray for his faith.

The other inscription from the well, which constitutes the fifteenth inscription of this study and third of Ghiyāth Shāh, is fixed to the right of the steps on the east. It is inscribed in twelve lines in Nashī script, typical of the inscriptions of the Malwa sultāns at Chanderi. The tablet measures 50 by 47 cm.

The epigraph is almost identical in purport with its counterpart studied immediately before. The only difference is that in this epigraph Qādi ibn Mihrān is stated to have constructed a sarāi near the step-well with a garden therein, but there is no mention of a mosque. Thus, according to both the epigraphs, the mosque, sarāi, garden and step-well were constructed at the same time, i.e. in 1485 A.D. Also, here the builder is called Malik indicating that he was in royal service. From verse 3, it may be inferred, though not without hesitation, that he also enjoyed the title Amīr-i-amīrān. It is worthwhile to point out that the poetry of this record is superior to that of its opposite number.

The text has been deciphered as under:

**TEXT**

**Plate XX (b)**

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) بعهد خسرو خليج غياث بن محمود

(3) بيين دولت ياينده شير خان غازى

(4) بهير امیران بوست و پنده مبود

(5) بالا عطر سعد [و] بطال مسعود

(6) دهد جوید یابد نظر خرد مقتد

(7) مقاشش چه کلم پیش او کرست وجود

(8) کسی که نفع نگرده بدان لود نمسود

(9) پسان ذات شریفیت بدهر مقبولست

---

2 This should perhaps be "هم".
3 So engraved on the stone. But in the previous inscription, it is clearly "پسران".
(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) In the reign of the Khalījī king, Ghiyāth, son of Maḥmūd, whose word and actions both are accepted and praised.

(3) through the auspicious and ever-enduring government of Sher Khān Ghāzī who carried off the cap (of superiority) from his equals in battle,

(4) the leader of both the worlds namely, Malik Qāḍī, son of Mītān (i.e. Mīhrān), who is the noble among nobles (Amūr-i-amūrān) and servant of God,

(5) in the year eight hundred (and) ninety from the Migration of the Prophet (A.H. 890-1485 A.D.), at an auspicious omen of stars and happy fortune,

(6) built a step-well which in sweetness of its water, seeks but cannot find its equal in the whole world.

(7) How can I compare it with the water of Zamzam, Nile, Euphrates or Bactrus? Who can exist before it?

(8) This is specially meant for the benefit of the low as well as the high. One who does not derive benefit therefrom is useless.

(9) It is acceptable in the world like your (i.e. builder's) personality. May it always be accepted and your enemy be rejected!

(10) (He) also (constructed) a sarāsī near it, which is like (the city of) Baghīdād; in it is a garden sparkling like the fire of Nimrod.

(11) On all sides, it is ornamented and bedecked like Paradise and in all directions there is unlimited splendour.

(12) May the builder of the sarāsī and the step-well remain (in the world) as long as the shadow of God is spread over His creatures!

XVI-XVII. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A. H. 890 AND 893, SAME PLACE

The Battisī-Bāzīf at Chanderī is the largest and most remarkable step-well of the town about 18 metres a side and sinking by four stages. It contains two inscriptions, one on either side of the main entrance. The tablet bearing the epigraph on the right side, the sixteenth of the present study and fourth of Ghiyāth Shāh, measures 76 by 76 cm. It contains nineteen lines of writing, a few letters of which, particularly towards the end, have flaked off.

The text consists of seventeen verses in Persian inscribed in ordinary Nasīḥā characters. The quality of verses is poor, and the meaning is not clear in places. The record states that the construction of a step-well and a mosque nearby was started in 1485 A.D. by Ṭagī, son of Fakhr.

1 ARADG, 1924-25, p. 5, where no particulars of the epigraph are given except the date.

entitled Shārīqū’l-Mulk, the minister of Ghīyāthu’dd-Dīn Shāh, at the suggestion of one Ya’qūb, and according to the other inscription on the left side, it was completed three years later. The text was composed by one Ibn Ḥamīd.

The minister Ṭaḥhī, entitled Shārīqū’l-Mulk, is completely ignored by historians and it is only from the present epigraphs that we even know his name. From one of the verses, it transpires that the minister was a disciple of the famous saint Bādi’u’dd-Dīn Shāh Madār of Makanpur (d. A.H. 840), which is quite an interesting piece of information. In view of the fact that another minister, Malik Lādan, with the same title, is mentioned in a later inscription, from Fathabad near Chanderi (No. XX), it would appear that the title Shārīqū’l-Mulk was usually reserved in the Malwa court for a man of the status of a minister only. The other two persons, viz. Ibn Ḥamīd and Ya’qūb are not known.

The text of the record is quoted below:

TEXT

Plate XXI (a)

(1) Yism Allah al-rasul al-rāhim
(2) Tūʿala Allah kā in man bin in kānun shid dr zāmin aẓhār
(3) Bīfīsī qasīsan bīṭaḥan sa’d w liyqat aḥtar
(4) Bāhīd kasm so’d sīḥab dīṣ drīa dīl
(5) Ghyāth al-dīn shē ʿadāl Sīkandar ḍūaj w dāra fr
(6) Innās ḥist dr mīlīṣ kā ʿalām qāim az mīlīṣ
(7) ʿaṭāqī ṣarq al-mīlīṣ shāh zān ṣāh dīn brūr
(8) Mīlīṣ ʿaṭāqī ṣarqī fīlīṣ ṣāhīṣ ʿaṭāh fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh
(9) ʿaṭāqī ṣarqī fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh
(10) Mīlīṣ ʿaṭāqī ṣarqī fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh
(11) ʿaṭāqī ṣarqī fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh
(12) Bīṣilīṣ ʿaṭāh fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh
(13) Mīlīṣ ʿaṭāqī ṣarqī fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh
(14) ʿaṭāqī ṣarqī fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh fī ḍuṣr ʿaṭāh
(1) زلال خضر در عالم نتان بود از بین آدم
کلون آن سرور اعظم عیان کرده درین کشود
(11) مسیا ای که خوشآبست ک شیرین تر ز تند آبست
مجر شریعت ز عناست ک شیرین هست چون شکر
(12) نبات مصر و قد نباشد اینچنین شیرین
رست کی در خالاوت این وکر شیرست نیشکر
(13) قربیب چشمی اعظم [یاکرست؟] مسجد هم
که این کمب یاست و آن نیز هرست روپه اخضر
(14) چکر روپه خوشنو گل
در هر سو مدر شد در چهان مینو که این طویست و آن کوثر
(15) سردار پیک مرگویست لبالت
حد خوست
بفرماش ز یعقوبیت چین. خوشروخ خوشن منظر
(16) نسم اتطلب ربا قدو با بای بر باقی
که این و انس و حیوان پیاد وادان زان سرور
(17) ز هجر مرسل اعظم ز نهصد سال بد ده کم
دیپه الاهرین پنجم پکشته در چهان اظهار
(18) بود تا آب در درا میادا قمر این پیدا
خدایا هر یزمان این را بخک بر آب شیرین تر
(19) آمن یا رب العالمین

TRANSLATION

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

(2) Exalted be Allāh that this step-well has now appeared on the earth, through the bounty and grace of glorified Lord, at a happy time and lucky stars,

(3) in the reign of the generous and just king with cloud-like hands and ocean-like heart, Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn, the just king with Alexander’s dignity and Dārā’s glory.

(4) Its building is in the kingdom of one, through whose rule the world endures; from that faith-nourishing king, the title Šāriqu’l-Mulk was conferred on him.
(5) He is of the status of an angel and dignified like sky; his order is the decree of fate and his wish is the command of destiny. (He is) Tāghī, son of Fākhr, whom God has made famous in the world.

(6) The great, pious and religious-minded saint Bādī’u’l-Ḥaq Shāh Madār has assisted him and made him his select (disciple) in the world.

(7) No chief like him who commands greatest respect, is born from the days of Adam till now. God has conferred upon him all the four great ranks till the day of Resurrection.

(8) The eyes of the people of the shiq (?) have not seen such a compassionate minister; neither in the west nor in the east, he has any equal worth the name.

(9) How can Ibn Ḥamīd sing his praises as are due? And hence, I should now proceed to describe the step-well.

(10) The limpid water of Khīḍr (i.e. Water of life) was concealed in the world from the eye of man; now this great chief has produced it in this region.

(11) May Allāh grant us its drink! How sweet is the water which is sweeter than sugar-candy! Or perhaps it is the syrup of jujube, since it is as sweet as sugar.

(12) The sugar of Egypt and sugar-candy of China are not so sweet. How can sugar-cane come up to its sweetness even though it is sweet?

(13) Near the great stream (i.e. step-well), he has also constructed a mosque; this (i.e. mosque) is Ka’ba and that (i.e. well) is Zamzam, and its enclosure is like the verdant garden.

(14) All around the sweet-smelling garden flowers on all sides. But perhaps Paradise has appeared in the world for, that is Tūbā (lote-tree) and this is Kauthar (stream in Paradise).

(15) The whole of it is extremely pleasing; up to brim extremely well. Such an exhilarating and beautiful place has come into existence at the request of Ya’qūb.

(16) May the breeze of Divine favour permanently blow for the builder. Since the genii, human-beings and animals have derived comfort from that chief.

(17) From the Migration of the great Messenger, the year was nine hundred less ten (and) fifth of the last Rabi’, when it appeared, i.e. was founded (5th Rabi’ II A. H. 890–21st April 1485 A.D.).

(18) May its depth not appear as long as there is water in the sea! O God! keep it full of sweet water for ever!

(19) Amen, O Lord of the universe!

The other inscription on the Battési-Bāqī, forming the fifth record of Ghiyāth Shāh and seventeenth in our article, appears to the left of the entrance, and is identical in purport as well as calligraphy with the other record, except that here the composer indulges in poetic praise of the various parts, viz. terrace, stairs, pavilion, etc. of the well, gives the date of its completion as 1487-88 A.D. and mentions only the title Shāriqu’l-Mulk of the builder. However, a striking aspect of the record is that the quality of its verses is on the whole fairly high. The composer’s name is given as Ilahdād.

The text is inscribed on a tablet measuring 80 by 76 cm. and reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XXII(b)

بَارِکَ كَى النَّارِ! فَلَا يَدُوِّنَ مُحْمَرُ مَعَنِي
(1) يَسْمَ عَالِى، الْبَارِكَ مَعَهُ اللَّهُ الْعَلِيمُ
(2) جَبَّادَ اَنْعَمَ اَنْعَمَ كَيْنَ زَمَانَ شَدَّ دَرَزَينَ
(3) آَسَانَشَانَ دِلَيْدَيْرَ وَ نَزَدَانَشَانَ بِيِبَطَىْر
(4) مَلْتَعَمَّ رَدَّىَّةَ فَزْرَا وَ مُلْعَمَّ مَجْهَّدُ زَدَا
(5) يَأْ رَبِّ اَنْهَى نَحْمَةَ نِعْمَةَ يَأْ رَبِّ زَلَالَ سَلَسِبِلَ
(6) مَسْجِدُ اَيْضَامَةَ يَا مُحِيْمِرُ يَا ذَى الْمَعَامَدُ
(7) يُوسُفًا نَزَارَانَ جَنَّ ٓمَتَّ يَا بَيْغُ خَلَدَ
(8) كَهْ دَلَّ كَوْفُ شَوْدَ أَذَ غَيرَتَ صَافِيَّةَ أَبَا
(9) سَلْكَارَا كَلِّيِّ رَيْحَةَ رَحْمَةَ رَحْمَاةَ أَبَا
(10) عََايَدادًا كَشَفَ نِحْلَةَ صُطْحَ شَوْدَ صَافِيَّةَ أَبَا
(11) كَنُكَ دَرَّ دَلَّ أَزْوَى دَارُ يُ قَ دَيْدَ أَذَ بِيَسْتُبَيْتَ
(12) كَهْ كَهْ يِمْنَدَ اَنْفَ مَتَّى عَالَمَ دِلَفْرَا كَوْدُ بِخَلَقَ
(13) تَرِ دَا بِزَنَوْن مِلِّيْر أَزْوَى دَارُ يُ قَ دَيْدَ أَذَ بِيَسْتُبَيْتَ
(14) مَسْجِدُ اَيْضَامَةَ يَا مُحِيْمِرُ يَا ذَى الْمَعَامَدُ
(15) مُرْحِبَةَ تُتوَّفِقِي حَكَمَ دِمْهَمَ دِمْهَمَ اَنْسَمَ اَنْسَمَ
(16) صَدَ حِزَارَاوُنَ عَوَنَ إِيّدَ بِدِلْسِيْبَا بِذَا شَفِيْقَ
(17) اَجَرَ أَنْعَمَاتِ جَارِيَ كَمَ دَلَّ
(18) رُوُزَ مَيْدَٰأَ اَيْهَا الْهَبَادُ اَمَرَا حِيَامَانَ يَبْاَمَ
(19) آَمَنُ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
(2) Bravo for this great stream which has appeared on the earth! Blessed be Allah! May it be full of flowing water for ever!
(3) Its threshold is pleasing and its steps are matchless; its courtyard of pillars is illuminating and the foundation of its flooring is strong.
(a) Record of Shiyāthu'd-Dīn, dated A.H. 899, from Sarangpur (p. 72)

Scale: 0.13

(b) Epigraph of the same king, dated A.H. 893, from Chanderi (p. 70)

Scale: 0.15
(4) Its source is comfort-giving and its rising-place grief-dispelling; its starting-point is happiness-indicating and its ending-place joy-giving.

(5) O Lord! is this the stream of bounty or is it the limpid Salsabil? O fortune! is it flowing water or honey from Tasnim?

(6) Its mosque—is it (the mosque) Aqsa, or Ka’ba, or (Iram) the house of pillars (built by Shaddad)? Is it a descending-place for unbearded youths of Paradise, or for its keeper, or for its black-eyed houres?

(7) Its garden—is it the meadow of Paradise or the garden of heaven? Its rose-garden—is it the rose-garden of Byzantium or China?

(8) At times, the heart of the stream of Kauthar turns into water due to jealousy of its pure water; at other times, Zamzam is immersed in perspiration up to its forehead on account of envy.

(9) In it, the travellers on the spiritual path have every moment the experience of ‘I have a time with Allah’; therein, the mystics have every time ‘union with Allah’.

(10) The devotees get here the explanation of the meaning of the maxim, ‘He who prays exclusively and sincerely’, the gnostics can undoubtedly achieve here the benefit of ‘He who knows himself, knows his Lord’.

(11) He who has desire to be favoured with a glimpse of the Paradise, let him come and rest here for a while, because Paradise is (only) like this.

(12) Whoever sees this heart-ravishing place announces to people, ‘These are the eternal gardens; therefore, enter these for ever’.

(13) If your heart is inclined towards entertainment, just enter its pavilion, the like of which, in pleasantness, is rare in the world.

(14) And if you wish to have a promenade in the garden, get up and start in the name of Allah, and have a walk in every corner of its garden on earth.

(15) Greetings that the favour of God became the companion of the pious person of Shariqul-Mulk whose pen is mercy for the worlds.

(16) May a hundred thousand favours of God be his heart’s sympathiser, since this construction (step-well) is full like the streams of the highest heaven!

(17) May he get the reward of these flowing bounties to his heart’s desire by the favour of God, in accordance with the saying, ‘How nice is the reward of those who do good!’

(18) O Ilahadd! the day of its beginning may be had if you provide conjunction to the moon (or month). (And) for the year of its completion, add up the Abjad values of jim, ged and gad (3+90+800=A.H. 893=1487-88 A.D.).

(19) Amen! O the Lord of the universe!

1 Names of streams in Paradise.
2 The phrases in inverted commas in lines 9-10, are parts of the sayings of the Prophet.
3 Cf. Qur’das, chapter XCVIII, verse 8.
4 Reference to his being a minister.
5 This hemistich is not quite clear. It contains some sort of chronogram providing the year of its commence-ment which was, as we know from the previous record, A.H. 890.
XVIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 899, FROM SARANGPUR

The sixth record of Ghiyāth Shāh and eighteenth of the article is from Sarangpur in Raigarh district of Madhya Pradesh. It may be pointed out that this is the only inscription of the group composed in Arabic language. The square-shaped inscriptive tablet, measuring 55 cm. a side, is fixed over the southern entrance of a domed building locally called Pahlawān-kā-Gumbad. It contains four lines of writing inscribed in Naskh letters of no particular merit, but the execution of the prolonged shafts of its straight and vertical letters and horizontal placings of its rounded letters like nūn, etc., recall to mind this calligraphic aspect of the inscriptions of Bengal.

The record is also important in that it refers to the construction of a madrasa (educational institution) in 1493 A.D. It also quotes the full name and titles as well as kunya of the reigning king, viz. Mughithu’d-Dunyā wa’d-Din Abūl-Fath Ghiyāth Shāh, and mentions Malik u’ṣ Sharq Malik Badārat Khalji, the majmu’dār, as its builder and Khān-i-ʿAzam Rustam Khān, as the muqti of the shiq of Sarangpūra. An intriguing aspect of the epigraph is that the term Shuhūr sana marks the date 22nd Rabī’ I, year 899. Used as it is along with the month, it is generally taken to indicate Shuhūr era, particularly in the Deccan. The date of the inscription does not help in the determination of either one era or the other, since if the era is taken to be Shuhūr, its Hijra equivalent 905 also falls in the reign of this monarch. Recent epigraphical discoveries, on the other hand, seem to vouchsafe the use of Shuhūr era even in northern India. But we feel that here the Hijra era is intended.

The reading of the part of the name of the builder is also somewhat doubtful. It may be read as Khānī or Khalji. We have preferred the latter. Bidārat Khalji, the builder, who enjoyed the title of Malik u’ṣ Sharq and post of majmu’dār is untraceable in historical works, while the governor of Sarangpur, Rustam Khān, though more fortunate, finds a mere passing mention, according to which, he paid obeisance to Nāsir Shāh in A. H. 905.

The text has been read as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XXII(a)*

(1) بناء هذا المدرسة في عهد السلطان [لاعتظم المعظم مغت ولدثا والدين
(2) ابن الفتح غياث شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان الخلالي خدود أبن ملكه وسلطانه في عمل خان
(3) عظم و خانان معظم رستم خان مقتنع شق سارنجنرما ملك الشرق ملك بداتن خليج
(4) مجموعدار الثاني و العشرين من شهر ربيع الأول شهر سنة سبع و تسع و ثمانية

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This madrasa (college) was built in the reign of the great and magnificent king Mughithu’d-Dunyā wa’d-Din

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1 The inscription was noticed by M. Sa’īd Ahmad in his Urdu work, *Afās-i-Khaïr* (Agra, 1905), on page 33, but his reading is corrupt.
2 It was copied by Shri W. H. Siddiqi.
3 See also Inscription No. XIII above.
4 This seems to be the spelling of the town-name in the epigraph.
6 Nīgān mu’d-Din, op. cit., p. 588.
7 خليج.
(2) Abu’l-Fath Ghiyāth Shāh, son of Ṭawfīq Shāh Khaljī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in time of the governorship (‘amal) of

(3) the great Khān and magnificent Khāqān, Rustam Khān, muq’ti’ of the shāq of Sārangpūrā by Maliku’sh-Sharq Malik Bidārat Khālji,¹

(4) the majmu’dār, on the 22nd of the month of Rabī’u’l-Awwal of the months of the year (A.H.) nine and ninety (and) eight hundred (22nd Rabī’ I A.H. 899=31st December 1493 A.D.).

XIX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 900, FROM CHANDERI

The nineteenth inscription, being the seventh of Ghiyāth Shāh, is again from Chanderi. Fixed on the central mihrāb of the ‘Idgāh of the town,² its tablet, measuring 88 by 41 cm., contains seven lines of Persian verses recording the construction of the namāzgāh, i.e. place of ‘Id prayers, by Masnad-i-‘Āli ‘Ali, entitled Sher Khān, in 1495 A.D. during the reign of Ghiyāthud-Dīn.

So far as we know, the personal name of this famous nobleman—who has been already mentioned in inscription Nos. XIV and XV above—is nowhere mentioned except here for the first time. The text of inscription No. XIV above does contain a hint to this fact, but it is too vague to admit an assertion.

The text is in Persian verse of a tolerably good quality, and the style of writing is fair Naskh. It has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXI(b)

شیخ خان را مدبرای این بنا توتیق یار
شیخ غیاث الکبیر کریک این امل آن اهل وقار
مر علی را بد خطاب شیر حق زیبا شعار
در نازهت در صفا اندر اقایم و دیار
چون مرتب شد زعوم و رحمت پروردگار
تا که مهرمحمد بود بر چرخ گردنان بر ترار
چون فلکه ارکان جام و دولتش بانی بدار

TRANSLATION

(1) Thank God that Masnad-i-‘Āli Sher Khān of noble origin was inspired by God to carry out construction of this edifice.

(2) That man of dignity completed this namāzgāh (i.e. ‘Idgāh) in the reign of the ruler on the surface of the world, Ghiyāthud-Dīn.

(3) (He is) that ‘Ali whom the title of Sher Khān befits, just as the title Sher-i-Ḥaq (lion of God) was the becoming sobriquet of (the fourth caliph) ‘Ali.

(4) The eye of Time has not seen the like of this building, in point of cleanliness and purity, throughout the climates and countries.

¹ Or Khānī.
² ARDE, 1961-62, No. D, 58. ARADO, 1927-28, Appendix D, No. 126, where the date is not given.
³ It should have been “کمی”.
(5) The year from the Migration was nine hundred (and it was) thirteenth of the month of Ramadān (13th Ramadān A. H. 900=7th June 1495 A. D.), when (it) was completed with the help and mercy of the Creator.

(6) O God! favour its builder with your protection, as long as the sun and the moon exist on the revolving sky!

(7) Also, as long as the world celebrates the days of ʿĪd and Friday, make the pillars of his position and fortune everlasting like the sky!

XX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 904, FROM FATHABAD

The twentieth inscription is from the village Fathabad, near Chanderī. Representing the eighth record of Ghiyāth Shāh, its square tablet measures 50 cm. a side and is fixed on the east side of the step-well locally called 'Āliya-Bāqri. It contains a poetical fragment of seven verses.

This record is quite important in that it refers to Malik Lādan entitled Shāriqu’l-Mulk, a minister of Ghiyāth Shāh, who is completely ignored by the historitans. It states that Shāriqu’l-Mulk constructed a lofty palace or palatial house, at Fathābād-Chanderi, containing a step-well and a garden, in 1499 A. D. The quality of the verses, which are composed by a poet with the name Dānyāl, is fairly good, though not so good as its style of writing which is Naskh of a very pleasing type.

We are unable to trace the minister Malik Lādan entitled Shāriqu’l-Mulk in historical works at our disposal. It will be remembered that one of his predecessors in office, if not his immediate one, who enjoyed the same title, was Malik Ṭagī mentioned in the Chanderi inscriptions of 1485 A. D. (Nos. XVI, XVII). The poet Dānyāl is also an obscure figure.

The text of the record is deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate XXIII(a)

(1) بعهد خسرو خلیج غیاث الدين ذوالحصان

(2) زهی عالی بنالی خوب همچون خلد آریه

(3) چه ایوانی که بالین دارد و بالین چو فردوسی

(4) که آنی میدهد الحق ثمانی از چشمه حیوان

(5) بکرد ابن خانه وین ناغ و بنالین را ملک لادن

(6) که حمست ای شارق گردون حمست آسف دوران

(7) وزیر شاه و دستور مالک ناظر و صاحب

خطابی کز بنگی شارق مالک است از سلطان

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* The original has aqsa in lines 1, 3 and īdās in lines 4, 6, 7.

* Should be ""وائم"" to conform to the metre.
(1) In the reign of the Khalji king, Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn, lord of bounty, at Fatḥābād-Chanderi, this palatial house was built.

(2) What an exalted and fine structure, ornamented like Paradise, it is! Riḍwān feels jealous of its pomp and beauty every minute.

(3) What a palace that contains a step-well as well as a garden like Paradise! Verily, its water indicates the sign to the Fountain of life.

(4) Malik Lādan who is the luminary of the sky of grandeur and Āṣaf (i.e. minister) of the time, constructed this house, garden and step-well.

(5) (He is) the minister, the dastūr of the kingdom, nāẓir and gāḥīb, since his title from the king, on account of his greatness, is Shāriqul-Mulk.

(6) The year from the Migration was two (?) and two and nine hundred, and month Dhi’l-Qa’dā (Dhi’l-Qa’dā A. H. 904–June–July 1499 A. D.), when this house was built by the grace and mercy of God.

(7) Oh Dānyāl! now end your speech with a prayer that, may the builder of this house enjoy life for ever!

XXI. DAMAGED INSCRIPTION FROM PIRANPUR

The ninth and the last inscription of Ghiyāth Shāh and the twenty-first of the group, is to be seen in the village Piranpur, situated about three kilometres east of Chanderi. It is fixed on the left of the entrance steps of Jhanājhan-Bāroī. The epigraphical tablet having badly weathered, the letters thereon have peeled off in many places, so that the date and some other particulars are lost. The surviving portion assigns the construction of a step-well to a person, whose name reads like Mihsharī or Maheṣhārī Kishnūn, in the reign of Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn. It also appears that he held the post of mājmu’dār and acted perhaps as a secretary to a nobleman, but the details are lost; from the use of the word gāḥīb, it may be inferred that his employer was a minister.

The text consisting of seven verses in Persian has been inscribed in Naskh letters of a fairly good type on a slab measuring 56 by 64 cm., and reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXIII(b)

(1) محمد الله كه این [با]لین بسدن هم تا بی ضریش
(2) غیاث الویه شیع اعظم قربان عهد و جم تا زن که او را داد...عطارد
(3) بذور خسرو عالم شنیشام بیلب ندم
(4) پوش یم مثل آکون بکرد مهیری کشندن

1 The portion being slightly damaged here, this reading is doubtful, but no other reading seems to be possible.
TRANSLATION

(2) Praise be to Allâh that this step-well is completed with the praiseworthy aspirations of the builder. How heart-cherishing and beautiful.

(3) In the reign of the king of the world, emperor of mankind, Ghiyâthu’d-Dîn the great king, Farîdûn of the age and second Jamshîd,

(4) it was built now in a matchless style by Mihshârî (or Maheshârî) Kîshnûm. He got Mars.

(5) How happy is (this) respected majmu’dâr, secretary to the unique sâhib (minister?) that this step-well

(6) Its water is like sugarcane (and) its taste is like milk mixed with sugar. Nay, it is sweet as Kauthâr mercy of the Holy God.

Nâshir Shâh

XXII.-XXIII. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A. H. 908 AND 909, FROM CHANDERI

Nâshiru’d-Dîn is represented in the present study by two inscriptions, both from the same well, called Gôl-Bôfî, at Chanderi. The first is fixed on the right side of the entrance steps and comprises eight lines of writing stating that Sabîh-i-Khâir and Gul-i-Bihîght, the two umm ucalds of the great saint Shâikh Burdân, son of ‘Alâu’l-Haq, constructed the step-well and a mosque nearby in the name of the saint, during the reign of Nâshiru’d-Dîn Khalîf. The well was founded in November 1602 A. D., but only completed, according to the other epigraph on the well, sometime during the following year.

The text reads the name of the king as Nâshiru’d-Dûnyâ wa’d-Dîn, while it is Nâshir in the second inscription. However in view of the poetry of these epigraphs, it is not unlikely that this was necessitated by the metre of the verses. The saint Burdân, son of ‘Alâu’l-Haq, mentioned in the recce’d with the honorific title Qutb-i-‘Alâm, must have enjoyed great respect. Historians mention one Shâikh Burdân who was sent with Shâikh Auliây by Ghiyâth Shâh on a mission to his son Nâshir Shâh.

This Shâikh Burdân may be identical with the saint Burdân of our inscription. In any case, the epigraph furnishes information about the saint. Nothing is known about the two mothers of the children of the saint, Sabîh-i-Khâir and Gul-i-Bihîght, who constructed the step-well and the mosque in the name of the saint. They are stated to have been responsible for other charitable

2 Nişâma’d-Dîn, op. cit., p. 568; Firâqta, op. cit., p. 269.
(a) Epigraph of Nasir Shah, dated A.H. 909, from Chanderi (p. 78)

(b) Another version of the above, dated A.H. 908 (p. 77)
works of minor nature, but no details are given. Likewise, the composer of the text, whose name we have read as Sadhan Shah, appears to be a man of local importance and perhaps a disciple of the saint as well.

The square tablet bearing this epigraph measures 47 cm. a side and has slightly weathered, particularly in the right side towards the bottom. The quality of verse as well as calligraphy which is Nasīḥ is without any particular merit.

The text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXIV(b)

(1) بحمد اِنْدَمَكَ الْكََِّيْمُ چاپِی چپچا کوْرُز کرث شد
پوَّن فِضْی رفَانِی کَهِ بنَیا نَای را مسیر شد
(2) بِعَهِد نُبَّار اعظم تصرُّف الدین و الدنیا
بر اَمِد نََّتْلَ مَشْتی جِنگی ازنو مَّنور شد
(3) دِگر مسجد کَهِ پُرِ نور اَپِ اِن باَیا نُسْکِبیت
اَوِم دِنْت الْعَمَادِکِت اَن دُرِبن کِشَور کَهِ منْتَر شد
(4) کَهُ کَرِد فِخلِخد جَاری ازْن چَوَّ و ازْن مسجد
کَهِ شَهَرِی و مسافر را مَنْعَ مُنْ پِزَر شد
(5) قِطْب اِفْطَاب عَالِم شِیخ پَرَهَان بِن عَلَا و الْحَق
شَدَن دِنْمِل دِنْمِل دِشْ شَان چو بَخُت یاَور تَت
(6) صِبَاح خَير وَگل پِهْشت بَانِی چَوَّ را تَاش
چو کَرِدند خَیرا دِیَگر وَلِی اَین خَیر اَکَیر شد
(7) جِمَاد الْأَوْلِی مِلَہ بَود (؟) بِسَت و جَهَار تاریخش
زِهْجَر سَال نَهْبد بَود و دٰیَگر هَشَت برَزَر فَد
(8) سَدِنْش (؟) گَنْت تاَریخی بَرای چَوَّ و مسجد را
پوَّت گَنْت تاَریخ دِهْس بَر زِِگَر شَد

TRANSLATION

(1) Praise be to Allâh, that this well has become a replica of the stream of Kauthar, through the help of the grace of God which was conferred on the builders.

(2) in the reign of the great king Naṣīrū’d-Dīn wa’d-Dunyā, who ascended the throne of Jamshīd (and) through whom the world was enlightened.

(3) Then (was also built) a mosque which is full of light and from which the world received ornament; it is the Iram of lofty columns in the land, where it has appeared.

1 This should probably be "زر".
(4) The builders, in constructing this well and this mosque, have made their good deeds flowing, thus imparting soul-refreshing benefits to the inhabitant as well the traveller.

(5) Since the luck was in favour, (the builders) became mothers of the children of the pole-star among the pole-stars of the world, Shaikh Burhān, son of 'Alā' ūl-Haq.

(6) The names of the builders are Sabḥ-i Khair and Gul-i-Bihisht, who carried out many other good works but this is the greatest of all.

(7) It was the month of Jumādā' l-Awwal and its date was twenty-four year nine hundred and above it eight from the Migration (24th Jumādā I A.H., 908=25th November 1502 A.D.).

(8) Sadhan Shāh composed the chronogam for the well and the mosque; at the time of composing the date, his mouth was filled with sugar.

The other inscription on the well forms the twenty-third and the last of the present study. Its tablet measuring 49 by 47 cm. is fixed to the left of the entrance steps, and contains a text of six verses in Persian, composed by Muḥammad, son of Khwāja. Their purport is the same as in the previous record except that Nāṣir Shāh is here mentioned as wali-i-‘aḥd meaning ‘saint of the time’. Its date A. H. 909 (1503-04 A. D.) is evidently that of the completion. The composer Muḥammad, son of Khwāja, has already been mentioned in the previous lines as the composer of an epigraph (No. XIV).

The text is executed in ordinary Naṣṭān and runs as follows:

TEXT

Plate XXIV(a)

(1) خوش همه پرده ز توقف کردر
(2) کردرست خیر جاژیر به باز چپ تخت خویش
(3) آئ ناشن قطب عالم پرهان بن علا
(4) امجد شدند امیر پیرو جامد
(5) خانه صبح خیر و دیگر گل پهشت
(6) فرزند نعمت و ته سال در شمار
(7) پیچاره خاکروب محمد خواجه گل

TRANSLATION

(1) Great aspiration was shown (by the builders) who, through the grace of the Creator, constructed this strong well of sweet water.

(2) They undertook this flowing bounty for their salvation and for perpetuating the name of their famous master and lord,

(3) that Shaikh (who is) the pole-star of the world, Burhān, son of 'Alā, who is matchless in generosity, learning and religiousness.

(4) The builders are Sabḥ-i Khair and Gul-i-Bihisht who were umm-ul-‘alāds of that dignified saint.

(5) In the reign of the king Nāṣir Khalji who is the saint of the time, the year was (A.H.) nine hundred and nine in reckoning (A. H. 909-1503-04 A. D.).

(6) The humble sweeper (of his court), Muḥammad (son of) Khwāja, who has swept the dust of the Khānqāh (of the Shaikh) hopefully, has composed (these verses).
TWO PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF JAHANGIR FROM MADHYA PRADESH

BY M. F. KHAN

Of the two inscriptions studied in the following lines, the first is from Shivpuri, headquarters of the district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh.1 Variously written as Sheopuri, Sipri or Shopepuri, the town is situated in 25°40’ N. and 76°42’ E. on the right bank of the Sip river and lies about 74 miles to the south of Gwalior on the Agra-Bombay Trunk road. Its stone fort is mentioned by Abu’l-Faḍl.2 Both the town and the fort are said to have been founded by Gaur Rajputs in 1537 A.D.3 It was from this town that in 1560 A.D., the Mughal expedition of Malwa despatched under Bahādur Khān Shaibānī by Bairam Khān was called off owing to the strained relations of the latter with his ward Akbar.4 Seven years later, when Akbar was advancing on Chitor, the fort of Shivpuri surrendered to him without resistance.5 In 1806 A.D., when this region fell to Daulat Rāo Sindhia, it was granted to his general Jean Baptist Filose who wrested the fort from the Gauras. The Sindhis used Shivpuri as their summer capital.

A portion of the town is old and called Purani Shivpuri. It is here that the epigraph under study was found. Inscribed on a pillar which is lying loose in front of a temple in Bārā Bazār-Maḥalla, the epigraph, though damaged and executed crudely, is an important bilingual record containing eighteen lines of Persian and thirteen lines of local dialect written in Nasḵa and Nāgarī characters respectively. The Persian version registers an order (farnān) of the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr advising the officials like jāgirdārs, karorās and ‘ummālīs of the pargana Shivpuri in the sarkār Narwar of the sūba Malwa about the remission of taxes like jīya, zakāt,6 etc. The order was issued in A. H. 1035 (1626 A. D.), when Rāja Rām Dās was in charge of the territory. The latter is evidently identical with Rāja Rām Dās Narwarī, a mangāb-holder in the reign of Jahāngīr. He is reported to have died in A. H. 1049 (1639-40 A. D.).7

The inscription has not been published before, but it was briefly noticed in the past thus: ‘it is an edict issued by Raja Sri Ram Das’. and warns the Jagirdaran of Perganah Shivpuri, Sarkar Narwar, Suba Malwa; its year was also given as A. H. 1040.8

It may be worthwhile to note that the text spells the name of the town as Shivpuri and not Sipri as it was known until recently. The inscripational slab measures 40 cm. by 1.93 m. The Persian version, which occupies an area of 40 by 75 cm. on the slab, has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXV(a)

(1) هو النبی
(2) فلان وقت فارمان عالی‌ان واجب العز

---

2 Abu’l-Faḍl, A’ta’-i-Akkori (Calcutta, 1872), p. 450.
3 For details, see Imperial Gazetteer of India (IG), vol. XXII (Oxford, 1908), p. 272.
5 Ibid.; IG, p. 272.
6 For details about these taxes, see Dr. R. P. Tripathi, Some aspects of Muslim Administration (Allahabad, 1958), Appendix A.
7 For his career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, Ma’āżir ‘Umār, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 226-28.

(79)
(1) God is bountiful!

(2) At this time, the imperial mandate, worthy of respect

(3-5) and obedience, received the honour or issue to this effect that the present as well as the future jägirdârs, karovis and 'ummâls of the pargana Shivpuri in the sârkâr Narwar of the sîkâ Mâlwa should know that in respect of

(6) certain imposts which were current at the time of the accession of emperor Jahângîr like

(7) jîzâya, kitârâ(?), zakât, qârdî-i-hasan, etc., the order

(8) obeyed by all the world and with sun-like rays and as high as the sky, was issued

(9) that none from among the abadis should demand and collect (the above-mentioned levies),

(10) and if by chance, in this matter, any creature from among the inhabitants of the pargana

---

(1) For the duties, etc., of these revenue officials, see Sri Ram Sharma, Mughal Government and Administration (Bombay, 1951), p. 243.

(2) Literally meaning 'a good loan', it signifies money advanced without interest and repaid at the convenience of the borrower.

(3) For Abâdi, a gentleman trooper, see Sharma, op. cit., p. 145.
(a) Inscription of Jahanigir, dated A.H. 1035, from Shivrari (p. 79).

(b) Another record of the same king, from Kolana (p. 81).
TWO PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF JAHANGIR FROM MADHYA PRADeSH

(11) complains before the exalted and pious Majesty, the nobles,

(12) 'ummāls and officials will be liable to royal displeasure and anger which is like

(13) the wrath of God and will be confronted with royal wrath.

(14) It is imperative that the requisites of the order of auspicious writing, either in toto or in parts,

(15) are not deviated from. From the royal order...........................................

(16) .... will be nullified. Dated the seventh (of the) month of

(17) Dhāl-Qāda, year (A. H.) 1035 (7th Dhīl-Qa'da A. H. 1035=21st July 1626 A. D.), during

the governorship of Rājā

(18) ........................ Rām Dās.

We are informed by Jahāngir himself that he had promulgated an ordinance—first of his twelve
issued in his first regnal year, i.e. A. H. 1014 (1605 A. D.)—prohibiting the levy of taxes like zakāt,
etc. Therefore, it is not clear why this order was again issued. An explanation for this may be
that the date A. H. 1035 was not the date of the issue of the order but that of the setting up of the
pillar to draw attention of the people as well as defaulting officials to the original order.

The second inscription comes from Kolaras, a tahsil headquarters in the Shivpuri district. Situated in 25°10' N. and 77°35' E. on the high road from Gwalior to Indore, about midway between
Sipri and Mayana, the town is remarkable for the number of its Satī monuments of which quite a
few are historically important. Abu'l-Faql mentions it as a place of Hindu pilgrimage and Mr.
Finch, an English traveller who halted there while on his way from Surat to Agra, found it 'a small
pretty town'. It lay on the trunk route from north to south as is indicated by a record, inscribed
and set up by Muḥammad Ma'gūm Nāmī, taking note of the fact that Akbar had passed through
the town on his way to Deccan in A. H. 1008.

The pillar on which this epigraph is engraved is called Gandī-Chirā and is fixed up on the side of
a road near the Jāmi'-Masjid. It also contains a farmān of Jahāngīr. Unfortunately, the pillar
is fragmentary, and moreover badly damaged. As a result, the letters are badly mutilated. Also,
the style of writing which is Nasta'liq is quite crude, thus rendering the decipherment still more
difficult. Anyway the surviving portion purports to quote an imperial order announcing the annulment of zakāt, jizya, etc., by the order of emperor Nūru'd-Dīn Jahāngīr. It does not
not contain any date or names.

The text runs into nine lines of writing in Persian and reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXV(b)

| (1) | ... .................................... |
| (γ) | ...................................āol |
(3) Sultan Nūr al-Dīn Jahāngīr

(5) حکم شد که حضرت

(6) فرمود[ه] اند هر که

(8) ذکوه (Sic.) و جزیه

(8) سعف فرمود[ه]

(9) شد

TRANSLATION

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

(2) Allāh.................................. .. .. .. .. ..

(3) Sultan Nūr al-Dīn Jahāngīr

(4) Bādshāh

(5) order was issued that His Majesty

(6) has desired that whoever......................

(7) zakāt and jīzā

(8-9) have been remitted.¹

¹ The above two inscriptions were copied by Shri S. A. Rahim.
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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Kūfī epitaphs from Bhadresarwā in Gujarāt

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

As early as in about 1875 A.D., Dr. James Burgess first drew attention to the Kūfī inscriptions of Bhadresarwā, a small village situated in the outlying Kutch district of Gujarāt, without, however, invoking any interest from scholars for almost a century. In the course of my perusal of his reports, I had already decided to examine these inscriptions at a suitable date, but in the meantime, in 1961, I received photographs of some of these inscriptions from Shri L. J. Joshi, M.A., Secretary of the Kutch Samshodak-Mandal, Bhuj. As the photographs were not very distinct, I visited Bhadresarwā and prepared inked rubbings of these epigraphs in January 1962, in the company of Shri Joshi, Shri Ramsimhjī K. Rathod, an eminent Gujarāti author and scholar, Shri Raval, Curator of the Bhuj Museum, Shri Bharat Vyas, then Block Development Officer, Mundra and Shri Anandsimhjī Jada, sarpanch, Bhadresarwā Panchāyat, for whose active co-operation and help, I am most thankful. It is from these impressions that these records are edited here for the first time.

Bhadresarwā, now a small village, but a pilgrim centre for the Jains, is situated on the coast at a distance of about twenty kilometres to the north-east of the tāluka headquarters Mundra, but the site of this ancient city extends to a considerable distance, east of the present village, most of the area having been subjected to diggings for building material. What now remains of the old buildings are the Jain temple Vasahi, pillars and part of a Šaiva temple and near it a step-well, two old mosques and the tomb of La‘l Shahbāz. The epigraphs studied here come from one of the mosques and the tomb.

The early history of Bhadresarwā is shrouded in obscurity. A traditional account obtained locally was published by Burgess, which, though of legendary character, contains one point of interest, to wit, the mention of Muslims and even the appointment of a Muslim as the prime-minister of the ruling king. According to this account, ‘Chāūndā Akkad was crowned king, Sayvat 670 .......... and at length, finding none managing the affairs satisfactorily, he nominated a Mughul to the prime-ministership. Even this minister’s conduct was represented by the merchants to be faulty, and his life was accordingly taken away. He then took upon himself the government of the country. Entertaining hostile feelings towards the Musalmans, he daily put one of them to death. To avenge this hatred .......... the Musalmans invaded the place, but the invading force was


(1)
annihilated. It was followed by another army from Iran under the command of Sayyid Lālghāh. Akkad Rājā got this commander treacherously buried in a pit. Shortly after, two Muhammadan brothers, commonly known as Auliyās, conquered the said Rājā Akkad and from that day the Muhammadan power increased. A mausoleum for the slain Sayyid Lālghāh and other tombs were at this time built. In honour of the distinguished slain, certain fairs are held up to this day, when their tombs are visited by pilgrims. In Saṁvat 747, one thousand pillared mosques were erected. Akkad Rājā’s reign, according to this account, came to a close in Saṁvat 747.¹

On the face of it, the above account is imaginary, but it does seem to possess a grain of truth as far as the association of the Muslims with Bhadreswar is concerned. The present epigraphs are dated from the middle of the twelfth century onwards, and therefore, the Muslims had not only then arrived at Bhadreswar, but as the dates of these epitaphs indicate, they were already settled there for quite sometime.

Incidentally, three of the epitaphs under study happen to be the earliest authentic Muslim records discovered so far in India, not to mention West Pakistan, where two of still earlier dates have been found.² They are also interesting in that they were set up at a time when not only Gujarat but even major part of northern India was still alien to Muslim rule. Another aspect of these epigraphs that arrests immediate attention is the style of writing which is Kūfī. As is well known, among the very few Kūfī inscriptions of historical nature found in India, none has such ornamental variety of Kūfī, as is found in some of these records.³ The flowery Kūfī, as it is called, represents that variety of this stiff and angular script in which the interweaving shafts of letters carved in bold relief form a motif of floral and arabesque designs. This style of writing was in great vogue in Islamic countries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. We may claim in the present records, at least at present, the earliest example in India of historical inscriptions carved in this style.

Historically too, these epitaphs are of sufficient interest. Ranging in dates from 1159-60 to 1228 A.D., they indicate, like some fewer more records studied in a previous issue of this journal,⁴ the extent of the persecution of the Muslims in Gujarat, corroborate the statements of the early Arab travellers about the Muslim settlements in various towns and cities and also provide, however indirectly, evidence of the relations between western India and other Islamic countries. True, they do not contain such information—they merely give the dates of demise of some persons—as might throw light on the exact nature of these relations. Nevertheless, they provide valuable evidence that long before the Muslim conquest of Gujarat, the Muslims had long inhabited this part of the country. It may be futile to speculate about the profession, etc., of these people, about whom no information is forthcoming from other sources, but it stands to reason to infer that they were not invaders but men of peaceful pursuits who had made the province their permanent home. Then, these inscriptions provide a very interesting evidence on the architectural side. They are sufficient to indicate the local style of the Muslim monuments in Gujarat in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At least the epigraph on the tomb of Pir La’l Shābūz (pp. 2-3), which it may be stressed, is in situ—it is engraved on the slabs of the walls above the architraves—indicates that the building has preserved its original form and character which is essentially indigenous. The above Dargah, situated in a small enclosure formed by a rubble wall, which appears to have been built on the more solid foundations of the original court-wall, is a square structure surmounted by

¹ Burgess, op. cit.
² Epigraphia Indica—Moslemica, 1925-26, p. 28, pl. XIb; ibid., 1921-22, p. 1, pl. XIIa.
³ Another outstanding inscription, in such calligraphical style, is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; dated 1019 A.D., it was reportedly brought from Persia (Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement, 1957 and 1958, pl. IIa).
a dome, which is round from inside and square and pyramid-shaped from outside, contracting upwards by steps and supported on eight pillars set against the walls. A point that may be noted in this connexion is that the construction of the structure is wholly in the trabeate system. It may be recalled that subsequent Muslim tombs including those of the early Sultanate period were, except for the roof-exterior, built almost in this style. Moreover, the final decipherment of these epitaphs attempted in these lines might open a new avenue of research that Kutch, like most parts of Gujarat, had come into Muslim contact from a much earlier period than is generally known. This point particularly needs further investigation in view of the attempts made in the last century to identify Sindan of the Arab geographers with Sindhān in Kutch.¹

Almost all of the epitaphs studied below are badly damaged due to their constant exposure to elements of nature, and the letters have in most cases, lost their prominence. Moreover, they are carved in the intricate ʿUṭāfi style referred to above. Consequently, it has not been possible to decipher these writings in full, which is a matter of no less regret.

**INSCRIPTION NO. 1**

The first inscription in the group is from the Dargāh of Laʾl Shabhāz, to which reference has already been made in the preceding lines. The eastern side of the tomb is taken up by a flat-roofed porch or ante-chamber. It is all around the architrave, above the vine-ornamented wall-head course, of this chamber that our epigraph is engraved in one line, on three sides, and in two lines on the northern side.² In the north-western corner of the courtyard are a few graves, one of which as well as a four-sided pillar at its head are inscribed with ʿUṭāfi letters.

The language of the epigraph is Arabic. The letters are damaged most in the historical portion of the text, that is to say, in the epitaph proper; in a few places, they have almost flaked off. Fortunately, it has been possible to decipher beyond any doubt the name and the date of the death of the deceased and the kunya of his father. But the reading of the names of his father and grandfather is not as certain.

Commencing with religious text comprising the Bismi'llah, the formulae invoking God’s blessings on the Prophet Muḥammad and his progeny and the Ayatu’l-Kursi, the epigraph states that Ibrāhīm, son of Abu’l-ʿAzm ‘Abdu’llah(?), son of Bakr(?), expired in December 1159 or January 1160 A.D. At the time of this epigraph, Gujarat was ruled over by the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla (1143-1178). Not only was it yet to experience a Muslim attack after that of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, but even north India, with the exception of some parts of the Panjab, was yet unconquered.

The epitaph has been read as follows:

**TRXT**

**Plate I**

(a) On the western wall.

YSM ʿAllah ʾrhlm ml ʾAllah ʿl ʾlht md ʿA ʾA(?)

³ BG, vol. V. Modern writers are inclined to identify it with Sanjān in southern Gujarat.


³ The portion after this until عَطِّم in (b) contains Ayatu’l-Kursi (Qurʾān, chapter II, verse 255) only. It is not illustrated in the plate. The writing space of the illustrated portions is: a, 1-98 m. by 21 cm.; b, 66 by 17 cm.; c, 0-8 m. by 20 cm.; and d, 1-8 m. by 16 cm.
(b) On the eastern wall.

أعظم هذا قبر (؟)

(c) On the northern wall, upper line.

العبد الضعيف الراجي إلى رحمة الله ابراهيم بن أبو العزم

(d) On the northern wall, lower line.

عبد الله (؟) بن بكر (؟)........ توفي [إلى] الله بتأخّر (؟) ذي الحجة سنة اربعة و خمسين

و خمساية

TRANSLATION

(a) In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Blessings of Allah be upon the Prophet Muhammad and his descendants

(b) the Great. This grave is of

(c) the weak creature, hopeful of the mercy of Allah, Ibrahim, son of Abu'l-'Azm

(d) 'Abdu'l-Hāh(?) son of Bakr(?). . . . . . was taken into mercy of Allah in the month of Dhi'l-Hijja of the year (A.H.) four and fifty and five hundred (Dhi'l-Hijja A.H. 554=January 1159-December 1159-January 1160 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NOS. 2 AND 3

These two one-line epigraphs, also in Arabic, are engraved on the architraves above the rectangular frames of the southern and northern doors of the same tomb and contain texts of unhistorical purport. They are included here to make the record complete and also on account of their palaeographical interest. Respectively occupying writing space of 1·1 m. by 12 cm., and 1·07 m. by 17 cm., they read as follows:

TEXT

Plate II (add).

(i) On the southern door.

سلام عليكم طلبت فادخلوها خالدين

(ii) On the northern door.

و من كل مكان إما و قت على (؟).......

TRANSLATION

(i) And peace be on you, you shall be happy; therefore, enter it to abide.

(ii) And from every place (we have brought forth a) nation. And to Allah

---

1 Concluding phrase of the Ayatul-Kursi.
3 Qur'an, chapter XXXIX, part of verses 73.
(a) Above the south door, tomb of La'il Shāhbaz, Bhadreswar (p. 4)

Scale: .15

(b) Above the north door, same tomb (p. 4)

Scale: .16

(c) Epitaph, dated A.H. 573, same place (p. 7)

Scale: .14
Epigraph, comprising religious text, on a sarcophagus, Bhadreswar (p. 6).
In the north-west corner of the compound of the same tomb, there is fixed a pillar at the head side of a grave as already mentioned above; both the grave and the pillar are inscribed on the four sides with Arabic inscriptions executed in Kūfī script. The writing on the grave comprises Bismillāh followed by a famous Qur'anic verse generally employed in epitaphs. The style of writing is Kūfī, but with a slightly different flourish: The basic form of its angular letters is the same, but here the shafts of letters have been prolonged and interwoven to produce geometrical designs. The text, which occupies a total writing space of about 1·36 m. by 22 cm. on each of the eastern and western sides and 30 by 33 cm. on each of the northern and southern sides of the sarcophagus, reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate III*

(a) **East-side.**

イスムッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッッ้

(b) **Foot-side.**

و رضوان و جنت

(c) **West-side.**

لهم فيها نعيم مقيم خالدين فيها إبدا ان الله عنده

(d) **Head-side.**

اجير عظيم

**TRANSLATION**

(a) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from himself

(b) and (His) good pleasure and gardens,

(c) wherein lasting blessings shall be theirs; abiding therein for ever; surely Allāh has with Him

(d) a mighty reward.

The inscription on the pillar registers the date of the death of one Abu’l-‘Azīz ‘Alī a’s-Sunyāmī, who expired in 1172 A.D., that is to say, at a time when Kunārāpāla was still ruling over Gujarat. It is executed in a slightly florid Kūfī script. Occupying a total writing space of 1·65 m.

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2 Qur’ān, chapter IX, verses 21-22.
4 The reading of the nisba is not final.
by 23 cm., 1·6 m. by 27 cm., 1·6 m. by 23 cm. and 1·2 m. by 26 cm. respectively on the four sides, a, b, c and d, of the pillar, the text has been deciphered as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate IV(a)*

(a) **South-side.**

(يذى القبر للعبد السعيد الراجي إلى)

(b) **West-side.**

(رحمة الله للنبي أبو العريز على السنامى؟)

(c) **North-side.**

(توفي بتاريخ يوم الثلاثة العشرين من شهر شعبان)

(d) **East-side.**

(من شهر سنة ستين خمسا)

**TRANSLATION**

(a) This grave is that of the fortunate creature, hopeful of the mercy of Allâh the saviour, Abu’l-'Azîz ‘Alî a’s-Sunyamü(?),

(b) who died on Tuesday, twentieth of the month of Sha'âbân

(c) of the months of year (A.H.) nine, sixty (and) five hundred (20th Sha'bân A.H. 569=26th March 1174 A.D.).

**INSCRIPTION NO. 6**

Between the Jain temple and the above Dargâh, but a little to the south, are the remains of a large mosque, half buried in the sand, built of large blocks of stone, whose size may be judged from the pillars, square at the base, octagonal in the middle and circular above, having bracket capitals and lintels, about three metres long. The somewhat undisturbed portion of the monument consists of the two rows of columns in front of the mihrâb of the prayer-hall. The mosque is locally called Solâkhambrî mosque.

There are a few sarcophagæ, consisting of single blocks of stone, to be found close to the mosque and some more buried in the sand.¹ Among these, the triangular top of one grave bearing the earliest epigraph lies just behind the west wall, near the qibla.² Its eastern side is inscribed with religious texts, while the western side contains the epitaph proper engraved in floral Kûfî of a fairly good workmanship. It is unfortunate that the sarcophagus has considerably weathered and also broken on one side, and some of the letters on it have flaked off. Hence, it was not possible to decipher the name of the deceased, but there is absolutely no doubt about the date, viz. Jumâdâ I A. H. 573 (October-November 1177 A.D.), on which he expired.

¹ It is very likely that the buried tombs are also inscribed. These should be dug out.

(a) Epitaph, dated A.H. 569, from Bhadreswar (p. 6)

Scale: i, '09; ii, '07; iii, iv, '1

(b) Another epitaph, dated A.H. 624, same place (p. 7)

Scale: '14
The text of the epitaph is in Arabic, occupies an area of about 1.25 m. by 20 cm. on each side of the stone and has been deciphered as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate II(c)*

(a) **East side.**

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا إله إلا هو كل شيء هالك إلا وجهه نه الحكم
(2) و إليه ترجون كل نفس ذائقة الموت لا إله إلا الله محمد ﷺ

(b) **West side.**

........................................
(1) هذا القبر للعبد الضعيف الراقي إلى رحمة الله تعالى
(2) توقيت بتاريخ شهر جمادى الأول من شهر سنة ثلاث و سبعين و خمساً

**TRANSLATION**

(a) (1) In the name of Allâh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'There is no god but He; every thing is perishable but He; His is the judgment,'

(2) and to Him you shall be brought back'. 'All living things will taste of death.' There is no god but Allâh (and) Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allâh.

(b) (1) This grave belongs to the weak creature, hopeful of the mercy of the exalted Allâh

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

(2) expired in Jumâdâ First, of the months of the year (A.H.) three and seventy and five hundred (Jumâdâ I A.H. 573=October-November 1177 A.D.).

**INSCRIPTION NO. 7**

The sarcophagus, containing the seventh inscription or rather the concluding part thereof, lies buried into the ground immediately to the northern side of the west wall of the above mosque, and it was with some difficulty that the rubbing, from which the illustration is prepared, could be taken. The other side, which may have contained the earlier portion of the text, provided the same has survived, giving the deceased's name, is buried deep into sand and could not be dug out. The visible portion contains the date only, to wit, 20th of the month of Sha'âbân, year A.H. 6(?)-24 (5th August 1227 A.D.), which is evidently that of death. The style of writing is slightly flowery Kūfî and the language Arabic. The text occupies a writing space of about 1.06 m. by 20 cm. and has been deciphered as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate IV (b)*

West side.

بتاريخ يوم الجمعة عشرين من شهر شعبان سنة أربع و العشرين [و ستماية]
West side.

On Friday, the twentieth of the month of Sha'bān year (A.H.) four and twenty and six (1) hundred (20th Sha'bān A.H. 625–5th August 1227 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 8

The last epitaph in the group, also in Arabic, is inscribed on both sides of the conical top of the stone sarcophagus lying half buried in the sand, just outside the north wall of the Solâkhambhī m.sque.¹ It is even much more damaged than the previous one: The writing is almost obliterated in the first line on both the sides, and badly affected in the second line. It has, therefore, not been possible to make out the name of the deceased and to decipher, beyond any doubt, the date of the death. According to my reading, the deceased passed away in the month of Sha'bān A.H. 625 (July-August 1228 A.D.). The text is executed in plain Kūfī, and the space occupied on the stone by the text, quoted in a and b measures 1.2 m. by 20 cm. each and in c, 40 by 16 cm. The text is read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate V

(a) East side.

(1)...
(2)...

(b) West side.

(1)...
(2)...

(c) Below (b).

و العشرين و ستمة

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) ...
(2) 'Everyone on it must pass away. And there will endure for ever the person of your Lord, the Lord of glory and honour.'²

(b) (1) This grave is that of...
(2) ... died in the month of Sha'bān the honoured, of the months of the year (A.H.) five

(c) and twenty and six hundred (Sha'bān A.H. 625=July-August 1228 A.D.).

² Qurʾān, chapter LV, verses 26-27.
A FOURTEENTH CENTURY EPITAPH FROM KONKAN

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

The age-old Konkan region in Maharashtra mainly comprises that strip of land on the western coast of India which is bound by the Arabian sea on the west and by the famous Western Ghāṭs or Sahyādri mountain-range on the east. The districts that constitute the region are Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri.¹

In the course of my visit to Janjira fort and other places in the Kolaba district in the winter of 1961, I was informed by Mr. A.A. Kadir, Epigraphical Assistant, that a loose inscribed tablet was lying in the ‘Aidrusiya-Khānqāh at Rajpuri, once an important town but now reduced to a village, situated at the mouth of the creek of the same name, about 45 miles south now of Bombay, in the Murud tāluka. Through Sayyid Ḥusain Qādir, the teacher-cum-postmaster of the place, I contacted Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Aidrūs, the present ināmdār and sajjada-nashīn of the saintly establishment, who very kindly agreed to allow me to examine the inscription which turned out to be an interesting epitaph.² I am grateful to the kindness and solicitous cooperation of these gentlemen.

The inscriptive tablet of white marble is rather of small dimensions, measuring as it does 30 by 20 cm. The small size may be due to the fact that it was intended to be set up on the grave of a child. Inquiries made of the chief of the Khānqāh and others in the locality, about the original findspot of the record, yielded no result, which is rather unfortunate.

The text of the epitaph is, as usual, in Arabic and is executed in relief in Thulṭūt-cum-Riqāʾ script of a high order. It runs into four lines of writing, first of which comprises a famous Quranic text on the transitoriness of everything except the Face of Allāh. The remaining three constitute the epitaph proper, according to which ‘Alāʾu’d-Dīn ‘Alī expired on the 3rd Šafar A.H. 768 (9th October 1366 A.D.). The deceased is mentioned in the text as a young child of the celebrated governor of Gujarat under the later Tughrils, namely Mafkharu’l-Khawāss Malik Mufarrāh Sultānī, the royal dawādīr (ink-stand bearer).

The inscription is thus not only important because it is the earliest Muslim record, discovered or known so far from the region,³ but it also furnishes an important piece of information about an aspect of the personal life of the Gujarat governor. The earliest mention of Malik Mufarrāh in historical works is found in connexion with his initial appointment to the deputy governorship—and not governorship as is generally but erroneously held, as suggested by me elsewhere⁴ of Gujarat in A.H. 778 (1376-77 A.D.). He is next reported to have put to death Malik Ya’qūb Sikandar Khān, the newly appointed governor in about A.H. 789 (1387 A.D.), and was subsequently made governor which office he held until he was killed in A.H. 793 (1391 A.D.) in the battle with Zafar Khān, later on Mużaffar Shāh I of Gujarat. On the other hand, epigraphs from Dholka and Cambay, respectively in Ahmadabad and Kaira districts of Gujarat, furnish information about his having held a high position as early as in A.H. 762 (1361 A.D.): in that

¹ For more particulars about the region, see The Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. XV (Oxford, 1908), pp 394-95.
³ The only other early record, dated three years later, is a bilingual epitaph of one Nākhudā Ghaftār. Its exact findspot is also not known. It is now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and was published in Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS) for 1957 and 1958, pp. 12-13, pl. IVa.
⁴ EIAPS, 1962, p. 13 and f.n. 1.
year, he was the royal dauidār as well as the muqta' of Cambay with the title Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Din.¹

But nowhere any mention is made of the family life or family of Malik Mufarrah. Even the bare fact that he was married or had a family is not mentioned or hinted at by any writer. That accounts for the value of the record under study, which not only shows that Malik Mufarrah was a married man but had at least one, if not more, male issue. Another interesting point raised by the epigraph is about the region to which Malik Mufarrah might have belonged. As has been stated above, it is not certain beyond any doubt that the inscription is in situ or belongs to the neighbourhood of Rajpuri. If, however, it is proved that the tablet belongs to that area, as is more likely than not, it would mean that Malik Mufarrah had, if he did not actually belong to Konkan, some association at least with that territory. It does not seem to be an unreasonable guess that Malik Mufarrah was very likely one of the many Arab settlers or a descendent of one of them, who were domiciled in Konkan. His name, Mufarrah and that of his son, 'Ali, point to this strong probability.

The text of the epitaph reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate VI (a)

(1) كل من عليها فان و يبلى وجه ربك ذو الجلال و الاكرام

(2) هذا قبر الصغير السعيد المفروض علالادين على ابن الامير

(3) المجالف الخواص ملك مفرح سلطان دوديار ناصي

(4) فوق يوم الجمعه الثالث من صفر سنة ثمان و سبعين و سبعماه

TRANSLATION

(1) 'Everything thereon shall pass away, and there shall endure the Face of Thy Lord, the Lord of glory and honour.'

(2) This is the grave of the young, the fortunate, the pardoned 'Alau'd-Din 'Ali, son of the

(3) magnificent nobleman, Mafkaru'l-Khawass, Malik Mufarrah Sultaani, the royal dauidār

(ink-stand-bearer),

(4) who died on Friday the third of Safar, in the (year A.H.) eight and sixty and seven hundred

(3rd Safar A.H. 768-9th October 1366 A.D.).

It will be noticed that the age of the deceased 'Ali is indicated in the text by the word saqhir which is legally applied to a minor who has not yet reached his bulagh, that is to say, one who has not yet attained the age of fourteen years. But here, I feel, the word saqhir denotes that 'Ali was just a child at the time of his death.

¹ For this and other details regarding the career of Malik Mufarrah, see EIAPS, 1962, pp. 9-14.
² Qur'ān, chapter LV, verse 26 and part of verse 27.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SAYYID KINGS FROM BUDAUN

BY W. H. SIDDQUI

In this article, I intend to publish four inscriptions of the Sayyid kings found at Budaun, district headquarters in Uttar Pradesh. They were copied by the Superintendent for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, in 1960. All these records were previously published by Cunningham, Blochmann and Raḍžu'd-Dīn Ḍāmī, but none of them in a scientific manner, and hence it was deemed necessary to edit them properly. The present article forms part of my study of the epigraphical records from this state, which appeared in the earlier issues of this journal.

The need of a proper study of these inscriptions can hardly be exaggerated. These post-Tughluq inscriptions belong to a critical period of the history of northern India, when, the fabric of the central authority was broken into pieces and the provincial governors and local chieftains assumed sovereignty even at a distance of 30 kilometres from Delhi. Seen in this perspective, this study should be valuable for the regional history of the period, and as the epigraphs are illustrated, may also be of some benefit to the students of palaeography.

The Sayyid dynasty, founded after the downfall of the Tughluqs in 1414 by Khīḍr Khān, governor of Multan under Fīrūz Tughluq, reigned at Delhi and Budaun for more than sixty years. Of its four rulers, the second, namely, Mubārak Shāh, was the ablest after Khīḍr Khān. He was a great builder, as is evidenced by the founding of the city of Mubārakābād, along with a cathedral mosque, at Delhi. But his successors Muḥammad Shāh and 'Alāʻu'd-Dīn Ālam Shāh were weak-minded and incompetent. The latter abdicated in favour of Buhāl Lodī in A.H. 852 (1448-49 A.D.), to settle down at Budaun permanently, contenting himself with a small territory. He died there in A.H. 883 (1478-79 A.D.) after a total reign of nearly 28 years.

Of the four records studied here, the first is dated in the reign of Mubārak Shāh, and the remaining three mention 'Alāʻu'd-Dīn Ālam Shāh.

Mubarak Shah

Mubārak Shāh's inscription, which is incidentally the only one to be found so far, was for the first and the only time noticed by Raḍžu'd-Dīn who published an eye-tracing of its text without any illustration or critical note in his Urdu work on the history of Budaun and its monuments. The inscribed tablet is fixed into the wall of a dālān containing the grave of Ḥāfiz 'Alī Asadullāh, in

1 Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS), 1962, pp. 41-52 and ibid., 1964, pp. 1-20, the latter being in joint authorship with Dr. Z.A. Dossani.
2 Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, Tabaqah-i-Akbār (Lucknow, 1875), p. 148.
the southern verandah of the Khān-ki-Masjid in Māhalla Sohta. It does not appear to be in its original position, and very likely it was brought from some other place.

According to Rađīu’d-Dīn, the tablet was fixed into its present place by Ḥāfiz ‘Alī Aḥmad Māhmūdu’llāh Shāh, when he constructed the said dālān containing his father’s grave in recent times, but he is also unable to throw any light on its original findspot. The epigraph being fragmentary, that part of the text which usually mentions the object of construction is lost. It would, therefore, be wrong to say that the epigraph reported the construction of a mosque and that ‘there is one of Mubārak Shāh at Budap, of no great architectural significance’, as Dr. K.S. Lal states in his latest work on the history of the Sayyids and the Lodis. Evidently, Dr. Lal was mislead by the entry relating to this record in Dr. J. Horovitz’s List, but one looks in vain for any reference to this epigraph, or to the so-called mosque, in either of the other two works quoted by Dr. Lal. Perhaps, he has mixed up his notes.

Presently measuring 88 by 50 cm., the tablet is unfortunately broken in such a way that some valuable portion of the writing on the right-hand side, containing the builder’s name, the object of construction, etc., is missing. The extant text in Arabic, which is executed in two lines in bold Nashā characters of a fairly good order, records A.H. 835 (1431 A.D.) as the date of the construction of some structure, completed through the efforts of one Maliku’š Shārqa whose name is lost.

The text reads as under:

**TEXT**

Plate VI (b)

[Text in Arabic]

(1) ............... the lord .. Mubārak Shāh, may (Allah) perpetuate his kingdom, through the efforts of Maliku’š Shārqa

(2) ............ may his dignity be eternal, on the date, second of (the month of) Muḥarram, year (A.H.) thirtyfive and eight hundred (2nd Muḥarram A.H. 835-10th September 1431 A.D.).

As stated above, the particulars about the builder are lost, except his title Maliku’š Shārqa. Therefore, it is not possible to correctly identify him, particularly when we remember, as is well known, that quite a few nobles of the period held this title. The fact that the person referred to in our epigraph also held this title suggests that he was a distinguished officer. Now one Malik Chīman is mentioned in historical records to have held the iqtā’ of Budap during the period under study. It is likely that he is the person intended in the epigraph.

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5. I am thankful to Dr. Z.A. Desai for the information contained in this para.
The second inscription constitutes the first of the three records mentioning 'Alā’u-Dīn 'Ālām Shāh, the last of the Sayyid kings. It is an interesting epigraph which mentions this ruler of the petty kingdom of Budaun and its vicinity as the king of kings. Nevertheless, it is important, since it bears testimony to his independent rule.

The inscriptional tablet which measures 1.22 m. by 36 cm., is fixed above the eastern doorway of the tomb of the mother of Fath Khān in the Na‘r-Sarai locality of the town. It was noticed by Cunningham who had described it briefly in his Report. It registers the construction of the tomb of the mother of Shāhzāda Fath Khān in 1456 A.D. The three-line text in Persian is executed in bold Nasīḥ script which is slightly different in flourishes from that of the previous epigraph, and is quoted below:—

**TEXT**

_Plate VI (c)_

(1) بَنِي اَيْن عَمَّرُتُ كِنْدَاء حُرَّمِ مَحروْسَه مَرْحومَه مَغْفُورَه وَالْدَّة شَازَادَة فَتْحْخَان
(2) ذَرَ عَدْد سَلَطَانِ سَلَطَانِ السَّلاطين عَلَى الدِّينِ وَالْدِّينِ أَلْلَه
(3) ۳۳ فِي الْعَالَمِ التَّابِعِ مِنْ جَمَاعِ الأُولِي أَبْنِاءِ سَنَةِ سِنِينَ وَثَمانِيَةِ

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This edifice of the dome (i.e. tomb) of the enclosed sanctuary of the deceased and pardoned mother of Shāhzāda Fath Khān (was constructed)

(2) during the reign of the king of kings 'Alā’u’d-Dunyā wa’Dīn, shadow of Allāh

(3) on earth, (on) the ninth of (the month of) Jumāda’l-Awwal (in the) month's of the year (A.H.) sixty and eight hundred (9th Jumāda I A.H. 860-15th April 1456 A.D.).

About Shāhzāda Fath Khān, we have no definite information. Cunningham presumes that his mother was one of the wives of 'Alā’u-Dīn 'Ālām Shāh, but his presumption, not corroborated by any evidence, appears to be quite speculative. In the district gazetteer, the prince is identified with the eldest son of Firuz Shāh Tughluq. This also does not seem to be correct, for Firuz's son Fath Khān had died in A.H. 778 (1376-77 A.D.), during the lifetime of his father, and it is doubtful if his mother, even if she had lived as long, would have been buried at Budaun. Besides these, there were two more historical figures of this period who bore this name. One was Fath

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1 _ARIE_, 1960-61, No. D, 247, where it is inadvertently stated to be on the southern entrance.
2 Cunningham, op. cit. (Rağlu’ Dīn, op. cit., p. 66, reports the tablet as missing in 1907, but the same was found by me intact in 1960.—Ed.)
3 Here, evidently "ٌنَٰٰ ی" is intended,
4 The reading of this word is suggested by my colleague, Shri S. A. Rahim, to whom I am grateful.
5 The term شَخْصِيَاتِیَاتِی is to be taken in its literal meaning, 'months' and not as indicating the era.
6 Cunningham, op. cit., p. 10.
7 According to the local tradition quoted by Blochmann, 'Notes on Arabic and Persian Inscriptions', _JASB_, vol. XLII (1872), p. 112, 'Alāu’ u-Dīn had three sons, namely, Absan, 'Abbās and Ḥaidar.
8 Nevill, op. cit., p. 190.
9 Shams Siraj ‘Affif, _Tarikh-i-Firūz Shāh_ (Calcutta, 1891, p. 493.)
Khān, son of Sultan Muṣaffar I of Gujarat, who served Mubārak Shāh Sayyid, but he died in A.H. 834, fighting against Amir Shāikh 'Alī, governor of Kabul. It is not possible to say if the tomb has anything to do with his mother. Then, there was Shāhzāda Fāth Khān Hīroī, a distinguished noble of Māhmūd Shāh Shārgū of Jaunpur. It may be recalled that he is also mentioned in the inscriptions from Bilgram in Hardoi district and Hathgaon in Fatehpur district of Uttar Pradesh itself. It appears more likely that it is the mother of this Fāth Khān who lies buried in the tomb.

The second inscription of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn is set up over the eastern door of a tomb, in the Maḥalla Mīrān-Sarāi. It possesses both historical and calligraphical value. Historically, it is yet another record to indicate the independent rule of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Ālam Shāh at Budaun.

Also, it determines the tomb as that of Makhduμā-i-Jahān mother of the king. Locally, the tomb is ascribed to the Sultan himself. Now there is another tomb, situated at a distance of about twelve metres to the south of the queen-mother's tomb, which Cunningham calls Tomb H and which, he thinks, may belong to one of the sons of the king. It must be this tomb to which the inscription to be studied next, now fixed over the entrance of the unpretentious mosque in the same locality, must have originally belonged, for it refers to the endowment for the tomb of Sultan 'Alā'u'd-Dīn as well as that of his wife. It follows, therefore, that in these two tombs, the queen-mother, the king and the queen were buried. Very likely, the tomb on which the epigraph under study appears today contained the mortal remains of the two queens and the other tomb, Tomb H of Cunningham, belonged to the king himself. It may be remembered that Blochmann who edited the inscription now appearing on the mosque refers to it to belong to the tomb of the king. Incidentally, Cunningham is inclined to regard with little doubt a tomb, situated to the west of the town and marked by him as Tomb C, as that of the king, on the basis that one of the two dates in the inscription appearing above it, is A.H. 882, which he takes as the date of the death of the king though, as he himself states, according to Firīghta, the king died in A.H. 883. But the same inscription clearly attributes the tomb to Malikuš Shāq 'Imādu'l-Mulk and assigns its construction to his son, who also bore the same title.

From the calligraphical point of view, the epigraph is noteworthy for its execution in an attractive bold Nasḵī style which disappeared soon after this period from the lithic records of northern India; Nasḵī writing employed in subsequent inscriptions suffered from crudity and degeneration for sometime until the emergence of Nastaʿlīq in the early Mughal period.

The text of this epigraph is inscribed in three lines in Persian on a tablet measuring 97 by 52 cm. and has been published by Blochmann, Cunningham and Raḏu'd-Dīn, whose readings are correct with an exception or two. It assigns the construction of the tomb of Bībī Makhduμā-i-Jahān to the reign of her son 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Ālam Shāh. No specific mention is made of the builder, who it may be safely presumed, was the king. The record is dated A.H. 866 (1462 A.D.).

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2 E.I.A.S, 1962, pp. 47 (pl. XIXb), 49 (pl. XIVb). For details of his career, see ibid., p. 48 and f.n.1.
3 A.R.E, 1960-61, No. D, 244. For a description of the tomb, see Cunningham, op. cit., p. 10.
4 Raḏu'd-Dīn, op. cit., p. 55.
5 Cunningham, op. cit., p. 11.
6 Blochmann, op. cit., p. 110.
7 Cunningham, op. cit., p. 9.
8 A.R.E, 1960-61, No. D, 248. This whole para is contributed by the editor.
9 Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1872, p. 49 and 1874, p. 100; Cunningham, op. cit., p. 10; and Raḏu'd-Dīn, op. cit., p. 55.
Its text reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate VII (a)*

(1) بناء اين عمارة گنبد بیرونی مخومه جهان مرحومه مغفوره والده حضرت سلیمان

(2) علاء الدنيا و الین عالمشاه سلطان در عهد سلطنت سلطان مذكور

(3) مورخا التاسع عشر من رجب قدره سنة ستوسینیو ثما نماية

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The building of this edifice of the dome (i.e. tomb) of Bibi Makhduima-i-Jahān, the deceased and pardoned mother of the king of Solomon-like Majesty,

(2) 'Aļāu’-d-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn ʿĀlam Shāh sultān, (took place) during the reign of the said king.

(3) Written on the nineteenth of (the month of) Rajab, may its dignity increase, year (A.H.) six and sixty and eight hundred (19th Rajab A.H. 866=19th April 1462 A.D.).

The fourth and the last inscription of this paper is an undated but valuable record, which provides some interesting information about Budaun and its vicinity during the period under review. The inscription is now fixed on the facade of a mosque in the same Mīrān-Sarāi Mahalla, but it is apparently not in situ, since it was lying loose in the said mosque when Raḍīu’-d-Dīn wrote, and moreover, from its text, it appears to have belonged to the tomb of Sultan 'Aļāu’-d-Dīn or an edifice connected with it. Incomplete and imperfect reading and eye-tracing of this record published respectively by Blochmann and Raḍīu’-d-Dīn should account for its inclusion in this article. It is a matter of great satisfaction that it has been possible to decipher the text almost completely, with the kind help of Dr. Z. A. Desai, Superintendent for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions and editor of this journal.

The huge tablet, measuring 1.08 m. by 60 cm., contains six lines of writing mainly in Persian. The *Naskh* variety of Arabic script, in which the text of the record is written and the intricate manner in which the script is employed, present difficulty in its exact decipherment. The inscription is, however, quite informative: it records that Her Highness Bibi Mughalīf, wife of the late Sultan 'Aļāu’-d-Dīn ʿĀlam Shāh, reclaimed and rehabilitated the village of Hindol (†), situated in the *a’māl-tappa* Jhulna(†), which was lying desolate for a long time, and having become eligible for its proprietary rights by virtue of her having reclaimed it, in accordance with Islamic law, she endowed it for the maintenance of the tomb of the Sultan as well as that of her. It also quotes the name of one Malik Salāmat Sulṭānī as the *mutawalli* (trustee) of the endowment. It does not bear any date, as stated above.

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2 Raḍīu’-d-Dīn, op. cit., p. 56.
3 Blochmann, op. cit., p. 110, refers to it as being from the tomb of the king. The slab therefore been dislodged and brought to the mosque some time after 1872, but before 1907, when Raḍīu’-d-Dīn was.
In the absence of diacritical marks and slightly damaged state of the letters, the correct names of these places cannot be determined. Blochmann read these as 'Pindoli, in Tappa Jhonah (or Johniah), pargana Sālbāhan' and quotes Mr. Wilson, C. S., Budaun, who forwarded to him the rubbing of this inscription, as saying that "there is a village called 'Pindol', and another called 'Nāgar Jhonah' in paragana Koṭ Sālbāhan of this district [Badaon] but there is no subdivision known as 'Tappa Jhonah'."1 The reading of the village-name looks more like Hindoli than Pindoli, and Jhulna than Jhonah or Johniah. Also, the pargana-name Sālbāhan² does not occur in the text at all.

The epigraph is thus quite important. It gives the name of 'Alāu d-Dīn’s wife and also sheds some light, however, indirectly, on her compassionate nature in that she took the trouble of re-claiming a desolate village and endowed it for the maintenance of the tomb or tombs which must have benefited at least the people looking after them. No date is given, but it is clear that the epigraph must have been set up after A.H. 883 (1478-79 A.D.), the date of 'Alāu’Dīn’s death. Also, the fact that either Bibi Mughalī had selected or rather constructed her own tomb during her life-time or she was interred in one of the two tombs is known from this epigraph. This would indicate that the Tomb H of Cunningham, referred to above, must be the original findspot of this record.³

The text reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate VII (b)*

(1) ببی مغل مکلا [مهم] الامام السلطان الامام العادل الباذل علا الدنيا والدين

عالم شاه

(2) ابن السلطان المرحوم المغفور محمد شاه السلطان طاب ترثاهما و جعل الجنة مثواهما

موضع هندوی [عمال]

(3) تیه جه [و لنه (؟) کہ از سالنہ باز خراب و ماند افتادہ مسکن وحوش و طیور

کشتہ مالک (؟) موضع مکلا کسی نامانہ ... بخشقت جانی والی احیا و

(4) آبادان کردارانہ موضع مکلا بر حکم حدیث نبی صلی اللہ علیہ و سلم من احیا اورنا

میتہ فنی لہ ملک احیانی بندگی ببی مغل کشتہ مالک مکلا موضع مسطورہ بر حظیرہ

1 Blochmann, op. cit., p. 111.

2 The correct reading of these words, taken to be the pargana-name by Blochmann, is "کہ از سالنہ باز".

3 These two paragraphs are by the editor.
(a) Epigraph of 'Alāū'd-Dīn Ālam Shāh, dated A.H. 866, from Budaun (p. 16)
(b) Inscription of the endowment of a village by Bibi Mughal, wife of Ālam Shāh, same place (p. 16)
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SAYYID KINGS FROM BUDAUN

(5) Sultan al-makhur wa l-manafidh Khud Basm Karar Waqif Kardhe wa Rukmam as-Paradisin

[He is] in Paradise, and His name is written among the [names] of the kings of the earth,  

(6) al-A'im al-Ghadhir (the) (and) the village Tarbū (abode),  

TRANSLATION

(1) Bibi Mughal, wife of the great, illustrious, just and generous Sultan Alau’d-Dunya wa’d-Din Alam Shag.

(2) son of the deceased and pardoned king Muhammad Shag, the Sultan, may their dust (i.e. grave) be purified and may paradise be their abode, (having found that) the village Hindoli (?) (in the) a’ml (district) of

(3) tapija Jhulna (?), from years together, was lying waste and desolate, and had become the dwelling-place of wild beasts and birds, and had no owner......................, with great physical labour, and material help revived

(4) and populated it (and) the said village, in accordance with the tradition of the Prophet, may Allah’s salutations and peace be upon him, to the effect that, ‘Whoever revives the dead land, that land will belong to him,’ became the reclaimed property of Her Majesty Bibi Mughal. She, the (new) owner of the above-mentioned village, endowed (it) for the tomb of the

(5) said king and that of her own, in the name of (i.e. for the merit of) Karrar (i.e. ‘All), and it was (also) ratified by the governor. Whoever will interfere with the said endowment or will alter any of its conditions, will be held in the eye of Allah, responsible

(6) and guilty, and in this world(?) a sinner. Allah, the Exalted, has said, ‘If any one changes the bequest after hearing it, the guilt shall be on those who make the change. For, Allah hears and knows all things’.

Right margin.

The mutawalli of the aforesaid village is Malik Salamat Sultan.

Nothing is known about Malik Salamat Sultan who worked as the mutawalli of the village. He was evidently an official, perhaps, retired, of note.

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1 This portion of the text has not come out on the estampage from which the illustration is prepared, since the right side edge of the slab containing it is built up within the wall. For its illustration, see Blochmann, op. cit., pl. I and Rashidu’d-Din, op. cit., p. 56.

2 For this tradition of the Prophet, see Sahih Bukhari, chapter I, arth, no. 15.

3 Qur’an, chapter II, verse 181.
In conclusion, I express my gratefulness to Dr. Z. A. Desai, Superintendent for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur and editor of this journal for having offered many suggestions in the decipherment of these inscriptions and help in the preparation of this article.
INSCRIPTIONS ON THE KUSHK-MAHAL AT CHANDERI

By S. A. Rahim

At Fatubad near Chanderi in Guna district of Madhya Pradesh, stands the partially ruined palace known as Kushk-Mahal. It is square in plan with a diameter of about thirty-four metres, and is entered by four impressive gateways one in each side. The interior on the ground floor is turned into four quadrants by the intersection, at right angles, of the two arched passages, and it is these quadrants which accommodated the palace halls. Just within each of the four gateways start two flights of stairs leading to the first storey and descending or opening, through the passages, into the other quadrants. The whole monument, in the words of Sir John Marshall, 'depends for its charm upon its virile proportions, well co-ordinated parts and unaffected simplicity'.

The Kushk-Mahal, the remains of whose four storeys still exist, has been identified as a seven-storeyed palace ordered to be built in 1445 by Mahmud Shāh I Khalji of Malwa. Historians report that when the Malwa Sultan passed through Fatubad on his way back from Jaunpur, he gave orders for a seven-storeyed palace to be erected there. According to Marshall, there is no inscription on the monument, but 'the style of the structure is not unworthy to be ranked with those of Mahmud Shāh at Mandu.'

It would not be, however, wholly correct to say that the Kushk-Mahal does not bear any inscription. There are about a score of places on the sides of the walls enclosing the stair-cases, referred to above, which bear short inscriptions. The rubbings of some of these were found in the bundles of old estampages which were transferred to our office, from the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, South India, who in his turn seems to have received them quite some time back from the Archaeological Department of the erstwhile Gwalior State. I prepared fresh rubbings of these records when I toured some places in Madhya Pradesh, including Chanderi, in November 1962. Of these, some are mere repetitions of the same text and as such have been excluded from this purview. The remaining four inscriptions are edited here for the first time.

These inscriptions raise an important question, as to whether they are contemporary with the building or not. They do not appear to be so, because they are not inscribed on tablets set up on the walls, nor are they found incised on prominent places on the monument. A building of such magnificence would have had, if at all it was so planned, an inscription of proportionate prominence. This does not rule out the possibility, however, of the existence of an epigraph on the monument, for it is possible that it had one and may have disappeared since. Moreover, the texts of the inscriptions under study are also vague on this point, for they do not make any

\[1\] Sir Wolseley Haig, ed. The Cambridge History of India, vol. III (Cambridge, 1926), p. 623. It is also described by Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, Islamic Period (Bombay, 1942), p. 68.

\[2\] Nizām ud-Din Ahmad, Tabarqāt-i Abkari (Lucknow, 1875), p. 328; Firishṭa, Tūris̱,i-Firishṭa, vol. II (Kanpur, 1884), p. 248; Haig, op. cit.

\[3\] Haig, op. cit.

\[4\] Office of the Superintendent, Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.

\[5\] These records, however, do not seem to have been noticed either in the Archaeological Reports of the Gwalior State or in Harihar Niwas Drivedi, Gwalior Rājya-ke-Abhilekh (Gwalior, 1947).
explicit reference to the palace-building or its construction. In view of these facts, it appears more likely that these records are either visitors’ etchings or some sort of mementos which the governors, the palace-guards or some other officials might have desired to leave on the stone.

Fortunately, one of these four records is dated, and since the same penmanship is employed in the other three records, they can also be safely taken as having been inscribed at about the same time or at short intervals. Their language is Persian and style of writing cursive Naskh. The wear and tear of time has affected the stone, resulting into partial obliteration of some of the letters, particularly in the first inscription.

The contents of these four epigraphs classify them into two groups: one, of the first inscription, and the other, of the remaining three. The first refers itself to the governorship (‘amal) of Khān-i-A’zam Shārāf Khān Sulṭānī and the superintendence (shahnaqi) of one person whose name is not very legible; it seems to be Rāja, (son of) Shams, (son of) Fath. The name of the writer which is also not clear, appears to be Shīv Sing(?) Gūlhar. This inscription is dated 1489-90.

The three records of the other group refer, between themselves, to the governorship of Malik Mallū Sulṭānī and superintendence of Sarkhāl Shāriqī Mulkī and quote Gūlhar Jīt (?) Dev, as the scribe. They are undated and hence, it is difficult to state positively if they are earlier than the above dated inscription or not.

Thus the epigraphs are not only interesting, but also historically important. We have already seen above that the Kuskh-Mahal is popularly identified with the seven-storeyed palace ordered to be built by Mahmūd Khalji in about 1445. None of the above inscriptions, one of which bears the date 1489-90, can be categorically stated to confirm or reject this identification. The text of even the dated record is so worded that it may be either taken to refer to the construction or to indicate nothing more than a visitor’s record or a memento. If the word shahna is taken to mean shahna-i-imārat, that is to say superintendent or supervisor of construction, the inscription may be taken to indicate the construction of the palace, but if on the other hand, shahnaqi is taken to merely indicate the duties of a local official, as shahna was, like kotwal, it would only mean that the writing was engraved by some visitor or official in the time of that shahna and of the then governor. But the way in which the term shahnaqi is used with the name of Sarkhāl Shāriqī-Mulkī in one of the records of the Mallū Khān group, may be taken by some to signify that the person was in charge of the construction. If that be so, the epigraph would provide important evidence about the date of the monument, which will be about five decades later than the usually accepted date. In the alternative, the term shahnaqi may mean that Sarkhāl Shāriqī-Mulkī was the shahna in charge of the palace, i.e. for its maintenance. Thus it is difficult to arrive at any conclusion on this point. I am inclined to think that these inscriptions do not directly refer to the monument at all, but were only incised, slightly later-on, to commemorate the names of the local officials. In any case, the present records do show that the building was not constructed after 1489-90.

Another point that is worth consideration is, which of the two persons, under whose governorship the epigraphs were carved, flourished earlier? Now, Khān-i-A’zam Shārāf Khān is mentioned as the governor at the time of the dated record, i.e. in 1489-90, while according to the remaining three records, which are undated, Malik Mallū Khān was the governor. It is here that literary works may be of some help: at least three prominent noblemen named Mallū Khān are mentioned in historical works: Mallū Khān who died in about A.H. 858; his son Mallū Khān whose date of death is not known and Mallū Khān who played an active role in the Malwa politics during the time of the invasions of Bahādur Shāh, Humāyūn and Sher Shāh; at the time of Sher Shāh’s invasion, he was king of Malwa under the title Qādir Shāh. It is difficult to say if the

last mentioned is identical with Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān, mentioned just above. But the time factor indicates that Mallū Khān Qādir Shāh is not intended here.¹

As regards the father and son, though both were nobles of first rank, not much is known about them from literary sources. However, an inscription dated A.H. 888, from some place in Madhya Pradesh, which was published in the previous issue of this series, designates Mallū Khān Junior as the mudtir² of the shīq of Ajmer and states that after the death of his father in A.H. 858, he had carried out repairs and extensions to the mosque built by his father in Sihore (or Sihora), whither he had come for the marriages of his sons, Asad Khān, Sharaf Khān and Lād Khān.³ Now if Malik Mallū Khān of our epigraphs were identical with Mallū Khān Senior, the records must have been inscribed before A.H. 858; that would make them almost contemporary with the palace built by the orders of Mahmūd Khaljī. But in view of the fact that the plain title Malik Mallū Sultānī is used in the text, and Mallū Khān Senior must have earned the title Masnad-i-‘Ālī or the like towards the end of his career, it would be reasonable to hold that the person intended here is the son.

This presumption, if correct, would enable us to determine the approximate date of the three epigraphs, and thereby, the seniority of the two governors. It will be noticed that the present epigraphs only designate Mallū Khān as Malik, while the above inscription of A.H. 888 under reference, speaks of him as Ulugh-i-A’zam Qutugh-i-Mu’aggam, Masnad-i-‘Ālī Mallū Khān.⁴ Now he must have succeeded to the title Mallū Khān only on the death of his father, that is to say, after A.H. 858. Therefore, the epigraphs must have been written in the early years of his career, that is to say, some time between A.H. 858 and 875 or so. Mallū Khān in that case must have preceded Sharaf Khān whose date A.H. 895 is fortunately known from one of these records.

It has not been possible to trace any reference to Khān-i-A’zam Sharaf Khān in the historical works available to me. But we have just seen above that one of the sons of Mallū Khān bore that name. It is just possible that he is identical with Khān-i-A’zam Sharaf Khān of our record. In short, these epigraphs are thus quite valuable, providing important links in the chain of officials of Chanderi and the neighbourhood.

As regards the supervisors, Rāja, son of Shams and Sarkhail Shāriqī-Mulkī, and the scribes, Shīv Sing Gūlhar and Jīt Dev Gūlhar, we have no information whatsoever. But one Shāriqī-Mulkī was, as we again know from an inscription from Chanderi, a minister of the kingdom;⁵ it could be that the Sarkhail Shāriqī or Shāriqī-Mulkī, as he has been designated in the texts, was attached to him and was, therefore, called Shāriqī-Mulkī.

The texts of these four epigraphs occupy writing spaces of 23 by 17, 23 by 16, 16 by 8 and 90 by 16 cm. respectively.

TEXT

Plate VIII

(a) Above the door of the stairs to the left of the main entrance.⁶

¹ Pirishita calls him Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān, but if he is identical with Mallū Khān Junior, it will mean that he lived an unusually long life.
² Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS), 1964, pp. 61-62, pl. XIX b.
³ Ibid.
⁴ EIAPS, 1964, pp. 67, 74.
(b) Left wall of the same stairs.¹

(1) عمل
(2) ملك ملو سلطان
(3) شجنگی سر خیل شارق ملکی
(4) نویسنده کولهرب جیت دیو

(c) Same place, but further above b.²

(1) عمل
(2) ملك ملو سلطان
(3) شجنگی سر خیل شارق

(d) Right wall of the same stairs.³

(1) عمل
(2) ملك ملو سلطان

TRANSLATION

(a) (During) the governorship of Khān-i-A’zam Shāh Shāh Khān Sulṭānī (and) šahānqī (supern-attendence) of Rāja, (son of) Shams, (son of) Fath (?). Writer (is) Shīv Sing Gūlar, Dhar Lahr (?). Year (A.H.) five and ninety and eight hundred (A.H. 895=1489-90 A.D.).

(b).  (1) (During) the governorship of
(2) Malik Mallū Sulṭānī
(3) (and) šahānqī of Sarkhāi Shāriqī-Mulkī.
(4) Writer (is) Gūlar Jit Dev.

(c) (1) (During) the governorship of
(2) Malik Mallū Sulṭānī
(3) (and) šahānqī of Sarkhāi Shāriqī.

(d) (1) (During) the governorship of
(2) Malik Mallū Sulṭānī.

¹ ARIE., No. D, 61.
² Ibid., No. D, 60.
³ Ibid., No. D, 59. This inscription is repeated, both in contents and calligraphy, at a number of places on the walls enclosing the other stairs of the monument.
(a) Above the door of the stairs, to the left of the main entrance (p. 21)

(b & c) Left wall of the same stairs and further above (p. 22)

(d) Right wall of the same stairs (p. 22)
THREE NEW INSCRIPTIONS OF ALAUDDIN HUSAIN SHAH

BY M. F. KHAN

Some time in 1958, the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Museums Branch, Calcutta, sent to our office for report, estampages of two inscriptions, discovered at Kalna in Burdwan district, by Miss M. Khâtûn, M.A., Assistant Curator, Arts Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. One of these belonged to the reign of Alâü’d-Dîn Husain Shâh of Bengal. Subsequently, she discovered another inscription of the same king at Depara, in Hooghly district and was kind enough to bring it to our notice. The tablets bearing all these inscriptions have since been removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta.¹

Miss Khâtûn who had at that time expressed a desire to edit these inscriptions and promised to send the article for this Series, does not appear to have found time for it. She was requested a couple of times to send the article at her earliest convenience, since then. But as we have not heard anything from her in the matter so far, I have been entrusted by Dr. Z. A. Desai, Superintendent, Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, to publish these extremely interesting inscriptions without any further loss of time.

The third epigraph of Husain Shâh, included in this study, is not a recent discovery. But it does happen to be his one more new record. The builder mentioned therein was also responsible for setting up one of the above two records, and hence, it was found advisable to include it as well, in the present article. Its only and slightly smudgy estampage was found in tact among some old and worn out estampages which were transfered to our office from the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. Its source is not known, but it must have been originally prepared in the past, by some officer of the Archaeological Survey.

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 899, FROM DEPARA

Taking these inscriptions in their chronological order, the earliest is also historically the most important. It was found by Miss Khâtûn on a dilapidated mosque in the village Depara, situated at a little distance to the north-east of Pandua in the Sadar sub-division of the Hooghly district and the inscribed tablet was removed by her to the Indian Museum, Calcutta.²

The inscription consists of a single line in Arabic, carved in relief in Nasîhâ letters of a fairly beautiful type. The tablet, measuring 97 by 20 cm., is broken in the top left corner, and part of the text containing the day of the month in the date is lost. The epigraph records the construction of a mosque during the reign of Husain Shâh, by Majlisul-Majlis Bârbak and is dated Jumâdâ II A.H. 899 (March 1494 A.D.). The day of the month, from the word ‘fourth’ which has survived on the stone must have been either 4th or 14th or 24th.

¹ Office of the Superintendent for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.
² It is somewhat surprising that these inscriptions escaped the notice of Maulavi Shamsu’d-Din Ahmad, of Rajahahi, East Pakistan and formerly of the Archaeological Survey of India, who in his capacity as the superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta and Superintendent for Muslim Epigraphy, Calcutta, was responsible for getting a large number of inscriptions copied from different parts of Bengal. No wonder therefore that the epigraphs under study are not included in his Inscriptions of Bengal, vol. IV, published in 1960 at Rajahahi.


(23)
In the text of this record, there are two unusual things which arrest our immediate attention: one is that the text omits to mention the name of Husain Shāh’s father, Sayyid Ashraf al-Husaini, but it does trace his descent from the Holy Prophet. Secondly, the Bengal Sultan is mentioned only by his proper name to the exclusion of his title and kunya, which were ‘Alā‘ūd-Dīn and Abūl-Muzaffar respectively.

The present inscription has turned out to be the earliest lithic record of this king discovered so far. Hitherto, his first record was believed to be the Malda inscription recording the erection of a mosque by Majlis Rāḥat in August 1494 A.D. The new find, which is dated Jumādā II A.H. 899 (March 1494 A.D.) is thus earlier by about five months, than the Malda record of 10th Dhi’l-Qa‘da A.H. 899 (13th August 1494 A.D.). In other words, the gap of about twenty months between the last recorded date of Husain Shāh’s predecessor Muzaffar Shāh, viz. 10th Rabi’ I A.H. 898 (11th January 1492 A.D.) and the date of the above Malda record, is further reduced by five months, by the discovery of this epigraph.

Like many of his illustrious predecessors and contemporaries, Majlis-ul-Majālis Majlis Bārbak is not known from available historical works. But, in an inscription, dated A.H. 918 (1512 A.D.), from Kalna in Burdwan district, which is also being studied in this article (Inscription No. III), we have one Majlis Bārbak as the governor. It is quite likely that Majlis Bārbak of both these records is one and the same person, in which case it may be safely presumed that he enjoyed that highest office in the region which included both Kalna and Depara (distance between the two being about fifteen kilometres) from A.H. 899 to A.H. 918, the dates of the two epigraphs, with or without interruptions.

The text of the epigraph reads as under:

\textbf{TEXT}

\begin{center}
\textit{Plate IX (b)}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجدًا في الدنيا بنى الله تعالى في الجنة سبعين

قصرًا بني المسجد في زمن سلطان العادل الباذل أولاد سيد المرسلين حسن شاه سلطان خادم الله

ملكة وبانغ الخير مجلس المجالس باركك مورخًا في الرابع من شهر جمادى الآخر سنة

\textit{نسمو تسعين ثمانية}
\end{center}

\textbf{TRANSLATION}

The Prophet, may Allah’s blessings and peace be upon him, says, 'Whosoever builds a mosque in this world, the Exalted Allah shall build (for him) seventy palaces in Paradise'. The mosque was constructed in the time of the just and liberal sultan, a descendant of the chief among the Prophets, Husain Shāh sultan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom! And the founder of this benevolent act is Majlis-ul-Majālis Majlis Bārbak. Dated fourth \ldots\ldots\ldots of the month of Jumādā II

\footnote{As stated above, the day could be 4th, 14th or 24th Jumādā II A.H. 899 i.e. 12th or 22nd March or 1st April 1494 A.D.}
year (A.H.) nine and ninety and eight hundred (...th Jumādā II A.H. 899=...th March 1494 A.D.).

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 906, FROM AN UNKNOWN PLACE

The second inscription of this group, chronologically, which is remarkable for its extremely well executed calligraphy, represents another important and unpublished record of 'Alā'ūd-Din Ḥusain Shāh. Since this as well as the third record, to be studied next, seem to refer to the same person as the builder, both epigraphs will be first described, and a note on the personages mentioned therein will be given thereafter.

Nothing is known regarding the place or village where this important as well as interesting inscription was found. It is not possible to say, whether the tablet still exists or not. I have not been able to trace it among the published epigraphs. But fortunately, one copy of its inked rubbing was found in the old records of our office, and it is from the same that it is edited here for the first time.

The inscription is in Arabic and the script is extremely pleasing Thulth with Ṭughrā flourish. It may be pointed out that the calligraphy and even arrangement of this inscription is exactly identical with that of an epigraph dated A.H. 886, from Malda,¹ which is quite interesting.

The record commemorates the erection of a gateway of a mosque in A.H. 906 (1501 A.D.), during the reign of 'Alā'ūd-Din Ḥusain Shāh by Khān-i-Mu'azzam Jatwār Khān.

The text occupies a writing space of 80 by 33 cm. and has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate IX (c)

قد عمر هذا الباب المسجد في عهد سلطان السلاطين علاء الدنيا و الدین ایب العظمر حسین شاه السلطان خلد الله مالک و سلطانه بیلي هی الباب المسجد خاتعم جتوار خان دام عزه

†العشر من ذی الحجة سنة ست و تسعماة

TRANSLATION

This gateway of the mosque was built during the reign of the sultan of the sultans, 'Alā'ūd-Dunyā wa'd-Din Abūl-Mu'azzam Ḥusain Shāh the sultan, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty! This geteway of the mosque was erected by Khān-i-Mu'azzam Jatwār Khān, may his dignity last for ever, on the tenth of Dhīl-Hijja, year (A.H.) six and nine hundred (10th Dhīl-Hijja A.H. 906=27th June 1501 A.D.).

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 918, FROM KALNA

The third epigraph of Hussain Shāh and the second mentioning Majlis Jatwār as the builder of a mosque was also discovered by Miss Khātūn who found its tablet, since removed to the Indian

¹ Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS), 1955 and 1956, pl. IV c.
Museum, lying under a tree near the residence of one Shri Kālīcharan Dās of Shaspur, Kalna, a sub-divisional headquarters in Burdwan district.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of 'Alau'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh and states that a mosque was built in A.H. 918 (1512 A.D.) in the time, i.e. governorship of Majlisu'l-Mu'aggam Majlis Bārbak, by Majlis Jatwār, son of Ṣaifūr Khān and grandson of Ḥaibat Khān.

The two-line text in Arabic with a phrase in Persian, is inscribed in Nāshik characters in relief. The calligraphist who has designed the arrangement, has made a slightly bewildering use of the horizontal stroke of one letter for another as well. The tablet measures 65 by 21 cm., and the text reads as follows:

\[ \text{Plate IX (a)} \]

\begin{align*}
(1) & \text{ قال عليه السلام من بنى مسجد[ا] في الدنيا بنى الله في الجنة بسبعين قصرا بين المسجد في عهد السلطان علاء الدنيا و الذين أبو المظفر حسين شاه سلطان} \\
(2) & \text{ في الزمان مجلس المعظم مجلس باربيك باككر مجلس جنوار ابن طيفور خان بين هيبت خان في الرابع والعشر من شهر مبارك رمضان سنة ثمان عشر و تسعماية [recte بن]}
\end{align*}

TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, may the peace (of Allāh) be on him, says, 'Whoever builds a mosque in this world, Allāh will build for him seventy palaces in Paradise.' The mosque was built during the reign of the sultān 'Alau'd-Dūnyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ḥusain Shāh sultān,

(2) during the time (i.e. governorship) of the Majlisu'l-Mu'aggam, Majlis Bārbak. It was constructed by Majlis Jatwār, son of Ṣaifūr Khān, son of Ḥaibat Khān, on the 14th of the auspicious month of Ramādān, year (A.H.) eighteen (and) nine hundred (14th Ramādān A.H. 918=23rd November 1512 A.D.).

The above two inscriptions provide very useful information, at least about the local history of the places where they were originally set up. The important information they have to offer is welcome for the political and administrative history of Bengal, some aspects of which, particularly in the pre-Mughal period, are still shrouded in obscurity. It has been seen above that our epigraphs mention two officials of high status, whose names even are not met with in historical works. One of these is Majlis Bārbak. The way in which his name occurs in the text of inscription No. III indicates that he was the next highest authority after the king in the region concerned; in other words, he must have been the governor. It has been suggested above that he is likely

\[ ^1 \text{ ARIE, 1958-59, No. 1, 25.} \]

\[ ^2 \text{ For an account of the history of Kalna, see The Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. XIV (Oxford, 1908), p. 311f.} \]
(a) Epigraph, dated A.H. 918, from Kalna (p. 26)

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 899, from Depara (p. 24)
to be identical with Majlis Bārbak of Inscription No. 1 and that, if that be so, he must have enjoyed official status from A.H. 899 (1494 A.D.) to A.H. 918 (1512 A.D.), a period of about nineteen years. The titles Majlisu’l-Majālis Majlis used in the earlier inscription seem to indicate that he was already a minister at that time.

Another official of status whose name is preserved only through these two inscriptions is Majlis Jatwār. It will be noted that the record of A.H. 906 (1501 A.D.) calls him Khān-i-Mu’aggam, Jatwār Khān, while in the record dated twelve years later, he is designated as Majlis Jatwār, which is quite significant. It should mean that he was elevated to the high office, carrying the lofty title of Majlis, some time after A.H. 906 (1501 A.D.) and in or before A.H. 918 (1512 A.D.). This high office he must have held until the last but one year of the reign of Ḥusain Shāh’s successor Nūsrat Shāh, for he finds mention in one more epigraph, which was found at Santoshpur, situated in the almost western extreme of the Hooghly district and was likewise removed to the Indian Museum. According to this epigraph, he had constructed the gateway of the local Jami’ mosque in A.H. 938 (1530-31 A.D.).

It follows from the above that the field of Majlis Jatwār’s political authority comprised the region at least including the findspots of the two epigraphs, viz. Kalna, situated in the southeastern part of the Burdwan district and Santoshpur in the westernmost part of the Hooghly district. In other words, the region under his charge, roughly speaking, represented the southwestern part of the then Bengal kingdom. This also may lead one to think that the search of the third epigraph, dated A.H. 906 (1501 A.D.), whose findspot is not on record, may be profitably made somewhere in the Burdwan or Hooghly district. However, in view of the calligraphical style of this record, which as I have pointed out above, is exactly identical with that of the Malda inscription of A.H. 886, it may be that the tablet may belong to Malda, in which case the first posting of Majlis Jatwār may have been in that region. In any case, it is definite that at least from A.H. 918 (1512 A.D.) to A.H. 938 (1530-31 A.D.), Majlis Jatwār was stationed in the southwestern part of the Bengal kingdom.

The Santoshpur inscription was published in a previous issue of this Series, where this clearly written but quite an unusual name was doubtfully read as Jawād. With the help of these two epigraphs, the spelling of the name can now be finally determined as Jatwār. No doubt, in the two epigraphs studied above, the name is inscribed without any vowel marks and hence, it could be read either as Jatwār or Jītāwār or Jutwār, but since in the Santoshpur inscription, the letter Ī has a fatha above it, the name must be Jatwār.

I may conclude this short article by inviting attention to a note on the title Majlis, frequently met with in the inscriptions of Bengal, which like its counterpart Masnad, has not been satisfactorily explained so far. The said note by Dr. Z. A. Desai, which appeared in a previous issue of this Series, may be quoted here in full:

“The titles Masnad-i-ʿĀli, Majlis, etc., are frequently met with in inscriptions as well as in historical works, but nowhere these have been properly explained. In one place, for example, the title Masnad-i-ʿĀli is stated to mean the great prop (Epig. Indo-Mosl., 1933-34, p. 9). Dr. G. Yazdani (ibid., 1915-16, p. 13, f.n. 3) tried to explain them thus: The titles Majlis, Masnad, Šādīr, etc., all mean Sāhib-i-Majlis, Sāhib-i-Masnad, i.e. Lord of the assembly, Lord of the throne, Lord of the seat of honour, etc.

1 ARIE, 1960-61, No. D, 2.
2 EIAPS, 1951 and 1952, p. 27, pl. X1b. The same reading is copied without comments on the name in Shamsu’Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 231.
The clue to their exact connotation is provided in the Arabic history of Gujarat. While explaining these titles, Hājjī Dabīr states that 'and it is the custom of the men of his country to entitle the king's deputy (nāib-i-
Maṣlaq) as Maṣnad-i-
Ālī, and the minister (ważīr) as Maṣlīs-i-
Ālī and he who is permitted to take a seat in the presence of the king, is given the title Maṣlis to which a term in apposition to his (status) is appended.'—Zafarul-Walīh, vol. II (London, 1921), p. 613.'
INSCRIPTIONS OF SIKANDAR LODI FROM NARWAR FORT

BY S. A. RAHIM

The fort of Narwar is picturesquely situated on the hill of Vindhyas. The city of Narwar now reduced to a small town lies at the foot of the hill-fort in 25°39’ N. and 77°54’ E. in Karara tahsil of Shivyupi district in Madhya Pradesh. It is traditionally supposed to be the home of Raja Nala of Naishadha, whose romantic love for Damayantī, related in the Mahābhārata, is familiar to every Hindu.¹

The history of Narwar has always been closely connected with that of Gwalior. In the middle of the tenth century, both places fell to the Kachhwāhā Rajputs. These were succeeded in 1129 by the Parihārs, who held possession until 1232, when they were expelled by Itutmīsh. In 1251, it was in the hands of Chāhaḍa Deva, from whom it was again wrested by Nāṣiru’d-Dīn. After the invasion of Timūr, Narwar fell to the Tomars who held it until 23rd January 1509,² when it was taken by Sikandar Lodi after a long siege lasting for six months.³ The statement that the Lodi king gave the fort to Rāj Singh Kachhwāhā who and his descendants held it as feudalities of the Lodi’s and the Mughal’s,⁴ does not appear to be correct, since in one of the records under study (Inscription No. 1), Mubārak Khān is stated to have been appointed to Narwar by the Lodi ruler. Under the Sūrs also, Narwar seems to have been administered by a governor appointed from Delhi. An epigraph, for example, dated in the reign of Muḥammad ‘Adīl Sūr, refers to his deputy at Narwar, Dilāwar Khān, as having constructed a mosque there in 1552-53.⁵ According to another epigraph, two years later, one Shaṁaher Khān, who appears to have been some official, though specially not mentioned so, built a mosque and laid out a garden.⁶ Under Akbar, it was a sarkār of the sūba of Malwa.⁷ It continued to be a Mughal sarkār up to the last century, when it was taken by the Sindhis of Gwalior.

According to the chroniclers like Fīrīṣṭa and Ni’matu’llāh, the Narwar fort was held by the Hindu chiefs as vassals of the Malwa Sultans at the time of Sikandar Lodi’s attack,⁸ but modern historians like Sir Woolsey Haig maintain that though Narwar was usually included in the kingdom of Malwa, it was, at the time of the Lodi attack, subject to Gwalior.⁹ The inscriptions studied below, which refer to the conquest of the fort, unfortunately do not throw any light on this point.¹⁰ But from the text of some of these inscriptions, it transpires that Sikandar Lodi had

¹ Imperial Gazetteer of India (IG), vol. XVIII (Oxford, 1908), p. 396.
² Ibid. gives the year of the Lodi conquest as 1507, but according to Inscription No. 1, the fort was conquered on the 1st Shawwal A.H. 914 (23rd January 1509 A.D.).
³ Ibid., p. 397.
⁴ Ibid. Dr. A. B. Pandey, The First Afghan Empire in India (Calcutta, 1956), p. 140 and Dr. K. S. Lal, Twilight of the Sultanate (Bombay, 1963), p. 179, also accept this view. Neither of the two has, however, cared to refer to the epigraphical evidence.
⁷ For Akbar’s epigraph from Narwar, mentioning Nawwāb Mirak Ahmad Khān Kūlābī as the governor, see ibid., No. D, 96.
christened the fort as Hisār-i-Muḥammad (i.e. Fort of Muḥammad), evidently after the name of the Prophet. This piece of information is not contained in any other source, literary or otherwise. It may also be of some interest to note that the place-name is spelt as Nalvar in one of these epigraphs (Inscription No. 1).

There are quite a few inscriptions to be found in the Narwar town and fort. Six of these which pertain to the reign of Sikandar Lodi are proposed to be studied in this article. All of them, except one, bear the date A.H. 914 (1509 A.D.) which, it may be recalled, was the year of the fall of the Narwar fort to the Lodi king. The sixth also, damaged as it is and hence partially illegible, presumably bore this date. They were noticed in the Gwalior State archaeological reports where their contents were neither correctly nor fully described. In the course of my visit to Narwar in November 1962, I got their rubbings prepared and it is from these that the epigraphs are edited here. Two of these are fixed on the Big mosque near the Kachehri-Mahal, and four on a small ruined mosque near the Havapaura gate of the fort.

Three of these epigraphs make an explicit mention of the conquest of the fort, while the remaining three which are counterparts of the main records, merely confine themselves to record the construction of the mosques. They are important both historically as well as palaeographically. Apart from the reference to the said conquest, they provide the names of a few officials and other men of importance. An extremely interesting point about one of these (Inscription No. 1) is that it bears the date in Shuhūr era, providing thus the earliest use, perhaps, of this era in the lithic records of northern India. This may indicate the influence of Deccan on the north. As regards the calligraphy of these records, it compares very favourably with that of the Lodī records, which are, generally speaking, not very artistically executed. In particular, the penmanship of the Havapaura mosque inscription is of a high order.

INSRIPTION NOS. 1-2

The imposing mosque near the Kachehri-Mahal is the largest and most beautiful among the mosques of the fort and the town. It bears three inscriptions in all, two of which appear over the side miḥrāb of its western wall, while the third, fixed over its central miḥrāb contains religious text and hence, is excluded from the present study.

The inscribed slab fixed over the right miḥrāb, is slightly damaged and measures 1·55 m. by 30 cm. It contains a text of two lines, the first of which comprises ʿAgūṭuʾl-Kursī (Throne Verse), while two more lines in the marginal portions contain Divine attributes and a tradition of the Prophet. The historical matter is contained in the second line of the main portion, purporting that Sikandar Shāh wrested the fort of Narwar from the local chief in Shuhūr San 909, corresponding to A.H. 914 (A.D. 1509), on the day of ʿId which fell on Sunday, named it Hisār-i-Muḥammad and ordered Mubārak Khān to construct a Jāmiʿ mosque. The work was supervised by Muqbil Khān. The date is given in figure as well as in a chronogram.

2 The three inscriptions on the Big mosque are listed under one number, in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State (ARADG), 1923-24, Appendix D, No. 15 and those on the mosque near the Havapaura gate, in ibid., 1924-25, Appendix E, No. 45. The former were also indexed in Harihar Nivas Dwivedi, Gwalior Rājya-vi-Abdulākh (in Hindi) (Gwalior, 1947), under No. 557.
3 There is also a third inscription in the mosque which contains a Quranic verse and a saying of the Prophet occurring in mosque-inscriptions.
5 See foot-note 3 above.
As has been stated above, the present epigraph is our only source of information that the fort of Narwar was named Ḥiṣār-i-Muḥammad by Sikandar Lodī. This is in conformity with the statements of historians that the Lodī king had strengthened the Narwar fort by constructing a second line of fortifications all around and also that he had ordered for the construction of mosques. The spelling Narwar, used in the text for Narwar, may also be noted. Then, we have already mentioned above that this inscription bears the date in Shuhrūr era, the year 909 of which corresponds to A. H. 914, quoted in the other record on the mosque for the same event (p. 33 infra).

The identification of Mubārak Khān and Muqbil Khān whose names occur in the text is difficult to establish with any amount of certainty. In the other inscription, Mubārak Khān is mentioned as the son of Abā Bakr and belonging to Karrānī clan. No nobleman of this name is traceable in the historical works of the period which I have been able to consult. The name of one Mubārak Khān—apart from the famous noblemen, Mubārak Khān Nūhān and Mubārak Khān Lodī—occurs in the list of the nobles of Sikandar Lodī. But no other details about him are forthcoming. In the other record, Mubārak Khān is stated to have been appointed to Narwar by the king after the conquest. This would mean that the generally accepted fact that Sikandar Lodī gave back Narwar to the Kachhwāhā chief, is not correct. About Muqbil Khān, also, we are not in a position to say anything except that he may have been attached, if the name is any indication, to Muqbil Khān who is mentioned by Niẓāmu’-d-Dīn Ahmad among the chamberlains of Sikandar Lodī.

The language of the record is Arabic prose except that the phrase inscribed in the left border indicating the status of Muqbil Khān is in Persian. Attention may be drawn to the use of rhymed prose in the historical text in the main portion. Some letters in the marginal line are broken, but that does not affect the decipherment of the full text. The style of writing is Nasḵā. The engraver seems to have been responsible for the omission of few letters from the Quranic text on the stone.

My reading of the text is given below:—

**TEXT**

*Plate X (b)*

(a) Main portion.

١ (الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا توم له ما في السماء وما في الأرض من ذي القدر يشغف عنده إلا باذنه يعلم ما بين أيديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون به من علم الله الإبَّانِ) ومع كرسه [السماء] والأرض ولا يرَّؤُده حفظهما هو العلي العظيم

٢ (يسم الله الملك الملك الملك الفقير الصمد

والحمد لله وصلوة على المصطفى محمد

---

1 Niẓāmu’-Dīn Ahmad, Tabaqāt-i-Akkbarf (Kanpur, 1875), p. 167; Firīghta, op. cit., p. 184.
3 Jfr, XVIII, p. 306; Pandey, op. cit.; Lal, op. cit.
4 Niẓāmu’-Dīn, op. cit.
5 Engraver’s mistake for "الملك"
TRANSLATION

(a) (1) Throne Verse.¹

(2) In the name of Allāh the Lord, the Possessor, the Independent, the Eternal.

And all praise is for Allāh, and (may His) salutations be upon the chosen (prophet) Muḥammad !

Sulṭān Sikandar conquered the fort of Nalwar and named it Ḥisār-i-Muḥammad.

In the month of the months of the Shuhūr year (afforded by the numerical values) of ṭā, 9 and ẓā, 900 (i.e. 909),

the valiant king took it with the Indian sword.

The Sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate (his rule), ordered Mubārak Khān to construct the mosque.

(b) The prophet, may peace be upon him, has said, 'He who goes to the mosque in them orning, or in the evening, Allāh will entertain him in Paradise, both in the morning and the evening. Glory belongs to Allāh ! Kingdom belongs to Allāh ! Might belongs to Allāh !

On the day of ‘Īd-i-Fiṭr (1st Shawwāl) which was Sunday (Shuhūr 909, i.e. A. H. 914, 1st Shawwāl=23rd January 1509 A.D.).

(c) The supervisor (of the work is) Muqbil Khānī.

The second inscription of the mosque appears over its left mihrāb.² It contains a text in Persian verse and prose inscribed in fairly good Nasḵh characters on a tablet measuring 1.75m. by 30 cm. The text consists of two fragments of two and four verses followed by a line in prose. Of these, five couplets are arranged in five vertical panels in two lines and the rest in the margin at the bottom of the slab in small letters. The arrangement of the five verses is rather clumsy, and the quality of verse is also not satisfactory.

¹ Qurʾān, chapter II, verse 255.
² ARIE, 1962-63, No. D, 00.
The epigraph contains the same purport as in the preceding one, with this difference that here Mubārak Khān is stated to be a son of Abā Bakr Karrānī, and the name of the supervisor is omitted in favour of that of the scribe of the record, named Abu'l-Fath 'Ali al-Ḥusaini al->Mainpuri. Needless to say, none of these two newly introduced persons is known to us.

The text is deciphered as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate X (a)*

(a) **Panels I and II.**

(1) مسجد جامع بناء از فضل حق پرویدگار

(2) درهم شوال شده نهصد و دو دیگر چهار

(b) **Panels III and IV.**

(1) در عهد خسروئیه که جهانرا مظفر است

(2) جوین فتح شد فلاع خصار محمد

(c) **Panel V.**

(3) پنجالست وئه از کرم خود معارکخان

(d) **Margin.**

(3) بفرمان حضرتی که شه هفت کشور است

(4) مسجد جامع سلطان فرماش مبارکخان بن ابا بكر خان کررائی(9) کاتب ابه افرنج علی

**TRANSLATION**

(a) (1) Through the bounty of God, the Nourisher, the Jāmi' mosque was built in the reign of the king and sovereign Sultān Sikandar,

(2) in the month of Shawwāl (of the year A.H.) nine hundred and ten with four more (Shawwāl A. H. 914=January 1509 A.D.); efforts were made by Mubārak Khān, the vanquisher and destroyer of infidels.

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1 The marginal writing being slightly damaged, the name of the father of the scribe is not clear.
(b) (1) In the reign of the king who has conquered the world, Sulṭān Sikandar, who is the reviver of the religion of the Prophet,

(2) when the fort Ḥiṣār-i-Muḥammad was conquered, (the fort) is bathed in full splendour on account of the Jāmī’ mosque on two ‘Īdās.

(c) (3) The king through his generosity appointed Mubārak Khān (to administer the fort). People are in comfort and at ease through his justice. (A.H.) 914 (1509 A.D.).

(d) (4) By the order of His Majesty who is the king of seven countries, Sulṭān Sikandar, who is the possessor of (i.e. who professes) the religion of (Prophet) Muḥammad.

The royal Jāmī’-Masjid (was built) through the efforts of Mubārak Khān, son of Abā Bakr Khān Karrānī. Its writers is Abu’l-Fath ‘Ali................. jā Aṣḥāf al-Ḥussainī al-Mānūrī.

INSCRIPTION NOS. 3-6

Inside the Havapāura gate, a little to the right of the road leading to the one-time inhabited part of the fort, there is a ruined mosque of small dimensions, which has four inscriptions. Two of these are above the central mīhrāb and two on the side ones.¹

The tablet bearing the smaller of the two inscriptions over the central mīhrāb,² measures 32 by 23 cm. and is inscribed in beautiful Naṣḵ characters with a three line record in Arabic and Persian. The slab is damaged in the top left portion, so that part of the text indicating the object of construction is lost. However, the purport being almost identical with the other three epigraphs on the mosque, it is clear that this inscription also refers to the construction of the mosque. It records that the mosque was built by ‘Abdu’l-Wahḥāb, son of Muḥammad Ḥussainī al-Bukhārī, in A. H. 914 (1509 A.D.) after the conquest of the fort by Sulṭān Sikandar.

It reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XI(a)

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

(1) لا اله إلا الله محمد رسول الله بن باكرد

(2) عبد الوهاب بن محمد حسيني البخارى بعد فتح كردان اين قلعه سلطان

(3) الا عظم مكندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان سنة اربع عشر و تسعماية

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god except Allāh, Muḥammad is his apostle. [This........mosque] was constructed (through the efforts of)

(2) ‘Abdu’l-Wahḥāb, son of Muḥammad Ḥussainī al-Bukhārī, after the conquest of this fort by the great sulṭān,

¹ According to ARADO, 1924-25, App. E, No. 45, these four records ‘either contain quotation from Holy texts or bear date and same name, not deciphered’, though it gives A.H. 900 in the date column.

(a) Damaged record, dated A.H. 914, from Narwar (p. 34)

Scale: 1/25

(b) Another record of the same date, same place (p. 35)

Scale: 1
(3) Sikandar Shāh, son of Buḥlūl Shāh sultān, (in) the year (A.H.) fourteen and nine hundred (A.H. 914-1509 A.D.).

The second inscription over the central mihrab in the mosque appears above the previous record and is composed in Arabic prose and verse.1 It is written in Thuluth characters of a fairly high order in four vertical panels: The middle two panels contain the historical portion which assigns the construction of the mosque to Sikandar Shāh and states that it was constructed through the efforts of 'Abdu'l-Wahhab in Dhi'l-Qa'da A.H. 914 (February-March 1509 A.D.). Of the remaining two panels, one bears a Quranic verse and the other, a tradition of the Prophet.

The epigraphical tablet measures 1.53 m. by 51 cm. The text reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

**Plate XI(b)**

(a) **Panel I.**

(1) قال الله تعالى إنما
(2) يعمر مسجد الله من
(3) آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر و
(4) أقام الصلاة و آتى الزكوة

(b) **Panels II-III.**

(1) شعر
(2) كريم ا رفعت ذا الجلال رحيم و العظيم بلا زوال
(3) اللى انت تكرم دين احمد هزت الكارمين بلا ققال
(4) بني المسجد سكندور 'سلطان
(5) بينى عبد الوهاب مع انتقال
(6) ١٠° د ريغ سعرا بينى القعدة مبارك(؟) ذالكما

(c) **Panel IV.**

(1) قال النبي عليه السلام من
(2) غدا الى المسجد او راح
(3) اعد الله له نزله في
(4) الجنة كلما غدا او راح

---

1 *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 92
TRANSLATION

(a) (1-4) Allâh, may He be exalted, says, 'Only he shall visit the mosques of Allâh, who believes in Allâh and in the Final Day (i.e. day of Judgment), establishes prayers, and gives alms.'

(b) (1) Verse:

1 O my Lord, Master of glory! Thou art Generous, Merciful, Great and Eternal.

3 Oh God! Thou honourest the religion of Ahmed (i.e. Islam) and drivest away the unbelievers without any fight.

4 Sikandar Shâh sultân constructed the mosque. 'Abdu'l-Wahhab strove (for it) with earnest supplication to Goâr.

5 Add ten to nine hundred and four. And (this was) in the auspicious (month of) Dhi'l-Qa'da, endowed with perfection (Dhi'l-Qa'da A.H. 914=February-March, 1509 A.D.).

(c) (1-4) The Prophet (Muhammad), may peace be upon him, has said, 'He who goes to the mosque in the morning or in the evening, Allâh will entertain him in Paradise, both in the morning and evening'.

The third inscription on the same mosque is built up into the western wall, to the left of the central mihrâb. The epigraphical tablet measuring 1-6m. by 45 cm. is inscribed with religious text in Arabic and a fragment of four Persian verses, which are arranged in six vertical panels containing two lines each. Its purport is the same as in the previous epigraph, but here the mosque is designated as Masjid-i-Ma'mur. The style of writing which is Ta'liq with Tughrâ flourishes, is extremely well executed and seems to have been designed by a skilled calligraphist.

I have deciphered its text as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XII(b)

(a) Panel I.

(1) قال الله تعالى وهو عن المساجد

(2) ثلات تدعوا مع الله احدا

(b) Panels II-V.

(1) در زمان خسرو فرمان ده عالی جاتاب

(2) هست تاریخ بسال تهصد با چهاردی

(3) ز اهتمام شیخ ایتی حاجی عبدالوهاب

(4) در هر ذی الافدا و ایتام اعلم بالصواب

(5) یا الهی برکتی کن این بنا را از کرم

1 Qur'an, chapter IX, part of verse 18.
(b) Another version of the same record (p. 39)

(c) Damaged record from Nurwar (p. 37)
(c) Panel VI.

(1) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم
(2) من بني للمسجدي بني الله بيتك في الجنة

TRANSLATION

(a) (1-2) Allah, may He be Blessed and Exalted, says, 'Verily, the mosques are for Allah only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allah.'

(b) (1) In the reign of the king, the ruler of exalted threshold, the glorious and victorious king, the great Shâh Iskandar,

the Masjid-i-Ma’mûr (i.e. populated mosque), like the Baitu’l-’Harâm (lit. sacred house, i.e. Ka’ba) was built through the efforts of the Shaikh, that is to say, Hâji ‘Abdu’l-Wahhab.

(2) The date of its construction is (A.H.) nine hundred and fourteen and the month Dhi’l-Qa’da (Dhi’l-Qa’da A.H. 914=February-March 1509 A.D.). And Allah knows best!

Oh God! bless this building through your bounty, and save its builder from punishment on the day of Resurrection.

(c) The Prophet, may Allah's blessings and peace be on him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allah, Allah builds for him a house in Paradise.'

The fourth epigraph on the same mosque, which is the last of this study, is engraved on a tablet fixed to the right of the central mihrâb on the west wall. The writing is badly damaged and obliterated too, in places. The surviving portion refers to the conquest of the fort (of Narwar) in the reign of Sikandar Shâh and the construction of the mosque by the Shaikh of the time, ‘Abdu’l-Wahhab. Its date is lost, but evidently it is Dhi’l-Qa’da A.H. 914 (February-March 1509 A.D.).

The text runs into four verses in Persian inscribed in two lines in four vertical panels, each panel containing a hemistic. The inscribed slab measures 1'44 m. by 42 cm. The epigraph is again remarkable for exquisite penmanship. The style of writing is Thulth.

Its reading is quoted below:

**TEXT**

*Plate XII(a)*

(1) در عهد حضرت كه بعزيز مظفر است
(2) احمد سلطان سکندر است
(3) غوغا فکند خلیفه علیشا در فک
(4) ع[بید الوهاب]
(5) حکم این بنا[ی] مسجد معمور شيخ عصر

کرده این(؟) فل "بیت این(؟) فل" وین قول الازهرست

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1 Qur'an, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
2 ARIE, 1962-63, No. D, 94.
In the reign of His Majesty who is victorious over the enemies, follower of the religion of Aḥmad (i.e. Iṣlām), (namely) Sūltān Sikandar,

whose ḫulta has created commotion in the sky through the cry ‘Allāh is great’.

(2) this Masjid-i-Ma’mūr was built by the Shaikh of the time, ‘Abdul-Wahhāb....

....this (?) fort....and this statement is most clear.

About Ḥājī ‘Abdu’l-Wahhāb, son of Muḥammad Ḥusainī al-Bukhārī, who constructed the mosque at the instance of Sultan Sikandar, very little is known, and that is rather surprising. For, it appears that Ḥājī ‘Abdu’l-Wahhāb was an eminent saint of his time who commanded great respect in the court of Sikandar Lodī. In historical works, he is referred to as ‘the saint of the time’, and two of the above epigraphs also call him ‘the Shaikh of the time’. A near-contemporary Rizqu’l-lāh Mushtaqī narrates the story how, when the Shaikh persistently suggested to Sikandar Lodī to grow beard, the king offered excuses and remained silent, and passed contemptuous remarks against the Shaikh after the latter’s departure, and how the Shaikh, on being informed, was moved to say that the very throat from which the king had uttered those words, defamatory to a descendant of the Prophet, would be choked, and how it so happened, ultimately resulting in his death in A.H. 923 (1517 A.D.). He also states that when the saint returned from Mecca after performing the pilgrimage, he brought with him Jalālu’d-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī, a savant, who was accorded due consideration by the king.²

Thus the present epigraphs are quite important. It may be possibly inferred on their basis that either the saint belonged to Narwar or its neighbourhood, or had opted to settle down there after the conquest of the fort.

¹ Ḫulta is the sermon delivered before Friday prayers and after ‘Īd prayers, in which the name of the ruling king is invariably mentioned. This is exclusively a royal prerogative.
THREE ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM GOA

BY A. A. KADIRI

I propose to study here three 'Adil Shāhī inscriptions recently discovered from the erstwhile Portuguese possession of Goa, which has been a coveted port on the western coast of India. But before proceeding with the study proper, it may be worthwhile to recapitulate in brief the history of the territory under the Muslims.

Goa was ruled by the Kadamba kings from ancient times. The first of the line, Trilochana Kadamba, is said to have flourished in about 119-120 A.D. 1 Subsequently, it passed to the Silahāras of North Konkan who made it their capital and ruled from there until about 1008 A.D. It was then taken over by the great feudatory family, later Kadambas of Goa, whose power ultimately came to an end after Shasthadeva II (1246-1257 A.D.). 2 However, according to another account, the Kadambas continued to rule Goa as the vassals of the Yādavas of Devgiri till 1312 A.D., 3 when Malik Kafur, after defeating the Yādava king, marched on Goa and destroyed it. 4

It is difficult to say if Malik Kafur's invasion resulted in any permanent political occupation of Goa by the Muslims. However, Ibn Batūtha, while recording his visit to Sandābūr, the old name of Goa, states that of the two cities in the centre of the island, the old one was built by the Hindus and the other by the Muslims when they had conquered the island for the first time. 5 Ibn Batūtha's reference here is obviously to the conquest by Sultan Jamālu'd-Dīn, of Honavar, now in North Canara district of Mysore State, who in turn was subordinate to the Hindu king Haryabh. 6 Later on, again in the course of Ibn Batūtha's second stay at Honavar, after he had gone as far south as Quilon, the Honavar Sultan invaded Goa, at the invitation of the son of the Goa ruler, and reconquered it on the 3rd October 1343 A.D. Ibn Batūtha, who claims to have participated in the expedition, stayed in Goa until about the 1st January of the next year. But the Hindu chief again wrested Goa from the Muslims some time about the 15th August 1344 A.D., for Ibn Batūtha who had returned to Goa in the second week of June, left it on the 14th August when the fort was in a state of seige by the Hindu ruler and was in a precarious state. 7 In other words, the whole of the western coast of India, from Goa to Quilon, was outside the Tughluq authority.

The Kadamba country, therefore, must have been brought under Vijayanagara rule by Mārapa, brother of the founder of the Vijayanagara kingdom, Harīhara I, 8 sometime after 1344 A.D. In a record dated 1347 A.D., Mārapa is mentioned as the governor of the province on the

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1 Imperial Gazetteer of India (IG), vol. XII (Oxford, 1908), p. 251.
3 IG, vol. XII, p. 251.
4 J. Allan and Dodwell, ed., The Cambridge History of India, part i (Delhi, 1958), p. 123.
6 Ibn Batūtha, op. cit., p. 180. According to Ibn Batūtha's translator, Dr. Mahdi Ḥussain, ibid., f.n.1, Haryabh probably stands for Ballāla Deo of Dwārāamudra. This identification is indirectly supported by ibid., p. 228.
7 Ibid., pp. 195-96.
8 Indian Antiquary (IA), vol. LI (1922), p. 234.
west coast. Some time after 1352 A.D., Goa was conquered by Bahman Shâh, founder of the Bahmanî kingdom, after a long siege of five or six months. But the possession of Goa proved to be precarious, and it seems to have been lost to the Vijayanagara king some time before 1368 A.D., as in that year, according to one epigraph, Mâdhava Mantri governed the Banavâsi province under Bukka I. This finds confirmation in the statement of Firîghta that in the reign of Mujâhid Shâh (1375-1378 A.D.), the port of Goa and the fort of Belgaum, etc., were in the possession of the Râya of Vijayanagara. However, Mujâhid Shâh who was then busy with the siege of Adoni, acting on the advice of his minister that the forts in the doâb extending from the port of Goa to Belgaum and Bankapur, should first be reduced, appears to have marched against, and captured, Goa. This must have been a temporary occupation, for epigraphical evidence indicates that the Vijayanagara king, taking advantage of the confusion consequent to the murder of the Bahmanî king, captured a large part of territory on the western coast including the port of Goa, some time between 1378 and 1380 A.D.

Now Firüz Shâh Bahmanî (1399-1422 A.D.) is stated to have been sending vessels to all parts of the world, from the Goa and Dabhol ports, to bring novelties. This would mean that Goa was a Bahmanî possession during his rule. However, we are told that Firüz’s successor Aḥmad Shâh I (1422-1436 A.D.) had waged war with the chiefs of Konkan, but since no details are forthcoming, it is difficult to say if Goa had changed hands. In any case, it must have been lost some time later, if not then, for it was again conquered by the celebrated Bahmanî minister Khwâja Maḥmûd Gâwân in about 1472 A.D., in the concluding phase of his Konkan campaign. Goa was, incidentally, the best and chief port of the Vijayanagara kingdom which conducted trade with Asia, Africa and Europe, and its loss was a severe blow which could not be taken lightly. It was therefore natural that the Vijayanagara king Virupâksha II thought of recovering it. He, therefore, instigated Birkâna Rây, the governor of Belgaum, called Parketa Rây by Tabâtâbâ and Firighhta, to retake Goa, and the latter actually blockaded the port. Being apprised of the incident, Muḥammad Shâh III, accompanied by Maḥmûd Gâwân, marched in person on Belgaum and conquered it in 1473 A.D. Belgaum was now added to the fief of Maḥmûd Gâwân who had earlier received Goa, Lonâ and Kolhapur on his successful campaign in Konkan. According to Firighhta, however, Goa, Kolhapur, etc., were given to the servant of Maḥmûd Gâwân, namely, Khusî Qadam, along with the title Kishwar Khân, in 1472 A.D. This may be taken to mean that Kishwar Khân was acting as a deputy.

2 All Tabâtâbâ, Burhân-i-Maḍâkh (Hyderabad, 1936), p. 28; Dr. S. A. Q. ʿUṣaidî, Bahman Shâh (Calcutta, 1900), pp. 106, 107.
4 IA, vol. XLV, p. 5.
6 Ibid.; Sherwâni, op. cit., p. 133.
7 Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. XII, No. 43 of Kunigal Taluk; IA, vol. LV, pp. 5-6; Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 253, 252.
10 Firightha, op. cit., p. 250, 271.
12 Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 290-298.
13 Tabâtâbâ, op. cit., p. 120; Firightha, op. cit., p. 352 (where the name of the Vijayanagara king is given as Ajay Rây); Sherwâni, op. cit., p. 319.
14 Sherwâni, op. cit., p. 320; Majumdar, op. cit., p. 298.
15 Sherwâni, op. cit., p. 317.
After the assassination of this great minister in 1481 A.D., Muḥammad Shāh, then at Belgaum, having received intelligence that Sadāshiv Rāya of Vijayanagara had sent a large army to relieve Goa, ordered Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān to defend it.⁴ When Najmū’-Dīn Gilānī, Kishwar Khān’s deputy at the port of Goa, passed away, Bahādur Gilānī, the kotwal of Goa under him, appropriated it along with other places on the western coast, to himself. In 1492 A.D., Qāsim Barid, then on inimical terms with Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān, wrote to Malik Aḥmad Niẓāmu’l-Mulk offering him Goa, Karad, Panhala etc., then under Bahādur Gilānī, as the price of assistance against Yūsuf. Bahādur Gilānī’s piratical activities and inroads into Gujarāt ports evoked very strong reaction from the Gujarāt Sultan, Maḥmūd Bega, at whose instance, the Bahmanī king Maḥmūd Shāh redoubled efforts to track down Bahādur Gilānī who was ultimately killed in 1494 A.D. Malik Ilyās, entitled ‘Ainu’l-Mulk, came to Goa under royal orders to take charge of Bahādur’s property as well as fief of Goa.³ On the death of ‘Ainu’l-Mulk in a battle against Qāsim Barid in 1497 A.D., his son Miyān Muḥammad was awarded the title and fief of his father, at the instance of ‘Ādil Khān.⁵ After some time, Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān summoned Miyān Muḥammad ‘Ainu’l-Mulk from Goa and appointed him his commander-in-chief, but became apprehensive of his large army and entourage. In the meantime, ‘Ainu’l-Mulk’s resentment of ‘Ādil Khān’s proclamation of the Shiite creed precipitated the rift, as a result of which he was not only removed from the post of commander-in-chief, but was also transferred from Goa and Panhala, to Hukeri and Belgaum.⁴ Thus Goa became part of the Bijapur territory.⁵

Goa was a flourishing port⁴ and the place of embarkation of the pilgrims from Deccan to Mecca and Madīna till 1510 A.D. when the Portuguese made a surprise attack on the negligent governor, and captured it without much difficulty on the 4th March. On receipt of the news, ‘Ādil Khān also surprised the Portuguese with two or three thousand picked cavalry, killed the guard at the gate and recaptured the port on the 20th May.⁷ But on the death of the Bijapur chief, at the instigation of Timōja, the Vijayanagara admiral,⁸ the Portuguese who were not able to cross the Goa bar before the 16th August, reappeared before Goa, bribed the officials and took it with little fighting. Thus the Portuguese captured Goa for the second time in November 1510 A.D.⁹

In the following year, the Bijapur Sultan, taking advantage of the absence of the Portuguese chief Albuquerque on an expedition to Malacca in 1511, temporarily seized the mainland territories of Goa as well as the island. But Albuquerque relieved it again in 1512.¹⁰ And Iṣmā’īl ‘Ādil Khān being minor, his regent Kamāl Khān who secretly cherished the ambition of usurping the crown, had no time to devote to the Portuguese menace. Also, lack of a strong naval force

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2. Tāḥābāh, op. cit., pp. 147-54; Fīrīshṭā, op. cit., pp. 364, 368-70; Sheṛwānī, op. cit., pp. 371-76. Sheṛwānī gives the date of the death of Najmū’-Dīn (whom he styles Niẓāmu’-Dīn) and usurpation of Bahādur as A.H. 896 (1491 A.D.) on the authority of Niẓāmu’-Dīn Ahmad’s Tāḥābāh, but Fīrīshṭā, op. cit., p. 368, gives A.H. 889 (1484 A.D.).
4. Ibid., vol. II, p. 11.
5. According to Rev. H. Heras, The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanaguru (Madras, 1927), p. 57, it was taken by ‘Ādil Khān himself from the Vijayanagara king.
6. According to some, Goa was a favourite residence of Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān who thought of making it the seat of his government (K. A. Nilakantha Sastrī, History of India, part II, Madras, 1950, p. 117 and Percival Spear, op. cit., p. 296), but Muslim chronicles are silent on this point.
7. Fīrīshṭā, op. cit., p. 12; Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Zubairī, Basīfāsu’s-Sulāfī (Hyderabad), p. 22; Majumdar, op. cit., p. 425.
and fear of the diversion of the horse trade from the Goa port to the Vijayanagara kingdom are stated to be other considerations for this inaction. Therefore, he concluded a treaty laying down, according to Firishtha, that the Portuguese would confine themselves to the fort alone, and have no claim to the hinterland. The truce seems to have been observed for the next twenty-five years.

However, it was natural that the Portuguese occupation of Goa could not be tolerated by the Bijapur kings who, on one hand, entered into treaties and affirmations of mutual friendship with the Portuguese, and, on the other, tried to dislodge them from the west coast. In the reign of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I (1535-1557 A.D.), there was some trouble, as a result of which the Bijapur Sultan had to finally resign his claim to the adjoining districts of Salsete and Bardez, which were the first and the only territorial acquisitions of the Portuguese on the mainland of India. 'Ali 'Adil Shah I (1558-1580 A.D.) made a determined effort in 1570 A.D. to recover the fort of Goa and presumably, the above districts too. He led the attack in person and invested the island for about ten months, but he is stated even by Firishtha to have retreated after sustaining very heavy losses.

After this, Goa remained a Portuguese territory according to Firishtha, who wrote in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Firishtha and Zubair also, who wrote in the eighteenth century, do not refer to any significant attempts on the part of the Bijapur chiefs to relieve Goa, but the Portuguese and Dutch sources testify to the efforts, at least, of Muhammad 'Adil Shah (1627-1656) in that direction.

The three inscribed slabs are reported to be lying in the square inside the Convent of St. Francis of Assisi, at Velha Goa. Their inked rubbings, obtained in 1963 A.D., by Mr. K. V. Ramesh, Epigraphical Assistant in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, were forwarded to our office (i.e. of the Superintendent, Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur), for examination and report.

These three inscriptions were briefly noticed by Prof. Dr. P. S. S. Pissurlencar quite some time back. When he wrote, the tablets were lying in the old fortress of Ponda, which is about 10 kilometres to the east of Velha Goa. They must have been removed to Velha Goa pursuant to the suggestion of Dr. Pissurlencar. Incidentally, the Convent of St. Francis, where the tablets are lying is reported to have been originally a mosque, converted into a church by the Portuguese.

The earliest of the three records contains the text of an interesting farmān issued on the authority of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I in the year A.H. 978 (1570-71 A.D.). It prohibits the evil practice hitherto

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1 Dr. P. M. Joshi, 'Relations between the 'Adil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur and the Portuguese, etc.', New Indian Antiquity (NIA), vol. II (1930-31) pp. 359, 366.
2 Firishtha op. cit.
3 Joshi, NIA, p. 366.
4 Ibid., p. 365.
5 Firishtha, op. cit., p. 42; Joshi, NIA, p. 366.
6 Firishtha, op. cit.
7 For details, please see Dr. P. M. Joshi, 'Muhammad 'Adil Shah (1627-1656) and the Portuguese', Journal of Indian History, vol. XXXIII (1955), pp. 1-10.
8 For a detailed account of the Goa territories, see IG, vol. XII, pp. 449-69.
11 This information and the English translation of the relevant extracts from Dr. Pissurlencar's article were kindly supplied by Dr. V. T. Gane, Director of Archives, Panjim-Goa.
prevalent in the mu‘āmala of Gūva (i.e. Goa), by which the property of a niputrik described as a person who left behind him daughters, sisters, brothers, etc., but no male issue, reverted to the state to the deprivation of the above-mentioned relations. The order is stated to have been issued following a representation made by Maliku‘sh-Sharq Malik Zāhid Baig, the nā‘ib-i-qubbat of the mu‘āmala, and duly accepted by the king who ordered it to be properly conveyed to the local officials such as desā‘is, muqaddims and khāuts, and also to the head religious authority (bākimu‘sh-shar) of the mu‘āmala. The fārmān also refers to the trait of the people of the Konkan (i.e. Kōkan) region of accusing and quarreling with each other for consideration of paltry amount. It exhorts them to refrain from this habit, failing which, it says, they would be required to pay a fine of four silver tankas to escape arrest.

The record is thus very important. It provides with much needed information, though limited in scope, about the administration of the period. We can realize the value of such records when we remember that historical works usually skip over such details.

It will be noted that the order was issued in the year when ‘Alī Ādil Shāh had laid siege to the Goa fort. Also, the text clearly refers not only to the political officer in charge of the mu‘āmala, and his suggestion for the discontinuation of the unjust practice and the king’s approval for the same, but also to the religious authority of the mu‘āmala. Evidently, the mu‘āmala of Goa referred to in the inscriptions was intended for the territory, immediately to the south and east of Goa fort, which the Portuguese have termed as Novas Conquistas (new conquests) and which was acquired by them in the eighteenth century.¹

This inscription also constitutes the earliest fārmān—so far known—issued from the Ādil Shāhī court, inscribed on stone². Incidentally, from a similar fārmān issued in Persian as well as Marāthī by Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh in A. H. 1062 (1652 A.D.), inscribed on a slab at Dabhol in the Ratnagiri district which has been shifted to the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay,³ it would appear that the said practice was not discontinued altogether. This also shows that the Bijapur authorities were anxious to put an end to this unjust practice. It may be of interest to note the use of the local term niputrik for a person without a son (putra). Also of interest is the reference to the trait of the people of Konkan to malign one another, out of hatred and malice. This bad habit was sought to be removed under threat of fine, as stated in the text.

Maliku‘sh-Sharq Malik Zāhid Baig is not known to history. It is a matter of satisfaction that at least our epigraph has preserved the name of this high Ādil Shāhī official.

The text of the fārmān runs into twentyfour lines of Persian prose, incised in Nasta‘īq characters, and the slab measures 45 cm by 1.05 m. I have deciphered it as under:

TEXT

Plate XIII

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) غرض از تحریر این سطور آنکه در ولایت معامله گروه آگر کسی دختران

(3) و برادران و خواهران داشتی و پسرداشتی بعد از وقات او

¹ For Novas Conquistas, see IG, vol. XII, p. 249.
² For other Ādil Shāhī inscriptions containing royal orders, please see Dr. M. Nazim, Bijapur Inscriptions,
Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir No. 49 (Delhi, 1936), pp. 81-86.
³ Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica, 1933-34, pp. 9-12, pl. V a & b.
(3) مال و املاک اورا بلت نیترک دیوان میکردنده که پسرنادات و دختران
(5) و برادران و برادرزادگان و خواهران آنکه از میراث و خان و مان خود محرم
(6) و آواره گسته غراب میشنند پناهران ملك شرق ملك زاده چند چونک نیک تایب غیرت در پلدی
(6) حضرت نواب کامیاب سلطنت پناه عدلت دستگاه سیستان بارگه آبی المظفر شاه علی عادلشاه

خدا اطهار تعلیم

(8) ملكه و سلطانه الامام نمود که این بدعت نیترک که بسندب فرق مبارک خود بر طرف

ساخته

(9) فرمان همايون صادر کرده اند که آگر کسی بمیرد و پسرناداتی یا تشیب موجب آمر شرع

مال و املاک او را

(10) بوار ثان او پرسانند و از میراث محرم نسازند پناه ان تام ملك مشار الیه فرمان

همایون بجانب

(11) دیساوای و مقدمان و خوشنام مامله مذکور صادر فرماوند بهضمون آنکه درین وقت ملك زاده چند

(12) تایب غیرت معامله مذکور الامام نمود که چون مال نیترک جمع دیوان میکنند

مردم پنیم دیس

(13) که حق دارند خراب شوند پناهان اشارت فرماونده شده که هر که وارث نداشته باشد مال او

(3) بام شرع بوار ثان او پنگازند و دیوانی تکنند چنین کسی که فرمازنده باشند و

(5) بیبیر مال او همه به برادران و خواهران و وار ثان بیجوب شرع پرسانند کسی

را وارث نیاخد مال او جمع

(6) دیوان پنکننید باید که پیدا موجب عمل نموده نگذارند که پر وارثان نلم شود و

برحسب الشرع عمل

(6) نمایند بی حکم فرمان همايون روند چون فرمان دیوان پیدا مخصوص صادر شد

فرمان مذکور نزد حاکم الشرع

3 As is usual in farsâne, the king's name and swahne are inscribed above the text, though they belong here.
‘ĀDIL SHĀHĪ RECORDS FROM GOA
(Plates XIII-XIV)

Order of ‘Alt ‘Ādil Shāh, dated A.H. 978 (p. 43)
THREE ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM GOA

(18) معامله مذكوره سدنة ديس داده، رسم و قاعده نتريک را برطرف ساخته شد که از مال و
(19) املاکت نتريک هرچه بوده باشد پادشاه شرع بوازتان برساند و کسی دخل نگردد و
دیوانی نسانند و احیانگ
(20) آخر کسی به خلاف این عمل کنند فناع للغیف معتن ائم پرهد و در لعن خدا و
نفرین رسول
(21) بوده باشد دیگر مردم کوکر از عکس و عداوت به اندکی چیز مبلقی حديث
بر یکدیگر می اندارد و از وسطه
(22) خانه هردو خراب شد از زین جهت درین حکم داده شد که کسی حديث بر
یکدیگر نه اندارد آخر کسی خلاف و پس
(23) هم کرده حديث بر کسی اندارد چار گرفته شد (9) سفید از و گرفته به کنار، حديث کسی
را گرفتار نسانند
(24) در سال سنه ثمان سبعین و تسعماه نوشته شد

TRANSLATION

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

(2) The purpose of writing these lines is that in the region of the mu’âmala of Gúva (i.e. Goa), if a person had daughters,

(3) brothers and sisters and had no son, after his death,

(4) his wealth and property used to be confiscated to the state, on account of his being a niputrik, as he had no male issue (i.e. son). And (consequently), the daughters,

(5-6) brothers, nephews and sisters of that person were deprived of their lawful share in his property and household belongings, and becoming pauper, they were ruined. In view of this, the nā’tib-i-ghaibat (lit. deputy in absence, i.e. the governor), Maliku’nh-Sharq Malik Zâhid Baig, in the august presence of

(7) the victorious Nawwâb, asylum of kingdom and source of justice, having Solomon-like audience-hall, Abu’l-Muşaffar Shâh ‘Alî ‘Adîl Shâh, may Allâh perpetuate

(8) his kingdom and sovereignty, submitted that this evil practice of niputrik should be discontinued by way of offering for the august head of the king, and

(9) an auspicious farmân be issued that if a person died and had no son, in accordance with the Code of religion, his wealth and may Allâh property

(10) might be entrusted to his heirs, who should not be deprived of their inheritance. In compliance with the representation of the aforesaid Malik, an auspicious farmân was issued to

(11) the desâ’is, muqâddims and khâ̄fs of the said mu’âmala to the effect that at this time Malik Zâhid Baig,
(12) The nā'ib-i-qhaibat of the said mu'āmala, has represented that, as the property of the niputrik is confiscated to the state, the orphaned people of the des (?)

(13) who have a claim to it are ruined. Hence, an order was given that whosoever (of the deceased) did not have (a male) heir, his property should be

(14) left to his (other) heirs in accordance with the religious Code, and should not be confiscated to the state. Therefore, (if) a person having no son

(15) died, the whole of his property should be handed over to his brothers, sisters and other (lawful) heirs, in accordance with the religious Code, (and if) a person leaves no heir, his property may be

(16) taken over by the state. (The officials) ought to act accordingly, see that the relatives are not victimised, follow the tenets of the religious Code,

(17) (and) obey the auspicious farmān. When the royal farmān was issued to this effect, it was conveyed to the bākim uṣh-shar (head religious authority) of

(18) the said mu'āmala and .............. of the des .............. the custom and practice of niputrik was overthrown so that of the wealth

(19) and property of a niputrik, everything that be, should be given to the relatives as per the religious Code, and no one should interfere there unto and confiscate it to the state. In case,

(20) any one violates (the terms of) this (farmān), he will become the 'forbidder of good, transgressor and sinful',

(21) will be upon him. Also, the people of Kokan on account of hatred and enmity, in consideration of a paltry sum, flung accusations against one another, and on account of this,

(22) both used to be ruined; hence in this farmān, it is stipulated that no body should hurl accusations against one another. If anyone displayed enmity

(23) and slander and accused some one, the officials should make him pay four white (i.e. silver) tankas (as a fine) and not put him under arrest on that account.

(24) (It was written) in the year (A. H.) eight (and) seventy and nine hundred (A.H. 978 = 1570-71 A.D.).

The second slab in the said Convent is inscribed with the following epigraph of the time of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. Measuring 62 by 33 cm., it is slightly damaged resulting in the loss of a few words in the beginning of the last two lines of its six-line text in Persian prose, executed in relief in Naṣkā characters of a fairly good type.

The inscription records that in the reign of Abu'l-Muzaffar 'Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, a burj-i-jath, i.e. bastion of victory, was constructed by the great Malik 'Abdu'l-Malik, thānādār of the mahāls (maḥallāt) in Talkokan in the year A. H. 1003 (1594-95 A.D.). It further adds that the mosque was completed at a time when the revolutions and disturbances were there. The text was written by Najmu'd-Din Maḥmūd, about whom nothing is known.

This epigraph is again an important document in that it provides us with useful historical information, as has been stated in the preceding lines. The text implies that the 'Ādil Shāh authority had been re-established after some victory over the enemy, in commemoration of which the newly

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1 Qur'ān, chapter LXVIII, verse 12.
3 For the connotation of the term Talkokan, see BG, vol. I, pt. ii, p. ix.
(a) Damaged record of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II, from Goa (p. 48)

Scale: 12

(b) Another epigraph of the same king, dated A.H. 1003, same place (p. 47)

Scale: 27
repaired or built bastion was designated as ‘bastion of victory’. It is very likely that by the victory referred to here is intended the suppression of the rebellion of prince Ismā’īl, a brother of the king, who having escaped from prison in Belgaum fort, had tried to assert his authority in the region between Goa and Belgaum with the help of some important officials. The reference to the times as ‘troubled days’ also points to this fact. The record also provides the name of one more ‘Ādil Shāh official in Konkan, who does not find mention in contemporary chronicles.

The text has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XIV(b)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و به نستعين
(2) أما بعد بدأناه اين برج فتح
(3) در زمان دولت شاه عالمه، إبر الحفاظ لابراهيم عادلشاه خادم [الله] ملكه و سلطانه
(4) و در كازکرد بندگان ملک عالیشان ملک عبد الملك
(5) لهانه دار محلات تلفکون در وقتي كه القلاب و قتات
(6) [کونا؟] [گونا؟] بود في تاريخ سنہ الف و ثلاث اتمام ياقت كنه تجم الدين محمود

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allâh, the Beneficent, the Merciful, and we seek help from Him.
(2) After this, know that this burj-i-fâth (bastion of victory)
(3) was completed in the reign of the king, asylum of the world, Abu’l-Muzaffar Ibrâhîm ‘Ādil Shâh, may Allâh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty
(4) and during the time (kârward) of His Lordship, the glorious Malik, Malik ‘Abdu’l-Malik,
(5) . . . thânâdâr of the mahâls (mâhillât) of Talkokan, at the time when revolution and disturbance of
(6) varied (?) . . . . . . . were there. It was completed in the year (A.H.) one thousand and three (A. H. 1003-1594-95 A.D.). This was written by Najmu’d-Din Mahmûd.

The second record of Ibrâhîm ‘Ādil Shâh II is inscribed on the third tablet, lying in the same place, which has been subjected to greater damage, with the result that of the three-line text with which it is inscribed, the last one is completely effaced, while in the second line also, few words have disappeared. This has resulted in the loss of the name of the builder and the date. The preserved text records the construction of a mosque called mansîd-i-fâth (mosque of victory) in the reign of Ibrâhîm ‘Ādil Shâh II. The designation ‘mosque of victory’ may not be without significare.

1 Firâhsâ, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 72-76.
2 The king’s name is inscribed here after the fashion of the farâns, but, it really belongs to t!
3 The king’s name belongs here, but on the stone it is inscribed in the beginning of the second lin.
4 ARIE, 1963-64, No. D, 63.
It may be taken to mean, as has been suggested above, that this epigraph was also set up in about A.H. 1003 (1594-95 A.D.), in the time of the same Malik ‘Abdu’l-Malik who might have been instrumental in the construction of the mosque. The style of writing seems to corroborate this presumption.

The epigraphical tablet measures 1.26 m. by 28 cm. The style of writing is Naskh of the same type as in the previous record.

The surviving text reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XIV(a)*

(1) ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ 

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, Merciful, and we seek help from Him. 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh (only); hence, invoke not anyone else with Allāh.' The foundation
of the masjid-i-fath (mosque of victory) was laid and completed

(2) in the period of the kingship of the victorious Nawwāb, the king who is the protector of the
world, Abu’l-Muṣṭafar Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty
and

(3) ...
INSCRIPTIONS OF EMPEROR BĀBUR

BY THE LATE MAULAVI M. ASHRAP HUSAIN

[A rough draft of this article by the author, who was my predecessor, was found among sundry papers in my office. At the time of his retirement in 1953, he had left a note saying that it might be published after revision by his successor. Consequently, the same is published here after incorporation of fresh material and references and also, extensive revision and editing. The readings have been also checked, corrected and supplemented with the help of my colleague, Mr. S. A. Rahim, Epigraphical Assistant.—Editor.]

Although sufficient light has been shed on the history of Zāhiru’d-Dīn Muḥammad commonly known as Bābur, the founder of the Mughal empire in India, by distinguished historians and by Bābur himself, yet the main point that their works lack in, is that they are practically silent in regard to his inscriptions which certainly have a great historical association and are, therefore, hardly ignorable. His love of fine arts, and above all of architecture and gardening, was instrumental, even in the midst of turmoil and war, in the building of palaces and laying out of gardens in various parts of his domains,¹ and he succeeded, as he proudly records in his Memoirs, in naturalising some valuable fruit and flowering plants in provinces to which they had formerly been strangers. Abū’l-Faḍl, the court historian of Akbar, admits that the pioneer of orderly gardens in India was Bābur who, being disgusted with the climatic conditions in India, particularly with the heat, strong winds and dust, made according to his refined taste, baths, ropa (stepped chambered wells), wells and palaces and laid out beautiful gardens,² e.g. the garden-palace of Chahār-Bāgh or Bāgh-i-Gulafshān² and Aḥānak Bāgh at Agra and many others elsewhere, which having unfortunately yielded to age, are now in most cases untraceable.

The Memoirs speaks of the emperor’s building and repairing a number of tombs, mosques and other edifices in Kabul, Ghazna and Quandahar,³ and in India too, he did not fail to display his natural genius in this direction. He built a (perhaps commemorative) mosque, one mile to the north-east of the town of Panipat in the Karnal district of Panjáb, while at Sikri, now called Fatehpur Sikri, near Agra, he erected a house, where he used to write his Tūzuk, a bāoli and a well. In the middle of the lake at Sikri, he constructed an octagonal platform; to which he ‘went over by boat, had an awning set upon it and elected for Ma’jūn.’ In Agra and Dholpur also, he set up many buildings which, as he says in his Memoirs, he entrusted to the charge of Mullā Qāsim, the stone-cutter Ustād Shāh Muḥammad, Mirak, Mir Ghiyāth, Mir Sangtarāsh and the spadesman Shāh Bābā.⁴

¹ His keen interest in architecture and horticulture is reflected in his letter to Khwāja Kalān, for which see A.S. Beveridge, Bābur Nāma, Section III (London, 1921), pp. 646-47.
² Abū’l-Faḍl, A’in-i-Abkari, vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), p. 100. Among the nobles who constructed gardens and pretty little tanks on the banks of the Jamūna, Bābūr mentions Yūnūs ‘All, Khalīfa and Shāikh Zain the author of the Tabaqat-Bābāri. ‘The people of Hind’, writes the emperor, ‘who had never seen grounds planned so symmetrically and thus laid out, called this side of the Jum where (our) residences were, Kābul’ (Beveridge, op. cit., p. 532). The traces of the walls and foundations of large buildings to the east of Khachpura probably represent the site of Bābūr’s garden-palace.
⁴ Beveridge, op. cit., pp. 472 f.n.1, 581, 584, 588, 616, 642; Erskine, op. cit., p. 451; Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its own historians, vol. IV. (London, 1873), p. 223.
Unfortunately, only very few of these buildings and those erected in his reign have escaped the ravages of time, and even in their case, the inscriptions are in most cases badly damaged. That is why, perhaps, very few epigraphs of Bābur have been properly studied so far,1 despite their historical importance. It is proposed to study here in details, these epigraphs, totalling fifteen, in their chronological sequence.2 The readings of some of these inscriptions were published in reports and other works, but they are incorrect.3

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 933, FROM FATEHPUR SIKRI

The earliest inscription of Bābur is from Fatehpur Sikri, the deserted capital of Akbar, situated at a distance of about forty kilometres from Agra by rail as well as by road.4 Sikri was a small village then. Close by at Khanwa, the famous decisive battle was fought between Bābur and Rānā Sângâ in 1527-8. D., when the former changed its name to Shukri (Thanksgiving) as a token of his gratefulness to God for the hard-won victory.5 On its selection as the imperial headquarters by Akbar, a large number of magnificent buildings both public and private, and beautiful baths were constructed, and delightful gardens laid out. But its glory was short-lived, and just before the turn of the sixteenth century, the capital was abandoned on account of its inferior water, unhealthy climate and certain political reasons.6

It is a pity that in so historical a place as Fatehpur Sikri, where Bābur staked his all on the bloody battle against Rānā Sângâ, no monument of his time can with propriety be identified. Bābur is stated to have been writing his Ta'rikh in a building erected there by him,7 but of it unfortunately nothing is now traceable. In an out-of-the-way place near the Ajmeri Gate, however, a well can be seen containing a much worn out inscription of his reign.8 From the Bābur Nâma, it is learnt that when Bābur had renounced wine, his liquor-flagon, goblets, etc., were broken at a place in Sikri, where he ordered a well to be dug, 'built up with stone and having an almshouse beside it.'9 The above well, also known after Bābur’s name, and the remains near by of armed sandstone building, which may be supposed to be Bābur’s almshouse, lead one to think that it is the same well as was constructed to commemorate his absolute remission. The debris of the house was noticed by the writer of this article in 1928, but that too is now no more traceable.

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1 For his published inscriptions, one each from Delhi, Kalpi and Bihatpur, please see Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica (EIM), 1915-16, p. 5, pl. Ia; Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS), 1953 and 1954, p. 36, pl. XIIa; ibid., 1955 and 1956, p. 61, pl. XVc.
2 Three new epigraphs of Bābur, discovered in recent years have been listed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE), 1955-56, under Nos. D. 125, 164, 165.
4 For the Inscription, dated A. H. 713 in the reign of ‘Alâ’u’d-Din Khalji, appearing on the Ambiyâwâl mosque, at Nagar, a suburb of Fatehpur Sikri, see EIM, 1917-18, pp. 31-32, pl. Xla. Another inscription, dated A. H. 714, is reported to be lying in the tomb of Makhîjam Sâh at Fatehpur Sikri (M. Sa’îd Ahmad Mâhirhâvi, Antâr-i-Akbâri, Agra, A.H. 1324, p. 190). The site of Sikri also existed in the time of the Sayyid kings of Delhi.
5 Abu’l-Fâqî, Akbar Nâma, vol. I (Calcutta, 1877), pp. 105-06; Niâzîmû’d-Din Ahmad, Tabqât-i-Akbâri (Lucknow, 1875), pp. 191-92; Beveridge, op. cit., p. 548, f.n.2.
6 For the history of the place and its monuments, see M. Asghar Hussain, Guide to Fatehpur Sikri (New Delhi, 1947).
8 The inscription seems to have been first mentioned in Sa’îd Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 151-52, where the step-well is called intîrâvâlî-Bâolî because of its proximity to the Indâra pass and also Bâolî-Bâbar Shâh, but according to his own statement, Sa’îd Ahmad was unable to decipher a single word of the text.
9 Beveridge, op. cit., p. 562.
(a) Epigraph, dated A.H. 933, from Fatehpur Sikri (p. 51)

(b) Inscription of the same date, from Sambhal (p. 52)
The inscriptive tablet measuring 86 cm. by 1.15 m. is built up into the steeuing of the well and contains a record of three lines executed in Thuluth script showing a tendency towards Ṭughrā. The calligraphy of this otherwise beautiful inscription, now almost worn out and damaged, is of a pretty high order. The text is in Persian prose, purporting that the construction of the well took place in A.H. 933 (1526-27 A.D.) by the orders of Zahiru’d-Din Muḥammad Bābur, at the time of his return from his battle with Rānā Sāṅgā. It has been deciphered as follows:—

**TEXT**

Plate XV (a),

(1) بفرمآنا [ن] ٞظهیر الْذِّينِ مَحْمَدُ بَابُرَ بِادِبَّاهُ خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِکَه و سَلِیْمَانَ

(2) اَتَّهام اَبِنَ چَنَّا بَنَوْفْقِ اللَّهُ مِسْرُ شِدِبِّ مُسِلَّمْ و سِی و سِی از هِجْرَتِ(۶)

(3) بِهِنْگم مَرَاجِعِ از چَنَّک(۷) رَانَه سَلِیْمَانَ(۸) کَافِرَ [بَا] قُنْع و سَلِیْمَتِ

**TRANSLATION**

(1) At the orders of Zahiru’d-Din Muḥammad Bābur Bādshāh Ghāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,

(2) the completion of this well was achieved through the Divine guidance in the year nine hundred and thirty and three from the Migration (A.H. 933=1526-27 A.D.),

(3) at the time of the victorious return from the battle against the infidel Rānā Sāṅgā.¹

It may be worthwhile to invite attention to an important reference by Bābur himself to an inscription on a step-well constructed by his orders in the Lodī fort at Agra and finished after the Holy Battle with Rānā Sāṅgā, as is stated, according to him, in the inscription on the stone that bears the chronogram of its completion.² This step-well was built in the empty space inside the fort, between the residence of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and the ramparts.³ Whether there exists any such step-well in the present Agra fort built by Akbar or not, it is difficult to say, but the reference to the battle of Khanwa in its inscription is quite interesting and significant too. The inscription under study also contains an identical purport, but the Memoirs do not mention the construction of a step-well at Fatehpur Sikri. However, in this connexion, it is necessary to remember that according to Mrs. Annette Beveridge, 'Bābur's account of the great step-well is not easy to translate; his interpreters vary from one another; probably no one of them has felt assured of translating correctly.'⁴ Could it be that the above description refers to the Fatehpur Sikri step-well and not to the one at Agra? It is difficult to say.

**II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 933, FROM SAMBHAL**

The second inscription of Bābur is from the Bābur's mosque at Sambhal, lying about fifty-five kilometres to the south-west of the district headquarters Muradabad, with which it is connected both by rail and by road. The mosque forms a conspicuous feature in the landscape for miles

² On the stone, the name Sāṅgā appears to have been thus spelt.
³ Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 533.
around. It is believed that in ancient times, there stood a celebrated temple called the Hari-
Mandir, which is now nowhere to be seen, and its place is stated to have been taken by the above
mosque. Mainly built of stone and coated with plaster, its wings have two aisles divided by a
row of pillars. It has on one side a tank for ablution and also an old well.

The mosque bears three inscriptions, recording the dates of its erection and restorations
effected to it. Their genuineness has come to be doubted by some local Hindus as well as by those,
who judging from its mere appearance, call it a Pathan building bearing a close resemblance to the
Jami’-Masjid at Budaun and the buildings at Jaunpur. Blochmann, Beveridge and others are in-
clined to think that it is the same temple as was converted into a mosque in the time of Bābur,
but General Arthur Cunningham has straightforwardly repudiated the suggestions that the the inscrip-
tions are not genuine.¹

The inscription of the time of Bābur is inscribed on a slab measuring 96 by 55 cm.² Consisting
of a fragment of nine Persian verses of a fairly good quality, it records that Hindū Baig, a
high official, was instructed by the Emperor to construct a mosque at Sambhal and that it was
completed on the 6th December 1526 A.D. The last hemistich, quoting the day and the month,
also provides the chronogram for the year of construction, which is a matter of credit indeed for
the composer, whose name is unfortunately not recorded in the text.

Jalālūd-Dīn Hindū Baig quṣṭūr was a very faithful officer, whom Bābur himself describes
as 'the trusted of royalty, most excellent of servants'.³ He had commanded the right wing of the
imperial forces in the battles of Panipat and Khanwa. He was Humāyūn’s retainer in A.H.
932 (1526 A.D.) and went to Sambhal which was bestowed on his master and wrested it from
Bibin during the same year. He was subsequently sent again to Sambhal in A.H. 935 (1528-29
A.D.) on account of the death of ‘Alī, son of Yūsuf.⁴ It must have been during his first visit
that he ordered the construction of the mosque.

The six-line text of the epigraph is executed in Naskh script of no particular merit; it is rather
on the inelegant side. There are a few orthographical mistakes which must be ascribed to the
ignorance of the scribe. The inscription was previously published by Blochmann and Cunning-
ham,⁵ but I differ from their reading in many places and read it as under:

TEXT

Plate XV (b)

¹ Blochmann, op. cit.; Beveridge, op. cit., p. 637, f.n.5; Cunningham, op. cit., p. 26.
² ARIE, 1952-53, No. C, 193. For the other inscriptions, recording A.H. 1035 and 1067 as the dates of
subsequent repairs of the mosque, see ibid., No. C, 154-55.
³ Beveridge, op. cit., p. 566.
⁴ For details of his career in India, please see Beveridge, op. cit., pp. 386, 388, 399, 465, 472, 528, 529, 566,
569, 687, 689.
⁵ Blochmann, op. cit.; Cunningham, op. cit.
INSCRIPTIONS OF EMPEROR BABUR

(1) The compendium of the things of excellence and perfection, raiser of the ensigns of state and religion,

spreader of the wings of peace and security,

(2) founder of the edifices of knowledge and action,

king of Jam-like dignity, Muḥammad Bābur, may Glorified and Exalted Allāh keep him in His protection,

(3) when he kindled the lamp of (his) government in India, a ray of it illumined Sambal (i.e. Sambhal),

for the construction of this mosque,

(4) may it remain immune from harm and destruction,

he issued orders to his humble slave, who is one of the principal pillars of the government,

(5) the intelligent and wise Mīr Hindā Baig, who is proverbial for good nature.

When by the order of the emperor of the world,

(6) the mosque was completed through the guidance of eternal Providence,

(7) its date in year, month and day was (found in the phrase : ) Yākun az shahr-i-Rabi‘ul-Awwal (the first day of the month of Rabi‘ul-Awwal).

The total numerical value of the letters of the last hemistich gives the year of construction, i.e. A.H. 933. The date is, therefore, 1st Rabī‘ I A.H. 933 (6th December 1526 A.D.).

III-V. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 934 AND 935, FROM PANIPAT

The next three epigraphs are from Panipat in the Karnal district of Panjab. The town of Panipat is of great antiquity. Under the Muslim rule, it rose to much importance, and it was from here than the Tughluq prince Humāyūn Shāh, afterwards Sultan ‘Alā‘u’D-Din Sikandar Shāh, plundered Delhi in 1390 A.D., but Abū Bakr Shāh, grandson of Firuz Shāh Tughluq, met and defeated him at Pasina in the neighbourhood. During the long struggle that followed, between Tātār Khān, prime minister of Ghiyāthu’d-Din Tughluq II, and Iqbāl Khān, governor of the fort of Sirī, Panipat was held between them for some time, until the invasion of Amir Timūr in 1398 A.D. Later on, Buhālī Lodī’s son Nīgām Khān, afterwards Sikandar Lodī, made it his headquarters. But the chief events that have made Panipat historically famous are the three most decisive battles of northern India fought there: the defeat of Ibrāḥīm Lodī by Bābur in 1526, the defeat of ‘Ādil Shāh Sūr’s Hindu general Himū, by Akbar in 1556, and the signal defeat of the
Marāthās by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī in 1761 A.D. In the first battle, Bābur defeated and killed Ibrāhīm Lodi and erected a grand mosque in A.H. 935 (1528-29 A.D.) probably to commemorate his victory.

This Bāburi-Masjid is entered by a magnificent arched gateway of red sandstone on the north, leading into a spacious court, part of which, in front of the central arch of the covered prayer-chamber, is paved with lakhawri bricks in lime. It is two bays deep and possesses three inscriptions, one over the said entrance and two over the central miḥrāb of the prayer chamber. The first records the erection of the mosque and garden in A.H. 935 (1528-29 A.D.), the second is incomplete and contains only the emperor's name and titles and the third bears the date A.H. 934 (1527-28 A.D.), evidently of the mosque. This difference of one year in dates seems to point out that the mosque and the garden were started in A.H. 934 and completed in the following year.

The first inscription is inscribed in two lines in embossed Naskh letters of quite an ordinary type on a huge slab of stone, measuring 4.28 m. by 35 cm., fixed above the arch of the gateway. It is in Persian verse consisting of five couplets. The writing has been adversely affected by weather and wear and tear of time, and although a considerable part of it has peeled off, it is fairly intelligible on the whole. It states that the mosque, the well and the garden Chahār-Bāgh were completed in A.H. 935 (1528-29 A.D.), at the order of emperor Bābur, through the efforts of Pahlwān Muhammad, son of Ḥasan. It also mentions one dārūqha, whose name is unfortunately lost. The fragment was composed by a munshi named Shihāb, a poet, if at all, of mediocre talents. He should not be confused with his more celebrated namesake Shihāb-i-Mu'ammā'ī. The text of the epigraph has been deciphered as under:

Plate XVI (c)

(1) از قول نبی متبول و فرمان ذی الجلال
تاریخ دور نهصد و سی و بیست و سال
اکنون مسجد و چاه و چهار باغ
دهرگه بود ان.................(۲)
(3)
نامه محمد این حسن صاحب کمال
فرماش خوشته جهان خواجه پهلوان
یمین ساخت از کرم حق چو زلال

TRANSLATION

(1) In accordance with the saying of the respected Prophet and command of the Lord of Glory (Allāh), (and) at the order of gold-bestowing lord of bounty, Shāh Bābur,

was completed the mosque and the well and the Chahār-Bāgh; the year (A.H.) was nine hundred and thirty and five (A.H. 935—1528-29 A.D.).

The dārūqha was..........................................................the just, the generous and of an unrivalled good disposition.

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INSCRIPTIONS OF EMPEROR BABUR 55

(It was built) at the instance of the fortunate Khwāja of the world, Pahlwān, whose name is Muḥammad, son of Hasan, master of excellence.

The composer of (these) verses is the afflicted Munṣīr Shihāb, (who) composed a poem like limpid water by the grace of God.

It is difficult to say if Pahlwān Muḥammad of our inscription is identical with Pahlwān Ḥāfīz Muḥammad tufāng-andāz mentioned by Bābur as having received gifts from him in December 1528 A.D.¹

The second inscription on the mosque is fixed above the central miḥrāb.² It is fragmentary and damaged. Apparently, two more slabs on the sides, along with which it must have formed the frame of the miḥrāb, are gone. The tablet measuring 2.3m. by 30 cm. contains the surviving epigraph of two lines, the first of which is historical in character and the second contains Throne Verse. The language of the historical portion is Persian and that of the religious text, Arabic. The style of writing is slightly crude Naskhī. The epigraph has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate XVI (b)

(1) بناء مسجد بني لله حضرت قطب فلك ʿصغر ظهیر الدين محمد بایر غازی بسیار خلد الله
ملکه و سلطانه و اعلاء رحم[ه]  

(2) و ما في السوم و ما في الأرض من ذي الذي يشفع عنه الا باذنه يعلم ما بين

[هم] و ما خلف[هم]

TRANSLATION

(1) The foundation of the mosque of His Majesty, the pole-star of the sky of...Zahīru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur Bāḍshāh Ghāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and suzerainty and elevate (his command).

(2) Part of Throne Verse.⁴

The third epigraph which is in Arabic is written in ink above the previous inscription and records the date, evidently of the beginning, of the construction and the name of the scribe Malik Ṣāliḥ.⁵ It reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate

في ربع الأول سنة اربعين...تسعماه هجري البویه 920 حرر ملك صالح

¹ Boveridge, op. cit., pl. 631.
³ The reading of this word is doubtful. In this context, a word like 'sovereignty' 'authority', etc. would be appropriate.
⁴ Qur'ān, chapter II, verse 255.
⁵ It was not possible for me to check up this eye reading.—Ed.
VI-VII. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 934, FROM ROHTAK

The sixth inscription of the series is from another ancient place, Rohtak, a district town in Panjab. Tradition avers that it owes its name to its founder, Rājā Rohtās, a Panwār Rajput, and that it was rebuilt by Prithvī Rāj, the well known Chauhān king of Delhi and Ajmer, in 1160 A.D.

Ever since Delhi became the capital of India, a tract like Rohtak, lying so close to it, must have been profoundly affected by the dynastic events at the capital. On the other hand, Rohtak has ever been a prey to the callous invaders from the west and the avaricious plunderers from the south, which might explain the remains of destroyed villages and ruined buildings everywhere. Dr. P. Horn, who published some inscriptions from Rohtak, has dwelt at some length upon the history of the place which he seems to have gleaned from the district gazetteer and may be looked up with advantage. But his readings of epigraphs are faulty and misleading in many places; hence, they are included in this article along with their illustrations.

Among the historical buildings, two mosques, viz., Masjid-i-Khurd in the Fort and Rājpūtonkī-Masjid, a new mosque in the city area, bear inscriptions of the time of Bābār. The one on the Masjid-i-Khurd consists of three lines inscribed on a tablet measuring 53 by 23 cm. which is fixed over the central archway outside. The slab is badly damaged and considerable portion of the text has peeled off. It is, therefore, not possible to decipher it completely, but this much is certain that it refers to the construction of a mosque in the reign of ʿahāl-dīn Muḥammad Bābār by one Qāḍī Ḥammād. If the Tughluq inscription occurring on the outer archway is in situ, this epigraph may not belong to this mosque.

The style of writing is Nāṣkī of a fairly good type. I have deciphered the text as follows:

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)

(1) يس م الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) بằ اين مسجد قاضي حداد در عهد خلافت حضرت ظهیر الدين محمد باير باشان

(3) غازی خلذ الله ملكه

(4) و سلطانه (?)....تسعماية و تثمين (9).....كرد

TRANSLATION

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

1 Horn, op. cit., p. 144.
2 An inscription over its outer archway records its erection in A.H. 724 (1324 A.D.) by Abu’l-Muṣṭafār Tughlūq Shāh (ibid., p. 436).
3 ARIE, 1953–53, No. C. 96; Horn, op. cit., p. 437. A fine specimen of the old plain ornamental Kufi characters is found over the doorway and bears a portion of the Kalima.
(2) The builder of this mosque is Qāāī Ḥammad (who constructed it) in the period of the caliphate of His Majesty Zahiru’d-Din Muḥammad Bābur Badshāh Ḡāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom

(3) and sovereignty (?) ...........nine hundred and thirty (?) ................carried out ..............

Though the word quoting the unit of the year is totally gone, the year must necessarily fall between A.H. 932 and 937. Rodgers, who noticed this inscription in about 1885, when it was probably not so damaged, read the date A.H. 934 (1527-28 A.D.) which is by no means improbable.¹

The other epigraph of Bābur in Rohtak is from the Rājpūton-kt-Masjid.² Fixed over its central arch, the tablet, measuring 1.1 m. by 21 cm., does not belong to the mosque, but it was rather intended as the tombstone of Masnad-i-ʿĀlī Fīrūz Khān. It is inscribed with two lines of Persian which are slightly affected by the weathering of the stone. The text records A.H. 934 (1528 A.D.) as the date of the construction of the tomb of Masnad-i-ʿĀlī Fīrūz Khān, son of Masnad-i-ʿĀlī Aḥmad Khān and grandson of Masnad-i-ʿĀlī Jamāl Khān and refers itself to the reign of Bābur. The style of the writing is ordinary Naskh. I have read it as follows:—

**TEXT**

Plate XVII (a)

(1) تمام شد ابن بیعه شریف در عهد بنگکی حضرت بابر باشما غازیہ خلاد ایلہ مملکہ و
سلطانہ رونگی بنگک مسند علی

(2) فیروز خان بن مسند علی احمد خان بن مسند علی جمال خان مرحمین بیاتریک دهم
ماہ ربیع الآخر سته اربع و تلائین و تسعائیه

**TRANSLATION**

(1) Completed was in the reign of His Majesty Bābur Bādur Ḡāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, this noble edifice, (viz.) the tomb of His Excellency Masnad-i-ʿĀlī³

Fīrūz Khān, son of Masnad-i-ʿĀlī Aḥmad Khān, son of Masnad-i-ʿĀlī Jamāl Khān, the deceased, all of them, on the 10th of the month of Rabī’u’l-Ākhār, year (A.H.) four and thirty and nine hundred (10th Rabī’ II A.H. 934—3rd January 1528 A.D.).

Fīrūz Khān, or Fīrūz Khān Sārang Khānī as Bābur calls him in his Memoirs, was one of the distinguished nobles of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodi who had appointed him to act against the rebel nobles of the East (Pārāb). He came over to Bābur’s side in A.H. 932 (1526 A.D.), and after the defeat of his former master, was awarded for his meritorious service a generous sum of ‘one crore, forty-six lacs and five thousand tankas from Jaunpur.’⁴ Shortly afterwards, the emperor sent him to Etawah against Qub Khān Sharwānī whom he completely defeated in AH. 934 (1527 A.D.).⁵ That means

³ For the title Masnad-i-ʿĀlī, see EIAPS, 1955 and 1956, p. 53, f.n. 3.
⁴ Beveridge, op. cit., p. 527. His father Ahmad Khān was governor of Jaunpur under Sikandar Lodi. Rizqul-lāh Muḥtaṣīqī has described his and his eldest son Lād Khān’s character at some length in his Wāqī’-ʿāt-i-Muḥtaṣīqī, extracts of which are translated in Hindi in Dr. S. A.A. Riḍāwī, Uttar Taimūr-kālin Bārat, vol. I (Aligarh, 1958), pp. 150-55.
⁵ Beveridge, op. cit., p. 530.
that his Etawah assignment must have taken place before the date of our record, viz. 3rd January 1528 A.D., when the foundation of his tomb took place, subject, of course, to the presumption that the tomb was not constructed during his life-time.

VIII-X. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A. H. 935, FROM AJODHYA

These three records are from Ajodhya, in Fyzabad district of Uttar Pradesh. Ajodhya, called Ayodhya in ancient works, is a place of great antiquity. It was the earliest capital of the kingdom of Kosala in the later Vedic period, which may be traced down to 600 B.C.1 In the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ, the Gupta dynasty ruled over it and called it Saket, by which name it is also known in the Rāmāyana. From the seventh century onwards, a period of neglect ensued and according to Muslim historians, parties enjoyed hunting in its vicinity.2

The chief fame of Ajodhya lies in its being the birth-place of Śrī Rāma, the deified son of Rāja Dasaśratha and hero of the Rāmāyana. At the Muslim conquest, three important temples are reported to have existed here, viz. Janmasthāna or birth-place Temple, the Tretā-kī-Thākur or the place where Śrī Rāma performed a great sacrifice in commemoration of which he set up images of himself and his wife Sītā, and the Svaragadwāram or Rāma-Darbār, which is believed to be the place where he was cremated. The second and third are popularly believed to have been pulled down by Aurangzeb, and on the site of the first the present Bābur mosque is stated to have been built. The supposition is apparently anachronistic inasmuch as Aurangzeb was born about a century after A.H. 935, the date of Bābur's record, and so the demolition could not have taken place so late.

The Bābur-ī-Masjid, which commands a picturesque view from the riverside, was constructed according to A. Führer in A.H. 930 (1523-24 A.D.),3 but his chronology, based upon incorrect readings of inscriptions supplied to him, is erroneous. Bābur defeated Ibrahim Lodi only in A.H. 933 (1526 A.D.), and moreover, the year of construction, recorded in two of the three inscriptions studied below, is clearly A.H. 935 (1528-29 A.D.). Again, it was not built by Mīr Khān as stated by him.4 The order for building the mosque seems to have been issued during Bābur's stay at Ajodhya in A.H. 934 (1527-28 A.D.),5 but no mention of its completion is made in the Bābur Nāma. However, it may be remembered that his diary for the year A.H. 934 (1527-28 A.D.) breaks off abruptly, and throws the reader into the dark in regard to the account of Oudh.

The mosque consists of three compartments, each crowned by a dome. The squinch-arches and stalactite pendents turn each aisle of the prayer-chamber into a squarish room. The drums of the domes inside were originally relieved by arched recesses, and the central dome was embellished with ornamental incised plaster discs, but the present domes were only reconstructed in the thirties of this century and are devoid of any original features.

The mosque contains a number of inscriptions. On the eastern façade is a chhajja, below which appears a Quranic text6 and above, an inscription in Persian verse. On the central mihrab are carved religious texts such as the Kalima (First Creed), etc. On the southern face of the pulpit was previously fixed a stone slab bearing a Persian inscription in verse. There was also another inscription in Persian verse built up into the right hand side wall of the pulpit. Of these, the last-mentioned two epigraphs have disappeared. They were reportedly destroyed in the communal

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1 Dr. R. S. Tripathi, History of Ancient India (Delhi, 1960), pp. 41 and 47.
4 Ibid.
5 Beveridge, op. cit., p. 602; Nevill, op. cit., p. 163.
6 Qurʾān, chapter CXII.
(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 934, from Rohitak (p. 57)

Scale: 15

(b) Epigraph, dated A.H. 935, from Ayodhya (p. 59)

Scale: 17

(c) Another version of the same record (p. 60)

Scale: 9
vandalism in 1934 A.D., but luckily, I managed to secure an inked rubbing of one of them from Sayyid Badru’ll-Hasan of Fyzabad. The present inscription, restored by the Muslim community, is not only in inlaid Nasta’liq characters, but is also slightly different from the original, owing perhaps to the incompetence of the restorers in deciphering it properly.¹

The readings and translations of the historical epigraphs mentioned above, except in the case of one, were published by Führer and Mrs. Beveridge,² but their readings are so incomplete, inaccurate and different from the text that their inclusion in this article is not only desirable but also imperative.

The epigraph studied below was inscribed on a slab of stone measuring about 68 by 48 cm., which was built up into the southern side of the pulpit of the mosque, but is now lost, as stated above.³ It is edited here from the estampepage obtained from Sayyid Badru’ll-Hasan of Fyzabad.⁴ Its three-line text consists of six verses in Persian, inscribed in ordinary Naskh characters within floral borders. It records the construction of the mosque by Mîr Bâqî under orders from emperor Bâbur and gives the year A.H. 935 (1528-29 A.D.) in a chronogram.

I have read it as under:

**TEXT**

Plate XVI(d)

(1) біغر موده شاه بابر که عدل ملقی
(2) امیر سعادت لشن میر باق
(3) عیان شد چو کفتم بود خیر نیکه

**TRANSLATION**

(1) By the order of king Bâbur whose justice is an edifice, meeting the palace of the sky (i.e. as high as the sky),

(2) this descending place of the angels was built by the fortunate noble Mîr Bâqî.

(3) It will remain an everlasting bounty, and (hence) the date of its erection became manifest from my words: *It will remain an everlasting bounty.*

The numerical value of the letters of the chronogrammatic phrase contained in the second hemistich of the last line adds up to give the year A.H. 935 (1528-29 A.D.). There is also a play

¹ Below the restored epigraph is inscribed in four lines the following Urdu record concerning the fate of the original inscription:—

۲ مارچ سال ۱۹۳۳ ع مطابق ١ ذی الحجه سال ۱۳۵۲ ه بروز بلویه بلویه مسجد
شھیڈ کرکے اصل کتبہ اہلا لی گلی جسکو تھور خان نھی کہدار ١٨ ہیئت خوبی کے ساتھ
تعمیر کیا—

² Führer, *SAJ*, p. 67; Beveridge, *op. cit.*, Appendix U.


⁴ It may be argued that since this epigraph is not quoted in Führer’s *SAJ*, the slab had already disappeared before he wrote. But that is not the case, since the tablet was found there in 1908-07 A.D. by Maulavi M. Shu’aib of the office of the Archaeological Surveyor, Northern Circle, Agra (*Annual Progress Report of the Office of the Archaeological Surveyor, Northern Circle, Agra*, for 1906-07, Appendix D).
on the word Bāqī in the above phrase: Bāqī means everlasting and it is also the name of the nobleman-builder; both the meanings are equally applicable here. The phrase can be translated also as: It is a bounty of Bāqī.

The second inscription on the mosque, also in Persian verse, consisted of three couplets arranged in six lines. The epigraphical tablet, which was built up into the right-hand side wall of the pulpit, does not exist now, and, therefore, the text of the inscription is quoted here from Führer's work; for the same reason, its illustration could not be given. Führer's reading does not appear to be free from mistakes:—

(1) بمنشآ بابر خدیو جهان
    بسانيکه باکخ گردون عنان
(2) باکخرده این خانه پایدار
    امیر سعادت نشان میر خان
(3) بمانده هیسه چنین بانی
    چنان شهیراز زین و زمان

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In accordance with the wishes of the ruler of the world, Bābur,
(2) a lofty building like the palace of the spheres,
(3) (that is to say) this lasting house (of God), was founded
(4) by the fortunate noble Mir (and) Khān (Bāqī).
(5) May ever remain such a founder of its edifice,
(6) (and) such a king of the world and age!

The third record of Bābur in the Ajodhya mosque, comprising a fragment of eight Persian verses of mediocre quality and a colophon, appears over the central entrance to the prayer-chamber above the chhajja. The four-line text is executed in fairly good Naskh characters in relief amidst floral borders, on a slab measuring about 2 m. by 55 cm. The text is fairly well preserved, and Führer must have been misinformed to affirm that 'a few characters of the second and the whole third lines are completely defaced'. The purport of the record is the same as that of the previous epigraphs, but here an additional edifice is also mentioned: In verse six, in line three, a fort-wall (hisār) is said to have been built along with the mosque in A.H. 935 (1528-29 A.D.), by Mir Bāqī, who is here called the second Āṣaf and councillor of the state.

I have deciphered the text as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XVII(c)*

(1) بسمن الله الرحمن الرحیم و یه تفیث
(2) بناه آنکه او دانست که خالص جمله عالم لامکان

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1 Führer, *SAJ*, p. 67.
2 It is very likely that the correct reading here is بسانيکه meaning 'the edifice that is'.
3 *ARIE*, 1932-33, No. C. 137. The reading given in Führer, *SAJ*, p. 67 and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, Appendix U, is incomplete and corrupt.
5 Āṣaf, son of Barkhiyās, was the prime-minister of king Solomon.
TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. And in Him is my trust.

(2) In the name of One who is Wise, Great (and) Creator of all the universe (and) is spaceless.

After His praise, blessings be upon the Chosen one (i.e. the Prophet), who is the head of prophets and best in the world.

The qalandar-like (i.e. truthful) Bābur has become celebrated (lit. a story) in the world, since (in his time) the world has achieved prosperity.

(3) (He is) such (an emperor) as has embraced (i.e. conquered) all the seven climes of the world in the manner of the sky.

In his court, there was a magnificent noble, named Mīr Bāqī the second Āṣaf, councillor of his government and administrator of his kingdom, who is the founder of this mosque and fort-wall.

(4) O God, may he live for ever in this world, with fortune and life and crown and throne!

The time of the building is this auspicious date, of which the indication is nine hundred (and) thirty-five (A.H. 935-1528-29 A.D.).

Completed was this praise of God, of Prophet and of king. May Allāh illumine his proof! Written by the weak writer and humble creature, Eathu'lllah Muḥammad Ghori.

The use of the appellation qalandar for Bābur in this epigraph, has a history behind it: At the defeat of Ibrāhīm Lodi, the treasures of five kings fell into his hands, and he distributed them so generously and kept for himself so little that he was given the sobriquet of Qalandar, or one indifferent to all worldly treasures. Hüjāt Dāhir, author of the Arabic history of Gujarat, quotes an interesting anecdote related to him at Nasik in about A. H. 997, by an aged Afghān. According to this story, Bābur had come to Agra in the guise of a qalandar in the company of qalandars

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1 The subject or purpose of this invocatory phrase is not known.
2 For a detailed note on qalandar, see M.T. Ahmad, 'Who is a Qalandar?', Journal of Indian History, vol. XXXIII (1955), pp. 155-70.
in the time of Sikandar Lodi, who having met them, asked Bābur about his name, etc. and since he had divined his true identity, was amused at the latter’s evasive replies.¹

XI-XII. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A. H. 935, FROM PALAM (DELHI)

These two records are from the village of Palam, now a suburb of Delhi. The village is fairly old, having been visited by Ibn Batūtā in 1333-34.² At the south-east corner of the village stands a mosque, called Ghādanfar-kī-Maṣjid, which contains two inscriptions of the reign of Bābur.³

The first of these two records composed in a mixture of Arabic and Persian prose, is inscribed on a marble slab (32 by 55 cm.) fixed over the northern arch of the central compartment.⁴ It runs into six lines executed in Thulth script of a fairly good type and states that the mosque was built in A. H. 935 (1528-29 A. D.) during the reign of Zahiru’d-Din Muḥammad Bābur, by Ghādanfar, a servant of Nāṣiru’d-Dīn Imām ‘Abdu’llāh. Nothing is known about the builder or his master.

I have deciphered the text as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (a)

(1) در عہد ظهیر الدین
(2) محمد ایبر بن ادیاش غازی
(3) خلیل الله ملکہ و سلطانہ
(4) هذہ المسجد و نمازغہ
(5) نمازغہ ملا زم ناصر الدین
(6) امیر عباداللہ اسمہ غضنفر سلنہ

TRANSLATION

(1) In the time of Zahiru’d-Dīn,
(2) Muḥammad Bābur Badshāh Ghāzī,
(3) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and rule,
(4) this mosque and namāzgah (i.e. place of prayer)⁵
(5) was built by a servant of Nāṣiru’d-Dīn,
(6) Amīr ‘Abdu’llāh, named Ghādanfar, (in) the year (A.H.) 935 (1528-29 A.D.).

Incidentally, Ḥājjī Dābīr quotes for Bābur’s death a chronogram in which he is called golander. The hemistich forming the chronogram is "‘نادشہ یابر قلندر ألح" (Ḥājjī Dābīr, op. cit., pp. 933-34).
³ Besides these, there are Quranic texts all over the central arch and the mihrāb.
⁴ ARIE, 1952-53, No. C, 60. For a description of the mosque, please see List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments (LMHM) (Calcutta, 1922), Vol. IV, pp. 50-51, where the texts and translations of this and the other epigraph are also given, but the date-figure 934 in the translation therein, is a mistake for 935.
⁵ Namāzgah usually signifies an ‘Īdgāh. But here it is intended for a mosque.
The other inscription on the mosque is in Persian verse. It consists of three couplets executed in Thuluth script in six lines on a marble slab measuring 30 by 55 cm., which is fixed over the southern arch of the central compartment. Its purport is the same as in above, except that it omits the name of Ghadanfar’s master and mentions the village Pālam. The date is contained in a chronogram. My reading thereof is as under:

TEXT

Plate XVIII(b)

(1) غافِنِر بن‌آکرم دخُش مسجد
(2) که جوْن کَفَد اورا ژبَر تَکوْست
(3) بِیالِم چَنین بَنیه خَر سَخت
(4) بنزد خَماسِ لَ اَن آَبَرَوست
(5) تُوبای ز خَیر مساجِد تَافیخ اوست.
(6) ز خَیر مساجِد تَافیخ اوست.

TRANSLATION

(1) Ghadanfar built an elegant mosque,
(2) a visit to which is as good as the pilgrimage to the House of Allah (i.e. Ka'ba).
(3) In Pālam he built such a sacred edifice
(4) as has won for him honour in the eyes of God.
(5) He received a reward for (erecting) the best of mosques,
(6) (and hence), its date of construction is (to be found) from the best of mosques.

The phrase zi khair-i-masājīd according to the Abjad system yields the year A. H. 935 (1528-29 A.D.).

XIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 935, FROM PILAKHNA

This epigraph is from Pilakhna in the Aligarh district of Uttar Pradesh. Approachèd either from Nanau Bridge or Akrabad on the Aligarh-Sikandra Rao road, Pilakhna is a small village. Local tradition avers that it was originally called Pilkhāna (Elephant Stable), since the early Mughal emperors kept their elephants there.

The Jāmi’-Masjid of the village, rectangular in plan, is enclosed by walls, about two metres high from the ground level, and entered on the north and south by gateways. The southern gateway is modern and deserves no comment, but the double-storeyed north gateway is original and has a red sandstone veneering. Reached by flights of steps made of kankar blocks on either side, a staircase in the right wing leads to the upper storey which has a small window on the north and a large arched one on the south. The gateway comprises a double arch carried on slender red sandstone pilasters with carved bases and capitals, and the stone

2 The correct plural-form is "Masajids".
lintel of the entrance is supported by stone brackets of Hindu design like those available in some of Akbar’s buildings at Fatehpur Sikri.

Between the stone lintel and the small window above, there is a slab of red sandstone, measuring 1.33 m. by 36 cm., which contains a three-line epigraph, assigning the erection of the mosque to Ghūrān, son of Muḥammad, son of Islām, in A.H. 935 (1528-29 A.D.) in the reign of emperor Bābur. The introductory portion of the epigraph, comprising Bismillah and a tradition of the Prophet, is in Arabic, while the historical portion consists of a fragment of two couplets in Persian of mediocre quality. The style of writing which is Naskh is pleasing.

The text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVIII(c)

(1) Bism Allāh ‘alayh wassalam wa ala Allāh al-‘Allāh al-Muqtar ‘ala ‘ala Allāh

(2) Kamal al-qalam, sāḥib al-‘alām, sāhib ul-anbā’


TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. The Prophet, may Allāh’s blessings and salutations be on him, has said, ‘Hasten to prayer before the expiry (of its time), and hasten to repentance before [death] overtakes you’.

(2) This mosque (which is) like Ka‘ba, an asylum for all, was built by the noblest of the nobles Ghūrān, son of Muḥammad, son of Islām.

(3) The reckoning of the year from the Migration was nine hundred and thirty and five (A.H. 935-1528-29 A.D.), in the reign of Zahiru’d-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, the noble Ghāzī.

Shaikh Ghūrān, one of the prominent Indian amirs of Bābur who frequently mentions him in his Memoirs and calls him Abu’l-Fath Shaikhsh Shuyukh (i.e. Father of victory, the Shaikh of the Shaikhs), was one of the most accomplished men of his age, and particularly unrivalled in music. He joined Bābur in A.H. 932 (1526 A.D.) with two to three thousand soldiers and quiver-weavers from the Doṣṭ and was loyal to Bābur all along. He was sent against the refractory chiefs of Sambhal and Gwalior, and also commanded the right wing of the imperial forces under prince Humayūn against Rānā Sāṅgā at Khanuwa in 1527. On the 27th of September 1527, he invited and entertained the Emperor at his house in Kol (or

2 The verses are not correctly inscribed also. Probably owing to ignorance, the engraver mistook واز for the correct word اندر in the first hemistich of the last verse.
(a) Record, dated A.H. 935, from Palam (p. 62)

(b) Another version of the same record (p. 63)

(c) Inscription, also dated A.H. 935, from Pilakhna (p. 64)
(a) Record, dated A.H. 936, from Maham (p. 65)

Scale: 0.19

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 937, from Sonepat (p. 66)

Scale: 0.3
Koil, i.e. modern Aligarh). In view of Bābur’s special liking for fruits and flowers, Shaikh Ghūran presented him lotus seeds, Ladian grapes, etc. For his unshaken loyalty to the crown, he was put in charge of Gwalior which he held till the Emperor’s death in 1530 A.D.¹

**XIV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 936, FROM MAHAM**

The next inscription of Bābur is from Maham, a small town, situated at a distance of some thirty kilometres north-east of Rohtak and connected with it by a metalled road. Situated on a high mound, about a mile long, its richness in ruins, tombs, mosques, bābis, pleasure houses, etc., leads one to believe that it was once a prosperous town. Close by the Jāmi’-Masjid, to the south, is a small mosque, called the Pirzā-‘e-ki-Maijīd, which is two bays deep and has two inscriptions. One of these refers itself to the reign of Shāh Jahān with which we are not concerned here.

The other epigraph is dated in the reign of Bābur. Its five-line text is carved in Naṣk script on a red sandstone tablet, measuring about 50 by 40 cm., which is fixed on the northern wall of the prayer-chamber.² Dated the 5th Rabī‘u’l-Awwal A.H. 936 (7th November 1529 A.D.), it records that Khān Yūsuf Āghā, son of Shaikh Yūsuf of Ḥījār-i Shādman built the mosque. Its text reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XIX(a)*

(1) در عبد حضرت دولت شهنشاه عالم پنا نظرالدين محمد باقر
(2) فانیہ باشام خلیل الله ملکہ و سلطانہ بنده درگاه صلیہ
(3) الفقیر حضر خان یوسف أغا ابن شیخ یوسف ساکن حصار شادمانم
(4) بتوفیق اللہ تعالیٰ توفیق یافته مسجد در قصبہ مم، راس کنائید حق تعلیم
(5) و مجاب مستجاب غردناد بیمہ توقی و فضله بمہ تاریخ کے ساتھ مہ ای ری و اولہ سنہ و تلخان و تسعماہ

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the reign of His Majesty the emperor, asylum of the world, Ẓahīr’u’d Din Muḥammad Bābur

(2) Bādshāh Ghāzi, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, the slave of the court of the One on whom all depend (i.e. God),

(3) the poor (and) humble Khān Yūsuf Āghā, son of Shaikh Yūsuf, resident of Ḥījār-i Shādman²

¹ For details of his career, see Beveridge, op. cit., pp. 526, 528-29, 39, 557, 587, 590, 594, 666, 688, f.n. 2, 690 and 692 f.n. 1; ‘Abdu’l-Qādir Badayūni, Muntakhab ‘al-Tawārikh, vol. I (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 337-38. A detailed account of Shaikh Ghūran, his generosity and love of music, is given by Rizqu’llah Mushtaqī in his Wāqī ʿat-i-Mugālib, extracts of which are translated in Hindi in Dr. S. A. A. Rizawi, Mughal kulīn Bābur (Aligarh, 1960), pp. 441-42.


² Ḥījār-i Shādman is the name of a town in Transoxiana (Beveridge, op. cit., p. 835), but Horn, op.cit., erroneously takes the word in its literal meaning.
(4) was favoured with the Divine guidance by the grace of the Most High Allâh to build the mosque in the qâshâ (town) of Maham, may the Most High God

(5) receive and accept with favour (his virtuous act) through His kindness and excellence, on the 5th of the month Rabî’-‘u‘l-Awwal, year (A.H.) six and thirty and nine hundred (5th Rabî’ I A.H. 936=7th November 1529 A.D.).

XV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 937, FROM SONEPAT

The last inscription of Bâbur to be studied here was found at Sonepat or Sonpath, as it is called in ancient records, situated about fortyfive kilometres to the north of Delhi. According to one tradition, it was one of the five pats or towns mentioned in the Mahâbhârata which Yudhishtîra demanded from Duryodhana as the price of peace; the other averts that it was founded by Râja Sonî, thirteenth in descent from Arjûna, a brother of Yudhishtîra.1

In the sarâî near the hospital of this picturesque town, stands a small and unpretentious mosque called Shaikhzâdôn-kî-Masjid. Over its central outer arch is fixed a buff sandstone slab measuring 52 by 33 cm. which originally belonged to a tomb now used as a police rest-house. 2 It contains Persian inscription, executed in two lines in fairly good Thulûh script, which assigns the tomb to ‘Allî Khân, a brother of Mahmûd Khân Afghân and muqti3 of the qâshâ of Sonpath, in A.H. 937 (1530 A.D.), during the reign of emperor Bâbur. Its reading is quoted below:—

**TEXT**

Plate XIX(b)

(1) Ya Allâh! (sic.) Ya Allâh! (sic.)

(2) Ya Allâh! Yahya Ali Khan as the Prophet of Allâh. O Forgiver! Forgive me my sins. O Allâh!

(2) This tomb of ‘Ali Khân, brother of Mahmûd Khân Afghân, muqti4 of the qâshâ (town) of Sonpath, was consecrated in the reign of the king Bâbur, (on) the second of the month of Safar, year (A.H.) seven and thirty and nine hundred (2nd Safar A.H. 937-25th September 1530 A.D.).

The person referred to in the inscription is Shaikhzâdâ ‘Ali Khân Farmûli, brother of Mahmûd Khân Afghân, both of whom were Bâbur’s staunch supporters and are frequently mentioned in his Memoirs. ‘Ali Khân waited on Bâbur in A.H. 932 (1525-26 A.D.) and was given a jâgir worth 25 lacs. In the battle of Khanwa, he commanded the left wing and in A.H. 933 (1526-27 A.D.) and 935 (1528-29 A.D.), he was sent together with the other amîrs of note against Bihân and Bâyazid, the two distinguished Afghân chiefs and supporters of the fallen Lodî dynasty, who had laid siege to Lakanûr5 and were doing a great deal of mischief to the law-abiding people in the neighbourhood.4

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1 Gazetteer of the Delhi District (Lahore, 1883-84), pp. 209-10.
3 According to Beveridge, op. cit., Appendix T, Lakanûr is the old name of Shahabad in Rampur, while in Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 384 n. 1 and vol. V, p. 215 n. 1, it is stated to be in Sambhai.
INSCRIPTIONS ON THE BHADRA GATEWAY, AHMADABAD

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

These two fairly interesting lithic records are carved in relief on the two side-walls between the inner and outer arches of the massive but magnificent central gateway, topped by a tower, of the Bhadra citadel in Ahmadabad, the capital of Gujarat.¹

Though not contemporary with the monument on which they are found, these epigraphs are historically important, as we shall have occasion to point out in the following lines, and yet, they have remained unpublished so far notwithstanding their quite prominent position. It is difficult to believe that Burgess, Chaghtai and Commissariat, among the learned historians and archaeologists,² who have laid the students of history in general and epigraphy in particular, under great debt by publishing a large number of mural records from Ahmadabad and neighbouring parts, were uninformed about these inscriptions. But the reason for their remaining unnoticed is simple: the lettering of both the records has been so mercilessly, and as it would appear, intentionally, chiselled off that the decipherment of the text appears to be almost impossible at first sight.

In the beginning of 1960 A.D., I had tried to read these epigraphs on stone without much success. For want of time, I could not devote greater attention to them as was necessary, and subsequently, pressure of work prevented me from taking them up for editing until 1963 A.D., when Professor B. D. Verma of Poona, who sent photographs of rubbings of these epigraphs prepared by him a couple of decades back, inquired if their readings could be made out. That was when, with the help of my colleagues, Shri A. A. Kadiri, and Shri S. A. Rahim, Epigraphical Assistants, I concentrated on the inscriptions and was able to make out the major portion of the texts. In a way, thus, Prof. Verma is instrumental for the publication, in this article, of these interesting and historically important records for the first time.

Both the records under study are in Persian verse and executed in Nasta'liq script, which judging from the traces of the chiselled out letters, appears to have been of superior workmanship and must have been designed by a skilled calligraphist. Their purport is almost the same. They refer to the two successive victories which Saif Khan had won in the course of one month in (Sha'ban) A. H. 1032 (May-June 1623 A.D.), and for which the emperor (Jahangir) had rewarded him with the title of Saif Khan. The year of this historical event is indicated in both the epigraphs by way of chronograms and, in one of them in figure as well. Both the chronograms are remarkable for the ingenuity of the composer. The poetical fragments are also of a fairly high order and must have come from the pen of a talented poet. It is unfortunate that the names of this gifted poet and the skilled calligraphist are not indicated in the records.

The victories referred to in the inscriptions relate to an important event in the reign of the Mughal emperor Jahangir, which has been, no doubt, duly recorded by contemporary and later historians, but in varying details. It is described at greater length than others by Jahangir him-

² As a matter of fact, inked rubbings of these inscriptions were taken by some officer of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Poona (since shifted to Baroda) in 1941. These rubbings are now in my office (i.e. of the Superintendent for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur).
self. The reference is to the unsuccessful attempts of the officials of Shâh Jahân to capture the Gujarat capital Ahmadabad, when he rebelled against Jahângir. We know that when Shâh Jahân received the province of Gujarat in his sief, he left Sundar Dâs, entitled Râja Vikramâjît, to administer it on his behalf. The latter joined Shâh Jahân when he rebelled against his father, after leaving his brother Kanhar Dâs at Ahmadabad. After his failure to capture the Agra fort and defeat in the battle of Bilechpur in which, though he was successful in winning over ‘Abdu’llâh Khân Frûz Jang, he had lost his best loyal officer Vikramâjît in March 1623, Shâh Jahân retreated to Mandu and granting the deputyship of the province of Gujarat to ‘Abdu’llâh Khân, as requested by him, sent orders to Kanhar Dâs and to Safi Khân, the diwân1 of the province, to join him at Mandu along with the treasure and some precious articles meant for Jahângir. Shâh Jahân expected that Safi Khân, who was married to a younger sister2 of his wife Mumtâz-Mahal, would take his side. But by the time ‘Abdu’llâh Khân’s enmich, named Wafâdâr, came and took possession of the city of Ahmadabad, Safi Khân, who had secretly espoused the royal cause, hastened to Mahmudabad, pretending that he was going to join Shâh Jahân, while in fact, he was in secret communication with other loyal noblemen,3 then repaired to Kapadwanj and arranged with Nâhir Khân and other loyal officers that each of them should, at the appointed hour of sunrise, enter the city. Accordingly, at the crucial time, Safi Khân and Nâhir Khân entered the city respectively by the Sarangpur and Idris gates, set themselves to strengthen the towers and gates and seized Wafâdâr as well as the diwân and bakhâhî on behalf of Shâh Jahân’s governor. This was the first victory of Safi Khân.

When this news reached Shâh Jahân, he sent ‘Abdu’llâh Khân himself against Safi Khân. ‘Abdu’llâh Khân reached Baroda from Mandu in eight days. But before he could proceed to attack the city of Ahmadabad, Safi Khân came out and encamped on the outskirts, thus compelling ‘Abdu’llâh Khân to remain in Baroda for reinforcements. Safi Khân then marched up to Batwa and ‘Abdu’llâh Khân up to Mahmudabad. Ultimately, on the 21st of Sha’bân A.H. 1032 (10th June 1623 A.D.), both the armies prepared for the encounter. ‘Abdu’llâh Khân marched towards Sarkhej and halted at Bareja, while Safi Khân encamped at a distance of about 3 kos. In the battle that took place in the early morning of the next day, ‘Abdu’llâh Khân sustained defeat and fled by way of Baroda to Broach and thence to Surat by sea, ultimately to go and join Shâh Jahân at Burhanpur.4 This was the second victory of Safi Khân.

Safi Khân commemorated his victory by laying out, near the village of Jetalpur, where the battle was fought, a beautiful garden, called jîbârî (garden of victory),5 so ably described by Professor Commissariat, who has also drawn attention to its description by some contemporary

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1 Diwân was the de facto chief Revenue and Administrative officer of the province (Ali Muhammad Khân, Mîr‘ût-i-Ahmâdi, Supplement, Baroda, 1930, p. 173).
2 Jahângir, Tâzûk-i-Jahângîri, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khân (Alligarh, 1864), p. 362, clearly states that Mumtân-Mahal was senior to Safi Khân’s wife, her full sister, by one year. His statement is preferable to that of Shâh Nawâz Khân, M ‘ùzîr-i-Umarî, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), p. 416, that Malika Bânû, wife of Safi Khân, was elder.
3 It is, interesting to note what Principal N. L. Ahmad has to say about Safi Khân’s character as revealed from his portrait in a Moghul miniature in the British Museum, London, depicting Shâh Jahân’s darbâr: ‘He was astute, cunning and self-seeking and he does not look a plain honest man in the picture either’ (Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Second Session, Allahabad, 1928, p. 333).
European travellers who had visited it. For their loyalty, Safi Khan and his colleagues were suitably rewarded by Jahangir. His rank of 700 with 300 horse, was increased to that of 3000 with 2000 horse, and the title of Safi Khan Jahangir Shahi and the honour of a standard and drum were conferred upon him.

But it is surprising indeed that almost nothing is known about the early career of Safi Khan, who was so well connected, if nothing else. Contemporary Mu'tamad Khan, followed by Shakh Nawaz Khan, merely gives his father's name as Amnât Khan, while Jahangir calls him a brother or brother's son of Akbar's celebrated minister Ja'far Baig Afsf Khan.

For his loyalty, Safi Khan would have paid a much higher price after Shakh Jahân's accession to the throne, five years later, but for the intercession of his sister-in-law Mumtaz-Mahal. When Shakh Jahân heard of the death of Jahangir, from Junnar he sent an order to Nahir Khan, entitled Sher Khan, to occupy Ahmadabad and place Safi Khan under house-arrest. But through the intervention of Mumtaz-Mahal, he was ultimately pardoned and appointed to the province of Bihar with increase in rank.

In the light of the above circumstances, the probable reason for the attempts to scrap off the texts of these two epigraphs can be easily understood. It is natural, though certainly not commendable, that these records, prejudicial to the dignity of the new emperor, in that they sought to commemorate Safi Khan's victory won over his officers five years back, could not be allowed to endure at such a prominent place; at least not so in those days. It will be noted that the composer of these epigraphs took utmost care not to make an obvious mention of, nor was he indiscreet enough even to hint at, the identity of the defeated party. Even then, the event was too fresh in the minds of the contemporary public as well as officials to need any information as to what victories were referred to in the inscriptions. It was perhaps the same discreetness which prompted the poet and the calligraphist to remain incognito.

The first of these two inscriptions is engraved on the right wall between the two arches of the central gateway of the Bhadra citadel. Its two-line text contains three couplets in Persian carved in relief in Nasta'liq characters on a total area of about 1·52 m. by 40 cm. The penmanship is really of a high order. Though, unfortunately, the letters have been chiselled out, it has been possible to decipher the text barring a couple of words in the first hemistich. The epigraph states that Safi Khan girded up his loins for conquering [the capital of?] Gujarat in the first part of the night and ungirded them in the morning, having scored victory. The date of the event, A.H. 1032 (1623 A.D.), is furnished in the chronogram contained in the last hemistich. The victory referred to here is only the first and has already been described above. It means that the epigraph was ordered to be carved immediately after the first but before the second victory which took place after a few days.

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1 Commissariat, op. cit., pp. 93-95.
2 Jahangir, op. cit., p. 365.
3 Mu'tamad Khan, op. cit., p. 205; Shakh Nawaz Khan, op. cit., p. 416.
4 Jahangir, op. cit., p. 362, has 'brother' which has been amended in the Eng. tr. by Rodgers and Beveridge, vol. II, p. 264, to 'brother's son'.
6 Safi Khan, clever as he was, may also have been responsible for this discretion.
8 See the next note.
9 The text in this portion could not be deciphered, but the meaning is clear.
My reading of the epigraph is as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XX(b)*

أول شب قو كمر بسطه سحرگه كشود
(1) پي سخير نلك رته....گجرات

گرد غلیم از سطر ابیر عدلت بنشاد
(2) زنگ کلبت زرخ آلیه دمر زدود

نصرت و پخت شه و قتح و نظر و نوی نمود

**TRANSLATION**

(1) For conquering . . . . . . Gujarat, . . . . . . of sky-like position,
girded up his loins in the early part of the night (and) ungirded them at dawn.

He settled down the dust of tyranny by the rain of the cloud of (his) justice

(2) (and) wiped off the rust of hardship from the surface of the mirror of the world.

I inquired about the year of this auspicious victory won by Safi Khan;

(it was :) help, good luck of the king, conquest and victory have shown their face (i.e. appeared). (A.H. 1032–1623 A.D.).

The chronogram, contained in the last hemistich, being ingenious, requires some explanation:

To get the date, the numerical values of $a$ (50), $b$ (2), $f$ (80) and $z$ (900) which are the face (i.e. first letter) of the four words, help (نسرت), luck (بخت), conquest (فتح) and victory (غفار) respectively, will have to be added up. Thus we get (A.H.) 1032.

The second inscription faces the preceding record and is engraved on the left wall between the two arches of the central gate of the Bhabra citadel. Its text of six verses in Persian is arranged in three lines over an area measuring 1.63 m. by 33 cm. The style of writing is Nastaliq of a fairly high order.

The epigraph purports that Safi Khan took Gujarat twice in one month in A.H. 1032 (1623
A.D.) and in reward for this service, received from the emperor the title Saif Khan. It gives the year in a chronogram formed by the whole of the last hemistich, meaning 'two remarkable victories were won in one month', which is a very good example of chronogrammatic art. While the month is not specified in the text, we have already seen above that the two battles were fought in the month of Sha'ban, i.e. June of 1623 A.D. Needless to say, this epigraph was carved after the second victory.

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1 I think "دهر" has been so mutilated on account of chiselling to look like "و مهر", on the stone.
2 ARIE, 1959-60, No. D, 52.
The text has been deciphered as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate X.X(a)*

{\(\begin{array}{ll}
(1) \text{صفیخان که از عدل او دست تلمبیک ماه چون بکرورت گجرات را} \\
\text{زو خاک در چشم به خواه شد} \\
(2) \text{شهس داد ازان سینخان خطاب} \\
\text{ز نو ساخت...} \\
(3) \text{دو فتح نامیان پیک ماه کرد} \\
\text{وز این فتح و صفض در افواه شد} \\
\text{ة۰۳۲} \\
\text{نظر گن ز تاریخ این هر دو فتح} \\
\text{دو فتح نامیان پیک ماه شد}
\end{array}\)}

**TRANSLATION**

(1) Șaif Khān, on account of whose justice, the hand of tyranny has been severed from the skirt of the helpless;

when he took Gujarāt (twice) in one month, on account of which (feat), dust fell in the eyes of the evil-wisher;

(2) for that, the king conferred upon him the title of Saif Khān, since this victory was achieved through his efforts (lit. help).

He made . . . . . . . afresh for conquering the country and started, accompanied by good fortune.

(3) He won two notable victories in one month; on account of these victories, his name (lit. description) was on every body's tongue (lit. months).

Look for the date of these two victories in these words: *two remarkable victories were won in one month (A.H.) 1032 (1623 A.D.).*

It may be noted here that 'Ali Muḥammad Khān also quotes the last hemistich, constituting the chronogram for the victory, in his work, but he does not refer to the inscription. He simply states that some poet has composed the hemistich that follows, giving the date of the victory.1

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