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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

## ARABIC & PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*)

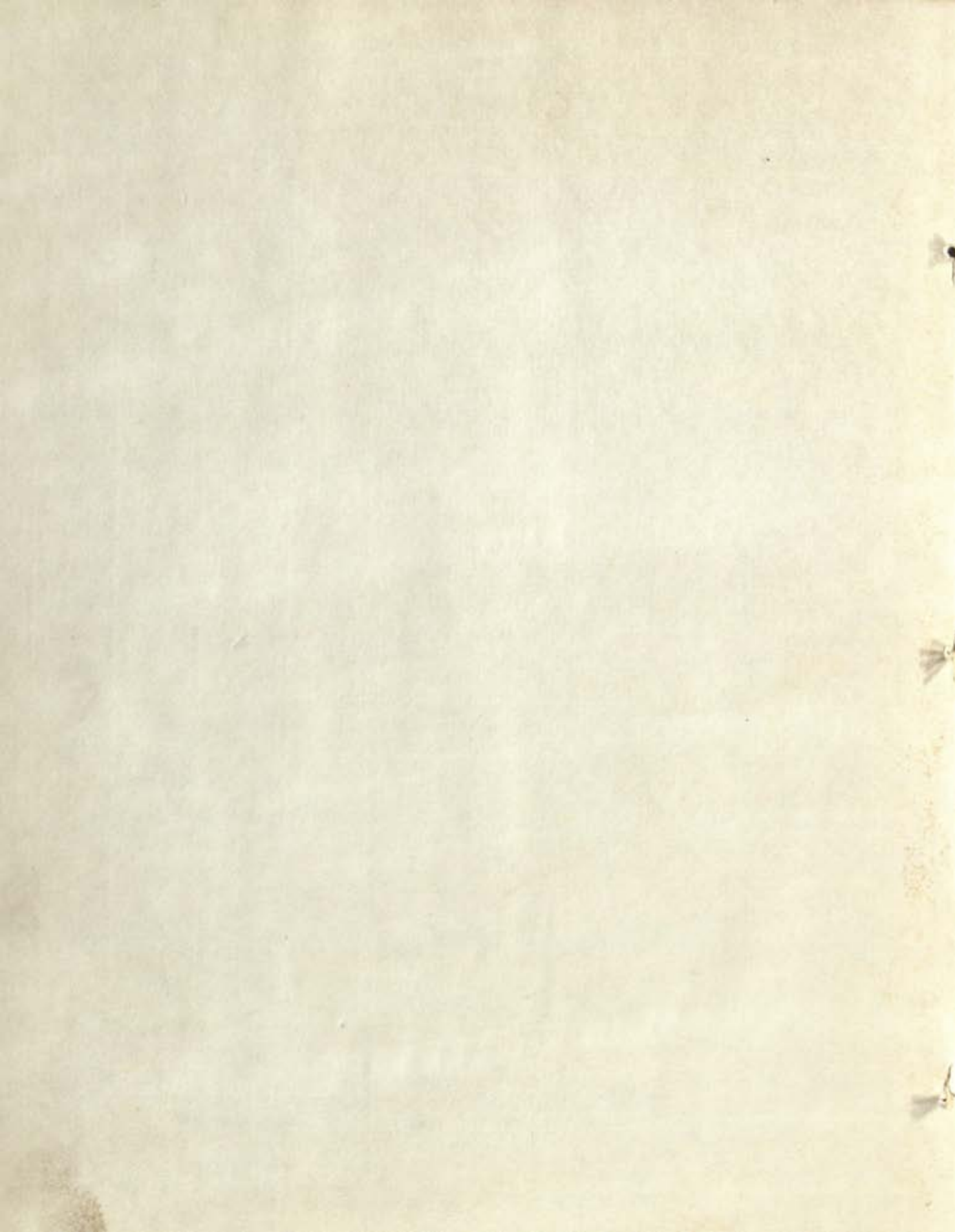
1966 and 1967



PUBLISHED BY  
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,  
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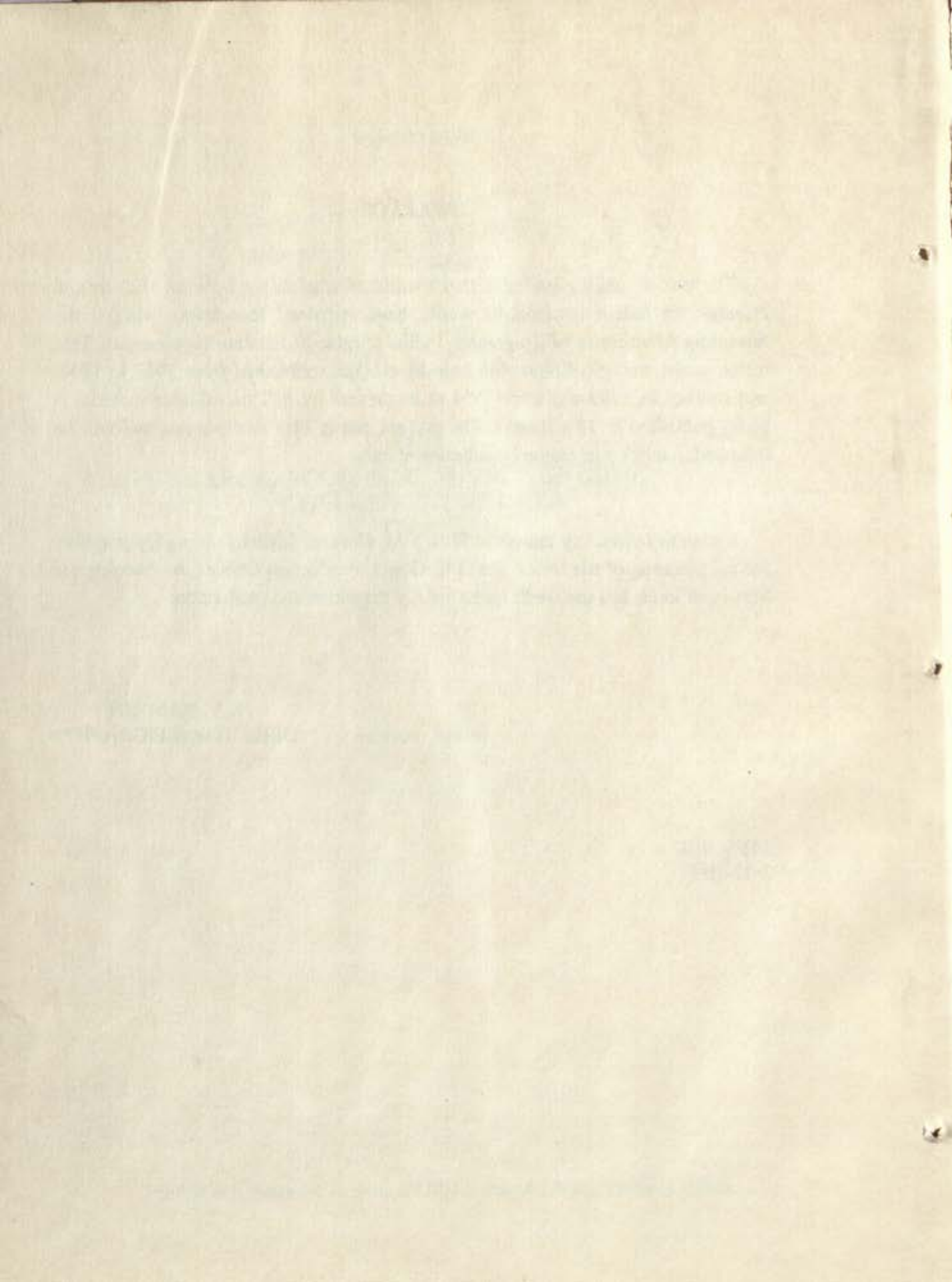
## PREFACE

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 11th in the series and will be followed in quick succession by subsequent ones.

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

K.V. RAMESH  
DIRECTOR (EPIGRAPHY)

MYSORE  
1-12-1987



# CONTENTS

1966

PAGE

Fragmentary Inscription of Queen Rāḍiyya from Uttar Pradesh	
By Dr. Z. A. Desai . . . . .	1
Inscriptions of the Mamlūk Sultāns of Delhi	
By Dr. Z. A. Desai . . . . .	4
Two Inscriptions of Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn Tughluq from Uttar Pradesh	
By Dr. Z. A. Desai . . . . .	19
Inscriptions of the Quṭb Shāhī kings	
By M. K. Khan . . . . .	27
Inscriptions of Jahāngīr in the Patna District	
By Dr. Q. Ahmad . . . . .	35
Mughal Inscriptions from Panchgawhan	
By S. A. Rahim . . . . .	43
Inscriptions of the Sīdī Chiefs of Janjira	
By A. A. Kadiri . . . . .	55

1967

<u>Khaljī</u> and Tughluq Inscriptions from Rajasthan—	
By Dr. Z. A. Desai . . . . .	1
Lodī and Sūr Inscriptions from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh—	
By W. H. Siddiqi . . . . .	25
Nizām Shāhī Inscriptions from Galna—	
By A. A. Kadiri . . . . .	43
Two Epitaphs from Hyderabad City—	
By M. F. Khan . . . . .	61
Six Mughal Inscriptions from Vidarbha—	
By S. A. Rahim . . . . .	66



1917

1917

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1917

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1917

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1966

EDITED BY  
**DR. Z. A. DESAI**  
Superintendent  
Persian and Arabic Inscriptions  
Nagpur



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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
Fragmentary Inscription of Queen Radiyya from Uttar Pradesh By Dr. Z. A. Desai . . . . .	1
Inscriptions of the Mamlūk Sultāns of Delhi By Dr. Z. A. Desai . . . . .	4
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## EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

### ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

1966

#### FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN RADIYYA FROM UTTAR PRADESH

By DR. Z. A. DESAI

In his study of the inscriptions of the successors of Iltutmish, the late Dr. G. Yazdānī had, while referring to the fact that no inscription of the reign of that monarch's immediate successors, Ruknu'd-Dīn Firūz and Radiyya were known, expressed the hope that this lacuna in the mural records of the dynasty could be filled if a diligent search for inscriptions was conducted in the old city of Delhi, and in such places as Hansi, Samana, Amroha, Koil and Budaun.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Yazdānī's hope has at last been fulfilled, however partially. A search at three of the last mentioned places did not yield any such epigraph, but an inscription of queen Radiyya has been recently discovered from another place.

This unique, but unfortunately fragmentary, inscription of the famous queen who created history in medieval India, was found at Bulandshahr, headquarters of the district of the same name in Uttar Pradesh, by Mr. A. A. Kādīrī, Epigraphical Assistant in our office, who visited different places in that state to trace and copy Arabic and Persian inscriptions. Bulandshahr, or the more celebrated Baran of older times, is a place of great antiquity, situated on the right bank of the Kālī Nadi (river) in 28°15' N. and 77°52' E. Its present name is locally believed to be a Persianised version of Unchānagar—elevated city, so called on account of its elevated position on the river-bank. Like Budaun and other places in the north, Bulandshahr is one of the towns which were subjected to Muslim rule from its very early days. As is well-known, Radiyya's father Iltutmish himself was for some time governor of Baran and the neighbourhood, before he became king.<sup>2</sup>

There are quite a few ancient remains in the city of sufficient interest to the historians and antiquarians.<sup>3</sup> Having come across a statement by Dr. A. Führer in his valuable list of the antiquities of the province, that an inscription said to be of the time of Muḥammad bin Sām appeared on the Dargāh of Makhdūm Shāh in the town,<sup>4</sup> I particularly desired Mr. Kādīrī to locate and copy the same. But unfortunately, no such epigraph was found on the monument.

Tradition no doubt associates a mosque in the Kot-Maḥalla of the town, with the name of Shihābu'd-Dīn Ghori, as Muḥammad bin Sām is popularly known. And it is on this mosque that

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1913-14, p. 13. Strictly speaking, no inscription of Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Bahrām has been found so far, for the inscription of his reign published by Dr. Yazdānī (*ibid.*, p. 16, pl. IV) does not contain his name. Its date no doubt falls in his reign.

<sup>2</sup> Minhāj-i-Sirāj, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāgīrī* (Lahore, 1952), p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of these remains as well as inscriptions, see A. Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 4-5; H. R. Nevill, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, vol. V, Bulandshahr (Lucknow, 1922), pp. 203-10; *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1962-63, No. D, 250-63.

<sup>4</sup> Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 5.



the fragmentary tablet containing the incomplete record of Rāḍiyya is found.<sup>1</sup> The tablet in its present state measures 1.18 m. by 23 cm. and is built up into the brick-wall of the courtyard of the mosque which also forms the northern wall of the court of an adjacent residential building. The mosque itself, also of brick, has no claim to architectural pretensions of any order and moreover, does not appear to be old. A grave on a platform nearby and two just without, contain undated religious epigraphs which, from their style of writing, seem to have been inscribed in the eighth century A.H.<sup>2</sup>

The surviving text of this epigraph, consisting of a single line, records only part of the titles of the queen and part of the date. It is inscribed against floral background in *Naskh* letters of the prevalent style, which is further distinguished by a refined, delicate and, if one may say so, effeminate touch. Judging from the size of the letters, and the extant tablet, it would appear that the original inscription was of considerable size, necessitated, evidently, by the dimensions of the building for which it was intended.

Strictly speaking, there is no reason to think that the slab is not *in situ* in the sense that it could have been recovered from the older building on the site of which the present mosque was built. But at the same time, it could have belonged to the immediate neighbourhood as well. Anyway, it is not possible, in view of the meagre text before us, to determine the nature of the building constructed, though it is a reasonable guess that it was a mosque. Again, it cannot be ascertained whether Rāḍiyya was the builder or her name only appears as the reigning queen. Likewise, the date of the record is lost, except that it was Sunday and second day of the month. It is difficult to arrive at the month and the year, since Sunday, the 2nd, fell twice in every year during the period of Rāḍiyya's reign, i.e. from A.H. 634 to A.H. 638.

Thus, the historical information supplied by this unique epigraph is quite meagre and does not add in any way to our present knowledge of her history. And yet, it is an extremely valuable record, if only because it constitutes the sole surviving mural documents of this accomplished daughter of Iltutmish, who has had the distinction of being the only woman to sit on the throne of Delhi.

Before quoting the text and translation of this inscription, it is only necessary that the basis on which the inscription has been assigned to queen Rāḍiyya may be described here. For, in the absence of the name and the date, and even of full title, the assignment can be reasonably doubted. But there are two points which should dispel any such doubt: Firstly, the palaeography proclaims the epigraph to be of the early Mamlūk period, i.e. of the first half of the seventh century A.H. or thirteenth century A.D. And secondly—and this should be, I believe, considered quite conclusive—the text has *a's-Sultān*, bint *a's-Sultān*, which can only mean that the surviving titles '... dūnyā wa'd-Dīn' preceding it, referred to a lady, which fact is further indicated by the use of the feminine preposition *hā* in the phrase *khalladallāhu mulkahā*. This grammatical usage alone is sufficient to prove beyond any doubt the identification of the reigning sovereign.

The epigraphical tablet has been exposed to elements of nature for centuries, and consequently, the letters thereon have been slightly affected. But the writing is on the whole legible.

I have read the text as follows:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate I(a)

.....[الدنيا والدين السلطان بنت السلطان خلد الله ملكها في يوم الاحد الاثني (٩)]

لا.....

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 250.

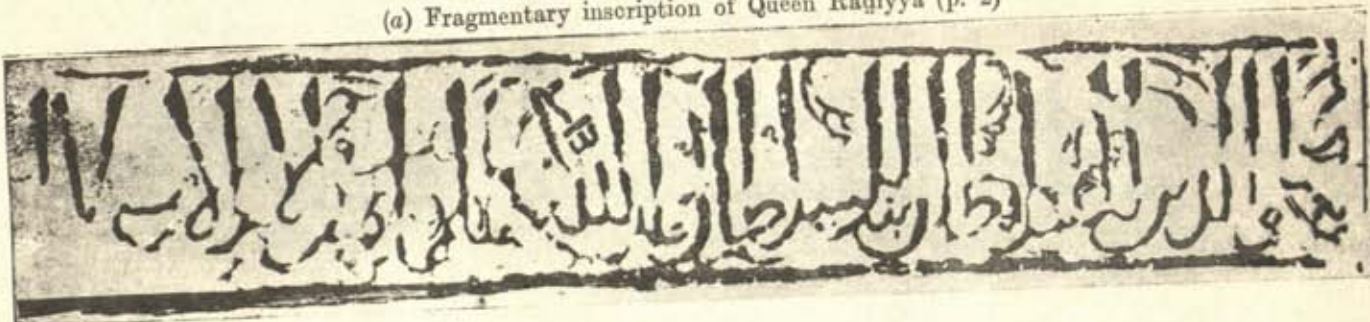
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 251-253.



MAMLÜK INSCRIPTIONS

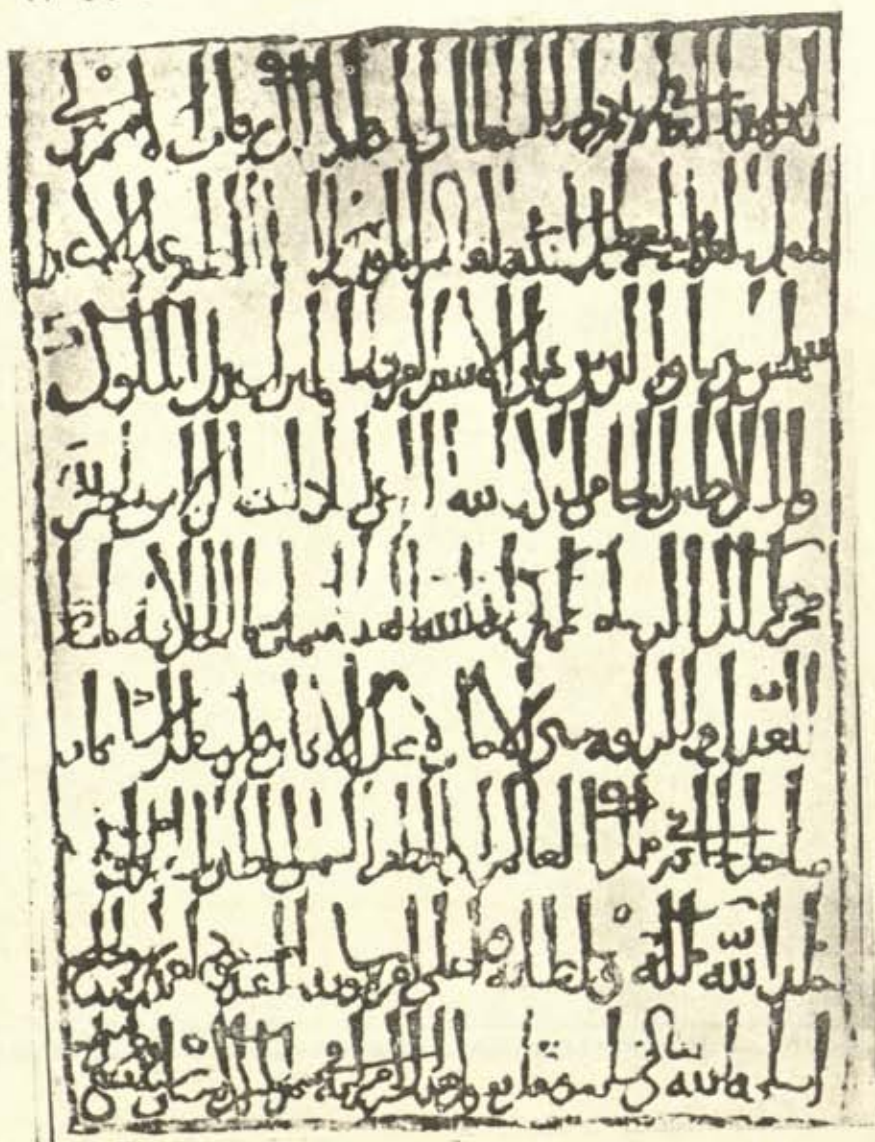
( PLATES I-IV )

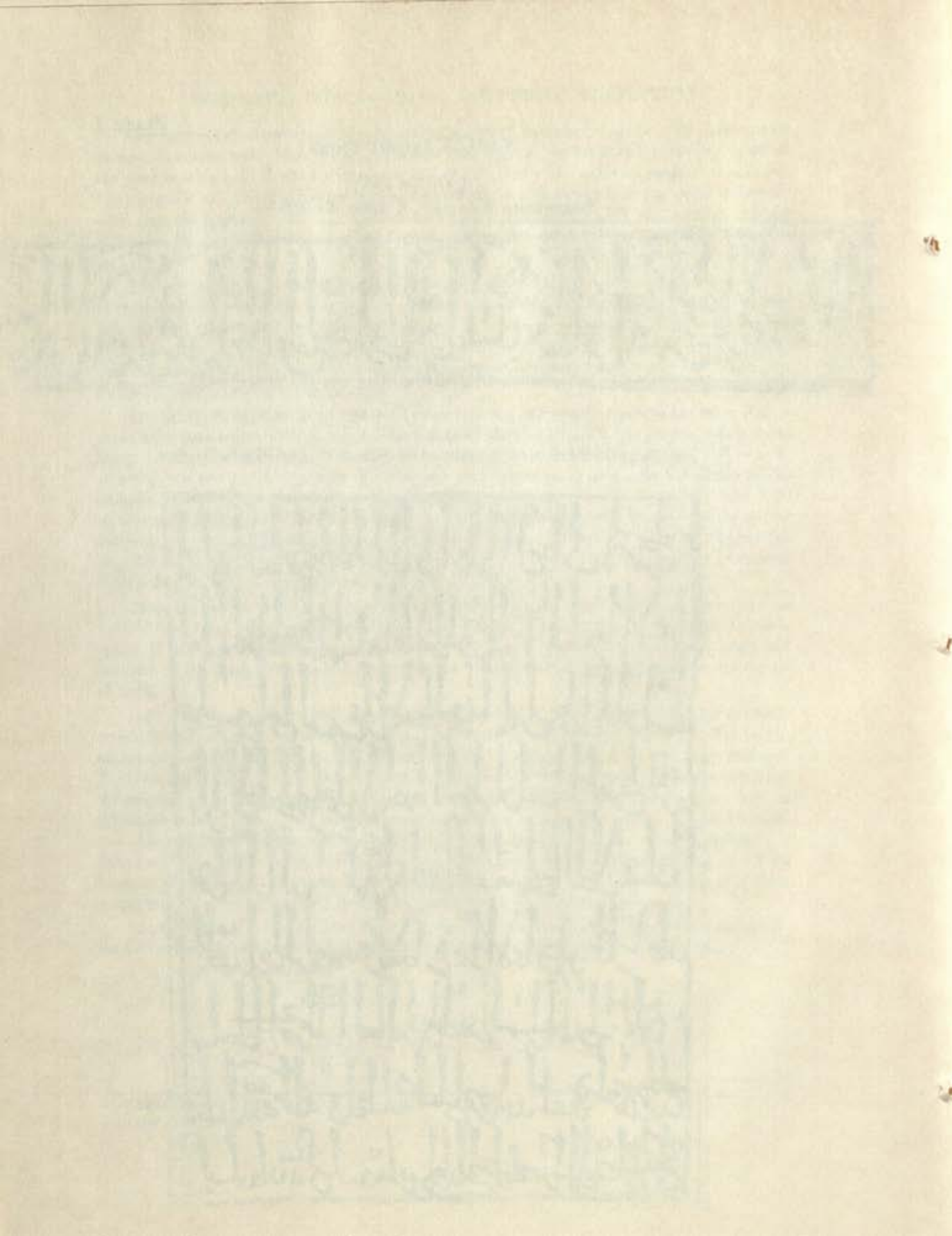
(a) Fragmentary inscription of Queen Radiyya (p. 2)



SCALE : .15

(b) Epigraph of Iltutmish, dated A.H. 629, from Bari Khata (p. 6)





## TRANSLATION

.....-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, the sultān, daughter of the sultān,  
may Allāh perpetuate her kingdom, on Sunday, the second (?) of.....

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that contrary to the usual practice of the use of one set of regal titles, those used for her in the coins are: Jalālatu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn and Raḍiyyatu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to account for the set of two titles adopted in her coins, quite satisfactorily. Had this inscription survived in full, it would have been possible to know what title was used in her inscriptions and thus throw some light on this problem.

---

<sup>1</sup> H. N. Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi* (Delhi, 1936), p. 76.



## INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAMLUK SULTANS OF DELHI

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

It was five decades ago that all the then available inscriptions of the Mamlūk rulers of India were published in this series. Since then, one more record, which was subsequently found at Kaman in the erstwhile Bharatpur State and now Bharatpur district of Rajasthan, was published about twentyfive years ago. Though most of these epigraphs were published much earlier by scholars like H. Blochmann, P. Horn and the like, they were properly studied only by Maulvi M. Shu'aib, Dr. J. Horovitz and Dr. G. Yazdāni.<sup>1</sup>

During the next two decades after the last one, from Kaman, was published in 1938, hardly three more Mamlūk inscriptions were brought to light. In the past decade, however, a few more inscriptions belonging to this dynasty were found by the Persian and Arabic Inscriptions Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India. These are from Bari Khatu in Rajasthan and Bulandshahr, Meerut, Budaun and Bilhaur, all in Uttar Pradesh. Of them, the Bulandshahr inscription represents the only and newly discovered, but unfortunately fragmentary, record of queen Rādiyya, the daughter of Iltutmish, who earned the unique distinction of a lady occupying the throne of Delhi. In view of its unique character, it has been published separately in the present issue (p. 1).

The three inscriptions referred to above as having been published in thirties and forties, are from Aligarh in Uttar Pradesh, Bari Khatu and Budaun. Attention to the Bari Khatu epigraph of the reign of Iltutmish, was first drawn by the late Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd Khān Sherānī of the Oriental College, Lahore, one of the greatest Persian scholars and researchers of the present century.<sup>2</sup> But the credit of publishing its full text goes to Dr. M. 'Abdu'llāh Chaghātāi, then of the Deccan College, Poona, and now of the Panjab University, Lahore, in the papers he read before the 8th Session of the All India Oriental Conference and of the Indian Historical Congress, in 1935 and 1945 respectively.<sup>3</sup>

The second inscription of the reign of Iltutmish, which is fragmentary, was found at Aligarh. It was edited by Dr. A. B. Ḥalīm, then of the Aligarh Muslim University, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1949.<sup>4</sup> And the third epigraph, also fragmentary, was found at Budaun, and its one-line surviving text was quoted by M. Raḡī'u'd-Dīn of Budaun, in his Urdu history of the city of Budaun.<sup>5</sup> These three epigraphs are also published here along with their facsimiles with necessary comments.

<sup>1</sup> M. Muḥammad Shu'a'ib, 'Inscriptions from Palwal', *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1911-12, pp. 1-3; J. Horovitz, 'The Inscriptions of Muḥammad Ibn Sām, Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibeg and Iltutmish', *ibid.*, pp. 12-34; and G. Yazdāni, 'The Inscriptions of the Turk Sultāns of Delhi, etc.', *ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 13-46 and 'Inscription of Sulṭān Balban from Bayana, Bharatpur State', *ibid.*, 1937-38, pp. 5-6. A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XX (Calcutta, 1885), p. 56, noticed an inscription of Iltutmish from the Chaunsath-Khamba mosque at Kaman.

<sup>2</sup> Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd Khān Sherānī, *Prithvirāj Rāso*, in Urdu (Delhi, 1943), p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> M. A. Chaghātāi, 'An Unpublished inscription of the time of Iltutmish, showing the construction of a reservoir at Khatu (Marwar)', *Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference (PAIOC)*, 8th Session, 1935 (Bangalore, 1937), pp. 632-34 and 'Muslim inscriptions from Khatu (Marwar)', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (PIHC)*, 8th Session, 1945 (Allahabad, 1947), pp. 286-88.

<sup>4</sup> A. B. Ḥalīm, 'Kōl Inscription of Sultan Altamash', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, vol. XV (1949), no. 1, pp. 1-3.

<sup>5</sup> M. Raḡī'u'd-Dīn, *Kanauṭ-Tārīkh* (Budaun, 1907), p. 71.



Of the remaining six inscriptions which are noticed here, I believe, for the first time, unfortunately only one has survived in full. It is from Meerut, a district headquarters town in Uttar Pradesh and is dated in the reign of Nāsiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Iltutmish. The rest are fragmentary epigraphs, of which two are found at Bari Khatu and one each at Budaun, Bulandshahr and Bilhaur, in Kanpur district of Uttar Pradesh. One of the two Bari Khatu records has proved to be a new record of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Balban, dated A.H. 666. This record was also known to Dr. Chaghtāi who had displayed its inked rubbing, along with those of others, in the exhibition held under the auspices of the Idāra-i-Ma'ārif-i-Islāmiyya, Lahore, in 1936.<sup>1</sup> But I do not think he has published its text anywhere.<sup>2</sup>

The other two fragmentary records, one each from Bari Khatu and Budaun, do not contain the name of the reigning monarch, but I have no doubt that they originally formed part of Mamlūk inscriptions. Likewise, in the case of the Bilhaur record, the text, engraved on a stone-beam of a tomb, has disappeared except for the first few honorific titles of the reigning monarch. In the epigraph from Bulandshahr too, nothing more than few titles of the king has survived. On palaeographical grounds, these epigraphs can be assigned only to the Mamlūk period.

These records, particularly those found at Bari Khatu, are historically important, as they indicate the political subjugation of this part of Rajasthan by the Muslims, immediately after the foundation of their rule in northern India. Then, epigraphs from Uttar Pradesh enable us to rectify the exaggerated, and in some cases utterly wrong, statements made in Dr. A. Führer's *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* and copied without any scrutiny in the *District Gazetteers of United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (now Uttar Pradesh). A few inscriptions at Bulandshahr and Budaun, for example, are stated to date from the time of Maḥmūd of Ghazna or Muḥammad bin Sām, popularly called Shihābu'd-Dīn Ghori, as I shall have occasion to point out at the proper place. Palaeographically too, they are worth notice. They are inscribed in almost the same calligraphical style as marks the contemporary epigraphs from other places in North India.

In this article, I have studied first those inscriptions which contain the name of the reigning king and are thus assignable to him beyond any doubt. Next follow those fragmentary inscriptions in which attempt has been made, where possible, to assign them to the reigns of particular monarchs on the basis of the titles, palaeography, etc.

The first inscription is engraved on a tablet, which is now fixed into the wall of the western verandah in the tomb of Maghribī Shāh, at Bari Khatu.<sup>3</sup> As has been stated above, Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd Khān Sherānī was the first to draw attention to this epigraph in the thirties.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, it was published by Dr. Chaghtāi, who did not, however, illustrate his study.<sup>5</sup>

Bari Khatu or Khatu Kalan as it is called to distinguish it from Khatu Khurd, a few miles away, is situated in the Jael tahsil of the Nagaur district of Rajasthan. It lies on the Degana-Ratangarh section of the Northern Railway. The place, known for its yellowish hard stone quarries, forms one of the old sites of the district. The ancient structures here comprise the ruined fort wall with the remains of the plinths of five temples, a dilapidated mosque, two tanks and a deep rock-cut well, overlooking the village proper, which contains a number of mosques with

<sup>1</sup> Vide p. 9, No. 132 of its catalogue published at Lahore in 1936.

<sup>2</sup> One more fragmentary inscription at Bari Khatu, containing only the royal title Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn, is assigned by Dr. Chaghtāi to Balban, but its palaeography as well as the style of its text make its assignment to Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh more probable (*Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1962-63, p. 36 and No. D, 194).

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 170.

<sup>4</sup> Sherānī, *op. cit.* The matter of Sherānī's work was first published in 1937 or so in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore.

<sup>5</sup> Chaghtāi, *PAIOC*, 1935, where an eye-tracing was illustrated.



or without tombs. The most outstanding mosque is the Masjid-i-Aqsā which stands on the hill and is attributed to Iltutmish, on account of its style of architecture which resembles the Aḡhāi-Din-kā Jhonprā mosque at Ajmer. The most celebrated among the tombs are those of the saints Bābā Ishāq Maghribī, popularly called Maghribī Shāh and Samman Shāh.

The epigraphical tablet does not belong to the tomb of the saint Maghribī Shāh, since the text purports to record the excavation of a tank. It is not possible to say to which of the couple of tanks in the village and the hill-fort, the tablet originally belonged. But that it may not belong to the tank called Mulūk Tālāb is almost certain, for on a platform on its bank is fixed another inscription, also recording the excavation of a tank.<sup>1</sup> It is likely, therefore, that the tablet came from a rectangular stepped-tank with plastered floor situated on the north-western side of the fort.<sup>2</sup>

The tablet, which measures 1 m. by 1.35 m., is inscribed with Arabic text of nine lines, in the prevalent *Naskh* script, which is remarkable for the boldness of its letters. In the first line, a reference is made to the fact that the pond or tank was ordered to be excavated in the reign of the king Shamsu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Iltutmish, whose name and royal as well as honorific titles occupy as many as seven lines of the text. These titles are found, in twos, threes or fours, but not all in one place, in the inscriptions of Iltutmish found on the Qutb-Minār at Delhi and also elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> It is very likely that these titles as a whole may have also been used in an inscription, found on the enclosure of Mirān Muḥam Shāhid at Budaun.<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to assert this categorically, since the epigraph in question is fragmentary. But from its style as well as from the present state of the epigraph in which the portion of the text to the left is lost, it appears that the sets of titles and the order in which they are used therein might have been the same as those employed in the inscription under study.

The last two lines contain the name of Mas'ūd, son of Aḥmad, son of 'Umar al-Khalj, who gave orders for the excavation of the tank, as stated in the first part of line 1. The record bears the date Ramaḍān 629 (June-July 1232). The text thus purports that the tank was excavated by Mas'ūd and not by Iltutmish, and that the excavation took place in the time of the latter. Therefore, Dr. Chaghtāi's interpretation that the inscription records the construction of a reservoir by Iltutmish and that the construction took place under the supervision of Mas'ūd,<sup>5</sup> is misleading.

The following reading prepared by me differs from that of Dr. Chaghtāi in very few places only; in particular, he was unable to read the second part of the invocatory phrase occurring in the last line.

#### TEXT

#### Plate I(b)

(۱) امر بنا هذا الغدير في أيام دولت السلطان المعظم مالك رقاب الامم مولی

(۲) ملوك العرب و العجم ظل الله في العالم المويد من السماء المظفر على الاعدا[ء]

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 194.

<sup>2</sup> The information regarding the monuments and tanks of the town was obtained from the inspection-report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda, who visited the place in 1958.

<sup>3</sup> Horowitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 30, 34.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Chaghtāi, *PAIOC*, 1935, pp. 632-34.



- (٣) شمس الدنيا و الدين غياث الاسلام و المسلمين اعدل الملوك  
 (٤) و السلاطين الحامى لبلاد الله الراعى لعباد الله الوائق بنصر الله  
 (٥) محرز ممالك الدنيا مظهر كلمة الله العليا شهاب سما [ء] الخلافة باسط  
 (٦) العدل و الرافة ذى الامان لاهل الايمان وارث ملك سليمان  
 (٧) صاحب الخاتم فى ملك العالم ابو المظفر التمش السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين  
 (٨) خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و اعلى امره و شانه العبد مسعود بن (?) احمد بن عمر الخلع  
 (٩) اصلحه الله تعالى شانه و ثقل بقبول هذا الخير ميزانه فى شهر المبارك رمضان سنة  
 تسع و عشرين و ستماية

TRANSLATION

- (1) The construction of this tank was ordered during the time of the government of the magnificent Sultān, lord of the necks of the nations, chief of  
 (2) the kings of Arabia and Persia, shadow of Allāh on the earth, helped (by the support) from the above, rendered victorious over the enemies,  
 (3) *Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn*, refuge of Islām and the Muslims, the most just among the kings  
 (4) and the sultāns, the protector of the cities of Allāh, the reliant on the help of Allāh,  
 (5) the saviour of the countries of the world, the manifestation of the lofty word of Allāh, the bright star in the firmament of caliphate, the spreader of  
 (6) justice and kindness, surety of safety for the men of Faith, inheritor of the kingdom of Solomon,  
 (7) master of the seal in the kingdom of the world, Abu'l-Muzaffar Iltu[t]mish, the sultān, helper of the Commander of the Faithful,  
 (8) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and elevate his order and glory by the creature Mas'ūd, son of (?) Aḥmad, son of 'Umar al-Khalj,  
 (9) may Allāh rectify his condition and may the scale (of) his (actions) be heavy on account of this charitable deed! In the auspicious month of Ramaḍān, year (A.H.) twentynine and six hundred (Ramaḍān 629= June-July 1232).

It is not possible to ascertain the identity of Mas'ūd who might have been an official of rank in the region around the findspot of the record. A few noblemen of Iltutmish with the Khalj surname find mention in historical works, but the name of Mas'ūd or even his father appears to be absent there.<sup>1</sup> The mention of this tribal name in the text is also not without interest, though it is rather unfortunate that it does not throw any light on the significance of that term which has not yet been satisfactorily known.

<sup>1</sup> *Minhāj-i-Sirāj. Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Lahore, 1952), p. 88.



The second inscription of *Iltutmish* is from Aligarh. It is, as already stated above, fragmentary. Its tablet is lying, or at least it was so until the end of 1961 when I saw it, in the premises of the Maulānā Āzād Library of the Muslim University, Aligarh.<sup>1</sup> It was through the courtesy of Mr. Bashīru'd-Dīn, the learned Librarian, that I got its impressions prepared. It is from these impressions that the inscription is edited here. I am thankful to him as well as to the University authorities for their co-operation.

That the record is neither mentioned in Führer's work nor in the district gazetteer is not surprising from what Dr. Ḥalīm, who was the first to bring it to light in 1948, has to say about its discovery. He came to know of the existence of the inscribed slab in the house of the late Mr. Amīru'd-Dīn of the Maḥalla-Ātashbāzān, one of the most elevated parts in the city of Aligarh. The slab was used as building-material in place of bricks in the verandah of the outer-house by Mr. Amīru'd-Dīn's father, who had purchased heaps of masonry, stone and the like material from the vicinity of the Jāmi' mosque in Bālā Qal'a, in a public auction. It was at the suggestion of Dr. Ḥalīm that the tablet was shifted to the Library by Mr. Amīru'd-Dīn, shortly before his death.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Ḥalīm has discussed the various aspects of this inscription in some details, but he has overlooked certain points. The style of calligraphy, for example, was not properly or correctly described, nor was the facsimile of the record published, as it should have been, being an essential requirement in epigraphical studies. It will be seen from the accompanying illustration (pl. II a), that the writing is a fine specimen of calligraphical style. The script employed is epigraphical *Naskh* remarkable for its *Riqā'* flourishes. To term it as *Tughhrā*, typical of the seventh century Hijra found in Egypt and other Middle East countries as Dr. Ḥalīm has done,<sup>3</sup> would not be correct. But before proceeding to examine Dr. Ḥalīm's other remarks on the inscription in details, it will be better to describe its purport and calligraphical peculiarities.

The extant text is inscribed on a slab of yellow stone, in *Naskh*-cum-*Riqā'* characters of a fairly high order. Its language is Persian, which is remarkable in itself, since, as is well-known, all the available inscriptions of *Iltutmish* are in Arabic. The style of writing too, is somewhat different from that of any inscription of *Iltutmish* found in northern India. No doubt, it is possible to find some trace of similarity between the styles of this and almost contemporary Bihar Sharif inscription of *Tughril* dated A.H. 640,<sup>4</sup> but it will be observed that the curves and flourishes of the letters and their disposition and the ligatures in this inscription, are more akin to a considerable extent, to those of the Bihar inscriptions of *Shamsu'd-Dīn Firūz* of Bengal, dated A.H. 709 and 715.<sup>5</sup> In particular, some of the ligatures in the earlier of these last-mentioned two epigraphs are almost similar to those in our epigraph, as a comparison of the two will show. This style of Bihar inscriptions, of which quite a few delightfully beautiful specimens of the *Tughluq* period—covering about a full century—exist,<sup>6</sup> is, broadly speaking, so refined and represents such a fully

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 220. For an account of the history and antiquities, etc., of Aligarh, see A. Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 1-3 and H. R. Nevill, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, vol. VI, Aligarh (Lucknow, 1926), pp. 161-90, 197-208.

<sup>2</sup> Ḥalīm, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2. The inscription was to be fixed up, according to Dr. Ḥalīm, in the Nizām Museum, now used as the History Seminar Room, of the University, but stated above, it was still lying in the Library until 1961.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3. As a matter of fact, the epigraphical *Naskh* in vogue in India in the thirteenth century was quite different from that employed at the same time in Syro-Egyptian boundaries. For the view of Professor van Berchem on this point, see *EIM*, 1913-14, p. 46, Appendix C.

<sup>4</sup> *EIM*, 1913-14, pl. V.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1917-18, pls. VI b and XII b.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1894), plate facing page 292; *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1955 & 1956, pl. II; *ibid.*, 1961, pls. VI-X.



developed phase that the emergence of such a mature style in mural records in Bihar, in the first decade of the eighth century Hijra, appears too sudden in the absence of any earlier specimens. It is here that the inscription under study, which, though fragmentary, is definitely of the time of Iltutmish, may be taken to provide a missing link. It would not be wrong to hold that the perfectly beautiful style of the above-quoted records from Bihar, are a more developed form of the calligraphical style of the present epigraph. Incidentally, this style of writing disappears almost as suddenly after the first decade of the ninth century in Bihar, as it had emerged there. The present epigraph is, thus, palaeographically, quite important.

The extant two-line text states that 'an auspicious abode' was constructed in the time of the king of Islām, Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, during the governorship of Khawāja-i-Jahān Nizāmu'l-Mulk, the counsellor (*dastūr*) of the king and the chief among chiefs of ministers. The title Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn as well as such of the honorific titles as have survived, and the name of the minister by whom evidently the well-known Nizāmu'l-Mulk Junaidī is meant, leave no room for doubt that the king referred to here is Iltutmish. Unfortunately, the date of the epigraph and the name of the builder are lost.

It will be seen that the text does not specify the nature of the edifice constructed, but merely mentions it as 'an auspicious abode'. Now Dr. Ḥalīm is inclined to connect it, on the basis of circumstantial evidence, with a mosque, stated to be the first cathedral mosque built by the Muslims in the city of Kol, i.e. Aligarh.<sup>1</sup> He may or may not be right therein, but his conclusion that the first Jāmi' mosque to which the inscription appertained, might have been begun by Qutbu'd-Dīn and finished by Nizāmu'l-Mulk Junaidī during the reign of Iltutmish,<sup>2</sup> is certainly not supported by the present epigraph. Even the circumstantial evidence quoted by Dr. Ḥalīm, which is mainly confined to a statement of the author of the *Akhhārū'l-Jāmāl*, an eighteenth century work on the local history of Aligarh, that the mosque, first built by Aibak, was reconstructed by Muḥammad bin Tughluq, according to an inscription seen by that author, goes against Dr. Ḥalīm's conclusion. Moreover, there is no basis whatsoever even for the assumption that the inscription belonged to a mosque (or for that purpose, any other edifice), which might have been constructed, let alone finished, by Nizāmu'l-Mulk Kamālu'd-Dīn Junaidī. On the contrary, the surviving text points to some one other than the minister as the builder. As it is, the text refers to the reign of the king and to the governorship or fiefship of the minister, which means, as students of Indo-Muslim epigraphy know, that the text did contain the name of the builder, other than these two dignitaries, which must have occurred in the portion of the text in the second line after the name of the minister. Also, the text indicates that the monument, whatever its nature, was built, from commencement to completion, only in the reign of Iltutmish.

The term *iyālat*, which no doubt, ultimately suggests governorship only, indicates that Kol (Aligarh) and the region around was included in the fief of the minister, a little known fact, brought to light by the present record only. This, it may be pointed out, is indirectly corroborated by a statement in the history of contemporary Minhāj, that it was towards Kol that Nizāmu'l-Mulk had fled after Iltutmish's son and successor Ruknu'd-Dīn Firūz, had advanced his army from the capital to chastise the defiant nobles.<sup>3</sup> It would appear that at least about this time, the fief of Kol was exclusively meant for the minister of the kingdom, since we find that Nizāmu'l-Mulk's successor in office had also appropriated it on his assumption of power.<sup>4</sup>

While Nizāmu'd-Dīn Junaidī's identity is quite well-known, it is rather surprising that contemporary historians give very few details of his life. All that Minhāj says, apart from making

<sup>1</sup> Ḥalīm, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

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

<sup>3</sup> Minhāj *op. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.



a passing reference to him in connexion with the defeat of Nāsiru'd-Dīn Qubācha and another two three, to his son, is that he was a minister of Iltutmish, but had trouble with Ruknu'd-Dīn Firūz, as referred to above—and also with the latter's sister and successor Raḡiyya Sulṭān, after whose accession to the throne, he was compelled to retreat to the hills of Sirmur, where he died after some time.<sup>1</sup>

The above details contained in a contemporary historical work, are certainly meagre, more so since they relate to a person who held sway as next to king only, for a considerable period. But fortunately, a few more details about him are contained in the encomiums showered upon him by Muḥammad 'Aufī, who, as is well-known to students of literary history, resuscitated his *Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi'u'r-Riwāyāt* at his instance and also dedicated it to him later. Unfortunately, this work is yet to be published in entirety, and it is only from the table of its brief contents given in his excellent Introduction to that work by Dr. M. Nizāmu'd-Dīn,<sup>2</sup> that we can quote a few more details: Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad bin Abī Sa'd al-Junaidī, Qiwāmu'd-Dīn,<sup>3</sup> entitled Nizāmu'l-Mulk, the master of both the sword and the pen, was praised for his energetic rule and administrative as well as literary talents. He was of Arab descent. He is said to have established true religion by his mighty efforts. 'Aufī also refers to the mild policy adopted by him after the surrender of the fort of Bhakkar and the defeat of Nāsiru'd-Dīn Qubācha.<sup>4</sup>

The epigraphical tablet, in its present state, measures 75 by 43 cm. and the text reads as under:—

## TEXT

## Plate II (a)

(۱) بنا این بقعه مبارک در عهد سلطنت بادشاه اسلام شمس الدنيا و الدين ذوالامان  
لاهل الایم[ان].....  
(۲) در نوبت ایالت خداوند خواجه جهان دستور صاحب قران نظام الملک ملک  
ملوک الوز[راء].....

## TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of this auspicious edifice (took place) in the time of the reign of the king of Islām, Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, surety of peace for the men of Faith.....

(2) during the time of the fiefship (*iyālat*) of the master, Khwāja-i-Jahān, the minister of the lord of happy conjunction\* (i.e. the king), (viz.) Nizāmu'l-Mulk, the chief among the chiefs of ministers.....

<sup>1</sup> Minhāj, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 89, 93, 96.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. M. Nizāmu'd-Dīn of Hyderabad (Dn.), who had quite some time back published his excellent work *Introduction to the Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi'u'r-Riwāyāt* (London, 1929), is currently engaged on its publication, and it is being seen through the press. Maliku'ah-Shu'ara Bahār had published a much abridged version of the work in 1324 Shamsī, and in recent years, Dr. M. Mo'in of the Tehran University, Iran, has published a few sections from this work, the first of which appeared in 1335 Shamsī.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89, gives Kamālū'd-Dīn, which may be a copyist's error. Ḥalīm, *op. cit.*, p. 2, follows him.

<sup>4</sup> Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 206, 209, 220, 225, 245, etc. It is possible that some more details can be gathered from 'Aufī's work; but it is a matter of regret that no manuscript of the *Jawāmi'* was available to me at the time of writing these lines.

\* The translation 'Lord of the Two Conjunctions' in Ḥalīm, *op. cit.*, p. 2, is evidently through oversight.

(a) Fragmentary record of Itutmish, Aligarh (p. 10)



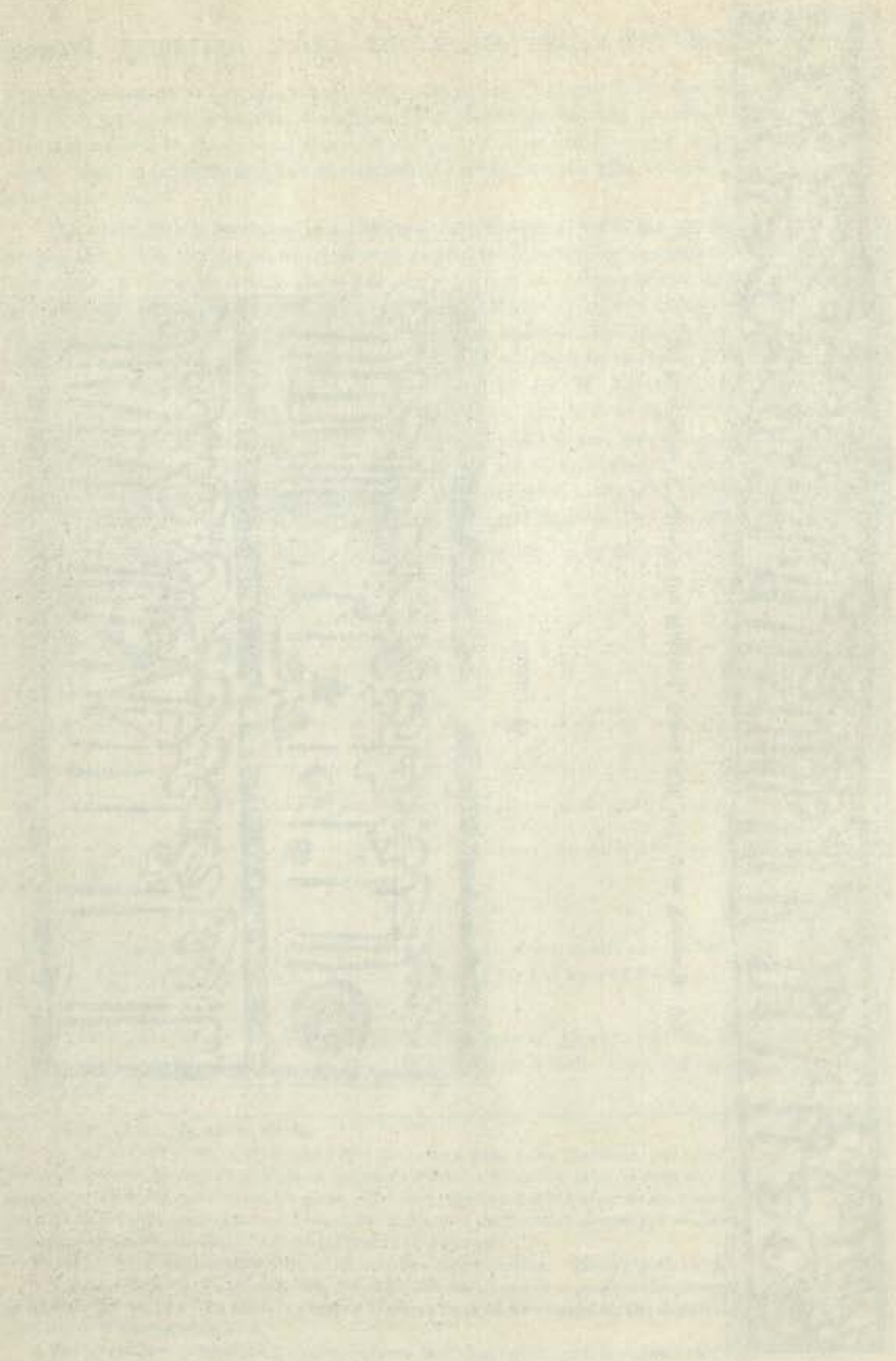
SCALE : .19

(b) Inscription of Nāṣirū'd-Dīn Mahmūd, dated A.H. 647, from Meerut (p. 12)



SCALE : .13





Dr. Ḥalīm is not sure of his reading of the word الوزراء. He confuses the issue by reading الوزرى in the text, and then stating in the foot-note that it 'can be read as الوزراء on account of the dot clearly visible after the و of الوزرى'. But he translates the word as 'ministers' only.<sup>1</sup> It will be observed that traces of an *alif* also have survived on the tablet. It may be pointed out in this connexion that these very titles including ملك ملوك الوزراء are also used by 'Aufi'.<sup>2</sup>

The third inscription of the present study comes from Meerut, a district headquarters town in Uttar Pradesh, situated in 29°1' N. and 77°43' E. The inscribed slab, which measures 1·82 m. by 18 cm., is built up into the inner side of the wall of the courtyard, above the entrance leading into the Jāmi' mosque.<sup>3</sup> According to the local account, quoted by Führer and others, the Jāmi'-Masjid was built by Ḥasan Mahdī,<sup>4</sup> minister of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, in 1019 and was repaired by Humāyūn.<sup>5</sup> Evidently, the local tradition, has, as usual, associated the mosque with a greater antiquity than is actually the case.

It is difficult to say if our epigraph belongs to the present monument. Its position on the monument makes it rather unlikely. Unfortunately, there is nothing in the text to indicate the exact purport since, its one-line text merely refers to the reign of Abu'l-Muẓaffar, Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, the lord of the world and the sultān of the universe, and contains the date A.H. 647 (1249-50 A.D.). Mr. A. A. Kādiri, Epigraphical Assistant in our office, who copied this epigraph, informs me that there are only Quranic verses engraved inside the mosque assignable to the sixteenth century, but no historical record was noticed by him. It is therefore, not known on what basis, Dr. Führer has assigned the repairs of the mosque to the time of Humāyūn as stated above. One might be tempted to take the epigraph under study as fragmentary and no doubt, a separate tablet could have contained the first part, if there was any, of the text. But it is equally true that even in its present state, the epigraph could be quite complete, for inscriptions merely referring themselves to the reign of a king and containing a date are not uncommon.

It is really surprising that this epigraph has not been published so far. Neither Dr. Führer nor Mr. Nevill has noticed it, though it is quite likely that the local tradition assigning a much earlier date to the mosque, as seen above, was based on this epigraph, which being presumably illegible, was thought to be of an early period. In the alternative, it may be that the inscriptional tablet was lying unnoticed in some corner of the mosque or was brought in recent years from some other place, before it was built up into its present position. Mr. Kādiri also informs me that the writing was almost hidden under heavy coating of whitewash, and that may also be one of the reasons of its being not so widely known.

In any case, the inscription is an important addition to the Mamlūk records, which as we have already seen above, are not found in good number. As a matter of fact, this is the third, or rather the fourth, record of this monarch.<sup>6</sup> Its text is quite brief, consisting of one line in Persian which is inscribed in usual *Nasḫ* characters of the period. It will be observed that the language of this record, unlike in the case of other epigraphs of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, is Persian. And, not only

<sup>1</sup> Ḥalīm, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> M. Mo'in, *Jawāme' al-Ḥekāyāt* (Tehran, 1961), p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 287. For the history and antiquities of Meerut, see Führer, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-12 and Nevill, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, Meerut (Allahabad, 1904), pp. 271-81.

<sup>4</sup> This is probably a mistake for Maimandī.

<sup>5</sup> Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 273; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XVII (Oxford, 1908), p. 265.

<sup>6</sup> *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 21-22 (pl. VIII a) and 23 (pl. XI a). The third undated inscription from Hansi, edited by Dr. Horowitz in *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 28 (pl. XIX), is taken by him to have been set up in the reign of Iltutmish.



the text contains very few of such honorific titles and phrases as were, so to say, almost a necessary part of the early Mamlūk inscriptions, but also, the name Maḥmūd is conspicuous by its absence. The titles used for him in his Kol Minaret inscription are same as, but fewer than, those used in the Bari Khatu inscription of his father.<sup>1</sup>

But it would be a mistake to interpret the absence of titles as indicating any doubt about the genuineness of the record, since this feature too is not so unusual in Indo-Moslem inscriptions. Moreover, above everything else, the palaeography of the inscription fully conforms to the style in vogue and undoubtedly bears out the date quoted therein. There is little doubt that it was set up in that year.

The text reads as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate II (b)

در عهد همايون خدايگان عالم سلطان العالمين ابو المظفر المعظم ناصر الدنيا و الدين  
شهور سنة سبع و اربعين و ستماية

#### TRANSLATION

In the auspicious reign of the lord of the world, the sultān of the universe, Abu'l-Muzaḥḥar, the magnificent Nāṣirū'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, (in) the months of the year (A.H.) forty-seven and six hundred (A. H. 647=1249-50 A.D.).

The fourth inscription of the group and the last one to contain the name of the king is from Bari Khatu, the findspot of the earlier inscription of Itutmish studied above. Its tablet is at present lying loose in the tomb of Maḥribī Shāh,<sup>2</sup> but the original place from where it came is not known. This record is again, unfortunately, fragmentary. It has lost some portion on the right, but it does not appear that much of the text is lost. It can be said with some amount of certainty that only two or three words in each line are missing, for in almost all the records of Balban known so far, only the *kunya* and name, i.e. Abu'l-Muzaḥḥar Balban, occur between his title and the word sultān;<sup>3</sup> here, too, the second line ends with his title, and the third begins with sultān. Therefore, the first two words in line 3 must have been Abu'l-Muzaḥḥar Balban.

The slab in its present state measures 72 by 55 cm. and is somewhat weather-beaten. As a result, the letters thereon have lost their prominence of relief. The surviving text, consisting of six lines in Arabic, refers to the reign of Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn and records the name of Maliku'sh-Sharq, Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Ḥusain Sultānī as the builder of some edifice in A.H. 666 (1268 A.D.). The portion of the text in the first line which must have specified the nature of the building constructed by the Maliku'sh-Sharq is missing, and hence it is not possible to determine it beyond doubt. But traces of a couple of letters visible on the stone, seem to be part of the word "العمارة". If so, the epigraph must have belonged to some edifice, probably a mosque. From the catalogue of Dr. Chaghtāi, referred to above, it would appear that the epigraph belonged to a reservoir. He has described it as: Fragment (Reservoir) Balban Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Ulugh khān.<sup>4</sup> But the statement is too vague to indicate for certain that the tablet was found by him on a tank. In any case, the traces of the word *al-'imārat* leave no doubt that the epigraph belonged to some edifice and not a tank.

<sup>1</sup> *EIM*, 1913-14 p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 171.

<sup>3</sup> *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 27, 29, 30, 32. Only in one inscription (*ibid.*, p. 28), one more phrase occurs.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide Catalogue, loc. cit.*, p. 9, No. 132.



I have not been able to establish the identity of the builder, Maliku'sh-Sharq Ḥusain Sultānī. None of the noblemen mentioned by Minhāj with the title Saifu'd-Dīn, seems to be identical with him. The name Ḥusain is found along with his titles in one place,<sup>1</sup> but it would appear to be an interpolation, for in the corresponding passage of Major Raverty's English translation, the name is absent.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, he had died much earlier than the time of our epigraph.

That Maliku'sh-Sharq Ḥusain was an official of rank, is clear from the titles used for him. It is quite likely that he was the governor of the locality in the reign of Balban.

The inscription, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is published here for the first time. Dr. Chaghtāi seems to have procured its impression as stated above, but not published it in any of his two papers on the inscriptions of Bari Khatū or elsewhere.

My reading of the text is as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate III(a)

- (١) ..... [العمارة] في عهد السلطان المعظم شهنشاه  
 (٢) ..... ملك ملوك العرب و العجم غياث الدنيا و الدين  
 (٣) ..... [السلطان] ناصر امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطان[ه]  
 (٤) ..... سيف الدولة و الدين ملك ملوك الشرق حسين السلطاني دام اقباله في  
 الحادى عشر من (٩) جماد  
 (٥) الاخر سنة ست و ستين و ستماية

## TRANSLATION

- (1).....building in the reign of the magnificent sultān, emperor  
 (2) .....the king of the kings of Arabia and Persia, Ghiyāthu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn  
 (3) .....the sultān, helper of the Commander of the Faithful, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,  
 (4) .....Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn (lit. sword of the state and religion),  
 (5) Malik-i-Mulūki'sh-Sharq Ḥusain a's-Sultānī, may his good fortune last for ever, on the eleventh of the month of Jumāda'l-Ākhar, year (A.H.) six and sixty and six hundred (11 Jumādā II, 666=27 February 1268).

It may be pointed out that in none of the available inscriptions of Balban, the honorific title ملك ملوك العرب و العجم is used.

The next five inscriptions are fragmentary and damaged. The name of the ruling king is missing in each of them, and in one, the surviving text only contains the name of a person, who may perhaps have been the builder. But as has been explained above, from the style of these inscriptions, particularly such royal titles as have survived and palaeography, they are assignable to the Mamlūk Sultāns.

<sup>1</sup> Minhāj, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Raverty, *Taḥqīq-i-Nāgiri* (London, 1881), p. 730.



The first such record and the fifth of the article is from Budaun, headquarters of the district of the same name in Uttar Pradesh.<sup>1</sup> It is inscribed on the headstone of a grave in the courtyard of the mosque of Makhdūm 'Ālam in the Nāgarūn-Maḥalla of the town.<sup>2</sup> The tablet measuring 95 by 52 cm. is inscribed with a four-line text in Arabic, most of which has been obliterated due to the weathering of the stone, consequent upon its constant exposure to the elements of nature. The letters in the first and the last lines have completely flaked off, and in the second and the third lines too, a considerable portion is lost.

However, it is possible to assign this record with a certain amount of certainty to Iltutmish. From the style of writing, the record can be assigned, without any fear of contradiction, to the Mamlūk period. In addition to this, the titles used for the reigning king, would heavily weigh against a post-Mamlūk date for the epigraph. Now, all the surviving titles in the text of this epigraph, viz. inheritor of the kingdom of Solomon, lord of security for men of Faith, right hand of the vicegerent of Allāh, helped by the support from the above, rendered victorious over the enemies, are those found in the records of Iltutmish. On the other hand, the only other Mamlūk king for whom an epigraph uses the honorific title 'inheritor of the kingdom of Solomon' is Nāṣiru'd Dīn Maḥmūd. Thus, the upward limit of the date of the record under study can be brought down, at the most, to the time of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn.

But then it is only in one of the three records of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd that this title is used.<sup>3</sup> No other title from the present list is used for him in any of these. Added to this is the fact that the title 'right hand (*yamīn*) of the vicegerent of Allāh' is used for Iltutmish in the Gangarampur inscription of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, dated A.H. 647 (1249 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> We have also to bear in mind the close association of Iltutmish with Budaun, of which he was governor immediately before he ascended the throne, and where at least two inscriptions of his are found even today.<sup>5</sup> All this tends to show that the person for whom these titles are used in the epigraph can be none other than Iltutmish.

Despite the badly damaged nature of the record, it has been possible to decipher almost the whole writing as it exists on the stone. The date portion and the king's name, *ḥunya* and regal titles are lost. The extant text, apart from the honorific titles quoted above, seems to record the construction of a well. It is a matter of regret that only the name of the person who constructed the well has defied decipherment. His father's name Maḥmūd is legible.

I have deciphered the text as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate IV(b)

..... (۱)  
[؟] ..... السلاطين وارث ملك سليمان ذى الامان الاهل الايمان يمين خليفة [الله] ؟ (۲)  
..... المويد من السما [ء] المظفر ع [لى الاعداء]

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the town of Budaun and its monuments and inscriptions, see Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XI (Calcutta 1871) pp. 9-11; Führer, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-23; Nevill, *op. cit.*, vol. XV, Budaun (Allahabad, 1907), pp. 183-91; Raḡḡu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*; *ARIE*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 221-50; *ELAPS*, 1964, pp. 7-8, 19 and *ibid.*, 1965, pp. 11-18.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 239. This appears to be the tomb of Ālham Shāhid of Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 22, where the inscription is stated to be in Kāfi, of the time of Iltutmish. See also Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> *EIM*, 1913-14, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1911-12, pp. 22, 34.

<sup>6</sup> Engraver's mistake for لاهل.



..... (٣) ..... و بناء هذا البئر العبد الضعيف الراجى الخائف ..... بن محمود

..... (٤) .....

TRANSLATION

(1) .....

(2) ..... of the sultāns, inheritor of the kingdom of Solomon, surety of protection for the men of Faith, right hand of the vicegerent of Allāh, helped (by support) from above, rendered victorious over the enemies.....

(3) .....  
And this well was constructed by the weak creature, hopeful (of Allāh's mercy) and fearful (of His wrath),....., son of Maḥmūd.....

(4) .....

The second fragmentary inscription and the sixth of the article is from Bulandshahr, also a district headquarters in Uttar Pradesh. The present name of the town was given to Baran in modern times. It has the distinction of containing the unique, though fragmentary, record of Queen Raḍiyya, daughter of Iltutmish, as has been referred to above.

The broken tablet bearing this incomplete record measures 1.45 m. by 33 cm. and is fixed into the *mihrāb*, situated to the north of the pulpit, of the 'Idgāh of the town.<sup>1</sup> The present building of the 'Idgāh is not old, but it is apparently constructed from the debris of an ancient mosque, for there are in the walls several inscribed slabs.<sup>2</sup> If the one, fixed into the central *mihrāb* is *in situ*, the 'Idgāh would date from the time of Humāyūn only.<sup>3</sup>

The text comprises only one line inscribed in *Naskh* characters of the usual type, which are remarkable for their boldness. The size of the letters can be judged from the fact that practically the whole of the surface is taken up by the single-line writing. The surviving text, which appears to be in Arabic, merely contains a set of titles of the king, to wit, 'the refuge of Islām and Muslims, sun (*Shams*) among the kings and chiefs'. Other details are lost.<sup>4</sup>

The style of writing of this epigraph conforms to the early records of the Mamlūk period. It will also be observed that there are three dots beneath the letter *s* of *Shams*. This peculiarity is also found in the early epigraphs—in the inscription of the Quwwatū'l-Islām mosque recording

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 262. For an account of the history of Bulandshahr and its architectural remains and inscriptions, see Führer, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5; Nevill, *op. cit.*, vol. V, Bulandshahr (Lucknow, 1922), pp. 203-10 *ARIE*, 1962-63, Nos. 250-63.

<sup>2</sup> Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 5, states that these are in *Kaṣfī* characters, but here as elsewhere, *Kaṣfī* is a mistake for *Naskh*. These fragments, which constitute not less than three records of the Ghori or early Mamlūk period, were copied too late to be incorporated here; regal titles occur in seven of them (*ARIE*), 1965-66, Nos. D, 570-71, 577, 579, 581, 583, 585.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 263.

<sup>4</sup> See note to above.



the conquest of Delhi and the foundation of the said mosque, as well as in Iltutmish's own inscriptions on the Quṭb-Minār and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The title, refuge of Islām and Muslims, is found in his inscriptions on the Quṭb-Minār. The other title, *Shamsu'l-Mulūk wa's-Salāfīn* (literally, the sun among the kings and sultāns), also points to the fact that Iltutmish is the object of this praise, though, it must be admitted, this title is not found in any of his extant inscriptions. Taking all these factors into consideration, one would not be wrong to assign this epigraph to the early part of Iltutmish's reign, if not still earlier. It may be recalled that Baran (i.e. Bulandshahr) was conquered by Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibak, and Iltutmish himself was the governor of the place for some time.<sup>2</sup>

The epigraph has been read as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate III(b)

..... غياث الاسلام و المسلمين شمس الملوك و السلاطين دارا .....

#### TRANSLATION

.....the refuge of Islām and the Muslims, the sun (*Shams*) among the kings and sultāns .....

The third incomplete record, forming the seventh inscription of this article, is from Bari Khatu. It is engraved on a fragmentary piece of arch-slab which was found lying loose, by Mr. W. H. Siddiqi, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in our office, in the courtyard of the mosque in the Qasāi-Mahalla of the village.<sup>3</sup>

As in the case of the other fragmentary records studied above, this one also contains merely parts of the titles of the king, other details having been completely lost. The calligraphical style, which is pretty *Naskh*, conforms to the type of the epigraphs of the early thirteenth century. The surviving titles, which are preceded by a reference to the reign of the king, are : the magnificent sultān, the king of the land and sea, the emperor. The main title occurs simultaneously not only in one of the epigraphs of Iltutmish,<sup>4</sup> but also in the earlier Quṭb-Minār record of Muḥammad bin Sām.<sup>5</sup> In view of these facts, it is fairly certain that this inscription was put up in the reign of Iltutmish if not in the reign of Muḥammad bin Sām. However, on the grounds of palaeography, it can be more appropriately assigned to the time of Iltutmish.

<sup>1</sup> *EIM*, 1911-12, pls. XI ; VI, No. 1 ; XVIII, No. 2 ; XXVIII ; etc.

<sup>2</sup> Minhāj, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

A *farmān* of Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām is said to have been in the possession, at least some time ago, of Mr. Hasan Barani, advocate of Bulandshahr, according to Dr. A. B. M. Ḥabibu'llāh, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India* (Allahabad, 1961), p. 367, Appendix A. The latter who received a brief descriptive note from Mr. Barani in 1944, has rightly remarked that its genuineness cannot be asserted beyond dispute, until it can be examined in detail.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 201.

<sup>4</sup> *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 30, pl. XXIII, where it is the amīr of the land and the sea.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17, pl. III, where it is 'sultān of the land and the sea'.



(a) Record, dated A.H. 666, of Balban, from Bari Khatu (p. 13)



SCALE : ·125

(b) Fragmentary epigraph, from Bulandshahr (p. 16)



SCALE : ·125

(c) Another fragmentary record, from Bilhaur (p. 17)





PLATE IV

(a) Incomplete record, from Bari Khatu (p. 17)



SCALE : .21

(b) Another incomplete epigraph, from Budaun (p. 14)



SCALE : .15

(c) Another fragmentary record, same place (p. 18)





The writing occupies a space of about 75 by 18 cm. on the stone and has been deciphered as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate IV(a)

..... دولة السلطان المعظم ملك البر و البحر شهنشاه .....

## TRANSLATION

....the reign of the magnificent sultān, the king of land and sea, emperor.....

The fourth incomplete epigraph and the eighth of this group was also recently found by Mr. Siddiqī, at Bilhaur, a *tahsil* town, situated in 26°50' N. and 80°4' E. at a distance of about 55 kilometres north-west of the district headquarters Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh. It is inscribed on the inner side of a stone beam in the tomb locally called Ḥaḡīra, which stands on the right side of the Grand Trunk Road, outside the town.<sup>1</sup>

The writing that has survived comprises hardly a few phrases referring to an 'auspicious abode' and to 'the just and magnificent king'. The stone-beam appears to be an original part of the tomb, in which case, the term 'auspicious abode'—*al-buq'atu'l-mubārakata* in the original—would signify a tomb. Also, it would indicate that Bilhaur, lying as it is on the main road to the east, is a place of sufficient antiquity.<sup>2</sup> Incidentally, the only monument at Bilhaur, recorded by Führer, is a mosque of Aurangzeb's time.<sup>3</sup> From the text of our epigraph, which is easily assignable to the Mamlūk period, on palaeographical grounds, it is clear that the present tomb or at least some building of note was constructed by one of the Mamlūk sultāns himself, which would mean that Bilhaur was quite an important place in those days. It is a pity that the remaining part of the record is lost.

The text occupies a writing space of 1.38 m. by 31 cm. on the stone-beam and reads as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate III(c)

..... هذه البقعة المباركة السلطان المعظم [الادل] .....

## TRANSLATION

....this auspicious abode by the magnificent and just sultān.....

The ninth and the last inscription of this study and the fifth fragmentary one, is engraved on a loose slab lying in the mosque of the tomb of Jangī Shāhid situated in the Chāh-Mīr Maḥalla of Budaun.<sup>4</sup> The tablet, which evidently formed part of a bigger one, measures 82 by 18 cm. and contains a one-line text, evidently in Arabic, recording the name of Abū Naḡr Maḥmūd, son of 'Umar Dahistānī, preceded by the term *al-'abd*, thus indicating him to be the builder of some

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 367.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription engraved in Siddhamatrica on a pillar in the tomb is assignable on palaeographical grounds to the 9th century (*ibid.*, No. B, 655).

<sup>3</sup> Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 168. For the inscription on this mosque as well as another one, see *ARIE*, 1964-65, Nos. D, 368-69.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 234; Raḡlu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 71.



construction, if the epigraph related to any, or at least the person responsible for some such action. On the basis of the calligraphical style, the record may be assigned to the time of Iltutmish. M. Raḍīu'd-Dīn, who published a reading of this inscription, was inclined, on account of the style of its letters, to assign it to the time of Maḥmūd of Ghazna or thereabouts. He also could not determine the building or tomb to which it might have originally belonged.<sup>1</sup>

The text is executed in bold *Naskh* of the prevalent type and has been deciphered as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate IV(c)

.....[أ]لعبد أبو نصر بن محمود بن عمر دهستانی اطال [الله].....

## TRANSLATION

.....the creature, Abū Naṣr, son of Maḥmūd, son of 'Umar Dahistānī, may Allāh prolong..

It is difficult to establish the identity of Abū Naṣr. The size and style of the epigraph would indicate, if at all, that he was a person of some position in the town.

<sup>1</sup> Raḍīu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.* ■ His reading is correct except in two places.

## TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GHIYATHUD-DIN TUGHLUQ FROM UTTAR PRADESH

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

I propose to re-edit in this short article two inscriptions of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh, from Zafarabad and Mahoba, situated respectively in the Jaunpur and Hamirpur districts of Uttar Pradesh, which were published quite some time back.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the fact that these two epigraphs are among the very few records of Tughluq Shāh that have been found so far in that province,<sup>2</sup> they are extremely important as they mention three noblemen of great status. But since the portions containing their names were left unread in the published texts of these records, the noblemen remained unidentified, and the importance of the epigraphs was overlooked. But what constitutes even a more important feature of these records is that with their help, the correct spelling of the names of two of these nobles, transcribed variously in historical works, can now be determined once for all. It may be recalled here that the correct spelling of the name of yet one more high official of the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh, viz. Malik Juljīn, was also determined by an inscription.<sup>3</sup>

The earlier of these two records is from the Dargāh of Makhdūm Shāh at Zafarabad near Jaunpur.<sup>4</sup> The epigraphical tablet, which measures 1.66 m. by 83 cm., is fixed above the entrance of the enclosure and contains a text of ten verses in Persian, which are engraved in relief in five lines in bold *Naskh* letters, characteristic of the inscriptions of the early Tughluq period. The weathering of the tablet has slightly affected the condition of its letters, but except in one place, in the fourth line, to be exact, where the letters have been mutilated, intentionally as it were, the text is fairly legible.

A detailed description of this epigraph including its text and translation was first given by A. Führer, but unfortunately, the reading supplied to, and quoted by, him is hopelessly corrupt and incomplete too. An almost bewildering aspect of his account is that he has assigned the inscription to the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughluq. To quote him, the epigraph 'is written in ten lines, mostly in Arabic and partly in Tughrā and Shafiya characters over the entrance door of the mazār or dargāh of Makhdūm Sāhib Chirāgh-i-Hind, built by Zafar Khān in the reign of Firūz Shāh A. H. 781, or A.D. 1379.....the last two lines are partly illegible, being very much defaced'.<sup>5</sup>

Subsequently, the inscription was republished by Major Vost, whose reading, though a great improvement upon Führer's, still suffers from mistakes.<sup>6</sup> More than his inability to decipher

<sup>1</sup> Major W. Vost, 'Jaunpur and Zafarabad Inscriptions', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. V (1905), pp. 140-41; H. Blochman, 'Mahoba Inscriptions', *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1873, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> The only other record of this king published so far, is from Asarva Khurd in Allahabad district (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1937-38, p. 7, pl. IIIB).

<sup>3</sup> *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1955 and 1956, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1963-64, No. D, 364. For an account of Zafarabad and its remains, see A. Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh (MANWP)* (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 185-86; H. R. Nevill, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (UPG)*, vol. XXVIII, Jaunpur (Allahabad, 1908), pp. 329-34; Iqbāl Ahmad, *Tārīkh-i-Shāhraz-i-Hind Jaunpūr* (Jaunpur, 1963), pp. 897-937, 1003-28, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Führer, *The Shāhī Architecture of Jaunpur (SAJ)* (Calcutta, 1889), pp. 64-66.

<sup>6</sup> It is probably Vost's reading which has been copied in Iqbāl Ahmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 1012-13.



the name of the builder, Malik Mal, it was perhaps his wrong reading *مظفر شد* in place of *ز قلعه* in the fifth line, which prompted him to hazard a guess that it was likely that the eighth verse<sup>1</sup> contained the name of Malik Zafar, the third son of Tughluq Shāh.<sup>2</sup> He was also not able to decipher the portion of the text in the fourth line indicating the object of construction, viz. a fort.

In the opinion of Mr. H. R. Nevill, who wrote after Vost, the inscription records that 'on account of political victory gained in 1319 (721 H.) by Ghias-ud-din Tughlaq, the town was to be populated and called Zafarabad'.<sup>3</sup> A glance at the reading quoted below will show how faulty are the readings of Führer and Vost, on which some of their statements as well as those of Nevill are based.

The epigraph states that in the reign of *Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Tughluq Shāh*, a fort with a lofty gate was constructed through the efforts of Malik Mal. It further states that since the city prospered on account of the fort, its name Zafarābād would remain for ever. It bears the date Monday, 28th Rabi' I 721 (27th April 1321).

The text has been deciphered by me as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate V (a)

(۱) بعهد ملک ذو القرنین ثانی	بناء شرع را از عدل بانی
غیاث دین و دنیا بو المظفر	سلیمان خاتم و جمشید افسر
(۲) شه افاق تغلقشاه اعظم	کے بر وی شد جهانگیری مسلم
بر آمد این حصار چرخ ایوان	کے در رفعت گذشت از فرق کیوان
(۳) دو شنبه بست هشتم روز بوده	ربیع الاول آن ماه ستوده
همایون ساعتی و موة[عه] مسعود	ز هجرت سال هفصد بست یک بود
(۴) شد این دروازه گردون ستانه	بنا از سعی مشهور زمانه
ملک مل بنده وا .....	درگاه .....
(۵) ز قلعه چون بشد معمور این شهر	ظفر آباد نامش ماند در دهر
ز چشم بد نگه دارش خدا باد	کے تا نامش بود شه را بقا باد

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the king, the second *Dhu'l-Qarnain* (i.e. Alexander), layer of the foundation of *shar'* (i.e. religious code) through justice,

*Ghiyāth-i-Dīn-u-Dunyā Bu'l-Muzaffar*, one with Solomon's signet and Jamshīd's crown,

<sup>1</sup> The letters in this portion of the fourth line are mutilated.

<sup>2</sup> Vost, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> Nevill, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-34.

TUGHLUQ'S INSCRIPTIONS

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 721, from Zafarabad (p. 20)



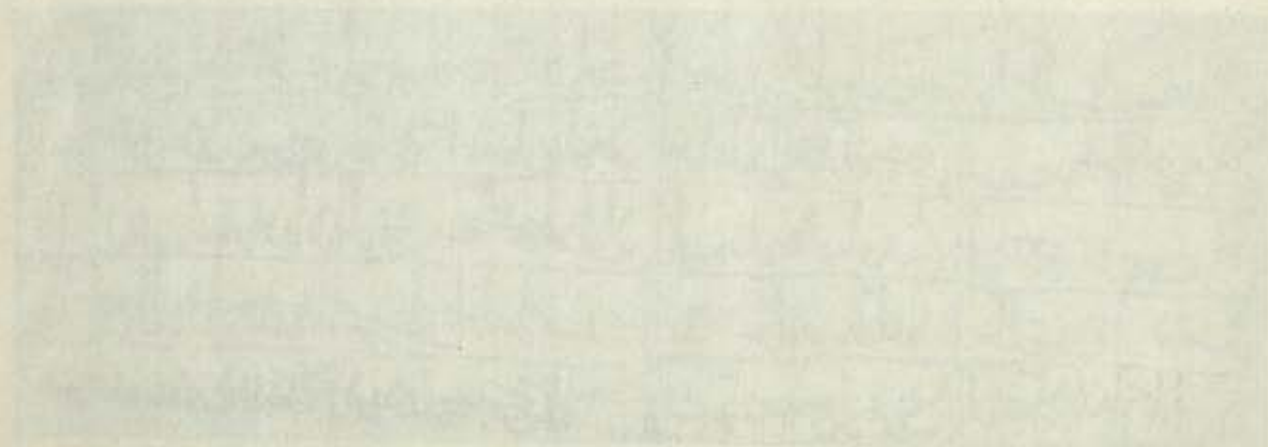
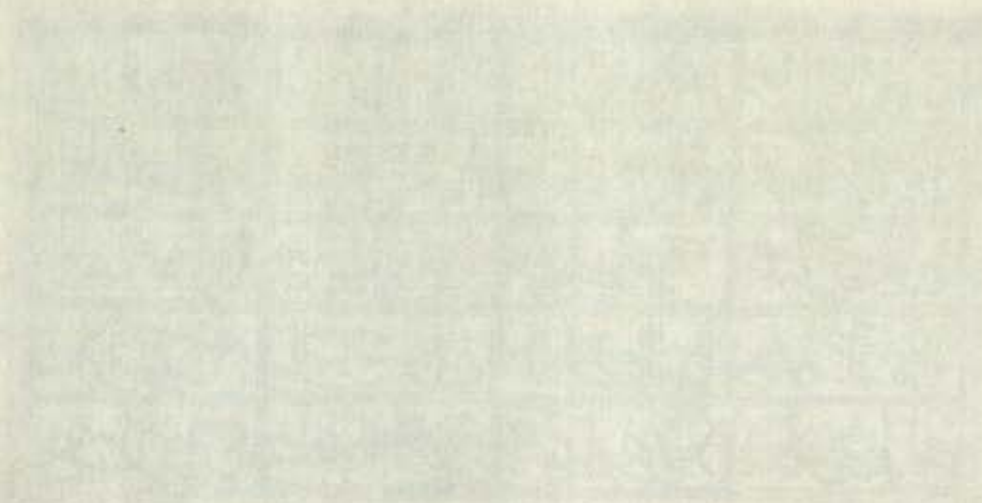
SCALE : .08

(b) Epigraph, dated A.H. 722, from Mahoba (p. 24)



SCALE : .11





(2) king of the horizons, the great Tughluq Shāh, on whom sovereignty has been bestowed, was constructed this fort whose portico is sky (and) which, in height, has exceeded the height (lit. forehead) of Saturn.

(3) It was Monday and twentieth day (of) Rabī'u'l-Awwal, the praiseworthy month, at a blessed hour and auspicious time; from Migration it was (year) seven hundred and twentyone (28 Rabī' I 721=27 April 1321),

(4) (when) this gate of sky-like threshold was constructed through the efforts of the world famous

Malik Mal, servant and.....the court.

(5) Since this city prospered on account of (the construction of) the fort, its name remained in the world as Zafarābād.

May God be its protector from Evil Eye! And may the king endure as long as its name remains!

Though Malik Mal, the builder, was an important official under the Khaljis and the Tughluqs, unfortunately, not much is known about him. Even the spelling of his name is a matter of difference among the historians, early as well as modern. His name is variously written as مل, گل and يل, بل, مخ. For example, the printed text of contemporary Baranī's work has مل on pages 240-41 and مل on page 448, but يل on page 379 and مخ on pages 449 and 454.<sup>1</sup> In the printed edition of the versified history of another contemporary 'Iṣāmī, the name occurs as بل on page 384, but مل on page 387.<sup>2</sup> Among the later historical works, the printed texts of Yaḥyā Sirhindī and Ḥājji Dabīr have مل, while that of Firishṭa has گل.<sup>3</sup>

This fact of confusing spellings has been duly noted among others, by Dr. S. A. A. Rida'wī and Dr. A. Mahdī Ḥusain who have, however, refrained, and understandably too, from any attempt to determine its correct form. The former uses the variants مل, مل (مخ) and بل,<sup>4</sup> while the latter has مل and مل or مخ.<sup>5</sup> Our epigraph which clearly transcribes the name as مل should thus settle the problem of the correct nomenclature once for all.

As stated above, not much is known about Malik Mal from historical works. Baranī includes him in the list of the nobles of both 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī and his son Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak. A noble of senior rank, he was involved, along with Malik Timur, Talbagha and others in the incident of Khusraw Khān's intended rebellion in A.H. 720. His name also occurs in a similar affair concerning Ulugh Khān, later on Muḥammad bin Tughluq, in the course of the latter's Telangana expedition in A.H. 721,<sup>6</sup> but this ultimate fate is not reported by the contemporary historians describing the event. For example, Baranī simply says that Malik Kāfūr Muhrdār, the poet 'Ubaid

<sup>1</sup> Diyā'u'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1864). The omission of his name from ملک افغان in *ibid.*, p. 399, appears to be a printing mistake.

<sup>2</sup> Iṣāmī, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Agra, 1938); *ibid.* (Madras, 1948), pp. 392, 396.

<sup>3</sup> Yaḥyā Sirhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1931), p. 85; Ḥājji Dabīr, *Zafarū' l-Walāh bi-Muḥaffar wa-Atīh*, vol. II (London, 1928), pp. 861, 862; Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* (Kanpur, 1884), pp. 142, 275.

<sup>4</sup> S. A. A. Rida'wī, *Tughluq-kālīn Bhārat*, vol. I (Aligarh, 1956), p. 21, f.n. 7; A. Mahdī Ḥusain, *Tughluq Dynasty* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 65, f.n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Mahdī Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 66.

<sup>6</sup> Baranī, *op. cit.*, pp. 241, 249, 379, 399, 448, 449. It may be pointed out that he is not mentioned in 'Iṣāmī's account of the earlier incident (*op. cit.*, pp. 355-64).



and other seditious persons were put to death. This may, if one is so inclined, be interpreted to mean that Malik Mal was also executed, though Baranī does not explicitly name him as one to receive the penalty of death.

But there is clear evidence that Mal had survived this affair. For, another contemporary writer Ibn Battūta refers to Malik Mal, and there is little reason to doubt the identity of Malik Mal of Ibn Battūta with Malik Mal of our epigraph. Now Ibn Battūta has narrated the episode of the painful death that overtook Malik Mal while he was confined in one of the dungeons of the Daulatabad fort.<sup>1</sup> It may also be mentioned that it was Malik Mal's son, according to Ibn Battūta, and younger brother, according to Baranī and others, who successfully rebelled against Muḥammad bin Tughluq and ascended the throne at Daulatabad under the title Nāṣiru'd-Dīn.<sup>2</sup> While neither Ibn Battūta nor Baranī calls Nāṣiru'd-Dīn by his first name, 'Iṣāmī and subsequent writers speak of him as Ismā'il or Ismā'il Makh.<sup>3</sup> Now, as we have seen above, the transcription of the name Makh may be a copyist's error for Mal, which is the actual case in some places, and there may be an *idāfat-i-ibnī* between Ismā'il and Makh (*recte*, Mal), which would bear out Ibn Battūta that the relationship of son and father existed between Sultān Nāṣiru'd-Dīn and Malik Mal. On the other hand, Firishṭa also states that Malik Mal (in the printed text Gul), an eminent nobleman of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, who was then stationed in Malwa, was in a position to give immediate help to his younger brother Sultān Nāṣiru'd-Dīn who had rebelled at Daulatabad.<sup>4</sup> Firishṭa seems to follow Baranī who, as we have already seen above, also calls Malik Mal an elder brother of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn. Thus according to Ibn Battūta, the former was the father, and according to Baranī and Firishṭa, elder brother, of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn. I am inclined to credit Ibn Battūta's statement with correctness. It is very likely that another son of Mal was concerned in the event. The mistake may have occurred on account of the omission, through the copyist's error or so, of the name of this son before Malik Mal in the original manuscript of Baranī's history which seems to have been the main original source for the history of the period for subsequent writers including Firishṭa. This seems to be the only reasonable explanation for this confusion in relationship. There is no reason to doubt Ibn Battūta's statement in this regard which is not only clear but informative. In short, Ibn Battūta's statement that Nāṣiru'd-Dīn was a son of Malik Mal seems to be nearer the truth.

Apart from this, no other particulars about Malik Mal himself are available from historical works. The epigraph under study provides the valuable information that the Malik was posted at Zafarabad during the time of Tughluq Shāh, if not earlier, at least, in Rabi' I 721. But the question again arises: In what capacity was he associated with Zafarabad? Though not so specified, from the context, he appears to have been a man of authority in the place. Again, the text clearly testifies that the town was called Zafarabad after it was provided with a fort by him. On the other hand, Baranī and others aver that Tughluq Shāh gave charge of Zafarabad to his adopted son Tatār Khān, immediately after his accession,<sup>5</sup> that is to say, some time during the latter part of the year A.H. 720. But our epigraph clearly indicates Malik Mal's association with

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Battūta, *The Rihla*, ed. A. Mahdi Husain (Baroda, 1953), p. 170. It is interesting to note that Ibn Battūta is the only authority to mention this episode.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 115, 170; Baranī, *op. cit.*, pp. 454, 514; 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 493, 494, 496, 497, 505, 506, 507, 509, 513, 523, 524, 538 and 539 (but he does not mention any relationship); 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āṭir* (Hyderabad, 1936), pp. 13, 14, 18; Ḥājjī Dabir, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 882 (quoting Ḥusām Khān's *Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhī*); Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 275; etc. This relationship between the two is not so widely known.

<sup>3</sup> In the printed texts of their works, this name too variously written as Makh, Fath, Manj, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

<sup>5</sup> Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 428.



Zafarabad in official capacity as late as in Rabī' I 721. This again poses a problem. Is it likely that Tatār Khān being a minor (*khurd-sāl*) during the reign of Tughluq Shāh,<sup>1</sup> Mal acted as his deputy? In the alternative, Baranī may have just advanced Tatār Khān's appointment to the governorship of Zafarabad by a few months. In that case, Tatār Khān's appointment might have taken place some time in A.H. 721, during which Mal was either put to death or imprisoned,<sup>2</sup> but not before Rabī' I of that year, the date of our record. Sir Wolseley Haig also places Tatār Khān's appointment in the year following Tughluq's accession, but he does not quote his authority.<sup>3</sup> Thus, it is likely that Tatār Khān came to Zafarabad after Mal's tenure of office there.

There is yet one more possibility which may be considered: Our epigraph does not specifically mention Malik Mal as the governor, which may be taken to mean that he had acted on behalf of somebody. That somebody could have been prince Zafar Khān who, as we know from a contemporary inscription, was granted Zafarabad by his father Tughluq Shāh. According to this epigraph occurring on the door of the tomb within a bastion at the north-east corner of Tughluqabad at Delhi, Khān-i-A'zam Zafar Khān, then a mere child, who was given Zafarabad, seized the country as far as the boundary of Lakhnauti and was going to subdue that region, but died an untimely death consequent upon which his tomb was constructed by Tughluq Shāh.<sup>4</sup> This Zafar Khān is evidently the third son of Tughluq Shāh.<sup>5</sup> Under the circumstances, it is reasonable to suppose that if he was granted Zafarabad by Tughluq Shāh on his accession, Malik Mal may have acted as his deputy. The naming of the newly fortified town as Zafarabad is easily explained by this. This may also lend weight to the surmise that Zafar Khān was succeeded by Tatār Khān in the appointment of Zafarabad on his death.

In any case, the epigraph discloses the fact, not mentioned elsewhere, of Malik Mal's association with Zafarabad. Another important aspect of the inscription is that it furnishes authentic information, though meagre, on the history of the Zafarabad town. Dr. Führer, as we have seen above, attributes the designation of the town to Firūz Tughluq's son Zafar Khān,<sup>6</sup> while according to Major Vost, the change of the name of the village Menaich to Zafarabad took place to commemorate the name and history of Tughluq Shāh's third son, Zafar Khān, who is stated by him, on the authority of the *Manāqib-i-Darwish-iyya*, to have conquered the place.<sup>7</sup>

But as we have seen above, our record clearly states that since the town prospered on account of the newly constructed fort, its name became Zafarabad (Lit. abode of victory). No doubt the possibility is there that Malik Mal, through whose efforts the fort was constructed, resulting in the renaming of the town, may have intended it to be called after Zafar Khān. Incidentally, the mention of the name Zafarabad in our epigraph may be construed to indicate that Zafar Khān must have died after Rabī' I 721, or in the alternative, his above epitaph was engraved after that date.

<sup>1</sup> This piece of information, given by Shams Sirāj 'Afif in his *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1891), p. 389, has not been taken notice of by any one so far as I know.

<sup>2</sup> Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 449; 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 387-90; Ibn Battūṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Wolseley Haig, ed. *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. III (New York, 1928), p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments*, vol. IV (Calcutta, 1922), p. 4; *ARIE*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 54, 55. The epigraph which is partly damaged is undated, but there is no doubt about its contemporaneity.

<sup>5</sup> No contemporary or non-contemporary work makes mention of prince Zafar Khān except in the account of the honours and titles conferred on his kinsmen and nobles by Tughluq Shāh. There does not appear to be any basis for Sir Wolseley's statement (*op. cit.*, p. 133) that Tatār Khān was entitled Zafar Khān.

<sup>6</sup> Führer, *SAJ*. J. P. Hewett, *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India*, vol. XIV, part III—Jaunpur (Allahabad, 1884), p. 146, calls him Firūz Tughluq's governor.

<sup>7</sup> Vost, *op. cit.* For other popular versions about Zafarabad and its history, see Iqbāl Ahmad, *op. cit.*



The second inscription to be re-edited is from the *tahsil*-headquarters Mahoba in the Hamirpur district.<sup>1</sup> Engraved on a tablet measuring 1.7 m. by 50 cm. which is fixed above the eastern doorway of the *Shāhī* mosque, situated outside the Bhainsā-Darwāza of the fort,<sup>2</sup> its text runs into ten couplets of Persian verse, which are inscribed in five lines in *Naskh* characters of a fairly good type. The quality of verses is also quite good.

The inscription was first published by H. Blochmann from the rubbings sent to him by Major-General A. Cunningham.<sup>3</sup> Blochmann's reading is fairly correct, but it does suffer from quite a few errors of which two are of no mean consequence: he has omitted to read the name of the father of the governor during whose time the mosque was constructed, and that was why he could not identify him. And secondly, he could not decipher the day of the month.

The record states that the construction of the mosque in Mahoba took place in A.H. 722 (1322 A.D.) during the reign of *Ghiyāth*'d-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Tughluq *Shāh* and in the time of Malik Tāju'd-Duwal Aḥmad. It further supplies the interesting information that Tāju'd-Duwal Aḥmad was a worthy son of Talbagha. It may be noted that the name of Aḥmad's father Talbagha, himself a renowned nobleman under the *Khaljis*, is spelt in the text as *تلبغه*.<sup>4</sup>

The text has been read by me as follows:—

TEXT

Plate V (b)

(۱) بفضل ایزدی آمد بشارت	که مسجد در مهوبه نه عمارت
بعهد بادشاه هفت اقلیم	مدار مملکت ملجاء اسلام <sup>۵</sup>
(۲) غیاث الدین و دنیا دؤمین جم	فلک درگاه تغلق شاه عالم
جهانداری که زخم گرز و خنجر	شدش ضبط ممالک چون سکندر
(۳) فلک سان در زمانه قهرمان باد	بگیتی تخت و ملکش جاودان باد
کمینه بنده شاه نکو نام	که شد در نوبش مسجد باتمام
(۴) ملک تاج الدول با بخت سرمد	محمد خلق نیکو اسم احمد
ز بحر تلبغه در گزیده	بسلك عون یزدان در کشیده
(۵) چو بر هفصد قزون شد بست و دوراست	در و دیوار و صحن مسجد آراست
ز هجرت مه ربیع آخرین بود	گذشته یک دهه کاین کار آسود

<sup>1</sup> For the history of Mahoba and its antiquities, see E. T. Atkinson, *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India*, vol. I (Allahabad, 1874), pp. 520-29; Führer, *MANWP*, pp. 174-77; D. L. Drake-Brockman, *UPG*, vol. XXII, Hamirpur (Allahabad, 1909), pp. 195-201.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1952-53, No. C, 138.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-57. Etkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 522, who was responsible for bringing to light the epigraph, quotes Blochmann's translation in full, while Drake-Brockman, *op. cit.*, p. 200, merely gives its gist.

<sup>4</sup> The dot of غ is absent in the plate.

<sup>5</sup> Thus on the stone, but it does not rhyme with *Iqlīm*: Perhaps *Islīm* was intended.

## TRANSLATION

(1) By the divine grace, good news came that a mosque was constructed at Mahoba,

during the reign of the king of seven climes, pivot of the kingdom and shelter of Islām,

(2) Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn wa Dunyā, the second Jamshīd, one whose audience-hall is sky, Tughluq, Shāh (i.e. king) of the world,

the sovereign who has, by the blow of his mace and dagger, subjugated kingdoms, like Alexander.

(3) May he, like the sky, be overwhelming in the world, (and) may his throne and kingdom last for ever on earth!

The humble servant of the king of good name, in the tenure of whose governorship the mosque was completed,

(4) is Malik Tāju'd-Duwal with everlasting luck, (who is) Muḥammad-like in disposition and Aḥmad by name,

the precious (lit. select) pearl from the ocean of Talbagha, a pearl which has been strung through the help of god.

(5) When it was exactly twentytwo above seven hundred, he decorated the doors, walls and courtyard of the mosque.

From the Migration, the month was the second Rabī', (of which) a period of ten days was over, when this work was completed (10 Rabī' II 722-28 April 1322).

The epigraph is quite important in that it mentions the relationship of the governor Tāju'd-Duwal Aḥmad with Talbagha, himself a nobleman of first rank. The latter's name is variously written in historical works, as in the case of Malik Mal of the previous record, but before discussing the spelling of his name, it will not be out of place to draw attention to the fact that historical works mention Tablagha, son of Yaghda and Talbagha Nāgaurī, i.e. of Nagaur in Rajasthan,<sup>1</sup> as two contemporaries, taking part in political affairs simultaneously.

What is worth more than passing mention here, is the way in which the name Talbagha is spelt in the text. Historians or to be more correct, the printed editions of their works, give various spellings of the name: Among the contemporaries, Amīr Khusrāw has تلبغا, Baranī, تلبغه in one place and تلبغه in the remaining six places and 'Isāmī تلبغه and تلبغه in one place each, تلبغه in two and تلبغه in three places.<sup>2</sup> Of the later writers, Yahyā Sirhindī has تلبغه in both the places, Badāyūnī تلبغه, also in both places, and Hājji Dabir تلبغه in one and تلبغه in the other place.<sup>3</sup> In view of this, it is no wonder that modern writers should have shown no inclination to determine the correct form of this name: majority have been in favour of Talbagha or Tulbagha, and few of Taligha. For example, among the latest

<sup>1</sup> For particulars, see Amīr Khusrāw, *Tughluq Nāma* (Aurangabad, 1933), p. 118; Baranī, *op. cit.*, pp. 379, 399, 400, 401 and 420; 'Isāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 356, 357, 371, 374, 376, 406; Yahyā, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Badāyūnī, *Muntahababū't-Tawārīkh*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 212, 220; Hājji Dabir, *op. cit.*, pp. 845, 851; etc. An interesting reference to Talbagha son of Yaghda will be found in Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khairu'l-Majālīs* (Aligarh), p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> Khusrāw, *op. cit.*; Baranī, *op. cit.*; 'Isāmī, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Yahyā, *op. cit.*; Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*; Hājji Dabir, *op. cit.*



writers, Dr. K. S. Lal writes Talbagha and Dr. Ridawī has (in *nāgarī* transcript) Tulbagha and Talbagha, while Dr. A. Mahdī Ḥusain, the latest to write, prefers Taligha.<sup>1</sup> It is on this point that the present epigraph provides important evidence, according to which the correct form of the name is Talbagha with the quiescent *l* and movent *b*.

Not much is known about Talbagha's son Malik Aḥmad entitled Tāju'd-Duwal, who is spoken of in the record as one during whose tenure of office the mosque was constructed. He is almost ignored by the historians. Now, Baranī includes one Malik Tāju'd-Dīn with the name Aḥmad in his list of the nobles of Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī,<sup>2</sup> and very likely, he is identical with the Mahoba governor. But beyond this, Baranī has nothing to say. It is only 'Iṣāmī who furnishes an important piece of information about him which is not to be found elsewhere. 'Iṣāmī, it may be stressed, clearly calls him Aḥmad, son of Talbagha, and states that he was given charge of Tirhut by Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh before the latter left for Delhi, after the conquest of that region.<sup>3</sup> One more link in the career of Malik Tāju'd-Duwal Aḥmad is now supplied by the present epigraph, according to which he was governor of Mahoba in A.H. 722.<sup>4</sup> This fact is also extremely important in indicating the extent of the Tughluq authority in Bundelkhand.

<sup>1</sup> K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljīs* (Allahābad, 1950), pp. 341, 361; Ridawī, *Khaljī-kālīn Bhārat* (Aligarh, 1955), pp. 135, 136, 209, 211, 212, 225; Mahdī Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

<sup>3</sup> 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 406. Incidentally, among the modern authors, only Mahdī Ḥusain mentions this fact.

<sup>4</sup> While editing the Junagadh inscription of Tāju'd-Duwal Aḥmad dated A.H. 726, sometime back, I had suggested as somewhat likely that he might be identical with the Mahoba governor. But at that time I had not been able to decipher the father's name Talbagha in the Mahoba record. Now, in case the doubtfully read name Ayāz in the Junagadh inscription (*ELAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 90), is found correct, as is very likely the case, Tāju'd-Dīn of the Mahoba epigraph would be different. In that case, it would mean that the Mahoba official had either expired or received another title by the time Junagadh inscription was set up in A.H. 726, i.e. within four years of his Mahoba assignment.

# INSCRIPTIONS OF THE QUTB SHAHI KINGS

BY M. F. KHAN

It is at the suggestion of Dr. Z. A. Desai, the editor of this journal, that I have selected for study in this article such Qutb Shāhī inscriptions as are on the record in our office. A number of epigraphs of these rulers were earlier published by Major T. W. Haig, Dr. G. Yazdānī, Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, 'Alī Asghar Bilgrāmī, Khwāja Muḥammad Aḥmad and Dr. Z. A. Desai, in the previous issues of this series and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

Out of these eight inscriptions, two each represent the reigns of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and Muḥammad Qutb Shāh, and the remaining four pertain to the time of 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh. These epigraphs are important both historically and palaeographically and are studied here in chronological order.

The first two records belong to the same monument and are therefore identical in purport. They were first discovered by my colleague, Shri S. A. Rahim, Epigraphical Assistant, on the gateways of a ruined mosque at Gazinagar, now a petty village of no importance in Devarkonda tāluka, in the Nalgonda district of Andhra Pradesh. Both the epigraphs purport that the mosque, designated in one of them as *Bait-i-Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāhī* (lit. house of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh), was constructed in 1576-77. But in neither record, the name of the builder of the mosque is quoted.

The first of the two is carved on a slab measuring 1.47 m. by 33 cm. fixed over the eastern gateway.<sup>2</sup> Its text comprises the First Creed, as modified by the Shī'as and a tradition of the Prophet, inscribed in the middle panel in six lines, and two verses engraved in two lines each in the side panels, which record that the mosque, built through the will of God, was named the house of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and that it was A.H. 984 (1576-77 A.D.), when the construction took place. The date is given in words. The style of writing is *Nasḥ* of no particular merit.

## TEXT

### Plate VI (a)

#### (a) Right panel.

(۱) این مسجد معموره بناء شد از خواست الهی  
(۲) نام نهاده شد بیت ابراهیم قطبشاهی

#### (b) Middle panel.

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد  
(۲) رسول الله على ولي الله

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1907-08, pp. 23-28; *ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 48-55, 57, pls. XVII a & b, XVIII a & b, XIX a & b, XX a; *ibid.*, 1915-16, pp. 19-40, pls. Va & b, VI a & b, IX b, X a & b; *ibid.*, 1917-18, pp. 48-55, pls. XVIII c, XIX a & b, XX a & b, XXI, XXII, XXIII a & b; *ibid.*, 1925-26, pp. 23-24, 26-27, pls. X b, XI a, XII; *ibid.*, 1935-36, pp. 61-62, pl. XXXIX; *ibid.*, 1937-38, p. 49, pl. XVII a; *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 23-33, pls. VII b, IX a & b, X b; S.A.A. Bilgrāmī, *Landmarks of the Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1927) and Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Waḡi'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijāpūr*, vol. III (Agra, 1915).

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1963-64, No. D, 17.



(۳) قال النبي صلى الله عليه و

(۴) سلم من تكلم كلام الدنيا

(۵) في المسجد احبط الله من عمل

(۶) ببكة سبعين سنة

(c) Left panel.

(۱) ز نهصد فزون بود هشتاد چار

(۲) بسمع هوش بشنو ای هوش دار

#### TRANSLATION

(a)(1) This well populated mosque was built by the divine will.

(2) It was designated *Bait-i-Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāhī*.

(b)(1) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is

(2) the Prophet of Allāh, 'Alī is the Friend of Allāh.

(3) Said the Prophet, on him be Allāh's blessings and

(4) peace, 'He who talks of worldly affairs

(5-6) in the mosque, Allāh renders all the good deeds he may have done at Mecca for seventy years'.

(c)(1) It (i.e. the date) was eightyfour above nine hundred (A.H. 984=1576-77 A.D.).

(2) Remember this, O sensible person with the ear of sense !

The second inscription, appears above the southern gate of the same mosque<sup>1</sup> and also contains a tradition of the Prophet, different from above but commonly found in mosque epigraphs, and the date in figure, in the middle panel and one verse in each of the side panels. The style of writing of the Arabic text is *Thulūṭh* and that of the Persian, *Nasta'liq*. It will be observed that the calligraphy of this epigraph is much superior to that of the preceding one.

The tablet measures 1-36 m. by 30 cm. Its text is quoted below :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate VI (b)

(a) Middle panel.

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) على ولي الله حقا حقا و ان

(۳) المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(۴) سنه ۹۸۴

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 18.

QUTB SHĀHI INSCRIPTIONS  
( PLATES VI-IX )

(a) Epigraph of the time of Ibrāhīm, dated A.H. 984, Gazingar (p. 27)



SCALE : .12

(b) Another version of the same inscription (p. 28)



SCALE : .13



PLATE VII

(a) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1045, of 'Abdu'llāh, Hyderabad (p. 31)



SCALE : .14

(b) Inscription registering an endowment, same place (p. 34)



SCALE : .4

(c) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1011, of Muḥammad Qulī, Medak (p. 29)



SCALE : .09

(b) Right and left panels.

(۱) کشاده باد بدولت همیشه این درگاه  
 بحق اشهد ان لا اله الا الله  
 (۲) هر کس که به اخلاص درین مسجد در آید  
 هر چیز که خواهند از خدا جمله برآید

TRANSLATION

(a)(1) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh (and)

(2) 'Alī is the friend of Allāh, for certain. 'And verily,

(3) the mosques are for Allāh (only); hence invoke not any one else with Allāh.<sup>1</sup>

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

(b)(1) May this threshold remain always open, by the grace of God and through the blessing of (the Creed) 'I bear witness that there is no god but Allāh'!

(2) He who enters this mosque, through sincerity of heart, whatever he wishes, gets from God.

The name of the builder is not quoted in the above records. But from the Shiite First Creed, quoted in both the epigraphs, he appears to have professed the *Shī'a* creed.

The third inscription to be studied here is an important record of the time of Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh. It occurs on the side of a bastion, towards east, of the Bālā-Ḥigār fort of Medak, a *tāluka*-headquarters in the district of the same name, in Andhra Pradesh.<sup>2</sup> Situated in 18°3' N. and 78°26' E., this one-time strongly fortified town formed part of the ancient kingdom of the Rāja of Warangal. In 1309, Malik Kāfūr, the famous general of 'Alāu'd-Din Khaljī, marched with a large army against the Rāja and took Medak.<sup>3</sup> In the second half of the 14th century, it was part of the Bahmanī dominion, and subsequently passed on to the Qutb Shāhī dynasty in the time of Jamshīd Qutb Shāh in 1545.<sup>4</sup>

This epigraph was first noticed by Bashīr'u'd-Dīn Aḥmad, who did not illustrate it. His reading is very faulty. He read مندر for میدک and also failed to read the portion containing the date in words.<sup>5</sup> The huge epigraphical tablet, measuring 2.10 m. by 35 cm., contains only one line of text, comprising, what is evidently intended to be, two Persian verses,<sup>6</sup> which do not appear to bring any credit to the composer. The style of writing, likewise, is *Thulth* of no particular merit, except that it is remarkable for its boldness. The epigraph records that the bastion of Medak was completed in the month of Rabi' I 1011 (August-September 1602), during the reign of Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh and that it was constructed by Aḥmad.

Its text is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate VII(c)

بنا کرد احمد بتاريخ ربيع الاول ماه  
 در ایام سلطان محمد قلی قطب شاه  
 هجری محمد علیه الصلوة علیه السلام  
 هزار و شش پنجاه و سه ماه برج میدک شد تمام

<sup>1</sup> Qur'ān, chapter LXXVII, verse 18.

<sup>2</sup> ARIE, 1963-64, No. D, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. XVII (Oxford, 1908), p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> Bashīr'u'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 645.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. takes it to be in prose.



## TRANSLATION

Aḥmad constructed, in the month of Rabī'u'l-Awwal, during the days of Sultān Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh.

(In the year of) the Migration of (the Prophet) Muḥammad, peace and salutation be on him, one thousand, six and five years, the bastion of Medak was completed (Rabī'u'l-Awwal 1011=August-September 1602).

We have no information about Aḥmad, the builder of the bastion of Medak, whose name even would have remained in oblivion but for this record, but there is a strong possibility that he was an official. The epigraph thus provides important piece of information about the history of the construction of the Medak fort.

The fourth inscription of the article is an unpublished record of the same king. Its tablet which is unfortunately fragmentary, was found lying loose in the Khazāna building at Golconda, and on examination by Dr. Z. A. Desai in the course of a visit to the fort, was found to contain a *farmān* of Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, recording the grant of 30 *bigḥas* of land to a saintly family. It only quotes the dynasty-name Qutbu'l-Mulk for the king.<sup>1</sup>

The epigraphical tablet, measuring 30 by 32 cm., contains a record of six lines in Persian, executed in *Nasta'liq* characters of a fairly high order. It will be seen that the upper part of the slab is inscribed with a three-pronged figure, which may stand for the hand-impression found on certain categories of royal letters.

The text has been read as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate VIII(a)

- (۱) چون یک قطعه زمین بموجب  
 (۲) فرمان محمد قلی قطب الملک ادا  
 (۳) ضی سی بیگه زمین باسم سیادت پناه(?)  
 (۴) حسنعلی عرب فرزند میران(?) سید یوسف  
 (۵) مخدوم جهانیان نیک سامان .....  
 (۶) محدود است کسی مزاحم گردد طلاق است

## TRANSLATION

- (1) Since a piece of land, in accordance with  
 (2) the order (*farmān*) of Muḥammad Qulī Qutbu'l Mulk,  
 (3) measuring thirty *bigḥas*, (was allotted) in the name of the asylum of chiefship (i.e. Sayyid),  
 (4) Ḥasan 'Alī 'Arab, son of Mirān (?) Sayyid Yūsuf  
 (5) Makhdūm Jahāniyān, of pious actions.....  
 (6) bounded, whosoever obstructs (the aforesaid person), will run the risk of divorce.

I am not in a position to say anything about the persons mentioned in the record. The text, being unfortunately incomplete, does not contain the usual details regarding the

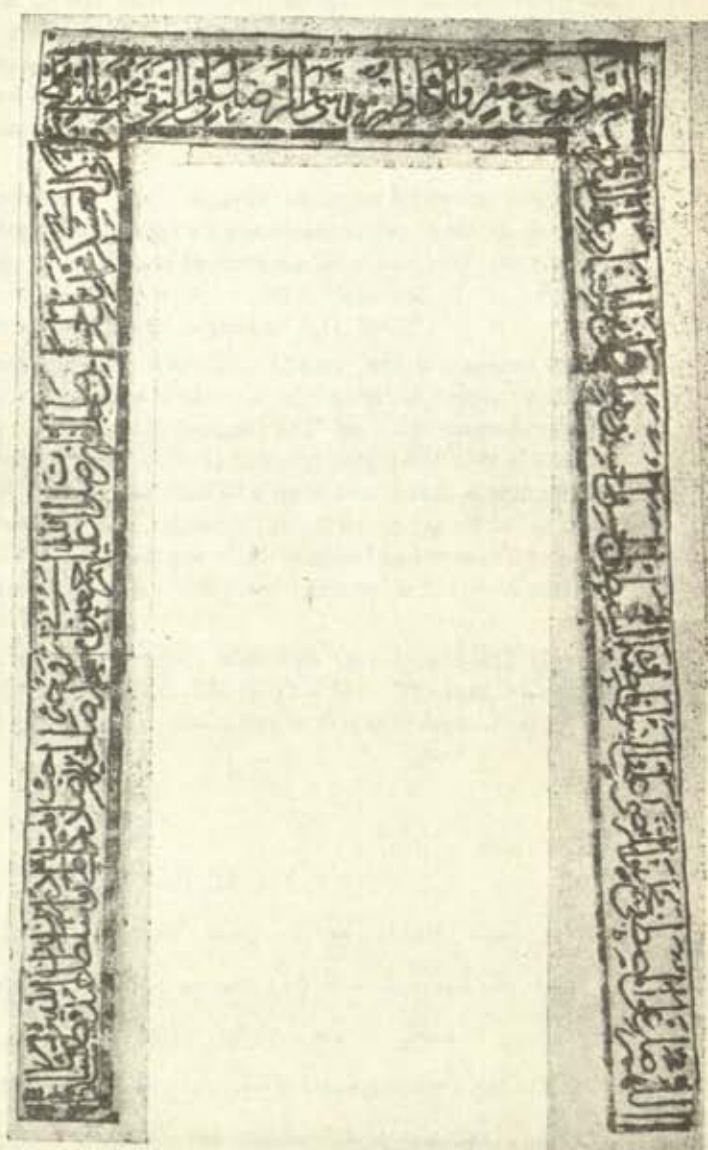
<sup>1</sup> ARIE, 1958-59, No. D, 1.

(a) Grant of Muḥammad Qulī regarding land, Golconda (p. 30)



SCALE : .2

(b) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1069, of the time of 'Abdu'llāh, Hyderabad (p. 34)



SCALE : .08



1900

The first of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured.

The second of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very cold, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very cold, and the crops were much injured.

The third of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured.

The fourth of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very cold, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very cold, and the crops were much injured.

The fifth of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured.

village or town where the land was situated, the family background of the grantee, the purpose of the grant, etc.

The fifth inscription of this study is one of the four records pertaining to the reign of 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh. Its tablet is fixed over the main entrance of the Muhiyū'd-Daula mosque, locally called Ḥusainī Masjid, which is architecturally an insignificant building, situated in the Kūcha-i-Nasīm in Machhlī Kamān at Hyderabad.<sup>1</sup>

Attention to the presence of two interesting inscriptions, each, on this mosque as well as another one situated in the neighbourhood, as will be mentioned shortly, was first drawn by the late Sayyid 'Alī Asghar Bilgrāmī in his book on the archaeological remains of Hyderabad city and suburbs entitled *Landmarks of the Deccan*, published in 1927. But unfortunately, he did not notice the inscriptions of both the mosques in full or in detail. Moreover, his reading, probably noted from memory, was not accurate either. Nevertheless, to him goes the credit of discovering these records.

The Ḥusainī-Masjid, which is otherwise a small mosque of no architectural merit, has its central *mihrāb* built wholly of black basalt. It bears two inscriptions: one is above the main entrance of the mosque and the other on the three sides of the rectangular frame enclosing the said niche. Bilgrāmī who has only quoted the concluding portion, which is historical, of the second of these two inscriptions, has misread the date as A.H. 1046 instead of A.H. 1045.<sup>2</sup>

The tablet fixed over the main entrance measures 1.20 m. by 43 cm. and is inscribed with a four-line text which begins with a Quranic verse and ends with a tradition of the Prophet and also contains a Persian fragment of five couplets. The writing is signed and dated by the calligrapher, viz. Mir 'Alī, son of Mir 'Alī Jān Mashhadī. While there is nothing very particular about the poetry of these verses, though it is certainly better than that of a good many such epigraphs, its style of writing is decidedly of a very good order. As a matter of fact, it was in regard to the calligraphical aspect of the other inscription on this very mosque that Bilgrāmī had occasion to point out that record. The style is a fine specimen of *Nashk* which should determine the position of its master, Mir 'Alī, among the calligraphists of first rank.

The epigraph states that in the reign of the just king 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh, Ḥājī Ḥusainī constructed the mosque, through Divine guidance, in A.H. 1045 (1635 A.D.). The text, which was written on the 22nd Rabi' I of the said year (26th August, 1635), has been read as under:—

## TEXT

## Plate VII (a)

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

در عهد بادشاه جوان بخت کامران	قطبشهان پناه امم ظل کردگار
عبد الله آن سپهر سخا (۲) شاه جم نشان	سلطان با عدالت و دارای با وقار
حاجی حسینی انکه بتوفیق ایزدی	در خمس و اربعین ز هجرت پس از هزار
کرد این (۳) بنای مسجد با فیض روح بخش	بهر امید انکه خدا در گه شمار
اندر بهشت خانه سازد عطا باو	زیرا که این حدیث ز احمد شد آشکار

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Bilgrāmī, *Landmarks of the Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1927), pp. 53-54, f.n.1.

<sup>3</sup> It is surprising that this beautiful inscription should contain this orthographical mistake. The correct phrase is either *به او* or *باو*.



(۴) من بنی مسجدا لله بنی الله له بیتا فی الجنة کتبه العبد میر علی ابن میر علی جان  
مشهدی یست دوم شهر ربیع الاول سنه ۱۰۴۵

## TRANSLATION

(1) 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh; hence invoke not any one else with Allāh'.<sup>1</sup>

During the reign of the most fortunate and successful king, Quṭb (i.e. the pole-star) among the *Shāhs* (i.e. monarchs), the refuge of the people, the shadow of God,

'Abdu'llāh, that sky of generosity,

(2) the king who puts Jamshīd on the throne, a just sovereign and a dignified Daraius,

Hājī Ḥusainī who by Divine guidance, in (the year) five and forty of Migration after one thousand, laid this

(3) foundation of the bountiful and soul-nourishing mosque, in the hope that God may, at the time of reckoning (on the day of judgment),

bestow on him a house in Paradise, because this saying has been quoted of (the Prophet) Aḥmad, (viz.)

(4) 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise'. Written by the humble creature, Mir 'Ali, son of Mir 'Ali Jān Maṣḥhadī, (on the) 22nd of the month of Rabī'u'l-Awwal, 1045 (26th August 1635).

It is not possible to establish the identity of the calligrapher, but according to Mr. Bilgrāmī, it was also this Mir 'Ali who designed the Quranic inscription occurring on the Raḥīm Khān's mosque, in Hyderabad, which was built in A.H. 1053 (1643-44 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> Though, in the absence of an illustration it is difficult either to accept or reject this identification, the time factor is in its favour. But Mr. Bilgrāmī is definitely wrong to state that our Mir 'Ali was a contemporary of Mir 'Aliu'l-Kātib and Mir 'Ali Tabrizī.<sup>3</sup> Mir 'Aliu'l-Kātib, who is, incidentally, identical with Mir 'Ali Tabrizī, flourished more than two centuries earlier. Even Mir 'Ali Hirawī had died in A.H. 924.<sup>4</sup>

The other epigraph on the Ḥusainī-Masjid, which forms the sixth record of this study, is carved in one line along the three sides of the rectangular frame of the central *mihrāb*.<sup>5</sup> The top side has one additional line above, containing a famous tradition of the Prophet about offering prayers and repentance before it is too late. The major part of the text is taken up by the Shiite *durūd*, and it is towards the end that the historical portion occurs. This comprises what I take to be a hemistich in Arabic, containing the name of the builder, followed by the name of the scribe Mir 'Ali and the date.

This inscription was also referred to by Mr. Bilgrāmī in his work. But the historical portion quoted by him is not the correct rendering of this epigraph. According to him, the said portion reads: In the year 1046 A. H. Written by the servant Mir Ali and Haji Mubarak. The Hussaini Mosque.<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Bilgrāmī has thus confused the words of the text. From the reading quoted below, it will be observed that the text mentions Mir 'Ali as the scribe independently. It gives the name

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXVII, verse 18.

<sup>2</sup> *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 48; Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 54, f.n.2.

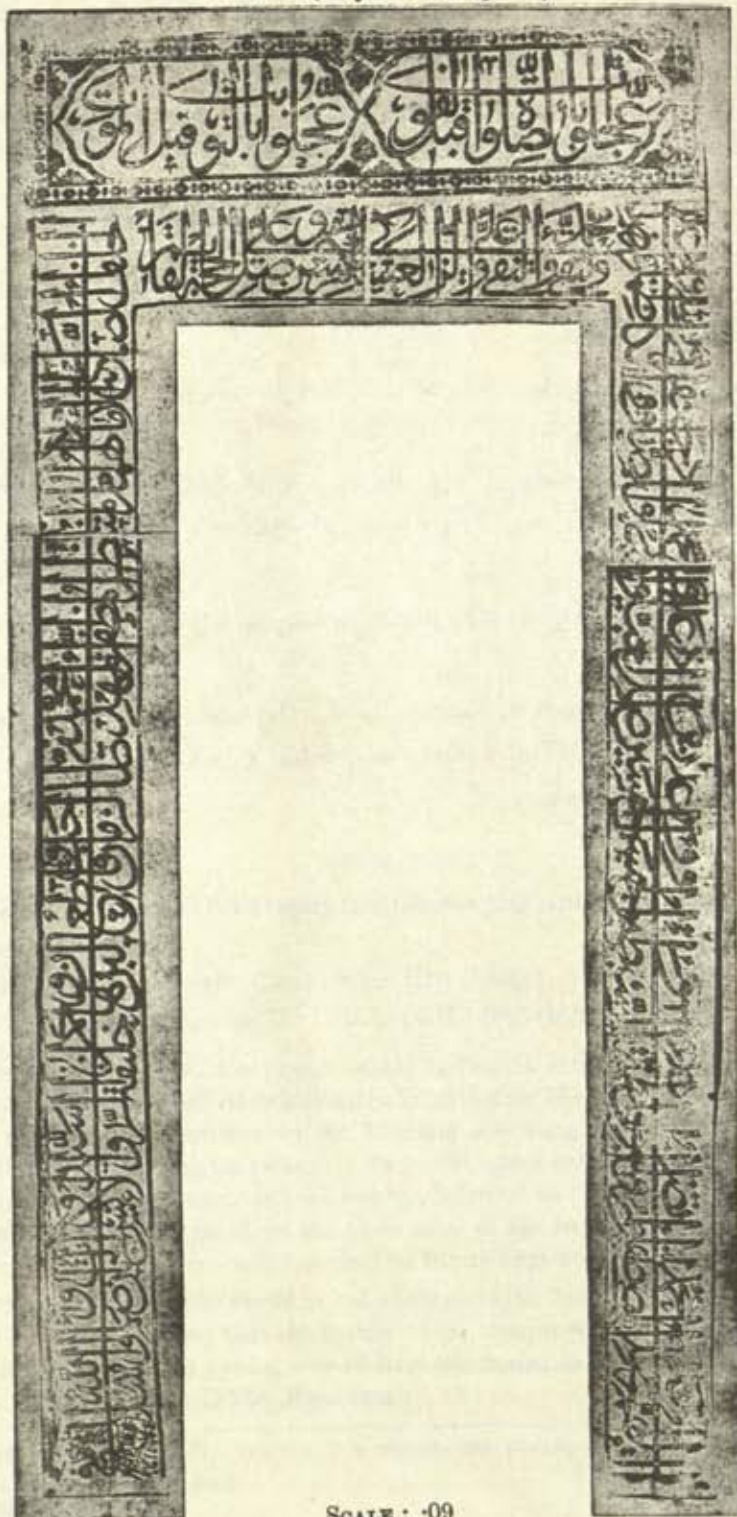
<sup>3</sup> Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Abu'l-Faḍl, *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Eng. tr. H. Blochmann (Calcutta, 1927), p. 108 and f.n.8.

<sup>5</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 2.

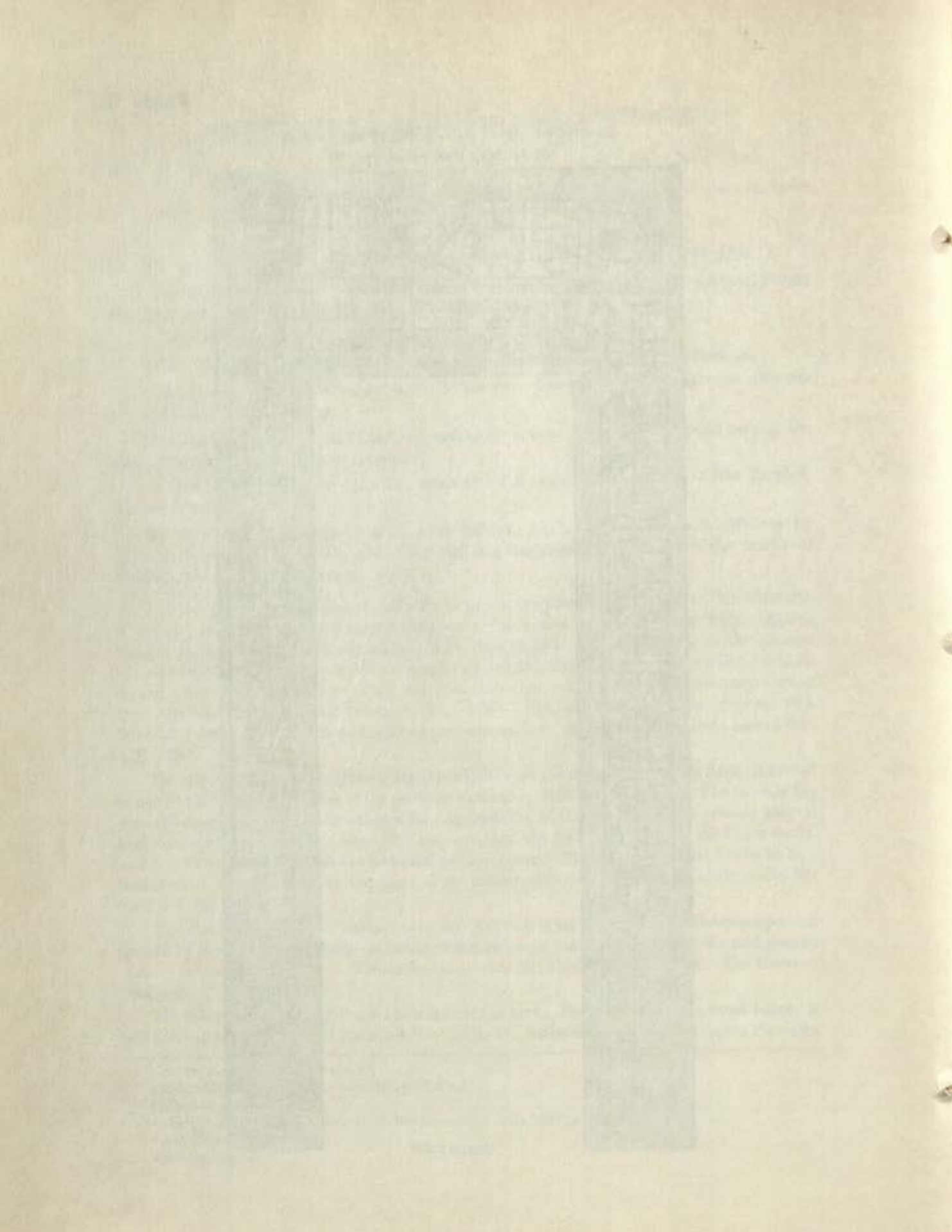
<sup>6</sup> Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*

Inscription, dated A.H. 1045, of the time of  
'Abdu'llāh, Hyderabad (p. 33)



SCALE : -09





of Hājī Husainī along with the mosque, of which he was the builder. The correct reading of the date is, likewise, A.H. 1045 and not 1046.

The text occupies the writing space of 1.88 m. by 16 cm. each on the right and left sides, and 90 by 18 and 70 by 15 cm. on the top side, of the prayer-niche. It provides, particularly in the portion containing the Shiite *durūd*, an excellent specimen of *Thulth* writing while, the part containing the names of the builder and the scribe is inscribed in *Naskh* which is not so exquisite.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate IX

(a) Top side, upper line.

عجلوا با لصلوة قبل الفوت عجلوا بالتوبت قبل الموت

(b) Right side.

اللهم صل على محمد المصطفى و على المرتضى و البتول فاطمه و السبطين الحسن و الحسين و صل على زين العباد و على الباقر محمد و الصادق جعفر و الكاظم موسى و الرضا على

(c) Top side, lower line.

و التقي محمد و التقي على و الزكي العسكري حسن و صل على الحجة القائمة

(d) Left side.

الخلف الصالح الامام الهمام و المنتظر المظفر المهدي محمد صاحب الزمان و قاطع البرهان و خليفة الرحمن و سيد الانس و الجان صلوات الله و سلام لمسجد مبارك و حاجي حسين كته العبد مير على في ١٠٣٥

TRANSLATION

(a) Hasten with prayer before its expiry (and) hasten with repentance before death (overtakes).

(b-d) Shiite *durūd* in full.

Verily, the mosque is auspicious, and (so be) Hājī Husainī.

Written by the humble creature, Mīr 'Alī, in (A.H.) 1045 (1635 A.D.).

The seventh inscription of the present study is from a mosque called Qutb Shāhī-Masjid which is situated near the Gandī-Bāoli lane in the Irānī Gali, in Hyderabad, not far from the above mosque. It was also first mentioned by Mr. Bilgrāmī, according to whom, 'the excellence of its calligraphy, justifies its placing on record'.<sup>2</sup> As in the case of the other mosque, there are two epigraphs here, both on the central *mihrāb*, but Mr. Bilgrāmī had noticed only one. The larger of the two inscriptions is engraved on the three sides of the rectangular frame of the *mihrāb*,<sup>3</sup> and the other, occupying less space, is inscribed on the architrave above the same *mihrāb*.<sup>4</sup>

The former consists of Shiite *durūd* in a slightly abridged form than in the previous epigraph and a line in Persian purporting that the builder of the mosque which was completed in the reign of 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh, was Sāliha, wife of Bāre Sāhib and daughter of Dargāh Qulī. It was written in A. H. 1069 (1658 A.D.) by Muḥammad 'Alī.

<sup>1</sup> The word looks like المسجد, but the | is nothing but the top shaft of | of با in مبارك.

<sup>2</sup> Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54, f.n.1.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. D, 4.



This inscription also furnishes a fine specimen of calligraphical style in mural records. The script is *Thulth* of a high order. The text, which occupies a writing space of 1.75 m. by 16 cm. on the right and left sides each, and 1.05 m. by 16 cm. on the top side, of the prayer-niche, has been deciphered as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate VIII (b)

## (a) Right side.

اللهم صل على المصطفى محمد و المرتضى على و البتول فاطمه و السبطين الحسن و الحسين و صل على زين العباد و على الباقر محمد

## (b) Top side.

و الصادق جعفر و الكاظم موسى و الرضا على و التقى محمد و التقى على

## (c) Left side.

و الزكى العسكرى محمد بن الحسن صاحب الزمان صلوات الله عليهم اجمعين باني مسجد صالحه زوجة بريساحب بنت درگاه قلى در زمان سلطان عبد الله قطيشاه تمام شد كتبه محمد على  
سنه ۱۰۶۹

## TRANSLATION

(a-c) Shiite *durūd*. The builder of the mosque (is) Sāliha, wife of Bāre Sāhib (and) daughter of Dargāh Qulī. It was completed during the reign of Sultān 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh. Written by Muḥammad 'Alī, (in the) year (A.H.) 1069 (1658 A.D.).

The other inscription on the mosque is inscribed in *Naskh* of no particular merit, on the architrave above the central *mihrāb*. Running into one line of Persian prose, this important record registers the grant of some property as endowment for the maintenance of the mosque. It states that the income from the garden of the mosque was to be used for the stipends of the *mu'adhdhin* (caller-to-prayer) and *farrāsh* (sweeper) and for the prayer-carpet, oil for lamp, and repairs of reservoir. It ends with an imprecation against any one seeking to interfere with the bequest. No trace of the garden, mentioned in the text, which must have originally enclosed the mosque, remains today. As a matter of fact, the land around is taken up by residential houses.

The text, which occupies a writing space of 45 by 7 cm., has been deciphered as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate VII (b)

حاصل باغ مسجد جهت وتليفه موزن و قراش و حصير و روغن چراغ و حوض وضو(؟)  
وقف نموده شد هر كه تخلف ورزد و مانع گردد لعنت خدا بر او

## TRANSLATION

The income accruing from the garden of the mosque has been endowed for meeting the expenditure in respect of the salaries of the caller-to-prayer and the sweeper, prayer-mats, oil for lamp, and (repairs of) the cistern of water for ablution. Whosoever disobeys or interferes, the curse of God will be upon him!

## INSCRIPTIONS OF JAHANGIR IN THE PATNA DISTRICT

By DR. Q. AHMAD

The political history of the Mughal period being well-known in its general outlines, the utility of inscriptions as a supplementary source of information for the period is, comparatively, limited. But the same cannot be said about the history of some of the outlying provinces of the Mughal kingdom.

Our knowledge of the political history of Bihar, for example, is, at best, sketchy. For some periods, we have only the names of the provincial governors, and even this is not quite true for the whole period. Therefore, in so far as some of the inscriptions help to fill some minor detail of the provincial history, they are important. They also provide us with some details about the career of the provincial governors and other officials. These details, along with such other information as is available in the contemporary chronicles, enable us to determine their career a little more fully and precisely. It is from this point of view that the present inscriptions of the time of Jahāngīr have been studied in this article.

Among the Mughal emperors, Jahāngīr is fairly well represented by his extant inscriptions in Bihar. We know of ten inscriptions of his, of which five are found in the district of Patna (four being in Patna city itself) and five, at other places.<sup>1</sup> The present article deals with the first five epigraphs, leaving the rest for some subsequent occasion.

Palaeographically, they do not present much of a problem, all of them having been inscribed in fair and bold *Nasta'liq*. While all these epigraphs have been listed in the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*, three of them were also published and translated into English some time back. But the published readings are not always free from mistakes, and on some points, they suffer from serious errors.<sup>2</sup> Also, no attempt was made to identify the persons concerned or to collect such information about them as is available in contemporaneous chronicles. In this article, I propose to offer improved readings of the texts and relevant information about the personages mentioned therein. It will thus add a little more substance to the shadowy outlines of their career as we know at present.

### I-II. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 1023 & 1025, FROM PATNA

These epigraphs come from Mirzā Ma'sūm's mosque. This mosque is the earliest dated monument of the Mughal period in Patna city. It is situated on the main road, near the Pachchhim-Darwāza in Mahalla-Guzrī.<sup>3</sup> Its full view is obstructed by the various shops situated in its *kaṭra*, but one gets a fine view of this beautiful three domed mosque, once he enters through the richly carved and polished door-frame of black basalt, on the northern side. The door-frame as well as the two top steps leading thereto are decorated with fine flowered carvings. These slabs belonged, perhaps, to some ancient local palace or temple. According to Syed Mohammad, who published the text of this epigraph, these probably belonged to Gaur in Malda district of West Bengal.<sup>4</sup> In this connection, it may be mentioned that the undated Hājī Tātār mosque, situated

<sup>1</sup> For these, see *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1955-56, Nos. D, 60, 71, 83, 94, 102 and *ibid.*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 7, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Syed Mohammad, 'Old Muslim Inscription at Patna', *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (JBORS)*, vol. XVI (1930), pp. 327-422 and M. H. Kuraishi, 'A note on Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna', *JBORS*, vol. XVIII (1932), pp. 45-47.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 94.

<sup>4</sup> Mohammad, *op. cit.*, p. 342.



in Mahalla-Hājiganj, also has some strips of similarly carved stone along its front wall and the central arch.

There are three inscriptions in the mosque, of which the one in Persian verse is historical and the other two, in Arabic, contain Quranic text; one of the latter is also dated<sup>1</sup> and is studied next. The Persian inscription is engraved on a slab measuring 1 m. by 67 cm., which is fixed above the central arch in the facade. Its text runs as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate X(a)

(۱) بدور شاه جهانگیر میرزا معصوم  
(۲) ساخت مسجد جامع بقیص باد رفیق  
(۳) چو سال او ز خرد خواستم ز هاتف غیب  
(۴) ندا رسید که بیت العتیق شد تحقیق

## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of emperor Jahāngir, Mīrzā Mā'sūm  
(2) built a Jāmi' mosque. May it be associated with bounty!  
(3) When I sought the date of its (construction) from the Angel of the Unseen,  
(4) a voice called out, 'Verily, it is (like) the Old House (i.e. Ka'ba)'!

The chronogram contained in the last line, when worked out, yields A.H. 1023 (1614-15 A.D.).

The dated Arabic record referred to above contains Quranic text enjoining the observance of the Friday prayer and is dated A.H. 1025. It is inscribed in three lines in *Naskh*-cum-*Thulth*, on a slab of stone, measuring 64 by 52 cm., which is fixed above the central *mihrāb*.<sup>2</sup> Its calligraphy is of a fairly high order. The text reads as under:—

## TEXT

## Plate X(b)

(۱) یا ایها الذین آمنوا اذا نودی للصلوة من يوم الجمعة فاسعوا  
(۲) الی ذکر الله و ذروا البیع ذلکم خیر لکم ان کنتم تعلمون  
(۳) فاذا قضیت الصلوة فانتشروا فی الارض و ابتغوا من فضل الله سنة ۱۰۲۵

## TRANSLATION

- (1-3) *Qur'ān*, chapter LXII, part of verses 9-10. Year (A.H.) 1025 (1616 A.D.).

It will be observed that the Persian epigraph is dated A.H. 1023, but the Arabic one is dated two years later. This may be taken to mean that the mosque was commenced in A.H. 1023 (1614-15 A.D.) and was completed after about two years.<sup>3</sup>

The main point of interest in the epigraph is the builder of the mosque, Mīrzā Ma'sūm. Several persons bearing this name are mentioned in some of the contemporary historical works.

<sup>1</sup> The undated Arabic inscription contains Quranic text (chapter III, part of verse 39).

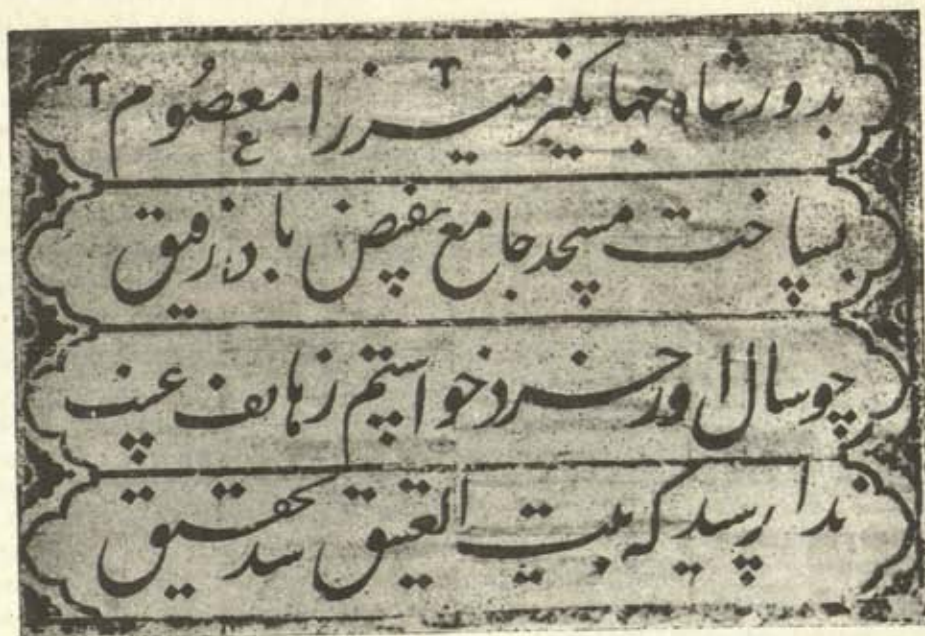
<sup>2</sup> *ARIE* 1955-56, No. D, 95 and Mohammad, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Mohammad, *op. cit.*, p. 342, thinks that the later date may refer to the completion of the work inside the hall.

INSCRIPTIONS OF JAHĀNGĪR

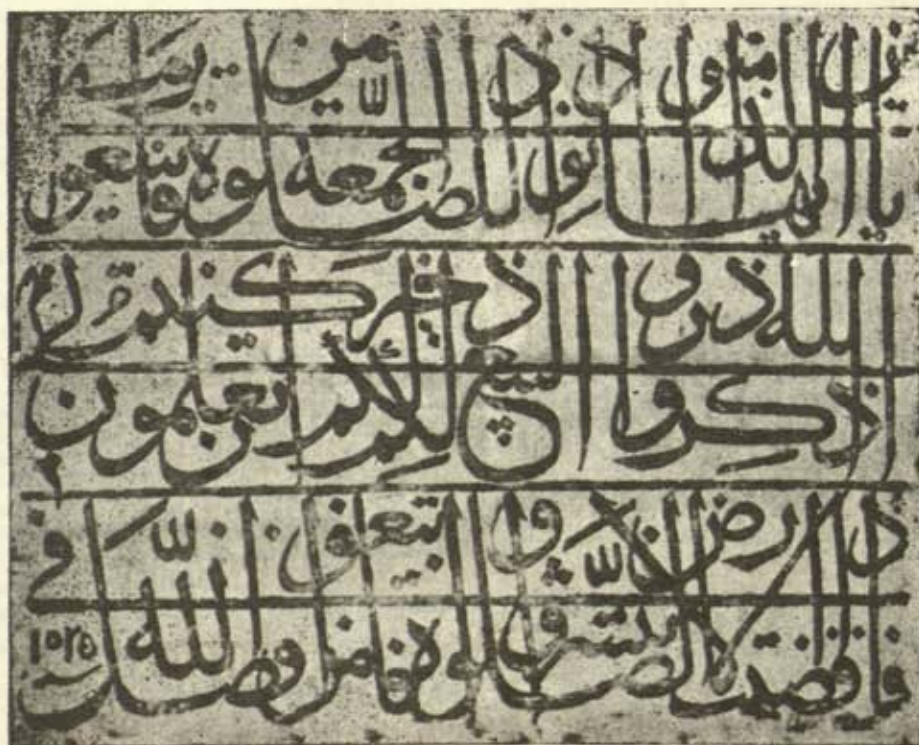
( PLATES X—XII )

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 1023, from Patna (p. 36)



SCALE : .12

(b) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1025, same place (p. 36)





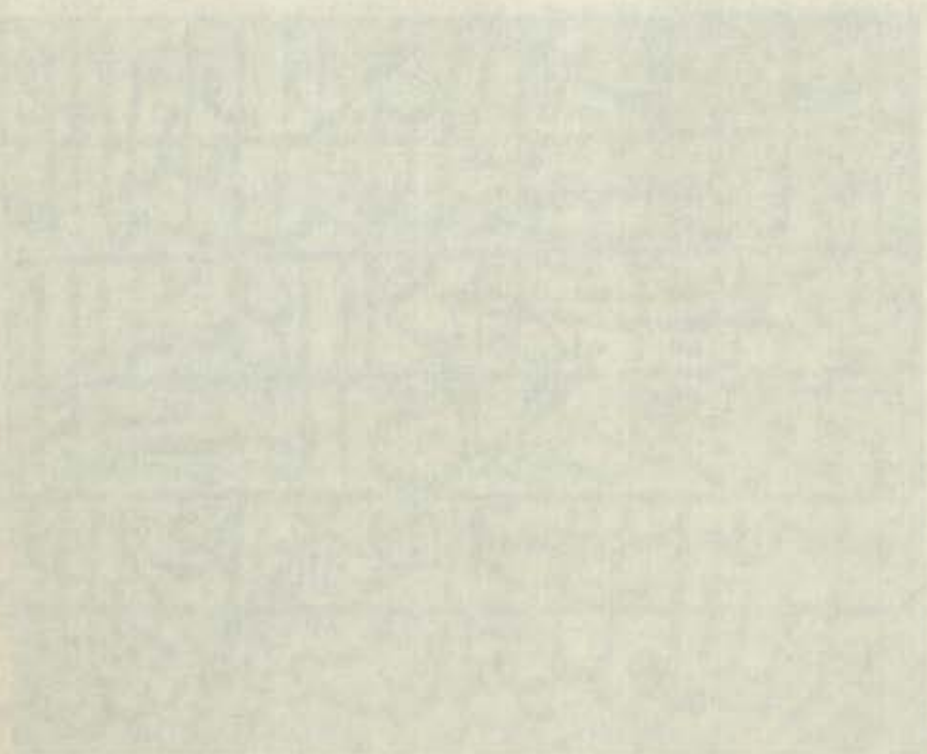
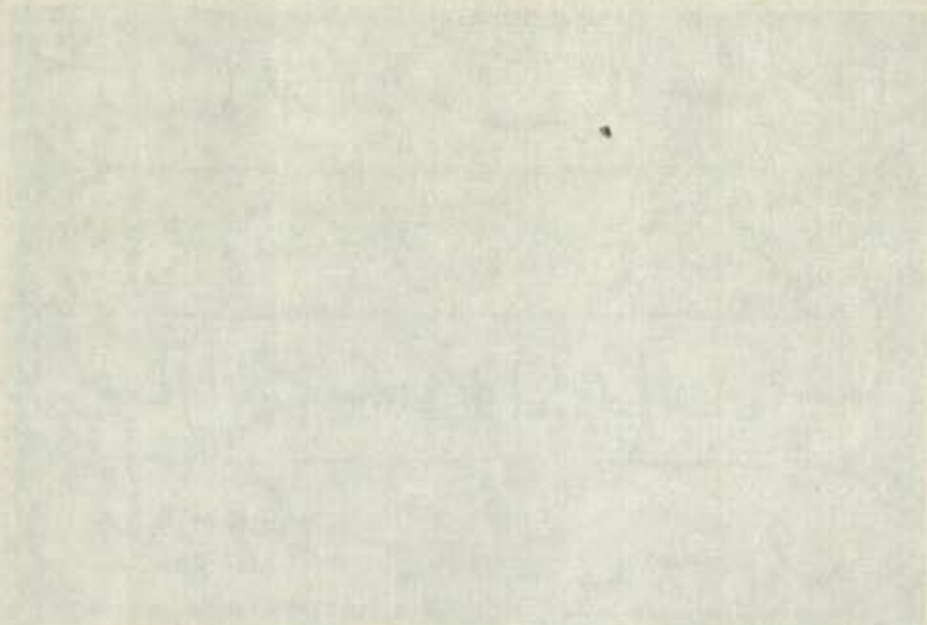
# THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

BY JAMES M. SMITH, LL.D., OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

NEW YORK: THE CENTRAL BOOK CONCERN, 1894

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



The *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī* of Mirzā Nathan alone, mentions six persons of this name,<sup>1</sup> but only one of them, viz. Ma'sūm Khāfi (Khwāfi),<sup>2</sup> bears the significant prefix of Mirzā.<sup>3</sup> The various references about him in the above work also make it probable that he was the builder of the mosque.

As related by Mirzā Ma'sūm himself to Mirzā Nathan, he was a relation of Shamsu'd-Dīn Khān Khwāfi,<sup>4</sup> the *dīwān* and, later on, the *vazīr* of Akbar. Mirzā Ma'sūm and his father met him at Gujarat, after they had been robbed and had suffered some other disasters which rendered them penniless and without shelter. Shamsu'd-Dīn helped them generally, and soon after, probably through his recommendation, they entered Imperial service. Shamsu'd-Dīn was later on transferred to Bihar, and he was one of the important imperial officers captured by the rebels, during the great uprising of 1580-81. He somehow escaped from their clutches and sought shelter with Rājā Sangrām Singh of Kharagpūr.<sup>5</sup> It is quite likely that Mirzā Ma'sūm too came to Bihar along with his distinguished relation and patron.

Mirzā Ma'sūm is again referred to in the early years of Jahāngīr's reign. During the course of an expedition sent by Islām Khān, the governor of Bengal, against Bāyazīd Karrānī for the conquest of Sylhet, he found himself in need of some reinforcements and replacement, to guard the capital in the absence of the army. The emperor, accordingly, ordered Afḍal Khān, the governor of Bihar, 'to depute the officers of the province to Islām Khān under the command of Mirzā Imām Qulī Bēg Shāmlū, a brother-in-law of Jahāngīr Qulī Khān, with Sazāwals in their company'.<sup>6</sup> The contingent was duly sent, and it presented itself, within fifteen days, before Islām Khān. He ordered for cash payment of six months' expenses to each of them, and after a week's stay, despatched them with Mirzā Ma'sūm, who was appointed as Sazāwal.<sup>7</sup> It is not quite clear from the above-noted reference, whether Mirzā Ma'sūm was appointed Sazāwal from Bihar itself or later on from Bengal. The former possibility is, however, more likely, since the governor of Bihar was specifically ordered to appoint Sazāwals to accompany the troops, and he must have done so. The fact that the name of the Sazāwal is not mentioned at the first stage, is of not much significance.

Mirzā Ma'sūm rendered distinguished military service in Assam. He was among the various Khāns and Maṣabdārs appointed by Islām Khān for his expedition against Kuch and displayed conspicuous valour in the attack on the fort of Dhubri and also served, from time to time, as a frontier officer of the Mughal empire in the newly conquered areas of Assam. But, after the death of Islām Khān (1613), quarrels grew up between the officers appointed by him, including Mirzā Ma'sūm and those appointed by the new governor to check their muster-rolls. Mirzā Ma'sūm, who was then at Gilhaney, and some others refused to show their muster-rolls and returned to Jahangirnagar (Dacca).<sup>8</sup>

The deputation of Mirzā Ma'sūm from Bihar must have occurred some time between 1603 and 1612, representing the period of the governorship of Afḍal Khān. He returned to Bihar some time after the death of Islām Khān, and it was after his return to Bihar that the mosque was built.

<sup>1</sup> Ma'sūm Khān; Ma'sūm Khān Kābulī, the famous rebel chief of Akbar's time; Ma'sūm Khān, father of Mirzā Mu'min; Ma'sūm Khān Masnad-i-A'lā; Mirzā Ma'sūm Khwāfi; and Shaikh Ma'sūm, son of Naṣīb Khān Turkmān. For them, see Mirzā Nathan, *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī*, Eng. tr. Dr. M. I. Borah, vols. I and II (Gauhati, 1936), pp. 898-99 of Index.

<sup>2</sup> Although it is written as Khāfi in Nathan, *op. cit.*, p. 166, it is actually Khwāfi, i.e. a resident of Khwāf, a place in Khurāsān noted for its distinguished inhabitants.

<sup>3</sup> At some places, the name is also written with the prefix Mir.

<sup>4</sup> Nathan, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-82.

<sup>5</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'aṭṭ-i-Umarā*, vol. I. (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 664-69.

<sup>6</sup> Nathan, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 216, 222, 230, 231, 235, 275, 287, 293, etc.



An interesting reference to Mirzā Ma'gūm is provided in a Manuscript of the collection of letters of Lālā Ujāgar Chānd Gharīb, who flourished in the early part of the 18th century. One of these letters records Guṣrī-Mirzā Ma'gūm as the name of a Maḥalla in the city, which was perhaps the same as the one in which the mosque is situated.<sup>1</sup> It is quite likely that Mirzā Ma'gūm, after his services in Assam, returned to Bihar, built the mosque in Patna and also established a market (Guṣrī) and, perhaps, settled there.

### III. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 1028, FROM PATNA

The third inscription is to be seen over the southern entrance of the domed mausoleum of Shāh Arzānī, situated in the enclosure, popularly called Dargāh.<sup>2</sup> The Dargāh, named after the saint, is the most well-known in the city, being the place of the immersion of Ta'ziyas on the 10th of Muḥarram every year. There is an extensive walled cemetery nearby, containing the tombs of the Sajjāda-Nashīns (spiritual successors of the saint). Small four-walled structures, with or without domes, have been built over these tombs. The mausoleum of Shāh Arzānī, as is to be expected, is the most imposing.<sup>3</sup> It is almost a contemporary structure, which, according to the inscription on the main gate, was built in A. H. 1052 (1642-43 A.D.).<sup>4</sup>

The inscription recording the demise of the saint is carved on a tablet which measures 75 by 40 cm. It comprises two verses in Persian, which are inscribed in *Nasta'liq* of a fairly high order and records, in a chronogram, the date of the death of the saint, who is spoken of as *Qutb-i-Zamān* (the Pole-star of the time). The chronogram yields A. H. 1028 (1618-19 A.D.), which is also quoted in figure.

The text has been read as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XI(b)

(۱) رفت قطب زمان باسائے بریاض بهشت نورائے  
(۲) الله  
(۳) سال فوتش ز فیض ملهم غیب گفت دل شاه جنت اوزائے  
سنه ۱۰۲۸

#### TRANSLATION

(1) The Qutb (Pole-star) of the Age went with ease to the gardens of the Illumined Paradise.

(2) Allāh.

(3) (For) the year of his death, the heart (*Dil*), through the bounty of the Inspirer of the Unseen, said, 'Arzānī (became) the lord of Paradise'. Year (A.H.) 1028 (1618-19 A.D.).

Shāh Arzānī, who was thus a contemporary of emperor Jahāngīr, was an inhabitant of the North West Frontier tribal area. A collection of his Pushtū verses is reported to have existed in the valuable library attached to the Dargāh, but is now missing. Very little is known about

<sup>1</sup> The Manuscript was originally discovered by Professor S. H. Askari (*Hindustan Review*, 1938), and is unfortunately not extant now. I owe the above reference to Professor Askari.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 100; Mohammad, *op. cit.*, p. 343; Kurānī, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> The tomb of Shāh Arzānī also finds mention in a late eighteenth century biographical work, viz. *Gulzar-i-Ibrāhīm* of Ali Ibrāhīm Khān Khālīl (Aligarh, 1934), on page 135.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 101 and Mohammad, *op. cit.*, p. 343.



him. He came to Patna perhaps during Jahāngīr's reign and settled down in what was then an uninhabited area. It is significant that extensive remains of a big Buddhist monastery-cum-hospital have been recently excavated at a site quite nearby. It is likely that as was common with many Sūfī saints, he also settled near the site of a deserted Buddhist monastery.

According to H. Blochmann, Shāh Arzānī died in A.H. 1040 (1630 A.D.) in the time of Shāh Jahān, but this is incorrect.<sup>1</sup> Again according to him, the famous Birbhum saint Shāh 'Abdu'llāh Kirmānī, who is renowned for his power over serpents, went to Bengal at the request of Shāh Arzānī, who gave him a toothpick of jasmīne twig and asked him to remain at the place where the twig would become fresh and green. It was only when Shāh 'Abdu'llāh came to Khushtigri, a village in Birbhum, that the miracle happened.<sup>2</sup> Incidentally, the Dargāh of Shāh Arzānī is also famous for snake-bite cure.

#### IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1036, FROM THE SAME PLACE

The next inscription of the time of Jahāngīr is from the Patthar-ki-Masjid, which is situated just on the main road in the Maḥalla of the same name, midway between Bankipur and the city area. As the name itself indicates, the mosque is built largely of stones which were procured, as the text of the inscription says, from the demolished fort and temple at Majhauī, conquered by the builder of the mosque, viz. Nazar Khwīshgī, an officer under Prince Parvīz, the son of Jahāngīr.

Parvīz succeeded Muqarrab Khān as the governor of Bihar in Jahāngīr's 16th regnal year. He, however, does not seem to have come here at all, or at least stayed only for a short time, for he presented himself before his father in the same year, on hearing of his illness. He again met Jahāngīr in the 18th regnal year.<sup>3</sup>

The tablet containing this epigraph is fixed above the central arch of the facade.<sup>4</sup> It measures 60 by 70 cm. and contains a poetical fragment of five verses inscribed in as many lines and preceded by the First Creed and *Takbīr* contained in three lines. The text, which was composed by one with the poetical name Kharāmī, purports that in the time of Parvīz Shāh, son of Jahāngīr Bādshāh, Nazar Khwīshgī, a staunch follower of the creed of Prophet Muḥammad, built the mosque out of the stone and wood material of the idol-house which, along with the fort of Majhauī, he had destroyed. The date, A.H. 1036 (1626 A.D.), yielded by a chronogram, is also confirmed by figure.

The text, inscribed in *Nasta'liq* of a tolerably good type, reads as follows :—

##### TEXT

##### Plate XI (a)

الله (۱)

اکبر (۲)

(۳) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۴) در عهد نور چشم جهانگیر بادشاه پرویز شاه عادل و باذل بقتل و دای

(۵) کیخسرو زمانه و جمشید سلطنت بر تخت مملکت چو سکندر جهان کشای

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, 1870, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* For an account of the saint, see Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazīnatu'l-Afīyā*, Vol. II (Kanpur, 1902), p. 94 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Jahāngīr, *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad Khān (Aligarh, 1864), pp. 327, 330, 335, 359, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 102. It was first published in the Patna College Magazine (March 1913), p. 95 and subsequently by Mohammad, *op. cit.*, p. 344. The latter's reading was commented upon by Kuraishi, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47 and plate.



(۶) کرد این بنای خاص نظر خویشگی که هست  
 (۷) مسمار ساخت قلعه مجبولى و بتکده  
 (۸) کردم سوال سال بنایش ز پیر عقل  
 در پیروی شرع محمد چو کوه پائے  
 وز سنگ و چوب بتکده شد این نگو بنائے  
 گفتا بگو خرامی خیر المقام جائے  
 سنه ۱۰۳۶

## TRANSLATION

(1-2) Allāh is great !

(3) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is His Prophet.

(4) In the period of the light of Jahāngir's eyes (i.e. son), Parvīz Shāh, the just and generous (and endowed) with reason and judgment,

(5) the Kaiḵhusraw of the Age and the Jamshīd of the kingdom, (who occupies) the throne of the kingdom like the world-conquering Alexander,

(6) this special building was constructed by Nazar Khwīshgī, who in his compliance of the religious code of (Prophet) Muḥammad, is firm like the mountain.

(7) He demolished the fort of Majhaurī and the temple (there), and out of stone and wood of the temple, was built this auspicious structure.

(8) I asked the old man of Wisdom about the year of its construction. He said, "Say, O Kharāmī, 'this place is the best place'." Year (A.H.) 1036 (1626 A.D.).

The third couplet was wrongly read and translated by Syed Mohammad, who having failed to read the name Nazar, missed the name of the builder. He also missed the point that Kharāmī does not form part of the chronogram, but is the pen-name of the composer of the text.<sup>1</sup> We know nothing about Kharāmī, but his above verses do not indicate him to be a poet of much merit.

The builder Nazar Khwīshgī is a well-known figure. He was born and brought up in the town of Qasur near Lahore, and belonged to the Khwīshgī clan of the Afghāns, which is famous for the nobility and integrity of its members. He was one of the chief attendants of Prince Parvīz and held a rank of 1500 in Jahāngir's reign. As a reward for his fidelity and integrity, he was appointed governor of Sambhal sarkār in the second year of Shāh Jahān's reign, and after an eventful life of valour and distinguished service, he died at Lahore in A.H. 1062 (1652 A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

Nazar Khwīshgī was renowned for piety and 'lived like a darvīsh',<sup>3</sup> which shows that the statement in the text about his being a staunch follower of the religion of the Prophet is no empty boast. Like a loyal officer of Parvīz, he mentions his master's name with grandiloquent titles in the inscription of the mosque he had constructed. The phraseology of these titles speaks of Parvīz as Parvīz Shāh, etc., which may strike to some as arrogation of royal titles to himself. But I do not think much significance can be attached to it, in the absence of any other evidence.

But the importance of the inscription lies more in the fact that it furnishes a new piece of information on the career of Nazar Khwīshgī: his conquest of Majhaurī and demolition of the fort. This is all the more important since nothing is known about his earlier career in Bihar. It is only from this inscription that we know of his posting in Bihar. It is a reasonable surmise that Parvīz who did not stay for very long in Bihar of which he was the governor, had appointed him as his deputy. In any case, the present epigraph furnishes the information, not available in contemporary works, that the successful career of Nazar Khwīshgī had its beginning in Bihar.

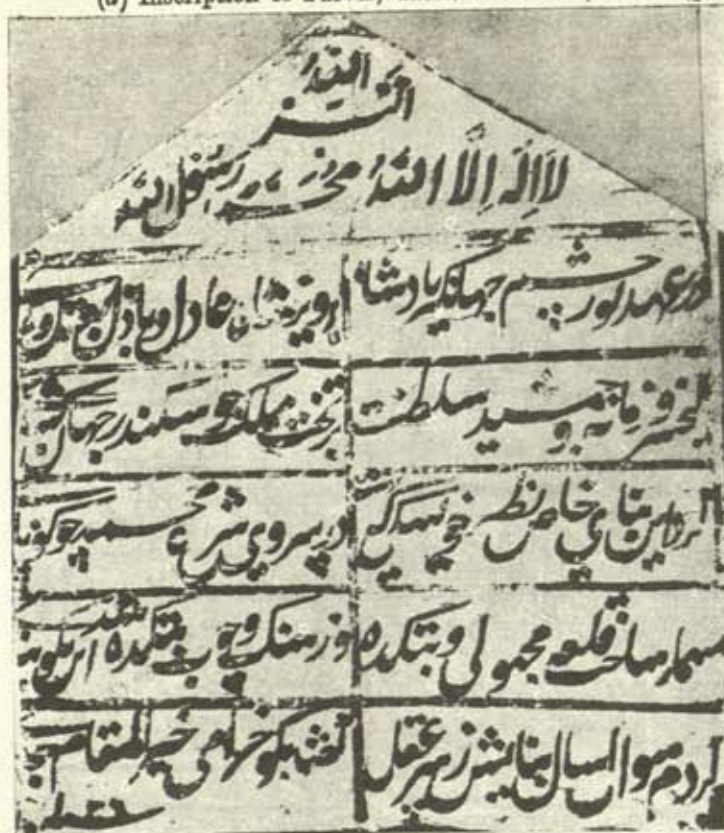
<sup>1</sup> Mohammad, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-45. For Kuraishī's comments, see Kuraishī, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>2</sup> For the details of his career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 818-21; 'Abdu'l-Hamid Lāhori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1886), p. 732; Muḥammad Sālib, *Amal-i-Sālib*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1932), p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 821.



(a) Inscription of Parvīz, dated A.H. 1036, Patna (p. 39)



SCALE : 19

(b) Epitaph of Shāh Arzānī, from the same place (p. 38)





Inscription of a mosque, A.H. 1013,  
from Hilsa (p. 41)



It is difficult to identify Majhau, as there are several places bearing this name in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

#### V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1013, FROM HILSA

The village Hilsa to which the inscription studied below belongs is a place of considerable antiquity. It contains the Dargāh of Shāh Jamman Madārī,<sup>1</sup> with an inscription dated 1543, which records its repairs by Daryā Khān Nūhānī in the time of Sher Shāh.<sup>2</sup> Among the modern writers, Buchanan was the first to notice this Dargāh and its inscription, of which he did not give any detail.<sup>3</sup>

The loose tablet bearing the inscription under study originally belonged to a mosque, which must have been, as the purport indicates, the mosque in the Dargāh itself. Buchanan, in his above-mentioned account, refers to a mosque near the Dargāh. The present mosque attached to the Dargāh is a small one built in recent times. But it is quite likely that it stands on the site of the earlier one to which the inscription belonged.

This inscription was first noticed in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle, 1902. Buchanan while mentioning the mosque does not refer to any inscription. Perhaps, the tablet had got detached as early as that time (1811-1812). The epigraphical tablet was 'rediscovered' in 1947, jointly by Prof. 'Askarī and the late Mr. Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn Balkhī, who found it lying upside down, in a toddy shop. When I obtained its estampage in 1959, it was still lying in the same place and position. It is now reported to be lying in the house of the Mutawalli of the Dargāh.<sup>4</sup>

The epigraph is engraved neatly in seven lines on a tablet measuring 54 by 74 cm. But the style of writing, which is *Nasta'liq*, is ordinary and of no particular merit. In the first line is an invocation to God by His attributes and a phrase in Arabic purporting that the builder, the composer and the writer of the text were one and the same person. The last line not only works out the chronogram in that its each component letter is inscribed above its numerical value, but it gives the date in figure as well as in words in Arabic and Persian. The record proper comprising five verses in Persian states that in the Dargāh of the saint Shāh Jamman, a mosque was built in A.H. 1013 (1604-05 A.D.), in the time of the king Salīm, son of Akbar, by one Ridā, who is described in the text as an ardent follower of Murtaḍā (i.e. Ḥaḍrat 'Alī).

The text has been read as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XII

یا	مالک	الملک	لبانیہ	و	قایلہ	و	کاتبہ
(۱)	بدوگاہ	ولی	حق	جن	شاه	کہ او مرد[ی]	ز مردان خدا بود
(۲)	بدور	شہ	سلیم	اکبر	آن	شاه	کہ او حامی شرع مصطفیٰ بود
(۳)	بنای	مسجد[ی]	بنہاد	مردے	کہ از جان دوستدار	مرتضیٰ	بود

<sup>1</sup> The earliest reference to this Dargāh is contained in the Travel Diary of 'Abdu'l-Latif who passed through Bihar in company of his master, Abu'l-Ḥasan (later on Ḥafṣ Khān), in 1608, for which see *JBORS*, vol. V (1919), p. 599.

<sup>2</sup> S. H. 'Askarī, 'A Review of Bihar during the Turko-Afghān Period', *Current Studies* (Patna College, Patna), 1954, p. 21, n. 2. A very brief description of this inscription was given by A. Cunningham in *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XI (Calcutta, 1881), p. 64. It was later on published by Mr. R. D. Banerjee in *JBORS*, vol. IV (1918), pp. 186-87.

<sup>3</sup> F. Buchanan, *An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811-12*, vol. I (Patna), pp. 228-29.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 23.



بگو نامش چه تاریخ از کجا بود	(۵) خرد پرسید کین شخصی که بانیست
بگو تاریخ و نام او رضا بود	(۶) ز غیب آمد ندا [ن]ی کای خرد مند
سده الف و ثلاثة عشر هزار و سیزده	(۷) د ض ا ن و د
۱۰۱۳	۲۰۰ [۰] ۸۰ ۱ ۲ ۶ ۳

## TRANSLATION

- (1) O Lord of the kingdom! By its builder, composer and writer.
- (2) In the Dargāh of the saint of God, Jamman Shāh who was one of the men of God,
- (3) during the reign of Shāh Salīm, (son of) Akbar, that king who was the protector of the shar' of Muṣṭafā (the Prophet Muḥammad),
- (4) a man, who was a sincere friend of Murtaḍā (i.e. Ḥaḍrat 'Alī), laid the foundation of a mosque.
- (5) Wisdom enquired, ' (Who is) this man, who is the founder? Tell (me) his name, what is the date and from where was he?'
- (6) A voice from the Unknown called out, "O wise man, say that the name (of the builder) and the date (of the building) both (are contained in the phrase,) 'he was Riḍā'."
- (7) R-200; D-800; A-1; B-2; W-6; D-4. Year one thousand and thirteen (A.H.) 1013 (1604-05 A.D.).

This inscription is of considerable historical importance. Jahāngīr's rebellion in the closing years of Akbar's reign and the defection of some of the officers of the eastern provinces to him is well-known. The present inscription provides definite corroborative evidence of it, so far as Bihar is concerned. It is dated A.H. 1013 (1604-05 A.D.), when Akbar was still alive, but, interestingly enough, it mentions the name of Shāh Salīm (not Jahāngīr, which title was assumed later) and that of Akbar as his father only. It clearly shows that the governor of Bihar<sup>1</sup> had probably gone over to Jahāngīr's side, or at least, had considered it politic to do so, for Jahāngīr was very near, at Allahabad. In any case, he was not an ordinary rebel, but one, whom it was safer to play along with. We can in no other way explain the inscription with this particular wording. Only a governor who had joined hands with Jahāngīr or at least connived at his rebellious activity, could have permitted such an inscription to be set up in public.

We do not have any information about Riḍā, the builder of the mosque. Perhaps, he was some enthusiastic pro-Jahāngīr official of the province. As has been stated above, the inscription was composed and written by him.

Palaeographically too, the inscription is quite interesting. The last line after the versified chronogram mentions the date of construction in three different ways—in numerals and in Arabic and Persian words. It also illustrates the working of the *Abjad* system of reckoning by specifying the letters constituting of the chronogram *Riḍā būd* and giving the numerical value of each letter under it. In this way, even those not familiar with the working of the system can follow it easily. This is a unique feature of this inscription in that no other inscription of Bihar contains this novelty. However, a few inscriptions which follow this method are known in other parts and one such, has been published in a recent issue of this series.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prince Salīm appointed Sharif Khān as the governor of Bihar in 1604, but he was displaced in the same year, by Asaf Khān, the last governor of Bihar during Akbar's reign (R. R. Diwakar, ed. *Bihar Through the Ages* (1959), p. 491).

<sup>2</sup> *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1963, pl. XXIIIc. (Another in which almost similar method is employed is published in this issue, at p. 57.—Ed.)



## MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PANCHGAWHAN

By S. A. RAHIM

I have studied in this article eight inscriptions copied recently by me from Panchgawhan, a village situated at a distance of about 25 kilometres from the *tāluka* headquarters Akot, in the Akola district of Maharashtra.

These inscriptions are extremely interesting. Seven of these were set up to the memory of different members of an important family, who laid down their lives in the service of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Not less interesting is the eighth, which is an unique record of Jahāndār Shāh, son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh I, who had succeeded in the contest for the throne against his brother 'Azīmu'sh-Shān on the 17th March 1712, only to be defeated and murdered by the latter's son Farrukh Siyar about a year later.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the fact that these records were first noticed, however briefly, as early as in 1916, by Rāo Bahādur Hirālāl,<sup>2</sup> they have practically remained unknown to students of Mughal history. Hirālāl himself was not satisfied with his notice of these records which was 'based on the copies furnished by Tahsildar of Akot, and may be taken for what they are worth'.<sup>3</sup> Hirālāl's fear is not misplaced. The whole account is full of confusion of dates and facts, as will be pointed out in the respective places. But it is not understood how nobody followed up Hirālāl's notice and attempted to bring out the correct purport of these epigraphs, which furnish quite useful information.

Then, it is surprising that the village Panchgawhan which was associated with these Mughal officials, should find no mention in historical works. The place is now said to consist of thirtysix villages with separate officers, but in earlier days, it was a cluster of five villages, which fact accounted for its name, meaning literally 'five villages'. It was the headquarters of a *pargana* under the Nizāms of Hyderabad.<sup>4</sup>

Seven of these eight records are carved on the headstones of the graves situated in and outside the four-walled enclosure of the tomb, locally called Dargāh Niknām Shāhib, to the south of the village. The remaining one appears on the mosque standing to the west of the said Dargāh. The epitaphs are interesting, as they enable us to unravel the history of this now desolate village, which must have been either the place of the residence of the deceased or headquarters of their fief.

Of these seven epitaphs, five belong to one single family of Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Niknām, who and his four sons were in the employ of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. The father and two of the sons were killed in the two battles fought by them in Jahāngīr's army in 1610 and 1616, while the other two brothers died natural death in places of their duty, namely Dharur in Bīr district

<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Burn, ed. *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. IV (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 325-27.

<sup>2</sup> R. B. Hirālāl, *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the Central Province & Berar* (Nagpur, 1916), pp. 136-37. In the second edition of this book, published in 1932, there is no change, as far as the notice of these epigraphs is concerned.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136, f.n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> C. Brown, *Central Province and Berar District Gazetteers*, Akola District (Calcutta, 1910), pp. 373-76.



and Mulher in Nasik district. It may be pointed out that these places are quite far off from Panchgawhan, and therefore, the fact that their dead-bodies were brought from there for internment to Panchgawhan, shows their deep attachment to the said village.

The sixth epigraph, set up in the reign of Jahāndār Shāh, records the date of the death of Bulāq Baig, a native of Shāhjahānābād (i.e. Delhi), who is described as the *faujdār*, evidently of the *pargana* or the town of Panchgawhan. As has been referred to above, this is the only epigraph of this emperor known so far. Incidentally, we have an inscription, at Dewas, a district headquarters in Madhya Pradesh, which speaks of his being its *jāgīr*-holder in 1707, during the reign of his father.<sup>1</sup> The seventh epitaph merely contains a Persian hemistich, which comprises the chronogram yielding 1673-74. The eighth inscription records the construction of the mosque on which it appears, by one of the sons of Niknām Khān, only a few days before his death.

The above brief résumé should amply bear out the historical importance of these inscriptions. But their calligraphy is also of a particularly high order, with the exception of that of the epitaph of Bulāq Baig. In other words, the style of writing in the epitaphs and the mosque inscription of the Niknām family, is extremely pleasing, and must have been designed by a professional scribe.

The graves of Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Niknām and three of his sons, namely, Mīr Shāh Husain, Mīr Faridūn Husain and Mīr Shārafu'd-Dīn Husain, entitled Himmat Khān, are situated on one platform, while that of the fourth son, Mīr Muḥammad Husain, lies, along with one more, on a smaller platform to the east. The grave with the epitaph which does not mention any name, is also built on another platform to the south-east, while the grave of Bulāq Baig is situated without the enclosure, immediately to the south of the mosque.

The first inscription is the epitaph of Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Niknām. Inscribed on an arch-shaped tablet measuring 46 cm. in width and 1.22 m. from apex to bottom, fixed at the head side of the second of the four graves, from east,<sup>2</sup> it runs into eight lines of writing in Persian, of which the first two comprise a well-known verse of the famous Iranian poet Sa'dī, and the remaining seven purport that the grave is that of Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Niknām 'Alawī, who was killed with his eldest son, kinsmen and servants on Thursday 19th Šafar 1019 (3rd May 1610) in the battle which he fought, in the time of emperor (Jahāngīr), against the enemies from Dakhan who had blocked the way of the Muslims (i.e. the Mughal army). The year is indicated by a chronogram. Hirālāl gives the year A.H. 1025,<sup>3</sup> which is perhaps due to the faulty calculation of the chronogram.

The text is inscribed in elegant *Nasta'liq* and reads as follows:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XIII (a)

(۱) الله باقی

(۲) سعدیا مرد نکو نام نمیرد هرگز

(۳) مرده آنست که نامش به نکوئی نبرد

(۴) این لوح مرقد پرفیض میر محمد یوسف نیکنام

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1964-65, No. D, 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. D, 84.

<sup>3</sup> Hirālāl, *op. cit.*, p. 138.



- (۵) علویست کہ در عہد سلطنت جہانگیرے بامخالفان  
 (۶) دکھن کہ سد راہ مسلمانان شدہ بودند جنگ و  
 (۷) جدل نمودہ با پسر کلان و خویشان و نوکران  
 (۸) روز پنجشنبہ نوزدہم ماہ صفر بدرجہ شہادت رسیدند  
 (۹) در سالی کہ تاریخ آن از قبر یوسف ثانی ہویدا میگردد

## TRANSLATION

- (1) Allāh is Eternal!  
 (2) O Sa'dī! A person who has acquired good name never dies.  
 (3) A dead man is one whose name is not remembered with respect.  
 (4) This tablet is of the bountiful grave of Mir Muḥammad Yūsuf Niknām

(5-9) 'Alawī, who in the reign of Jahāngīr fought with the enemies from Dakhan who had blocked the way of the Muslims and attained the status of martyrdom along with his eldest son, relatives and servants, on Thursday, the 19th of the month of Ṣafar, in the year, which is apparent from the words : the grave of the second Joseph.

The year yielded by the chronogram is 1019 (19 Ṣafar 1019=3 May 1610).

This record is quite important. It refers to a battle fought between the forces of Jahāngīr and the Dakhanīs, by whom evidently the army of Malik 'Ambar is intended. The latter had proved a formidable foe in Deccan and gave a trying time to the Mughal army. While this major engagement between Malik 'Ambar and the imperial forces is not wholly ignored in contemporary works, no details thereof are available.<sup>1</sup> The record under study supplies few details on the personal side, but unfortunately, it omits to record the name of the place where Mir Yūsuf laid down his life. It is quite likely that the site was somewhere in Berar. The Dakhanī enemies of the text appear to have been one of the Marāṭha predatory bands which were used in his guerrilla warfare, by Malik 'Ambar. One such band seems to have blocked the way of the contingent, of which Mir Yūsuf Niknām and his kinsmen and servants were members.

It is surprising that no mention of this official is available in chronicles, except as being the father of Mir Shārafu'd-Dīn Ḥusain, entitled Himmat Khān and Mir Muḥammad Ḥusain. Incidentally, Mir Yūsuf Niknām is now venerated as a saint.<sup>2</sup>

The second epitaph belongs to the eastern-most grave on the same platform.<sup>3</sup> It records that Mir Shāh Ḥusain, son of Mir Yūsuf Niknām, was killed along with his father in A.H. 1019 (1610 A.D.). The year is afforded by a chronogram. Hirālāl's statement that he predeceased his father (whose death, as we have just seen, he places in A.H. 1025) and that his tomb (i.e. epitaph) is 'silent about his merits which were perhaps non-existent', are ill-conceived. The epitaph clearly states that Mir Shāh Ḥusain suffered martyrdom in the company of his father.

<sup>1</sup> For a concise account of the Deccan campaign in 1610, see Burn, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-60.

<sup>2</sup> Hirālāl, *op. cit.*, p. 137 and Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 83.



The present record is the only source mentioning Mir Shāh Ḥusain, and as such, its importance cannot be overstressed.

The arch-shaped tablet, on which its text of seven lines is inscribed in beautiful *Nasta'liq* characters, measures 46 by 96 cm.

The text is deciphered as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate XIII (b)

(۱) الله باقى

(۲) اگر صد سال باشى و در يکے روز

(۳) ببايد رفت ازین کاخ دل افروز

(۴) این لوح قبر مير شاه حسين ولد مير يوسف

(۵) نيکنام است که برفاقت پدر بزرگوار خود

(۶) از دست ساقی رضوان جرعه شهادت نوشيدند

(۷) در سالی که تاريخ آن از لفظ شهد شهادت واضح ميشود

## TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Eternal !

(2) Whether one lives for a hundred years or for a day,

(3) he has to depart from this heart-illuminating place (i.e. world).

(4) This tablet indicates the grave of Mir Shāh Ḥusain, son of Mir Yūsuf

(5) Niknām, who, in the company of his respected father,

(6) drank the draught of martyrdom at the hands of the cup-bearer, (viz.) the keeper of Paradise,

(7) in the year which is evident from the words : the honey of martyrdom.

The numerical value of the letters of the last phrase add up to yield the date A.H. 1019 (1610 A.D.). Therefore, the date A.H. 1025 given by Hīrālāl for Mir Yūsuf's martyrdom is shown to be incorrect by this record too.

The arch-shaped tablet bearing the third epitaph is fixed at the headside of the third grave from east, on the same platform.<sup>1</sup> It measures 47 cm. by 1.02 m. The epitaph consists of eight lines and states that Mir Farīdūn Ḥusain, son of Mir Muḥammad Yūsuf Niknām, attained martyrdom, having fallen in the battle of Khirki against the marauders of Dakhan on the 25th Muḥarram 1025 (3rd February 1616). According to the text, the Mir was a *hāfiz* of the *Qur'ān*, that is to say, he had learnt it by heart. Hīrālāl's statement that Mir Farīdūn Ḥusain was killed less than a month before his father,<sup>2</sup> is wrong.

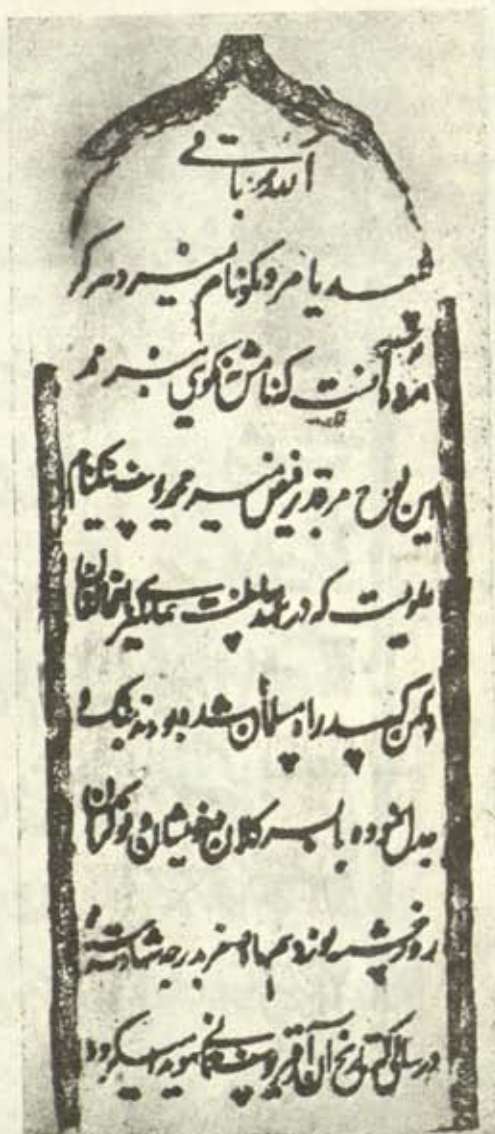
<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 85.

<sup>2</sup> Hīrālāl, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

EPITAPHS FROM PANCHGAWHAN

( PLATES XIII—XVI )

(a) Epitaph of Mir Muḥammad  
Yūsuf Niknām (p. 44)



SCALE : -125

(b) Epitaph of Mir Shāh Ḥusain,  
A.H. 1019 (p. 46)



SCALE : -16

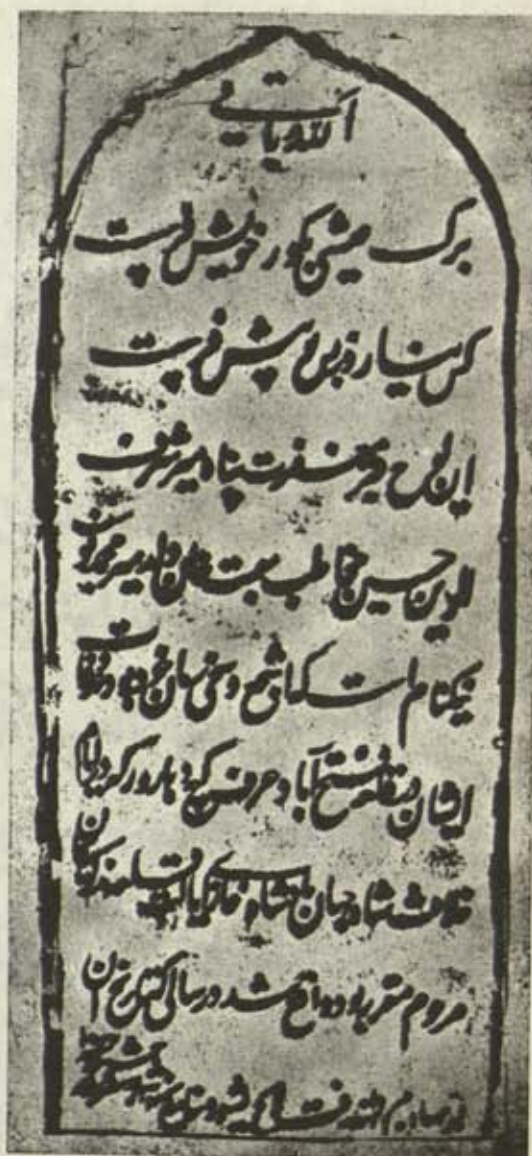


(a) Epitaph of Mir Faridūn Husain Niknām,  
from Panchgawhan (p. 47)



SCALE : ·15

(b) Epitaph of Mir Sharau'd-Dīn Husain  
same place (p. 48)



SCALE : ·13



This inscription is also very important. The battle of Khirki mentioned in the text is one of the many battles fought between the Mughal army and that of Malik 'Ambar. But it should not be confused with the capture of Khirki and its devastation by Shāh Jahān later on in 1621.

As a matter of fact, Jahāngīr, while describing the events of the Deccan at the time of our record, states that on the 26th Bahman of his 10th regnal year, the imperial forces having defeated 'Ambar, set out for Khirki, occupied it for some days and demolished its buildings before marching back to Rohinkhed.<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that Jahāngīr does not give any satisfactory reason for this withdrawal, except that 'giving details thereof would be unnecessary'.<sup>2</sup> Incidentally, Mullā 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nihāwandī has described these battles in detail in his *Ma'āthir*, devoted to the life and achievements of Mirzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān Khān-i-Khānān, but his account is not to be accepted without reserve.<sup>3</sup>

This battle of Khirki in which Mir Farīdūn Husain was killed, evidently took place on the 25th Muḥarram 1025 which works out to 1st Isfandārmuz, since 1st Muḥarram was 7th Bahman.<sup>4</sup> The Mughal army which as stated above, had set out for Khirki, from a nearby place, on the 26th Bahman, i.e. on the 20th Muḥarram, must have reached there within a couple of days to occupy it. The battle, according to our epigraph, took place on the 25th Muḥarram, i.e. 1st Isfandārmuz,<sup>5</sup> which can be reasonably interpreted to mean that on or before that date, Malik 'Ambar's army had carried out a sudden attack on the Mughal army, which was ultimately, if not at that very moment, compelled to retreat upto Rohinkhed. Otherwise, there was no reason for the victorious Mughal army to march back to Rohinkhed. It is but natural that Jahāngīr did not want to mention this unsavoury affair.<sup>6</sup>

It is not known what position in the Mughal army, Mir Farīdūn Husain held at the time of his death. But it is likely that he may have been a man of rank. None of the historical works at my disposal seems to mention him. The inscription states that he knew the *Qur'ān* by heart, a considerable achievement in itself.

The text is inscribed in *Nasta'liq*, which is, as in the case of the previous epigraphs, of a very high order. It has been deciphered as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XIV (a)

(۱) الله باقی

(۲) هر که آمد در جهان پر ز شور

(۳) عاقبت می بایندش رفتن بگور

(۴) این لوح قبر میر فریدون حسین ولد میر محمد یوسف

<sup>1</sup> In Buldana district of Maharashtra State ?

<sup>2</sup> Jahāngīr, *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad (Aligarh, 1864), p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1925), pp. 521-31.

<sup>4</sup> R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore* (Oxford, 1914), p. 435.

<sup>5</sup> Incidentally, 'Abdu'l Bāqī *op.cit.*, pp. 522-25, also mentions a heavy battle having taken place on this day, between 'Ambar himself and Mughal army between Khirki and Samawātī(?). But according to him the Mughals, after initial reverses, were victorious.

<sup>6</sup> The above three paragraphs are by the Editor.



- (۵) نیکنام است که حافظ قرآن مجید بود و در حرب  
 (۶) کهرکی که دولتخواهان جهانگیری را باغنیم دکن واقع شده  
 (۷) بود بدرجه شهادت فایز گشت در ساله که از جگر  
 (۸) شکاف شکاف تاریخ آن می برآید بتاریخ ۲۵ محرم سنه ۱۰۲۵

## TRANSLATION

- (1) Allāh is Eternal !  
 (2) He who is born in this bustling world,  
 (3) has perforce, in the end, to go to the grave.  
 (4-5) This tablet belongs to the grave of Mir Farīdūn Ḥusain, son of Mir Muḥammad Yūsuf Niknām, who was a *ḥāfiẓ* (i.e. had learnt the *Qur'ān* by heart) and had, in the battle  
 (6) of Khirkī, which took place between the forces (lit. well-wishers) of Jahāngīr and themarauders of Dakhan (i.e. Malik 'Ambar's forces),  
 (7) attained martyrdom in the year which from (the phrase) 'the liver  
 (8) is full of holes', is obtained (i.e. A.H. 1025), on the 25th Muḥarram (25 Muḥarram 1025=3 February 1616).

The fourth epitaph is inscribed on the head-stone of the fourth grave from right on the same platform.<sup>1</sup> Written in *Nasta'liq* characters of a high order, its text runs into ten lines of Persian prose and verse and states that the grave is that of Mir Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusain, entitled Ḥimmat Khān, son of Mir Muḥammad Yūsuf Niknām. It further describes him as being very brave and generous and states that he expired on Thursday, 15th Ṣafar 1047 (29th June 1637), in the fort of Fathabad *alias* Kaij-Dharur, of which he was in charge, in the reign of Shāh Jahān.<sup>2</sup>

The text occupies a space of 47 cm. by 1.13 m. and has been read as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XIV (b)

(۱) الله باقی

(۲) برگ عیشی بگود خویش فرست

(۳) کس، نیارد ز پس تو پیش فرست

(۴) این لوح قبر مغفرت پناه میر شرف

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 86.

<sup>2</sup> *Hirālāl*, *op. cit.*, gives 22nd of Ṣafar and spells Kaij-Dhārūr as Kanjdharo.

- (۵) الدین حسین مخاطب بہمت خان ولد میر محمد یوسف  
 (۶) نیکنام است کہ اشجع و سخی زمان خود بودند وفات  
 (۷) ایشان در قلعہ فتح آباد عرف کیچ دھارور کہ در ایام  
 (۸) خلافت شاہ جہان بادشاہ غازی ایالت قلعہ مذکور بخان  
 (۹) مرحوم مقرر بود واقع شد در سالی کہ تاریخ آن  
 (۱۰) از جہان مردانہ رفت لایح میشود بتاریخ ۱۰ شہر صفر روز پنجشنبہ سنہ ۱۰۳۷

## TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Eternal !

(2) Send the provision of life (i.e. good deeds) to your own grave.

(3) Nobody will bring it afterwards. (Therefore), you send it yourself in advance.

(4-10) This tablet belongs to the grave of the pardoned Mir Sharafu'd-Dīn Husain, entitled Himmat Khān, son of Mir Muhammed Yūsuf Niknām, who was the most brave and generous person of his time. His death took place in the fort of Fathābād *alias* Kaij-Dhārūr which, in the time of the caliphate of Shāh Jahān, was in the charge of the late Khān, in the year, of which the date is evident from (the phrase) 'he passed away from the world like a man', on the 15th of the month of Ṣafar, Thursday, year (A.H.) 1047 (15 Ṣafar 1047=29 June 1637).

The deceased Mir Sharafu'd-Dīn Husain, entitled Himmat Khān, appears to have been the most prominent member of the Niknām family. He is one of the two brothers who find mention in historical works which, however, do not furnish much details of his life. According to these, he was among the officers of the right wing in the army of Āḡā Khān which fought Shahryār in 1627, gave a good account of himself in the battle and was suitably rewarded, received the title of Himmat Khān in the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign, on the 1st Shawwāl 1037 (25th May 1628) to be exact,<sup>1</sup> and expired in the tenth regnal year.<sup>2</sup> Our epigraph not only corroborates the year of death, but also specifies the day and the month as well.

Another important piece of information afforded by the epitaph is that Himmat Khān was the *qa'adār* of Dharur, at the time of his death. Historical works mention the conquest of Dharur fort by A'zam Khān in January 1631,<sup>3</sup> but nowhere it is recorded when Himmat Khān was appointed to its charge. The custody of this important fort should indicate his official status. The fort was entrusted to the charge of Nūr Muḥammad 'Arab who also received the title of 'Arab Khān,<sup>4</sup> about a month and a half after the death of Himmat Khān.

A note on Kaij-Dharur, the *alias* of Fathabad may not be out of place here : Kaij is situated at a distance of about twelve kilometres on the Dharur-Kallam road. Dharur was then called Kaij-Dharur to distinguish it from another place with the same name, viz. Dharur in the Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh.

<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1923), pp. 210, 291; Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhūrī, *Badshāh Nāma*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1867), part i, pp. 73, 184, 201, 451.

<sup>2</sup> Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, *op. cit.*, part ii, p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, part i, pp. 339-43.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, part ii, p. 278.



The next record to be studied here, relates to the mosque built by Himmat Khān. Its tablet is built up into the base of the right minaret of the stone mosque, a building of sufficient architectural interest, which is situated to the immediate west of the Dargāh of Nīknām Shāhib.<sup>1</sup> Measuring 46 by 60 cm., it contains a text of two Persian verses inscribed in four lines purporting that the mosque was constructed by Himmat Khān in A.H. 1047 (1637 A.D.), during the reign of Shāh Jahān. This means that the mosque must have been constructed before 29th June 1637, the day on which Himmat Khān died.

The style of writing is excellent *Nasta'liq*, and the text reads as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XV (a)

(۱) در عهد شهنشاه زمان شامجهان

(۲) بنیاد نهاد مسجدی همت خان

(۳) تاریخ بنای آن بجستم ز خرد

(۴) گفتا که بگو بقعه خیر آبادان

سنه ۱۰۴۷

## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of the emperor of the time, Shāh Jahān,
- (2) Himmat Khān laid the foundation of a mosque.
- (3) I sought the date of its construction from Wisdom.
- (4) It replied, 'Say, (it is a) populated good place'. Year (A.H.) 1047 (1637 A.D.).

The sixth inscription of the present study is again an epitaph. The grave to which it belongs lies on another platform, which is to the right of the big platform containing four graves.<sup>2</sup> The arch-shaped inscriptional tablet, measuring 43 by 88 cm., contains twelve lines of Persian prose and verse, executed in *Nasta'liq* characters of the same elegance as in the case of the previous records. The last line of the text is unfortunately very badly damaged, due to the weathering of the stone. As a result, the year of death, which was contained in the chronogram as well as given in figure is lost.

The epitaph purports that the grave is that of Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain Nīknām, son of Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Nīknām 'Alawī al-Ḥusainī, who expired during his tenure as *qal'adār* of Mulher and *faujdār* of Baglana, which was conferred upon him in the reign of Shāh Jahān. It will be noted that in this epitaph, the cognomen Nīknām is also used with the name of the deceased, which indicates that the sobriquet was intended as a family name.

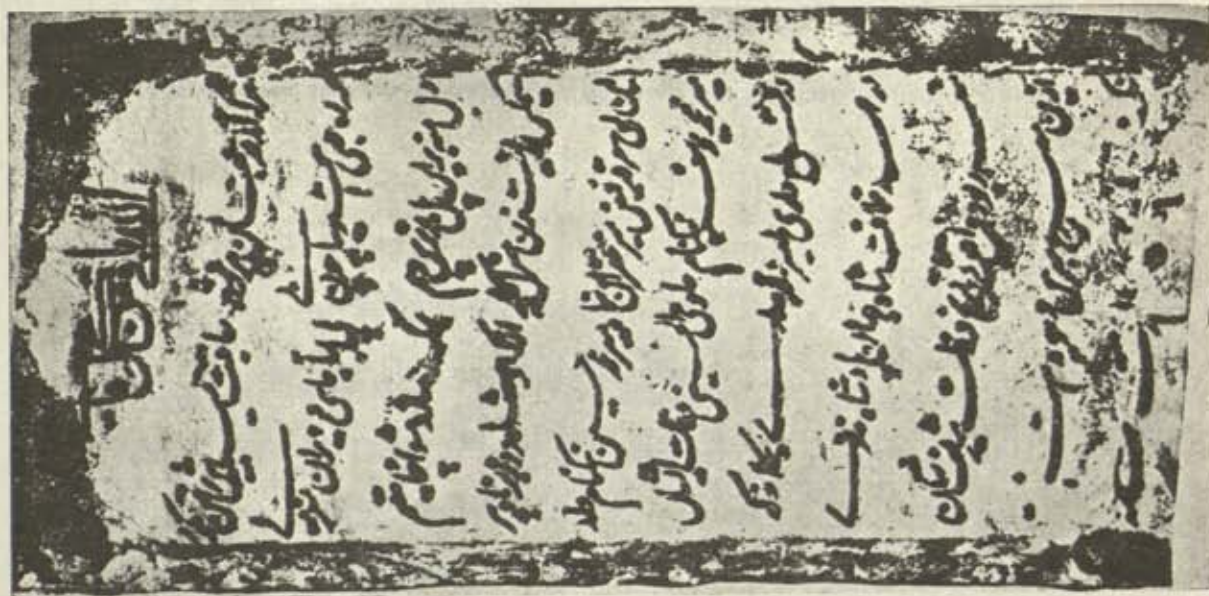
<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. D, 87.





(b) Epitaph of Mir Muḥammad Ḥusain  
Niknām, same place (p. 51)



SCALE : 18

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 1017,  
from Panchgawhan (p. 50)



SCALE : 15

The epitaph is quoted below :—

## TEXT

## Plate XV (b)

(۱) الله باقى من كل فانى

- (۲) هر كه آمد در جهان پر ز شور عاقبت ميبايدش رفتن بگور  
 (۳) در ره عقبى است دنيا چون پلے بی بقا جاى و ويران منزله  
 (۴) دل منه بر اين پل پر ترس و بيم برگ ره ساز و مشو اينجا مقيم  
 (۵) هيچكس را نيست زين منزل گذير از گدا و شاه <sup>۱</sup> و وز برنا و پير  
 (۶) اين لوح مرقد فيض منير غفران پناه مير محمد حسين نيكنام واد  
 (۷) مير محمد يوسف نيكنام علوى الحسينى وفات ايشان  
 (۸) در قلع دارى ملهير و فو جدارے بگلانه كه  
 (۹) در عهد خلافت شاه جهان پادشاه غازے  
 (۱۰) مقرر بود واقع شد تاريخ وفات شريف شان  
 (۱۱) از اين مصرع مبرهن و هويداست.....  
 (۱۲) نيكنام [ام] ..... زين ؟ عالم رفت سنه .....

## TRANSLATION

- (1) Allāh is Eternal, all else is perishable !  
 (2) He who is born in this bustling world, has perforce to go to the grave in the end.  
 (3) This world is like a bridge on the road to the next world ; it is a transitory place and a desolate stage.  
 (4) Do not attach your heart to this bridge, full of dread and fear ; prepare provision for the journey and do not make a sojourn here.  
 (5) No one can escape this stage (i.e. death), whether he be a pauper or king, young or old.  
 (6) This tablet (is) that of the grave, illuminated with bounty, of the pardoned Mir Muḥammad Ḥusain Nīknām, son of  
 (7) Mir Muḥammad Yūsuf Nīknām 'Alawī al-Ḥusainī His death

<sup>1</sup> One word is redundant here.

75179





- (8) took place in the time of (his) *qal'adārī* of Mulher and *faujdārī* of Baglāna which  
 (9) in the time of the caliphate of *Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī*,  
 (10) were assigned to him. The date of his noble death  
 (11) is evident and clear from this hemistich,  
 (12) 'Niknām.....left this world'. Year.....

From the above, it is perfectly clear that Hirālāl's statement that Mīr Muḥammad who was a *faujdār* and a *qal'adār* fell in A.H. 1025 along with his father in a battle, is wrong.<sup>1</sup>

Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain Niknām initially held the rank of 1000 men, 1000 horse.<sup>2</sup> A month and a half after the death of his brother Himmat Khān, he was appointed to the command of the fort of Zafarnagar.<sup>3</sup> In the following year, he was granted an increase in rank and created an officer of the rank of 1500 men, 1500 horse. It was on the 26th Dhi'l-Qa'da 1056 (24th December 1646), that with a further increase in rank, he was appointed as the governor of Baglana.<sup>4</sup> 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd has not referred to the charge of Mulher fort being given to Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain. But our epigraph calls him the *faujdār* of Baglāna as well as *qal'adār* of Mulher. This shows that the *faujdār* of Baglana was also supposed to hold the charge of the Mulher fort, which was the headquarters of the region.

Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain, like his brother Himmat Khān, died while in service at the place of his duty. His dead body was brought to Panchgawhan to be interred near the graves of his father and brothers. As stated above, the year of his death cannot be ascertained from the epitaph, but he must have died some time after his assignment to Baglana, in December 1646.

The seventh epigraph, also an epitaph, is engraved on the arch-shaped tablet fixed at the head-side of the grave situated on a platform in the south-east side in the same Dar-gāh.<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to ascertain the name of the occupant of this grave, as the epitaph does not quote any. According to Hirālāl, another epitaph at the same place records the death of one 'Ābida Bibī of the Niknām family, of which the date was not clear.<sup>6</sup> I did not find any such epitaph there. And even if there existed one, 'Ābida would most probably not be her name, but the phrase qualifying for a devout lady, not uncommonly used in epigraphs. In any case, there is little room for doubt that the grave belongs to a member of the Niknām family, as is clear from its situation as well as the style of writing of our epitaph.

The tablet on which the epitaph is carved is of almost the same size as in above, but the engraved text occupies a space of 33 by 30 cm. only. It consists of two lines, the first being a well known formulae about the everlastingness of Allāh and the second, a hemistich in Persian, which may be translated as 'and he (or she) was given place in the highest Paradise'. This hemistich, in all probability, forms a chronogram for the date of the death of the occupant of the grave. This would be A.H. 1084 (1673-74 A.D.).

<sup>1</sup> Hirālāl, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 112, 624. Baglana was conquered about a decade earlier by Aurangzeb who appointed Muḥammad Tāhir to the charge of the Mulher fort. The territory of Baglana was bounded on the north by Nandurbar and Sultanpur, on the south by Nasik, on the west by Surat and on the east by Chandor (*Ibid.*, pp. 105-09).

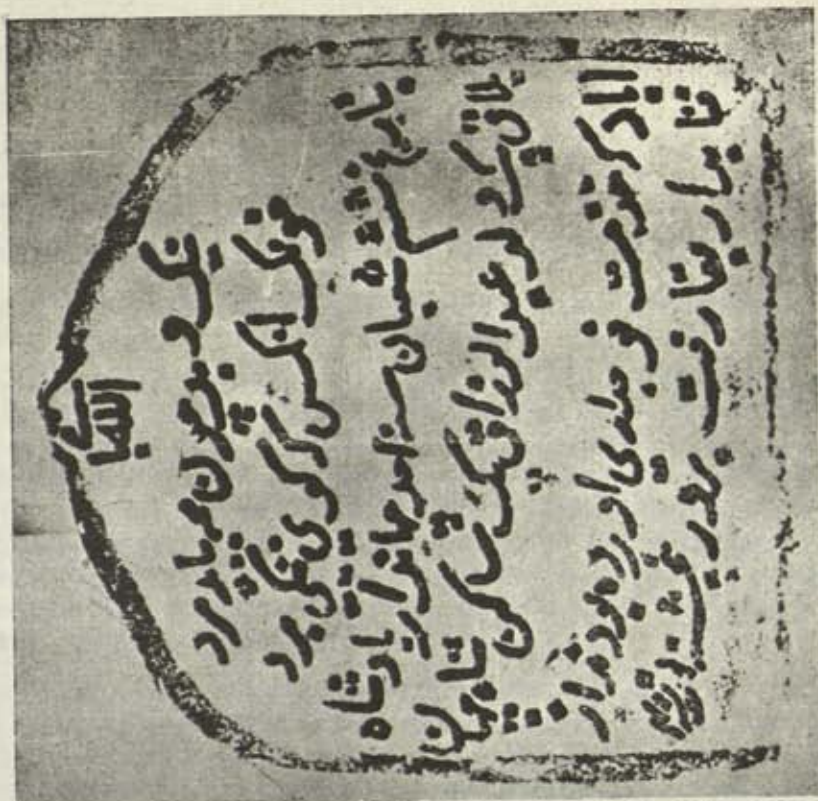
<sup>5</sup> *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 88.

<sup>6</sup> Hirālāl, *op. cit.*



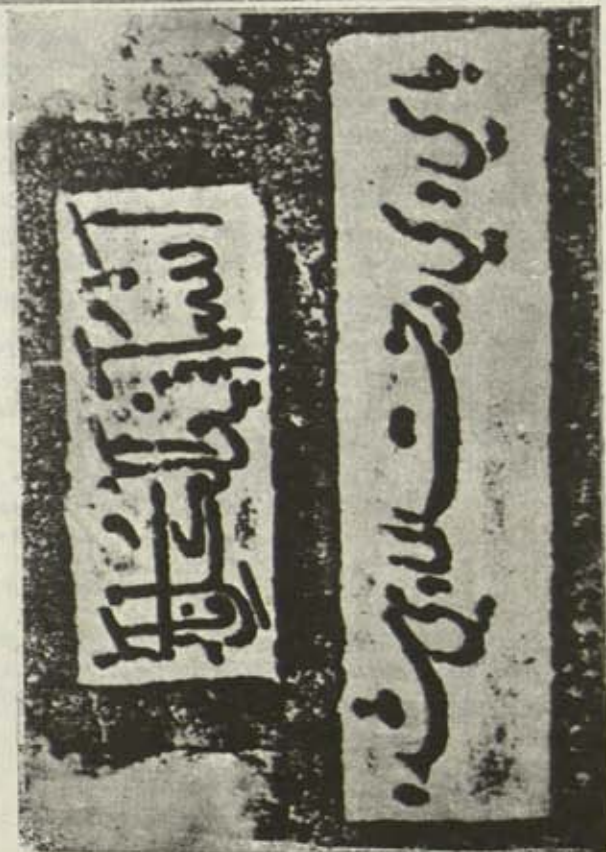


(b) Epitaph, dated in the reign of Jahāndār Shāh, same place (p. 53)



SCALE : 25

(a) Undated epitaph, from  
Panchgawhan (p. 53)



SCALE: .36

# MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PANCHGAWHAN

The style of writing is *Thulth* and fine *Nasta'liq*. The text reads as under :—

## TEXT

### Plate XVI (a)

(۱) الله باقى و الكل فانى

(۲) جاى وى در جنت الماوى شده

## TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Eternal, and everything else is perishable !

(2) The highest Paradise has become his (or her) abode. (A.H. 1084=1673-74 A.D.).

The eighth inscription from Panchgawhan, with which I conclude the present study, is the unique record of the Mughal emperor Jahāndār Shāh, referred to above in the introductory lines. It forms the epitaph of Bulāq Baig, whose grave is situated to the south of the Dargāh of Niknām Shāhib.<sup>1</sup> It consists of seven lines written in Persian prose and verse inscribed in quite ordinary *Nasta'liq*, which is in sharp contrast to the elegant style of the previous records. It states that the *faujdār* Bulāq Baig, a resident of Shāhjahānābād, i.e. Delhi, expired on Thursday, 6th Shā'bān of the first regnal year of Jahāndār Shāh, i.e. 1124 (28th August, 1712). The place of which Bulāq Baig was the *faujdār* is not specified in the text. It was either the village Panchgawhan or the *pargana* in which it lay. It stands to reason to suppose that he was in charge of the *pargana*. This is also corroborated by a piece of information recorded in the district gazetteer on the basis of old papers, that Mirzā Bulakhibeg, the *māmlatdar*, built the Jāmi' mosque of Dahihanda in the same *taluka*.<sup>2</sup> Evidently, Bulakhibeg of the gazetteer is none other than Bulāq Baig.

This epitaph was also noticed by Hirālāl, according to whom, Bulāq Baig (whom he writes as Bulāg—perhaps a misprint) was appointed *faujdār* in the reign of Jahāndār Shāh.<sup>3</sup> This is incorrect, at least in so far as the epigraph does not categorically say so. It simply refers to his being a *faujdār*, and he could as well have held the post from the time of the preceding ruler or rulers. Hirālāl was also unable to give the date.

The inscriptional tablet is square in shape, measuring 44 cm. a side, and the text has been deciphered as under :—

## TEXT

### Plate XVI (b)

(۱) الله باقى

(۲) نيك و بد چون همه بايد مرد

(۳) خونك آنكس كه گوى نيكي برد

(۴) بتاريخ ششم شعبان سنه احد جهاندار بادشاه

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 89.

<sup>2</sup> Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 333. The mosque does not contain any inscription.

<sup>3</sup> Hirālāl, *op. cit.*, p. 137.



- (۵) بلایک بیگ ولد عبد الرزاق بیگ ساکن شاه جهان  
 (۶) آباد که خدمت فوجداری آورده بودند از  
 (۷) فنا پدار بقا رفت بروز پنجشنبه بوقت سه پهر

## TRANSLATION

- (1) Allāh is Eternal !  
 (2) Since good and bad all have to die,  
 (3) happy is one who carries the ball of goodness !  
 (4) On the sixth of Shā'bān, year one of Jahāndār Bādshāh (6 Shā'bān 1124=28 August 1712),  
 (5) Bulāq Baig, son of 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Baig, inhabitant of Shāh Jahān-  
 (6) ābād (i.e. Delhi), who had come (here) as *faujdār*, departed  
 (7) from the transitory (abode) to the permanent home, on Thursday, at three *pahar*.

It will be seen that the execution of the epigraph is quite poor. Also, the word *dār* is left out after *az* in the last but one line.

The importance of this record has been already pointed out above. Here we may just mention that the date removes the confusion in the dates of the reign of Jahāndār Shāh. According to Khāfi Khān, Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur I died in the beginning of A.H. 1123,<sup>1</sup> which cannot be correct. Our epigraph corroborates the year A.H. 1124 given by other historians, in that, 6th Shā'bān of A.H. 1124 and not A.H. 1123 was Thursday, and hence Shā'bān of the 1st regnal year must have belonged to A.H. 1124 only.

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb, vol. II (Calcutta, 1874), pp. 683-84.

## INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SIDI CHIEFS OF JANJIRA

By A. A. KADIRI

The fortified island of Janjira, first capital of the erstwhile state of the same name, is situated in the Kolaba district of Maharashtra, at a distance of about sixtyfive kilometres due south of Bombay. The island fort which lies just within the entrance of the Danda-Rajpuri creek about 800 metres from the mainland, in the region called north Konkan on the western coast, is remarkable indeed for the engineering skill of its master-builders.<sup>1</sup> Its location made it the most impregnable fort of the region. More than anything else, it enabled the small but powerful principality of the Sidis, who held sway in this region from the close of the fifteenth century onwards, to resist successfully the attempts of the Marāṭha rulers including Shivaji to annex it.

It was Malik Ahmad, the founder of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom of Ahmadnagar, who reduced the fort of Danda-Rajpuri after a long siege of ten months in 1489 and put Janjira, then only fortified by a wooden *kot*, in charge of a Sidi named Yāqūt Khān.<sup>2</sup> On the fall of Ahmadnagar in 1600, the Nizām Shāhī possessions in Konkan passed to the Mughals, and though soon afterwards Malik 'Ambar recovered most of them, this part still seems to have continued under Mughal authority at least until 1618, according to local records, which mention Allāh (?) Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān as governors of Danda-Rajpuri in 1612 and 1618 respectively.<sup>3</sup> In the last mentioned year, Malik 'Ambar is said to have appointed one Sidi Surūr, as the governor. The latter was succeeded in 1620, by Sidi Yāqūt, and he, in the following year, by Sidi 'Ambar Sānak.<sup>4</sup> However, according to Mr. B. K. Bhonsle, author of a Marathi history of Janjira State, who claims to have based his account on local records, Sidi 'Ambar was appointed governor in 1617 by, and received the *pargana* between Bankot and Nagothna, from Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh II.<sup>5</sup> But it is worthwhile to note that Murtaḍā II was not alive at that time.

According to a captain of the East India Company who visited Danda-Rajpuri in February 1628, there was dissension there, on account of Ḥabash Khān's appointment as a new governor by Malik 'Ambar.<sup>6</sup> In the following month, Captain Altham visited Danda-Rajpuri and found that Sidi 'Ambar was besieged in the Janjira fort by Ḥabash Khān.<sup>7</sup> But Sidi 'Ambar seems to have maintained his ground, for in 1636, when the Nizām Shāhī Konkan was transferred to 'Adil Shāh, Sidi 'Ambar was confirmed in his post.<sup>8</sup> He was required to maintain a marine for trade and conveying pilgrims to Mecca.<sup>9</sup> He is also stated to have received the title of *vazier*.<sup>10</sup> Sidi

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed description of the fort and the history of the Sidi rulers, see *Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency (BG)*, vol. XI, Kolaba and Janjira (Bombay, 1883), pp. 430-40; *Maharashtra State Gazetteers (MSG)*, Kolaba District (Bombay, 1964), pp. 77-94, 103-05, 808-10; etc.

<sup>2</sup> Firāqta, *Tārīkh-i-Firāqta*, vol. II (Kanpur, 1884), p. 96; *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 78; B. K. Bhonsle, *Janjiryā-chā-Itihāsa* (Baroda, 1901), p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> *BG*, vol. XI, p. 435; *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 80 (& f.n.4).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* In these works, the name Surūr is wrongly spelt as Sirul and Surul respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25, but on p. 28, he gives the year 1621.

<sup>6</sup> D. R. Bānaji, *Bombay and the Sidis* (Bombay, 1932), pp. 1-2. But since Malik 'Ambar had died in 1626, the new governor was perhaps appointed by his son Fatḥ Khān.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Mirzā Ibrāhīm Zubairi, *Bazā'finu's-Salāṭīn* (Hyderabad edition), p. 303.

<sup>9</sup> Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1918), p. 112.

<sup>10</sup> Jadu Nath Sarkār, *Shivaji* (Calcutta, 1961), p. 255.



'Ambar died in 1642<sup>1</sup> and was succeeded by Sīdī Yūsuf, who was overthrown in 1648 by his son Sīdī Faṭḥ Khān.<sup>2</sup> The latter who is, incidentally, stated to be an Afghān by Khāfi Khān and following him, by Shāh Nawāz Khān,<sup>3</sup> continued to be in charge of Janjira till 1670 when, being pressed by Shivāji, who had taken Danda-Rajpuri and had besieged Janjira, he was ready to hand over the fort to the Marāṭhās. But the Sīdī chiefs, Sumbul and the two brothers, Yāqūt and Khairiyat, imprisoned him and so heroically defended Janjira that the Marāṭhās were compelled to raise the siege. After Danda-Rajpuri was wrested from the latter, the two brothers elected Sumbul as their chief.<sup>4</sup>

It is from about this time that we start getting inscriptions of the Sīdīs at Janjira, Danda-Rajpuri and Khokri.

The sixteen inscriptions studied in the following lines range in their dates between 1676 and 1727-28 and belong to the first three Sīdī admirals of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb and the first independent chief, Sīdī Surūr *alias* Yāqūt Khān II. They are important records: they provide first hand information about these chiefs, particularly, about the dates in their career and about the members of their family and, also throw light, as will be pointed out in the following lines, on the events which have not been correctly recorded in contemporary chronicles.

#### Sīdī Sumbul

Sīdī Sumbul first emerges as a chief of considerable importance, from the beginning of the Marāṭhā-Sīdī clash over Janjira in 1659. He refused to cede Janjira fort to Shivāji, consequent to the treaty of Purandhar in 1665, concluded between Rāja Jai Singh and Shivāji, without express orders from the emperor.<sup>5</sup> He fought on the side of the Mughals in the siege of Bijapur in 1666.<sup>6</sup> He was, as we have seen above, one of the three chiefs who prevented Sīdī Faṭḥ Khān from surrendering Janjira to Shivāji in 1670 and sought help from the Bijapur king and the Mughal governor of Deccan. The latter conferred on him a rank of 400 men, 200 horse, and a fief near Surat. He was appointed admiral of the Mughal fleet in 1671.<sup>7</sup>

Sumbul constantly engaged the Marāṭhās and in October 1672, he came to Danda-Rajpuri from Surat to assist the garrison at Janjira. He burnt and plundered all of Shivāji's sea-forts, destroying about 500 of his vessels. This diversion from sea caused the Marāṭhā siege of Janjira to be abandoned. In December of the same year, he anchored at Bombay and finally left for Surat in 1672.<sup>8</sup>

In October 1673, Sumbul again entered Bombay harbour and laid waste the country around Pen and Nagothna, capturing many Marāṭhā trading vessels and ships of war.<sup>9</sup> On his return to Surat in December, he got involved in a quarrel with the governor of Surat over the expenses incurred by him.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSG, Kolaba District, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 35. But according to MSG, Kolaba District, p. 81, he ruled till 1655.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1894), p. 223; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), p. 497. For Faṭḥ Khān's being a Sīdī, see Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 262, footnote.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*; Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 39.

<sup>6</sup> Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

<sup>7</sup> Khāfi Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 496; Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 202; Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 262. According to Banāji, *op. cit.*, p. 15, the Sīdīs were made Mughal admirals as early as in 1660.

<sup>8</sup> Banāji, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>9</sup> Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 266; Banāji, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> Banāji, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

In March of the next year, he attacked Shivaji's admiral Daulat Khān in the Sātavli river, in Ratnagiri district, but suffered defeat.<sup>1</sup> In April, he landed at Mazgaon much against the wish of the English, and left for Surat in September.<sup>2</sup> His cruise of the Marāṭhā coast in January-February 1675, did not meet with any success, but towards the end of that year, when Shivaji besieged Janjira, Sumbul sailed down the coast to Vengurla, plundered and burnt that town and having come to Janjira, forced Shivaji once again to raise the siege.<sup>3</sup> The Surat Factory records tend to indicate that some time before the 8th October 1675, Sumbul was superseded by Sidi Qāsim Yāqūt Khān as the Mughal admiral,<sup>4</sup> probably as a result of his quarrel with the governor of Surat mentioned above. But Sumbul did not hand over charge and postponed the transfer of the fleet on one pretext or the other, till April 1676, when both Qāsim and Sumbul came to Bombay.<sup>5</sup>

By this time, Sumbul's influence was decidedly on the wane, and he left Bombay for Janjira on the 8th April, 1676,<sup>6</sup> probably to take his family to Surat. It was on his reaching Janjira that he was murdered, as we shall presently see.

### I. EPITAPH OF SIDI SUMBUL, FROM JANJIRA

The first of these inscriptions is engraved in relief in Thulth characters on the headstone of one of the graves on a platform, near the Jāmi'-Masjid in the Janjira fort.<sup>7</sup> The arch-shaped tablet measures 40 cm. in width and 50 cm. in height and contains five lines in Arabic, which register the death of Sidi Sumbul, son of Raihān. He is stated to have died the death of a martyr on Thursday, 9th Šafar 1087 (13th April 1766). The date is given both in words and by way of chronogram; the numerical value of the two words forming the chronogram are also written below.

The text reads as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XVII (a)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 (٢) شَهِدَ سَيْدِي سُبُّلٌ رِيحَانُ يَوْمَ الْخَمِيسِ تِسْعَ  
 (٣) فِي شَهْرِ صَفَرٍ سَنَةِ أَلْفٍ وَسَبْعٍ وَثَمَانِينَ بَعْدَ الْهَجْرَةِ  
 (٤) النَّبَوِيَّةِ عَلَى صَاحِبِهَا أَفْضَلُ الصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ  
 (٥) فَجَاءَ تَارِيخُهُ دَخَلَ جَنَّةُ  
 ٦٣٣ ٣٥٣

<sup>1</sup> Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> Bānāji, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Sarkār, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-68.

<sup>4</sup> Pārasnis & others, *English Records on Shivaji*, part II (Poona, 1931), p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> Bānāji, *op. cit.*, p. 23, avers that it was due to Sumbul's embezzlement of the money belonging to the community.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

*Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1959-60, No. D, 140.

<sup>7</sup> This should be either شَهِدَ or اسْتَشْهَدَ.



## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
  - (2) Sidi Sumbul, (son of) Raiḥān, attained martyrdom on Thursday, 9th
  - (3) of the month of Ṣafar, (in the) year one thousand and seven and eighty after the Migration
  - (4) of the Prophet, may the best of salutations and peace be upon him ! (9 Ṣafar 1087=13 April 1676).
  - (5) And its date has come to be (contained in the phrase) 'He entered (634) paradise (453)'.
- The year A.H. 1087 is obtained, as stated above, by adding 634 and 453.

There is no reason to doubt that Sidi Sumbul of the above record is other than the first Mughal admiral of Janjira. The date of his death is in keeping with the known dates of his career. Particularly, the last date in his career we know is 8th April 1676, on which he left Bombay for Janjira to fetch his family. Nothing definite is known about him after this date. It is, therefore, almost certain that he was put to death on his arrival at Janjira. Moreover, the other graves on the same platform are those of the wife and children of Sumbul's successor Yāqūt Khān I. This also points to the fact that the grave in question is that of this Sumbul, particularly when we remember that none but the members of the family of the Sidi chiefs Yāqūt Khān I and Yāqūt Khān II is found buried inside the fort.<sup>1</sup> All these facts prove that Sumbul of the present epitaph is none other than the famous Mughal admiral.

This record is thus an important document, as it helps us to dispel the mist of confusion about Sumbul, partly created by English records. Firstly, the text has preserved the correct name of this chief, which is variously spelt as Sombole, Sambhole, Sumbhol, Sumbhul and Sambal in English and Marathi writings.

Secondly, it furnishes the exact date of his death, and thereby, the year of the taking over by his successor, which is generally believed to be 1677. Thirdly, it proves as totally baseless, the generally accepted fact that not only Sumbul lived after 1676, but he went over to the Marāṭhās in 1677 and worked as commander of their fleet until 1682.<sup>2</sup> Incidentally, the fact that Sumbul was already succeeded by Qāsim to the command of the Mughal fleet before June 1676, is clearly proved by a letter from Surat to Bombay.<sup>3</sup> Fourthly, we get only from this epigraph, the name of his father, which none of the chroniclers seems to have recorded. Then, the statement of Duff and Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār that from 1670 onwards, the general title of Yāqūt Khān was conferred on successive Sidi admirals<sup>4</sup> is negatived by our record, which does not use this title. The very fact that Sidi Surūr who succeeded Qāsim Yāqūt Khān is mentioned as Yāqūt Khān II in his inscriptions (pp. 74-75 *infra*), also shows that Qāsim and not Sumbul was the first to receive the title.

## Sidi Khairiyat

Khairiyat Khān, the next Sidi chief, was one of the leaders of the revolt of 1670, as stated above. He had become the governor of the land dominions of the Janjira region, early in 1671,

<sup>1</sup> The only other platform containing graves inside the fort is near the *Hujra*. It contains the mortal remains of the children of Yāqūt Khān I (see pp. 64, 65, 66, 67, *infra*).

<sup>2</sup> Sarkār, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-69; *MSG*, Kolaba District, pp. 85, 87.

<sup>3</sup> Pārasnis and others, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Sidi Qāsim's command of the fleet in July 1676 is also proved by Bānāji, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 262; Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 202.



with a rank of 200 men, 100 horse.<sup>1</sup> According to Bhonsle, he was made a *subedār* as early as 1659, and it was he who commanded the Sidis against Shāmrāj Pant in that year and defeated him and also defeated the fresh body of troops which Shivāji had sent under Raghunāth Pant.<sup>2</sup> But he has not quoted any evidence.

Sidī Khairiyat along with Sidī Qāsim captured Danda-Rajpuri which was taken as early as in 1661 by Shivāji, who for the next nine years was striving in vain to capture Janjira itself, and killed Raghunāth Ballāl, the Marāṭhā commandant.<sup>3</sup> In reward for this achievements, both the title of Khān and increase in rank.<sup>4</sup> Khairiyat Khān tenaciously defended his charge of received Danda-Rajpuri which Shivāji tried to wrest from him<sup>5</sup> till the death of the latter in 1680 and also foiled the attempts of his successor Sambhāji to take Janjira. On the 28th August 1682 (5th Ramaḍān 1093), robes of honour were sent through Bahramand Khān to Sidī Khairiyat and Sidī Yāqūt by Aurangzeb for meritorious service.<sup>6</sup> By 1690, Khairiyat completely recovered the possessions lost to the Marāṭhās in 1659.<sup>7</sup>

According to Bhonsle, under order of the Mughal emperor, Khairiyat went with his army to reinforce the siege of Sinhgarh and conquered the fort, and was rewarded with the title of Khān-i-Āli Shāh. Khairiyat Khān died in 1696 at Raigarh, and his body was brought to Khokri and interred in the tomb constructed by himself.<sup>8</sup> In view of the date of his death, which is explicitly given in the record under study, it is clear that the attribution to him, of the conquest of Anjanvel which took place in 1699, is wrong.<sup>9</sup>

## II. EPITAPH OF KHAIRIYAT KHĀN, FROM KHOKRI

The second inscription of the group is chronologically a little later than the following ones, but it is studied here, as it refers to Khairiyat Khān, who was, as we have just seen above, the next chief.

The slab measuring 82 by 40 cm., is fixed over the door of his tomb, situated at Khokri, about two kilometres from Danda-Rajpuri.<sup>10</sup> It contains four lines of writing in Arabic, recording that Khairiyat Khān expired on Thursday, 7th Rabī' I 1108 (24th September 1696). The letters, particularly in the first line, are damaged due to the weathering of the stone. The style of writing is *Ṭhulth* of quite a pleasing type. It will be observed that a curious mistake occurs in the fourth line of the text: the positions of the second and the third digits of the year are interchanged. The correct date is given in words.

<sup>1</sup> Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 262; *MSG* Kolaba District, p. 85; Khāfi Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 37. Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 257 and *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 82, do not associate Khairiyat Khān at all with these engagements.

<sup>3</sup> Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 264; *MSG*, Kolaba District, pp. 85-86. Only Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 210, gives the name of the Marāṭhā chief.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 228; *MSG*, Kolaba district, p. 86.

<sup>5</sup> Khāfi Khān, *op. cit.* p. 266, but on p. 268, Sidī Qāsim is stated to be the governor of Danda-Rajpuri.

<sup>6</sup> Sāqī Musta'id; Khān, *Ma'āṭi-i-Alamgiri* (Calcutta, 1871), p. 221.

<sup>7</sup> Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 309; Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>8</sup> Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>9</sup> *MSG*, Ratnagiri District (Bombay, 1962), p. 735. Incidentally, *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 94, tends to suggest that Anjanvel was conquered about a decade earlier.

<sup>10</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 150.



The text of the epitaph has been deciphered as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XVII (b)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(٢) الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَحْدَهُ فَقَدْ انْتَقَلَ الْمَرْحُومُ خ[ير] يَتَخَانَ [ر] حَمَهُ اللَّهُ يَوْمَ الْخَمِيسِ سَابِعِ مِنْ ربيع الاول [ل]

(٣) [سنة ثمان و مائة و الف من الهجرة النبوية افضل الصلوة و السلام على صاحبها

(٤) سنة ١٠١٨

## TRANSLATION

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

(2) Praise be to Allāh who is the One! Khairiyat Khān, may Allāh have mercy on him, passed away on Thursday, the 7th of Rabi' u'l-Awwal,

(3) (in the) year eight and one hundred and one thousand, from the Migration of the Prophet, may the best benedictions and salutations be on him!

(4) Year (A.H.) 1018 (*recte* 1108)<sup>1</sup> (7 Rabi' I 1108=24 September 1696).

## Sidi Yaqut Khan I

Khairiyat Khān was succeeded by his brother Sidi Qāsim entitled Yāqūt Khān, as the governor of the land dominions as well.

The next eight inscriptions in this study refer to Yāqūt Khān I and different members of his family. Their importance as an important source cannot be overstressed, since they constitute the only records which furnish any information about the family of this great Sidi chief, who himself does find mention in the chronicles of the period, particularly the English Factory Records. Of these epigraphs, those except Nos. IV and IX form the epitaphs of his wife, sons and daughters respectively; the wife, according to her epitaph, had predeceased him, while the two sons and three daughters had survived him. It is only these inscriptions which have preserved the names of these members of the family of the Sidi admiral.

Yāqūt Khān, whose original name was Qāsim, was distinguished in his community for bravery, capacity and cunning.<sup>2</sup> In 1670, he received the rank of 300 men, 100 horse and was made the governor of Janjira in 1671, as already seen above. The so-called conferment of the title Yāqūt Khān on the successive Sidi admirals by the Mughal emperor, has already been commented upon in the preceding lines and need not be repeated here. But it may be noted here that his name Qāsim, used in the Factory records, does not appear in the Persian sources nor in any of the inscriptions studied here. Khāfi Khān merely calls him Sidi Yāqūt.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is engraver's mistake for 1108, as stated above.

<sup>2</sup> Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM JANJIRA

( PLATES XVI—XXII )

(a) Epitaph of Sīdī Sumbul, A.H. 1087, Janjira (p. 57)



SCALE : ·25

(b) Epitaph of Sīdī Khairiyat Khān, A.H. 1018 (sic.), Khokri (p. 60)



SCALE : ·18





In 1671, Yāqūt Khān received the title with an increase in rank consequent upon the conquest of Danda-Rajpuri.<sup>1</sup> About October 1675, he was appointed to succeed Sumbul as the admiral of the Mughal fleet. The latter was reluctant to hand over, and it was only on his murder in April 1676, that Qāsim Yāqūt Khān took over command of the fleet. In the same year, Moro Pant, Peshwā of Shivāji, besieged Janjira and prepared floating platforms, to escalate the walls, but Yāqūt Khān appeared with his fleet, broke the line of investment, burnt the floating platforms and forced the Marāṭhās to raise the siege in December 1676.<sup>2</sup>

Towards the end of November 1679, Yāqūt Khān joined the British off Khanderi and directed a cannonade on the Marāṭhās for some days. But as the Marāṭhās could not be dislodged from that island, he fortified another island opposite it named Underi, in January 1680, much to the consternation of the English and made it his base. On 26th January, Daulat Khān, the Marāṭhā admiral, attacked the Sīdī base at Underi, but sustained defeat with the loss of four warships, several vessels and five hundred men. The English, who were not reconciled to his possession of Underi, entered into an agreement with Shivāji not to allow Yāqūt Khān to winter at Bombay, whereupon the latter entered the harbour with his whole fleet on 27th February 1680, landed on the south shore, burnt some villages and captured many men. He again molested the English at Bombay in May 1680. About three months later, a party of Marāṭhās landed in the dark at Khanderi, but Yāqūt Khān, receiving intelligence, hastened to the island and captured or killed majority of them. He stayed at Bombay till the end of December 1680. Sometime in the beginning of 1681, he went to Surat and on some pretext, seized the goods of the East India Company, maltreated their servants and besieged the Factory, leaving for the English no alternative but to bribe him to the tune of Rupees 30,000. Later on, he captured some Marāṭhā subjects as prisoners from the shores of Bombay. In 1682, he defeated the Marāṭhā fleet under Sīdī Miḡrī, a near relation of Sīdī Sumbul, who was made a prisoner, and captured or sunk many Marāṭhā vessels. Early 1683, he again in molested the English at Bombay, and left that place in October only.<sup>3</sup>

Yāqūt Khān again appeared at Bombay in April 1684, but not getting permission to anchor, went to Underi. He must have repaired to Danda-Rajpuri some time after this, for in February 1686, we find him leaving Danda-Rajpuri to capture the fort of Kalyan, which he besieged. He had to raise the siege after two days to go in pursuit of Prince Akbar. He invaded Bombay under Aurangzeb's orders and had almost conquered the island in 1689-90. In 1699, he captured Govalkot and requested the English to help him to carry a big gun to Janjira.<sup>4</sup>

It was Yāqūt Khān who took up the work of the reconstruction of the Janjira fort, shattered by the Marāṭhās in 1682, under the supervision of his governor Sīdī Surūr, in 1700, as recorded in inscription No. XI.<sup>5</sup> According to Bhonsle, he sent parties to plunder the Marāṭhā country to provide funds for this expenditure, but on account of the representation from the Marāṭhās, he was sent for by the emperor, who on being apprised of the correct position, bestowed on him the title of Khān-i-Amārat-Nishān.<sup>6</sup>

Yāqūt Khān died on the 30th Jumādā II 1118 (28th September 1706), according to the epitaph on his tomb.<sup>7</sup> This epitaph is non-extant now, in the sense that the letters on the tablet have completely flaked off due to weathering. Fortunately, Prof. B. D. Verma of Poona had

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Sarkār, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-69, 273, 274, 275.

<sup>3</sup> Bānāji, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 32, 33, 35.

<sup>4</sup> Bānāji, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 38, 39, 40, 53, 57; Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, p. 58, places it in 1701.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.



prepared its impression quite some time back. In view of this, the statement that he died in 1707 is wrong.<sup>1</sup>

### III. EPITAPH OF YĀQŪT KHĀN'S WIFE

The earliest of the eight inscriptions, referring to Yāqūt Khān and his family, is the epitaph of his wife Sittī Zuhra. Engraved on an arch-shaped tablet, measuring 40 by 65 cm., fixed at the head of another grave on the above-mentioned platform near the Jāmi'-Masjid in the Janjira Fort,<sup>2</sup> it contains nine lines of Arabic text carved in *Thulūṭh* letters of a tolerably good type. It purports that Sittī Zuhra, wife of Yāqūt Khān, passed away on the night of Friday, 18th Safar 1098 (24th December 1686).

The text has been read as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XVIII (a)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(٢) الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَحْدَهُ إِمَّا بَعْدَ فَقْدٍ انْتَقَلَتْ

(٣) مِنْ دَارِ الْفَنَاءِ إِلَى دَارِ الْبَقَاءِ مَقْبَلَةً عَلَى رَبِّهَا

(٤) الْغَفُورِ الْإِمَامَةِ الْمَرْحُومَةِ الْمَاجُورَةِ سَيِّ زَهْرَةَ

(٥) زَوْجَةِ يَاقُوتْخَانَ لَيْلَةِ الْجُمُعَةِ ثَمَانِيَةِ عَشَرَ خُلُونِ مِنْ

(٦) شَهْرِ صَفَرِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانِيَةِ وَتِسْعِينَ بَعْدَ الْآلِفِ مِنَ الْهِجْرَةِ

(٧) النَّبِـ[وِيَّةِ] عَلَى صَاحِبِهَا أَفْضَلُ الصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ رَحِمَهَا

(٨) [اللَّهُ رَحْمَةُ الْإِبْرَاهِيمِ] وَاسْكُنْهَا فِي جَنَّتِهِ مَعَ الْأَخْيَارِ

(٩) ١٠٩[٨]

#### TRANSLATION

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

(2) Praise be to God, who is the One ! To come to the point : Passed away

(3) from the transitory abode to the everlasting abode, received (into His proximity) by her Nourisher (who is)

(4) the Pardoner, the creature who is shown mercy, the recompensed, Sittī Zuhra,

(5) wife of Yāqūt Khān, in the night of Friday, the 18th of the

(6) month of Ṣafar, year eight and ninety above one thousand, after the Migration

(7) of the Prophet, may the best of benedictions and salutations be upon him ! May Allāh

<sup>1</sup> MGS, Kolaba District, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> ARIE, 1959-60, No. D, 144.

(8) have on her mercy, like unto the pious ones and give her abode in His Paradise, along with the righteous ones!

(9) Year (A.H.) 1098 (18 Šafar 1098=24 December 1686).

The epigraph, so far as I know, is the only document which quotes the name of the wife of Yāqūt Khān I and the date of her death.

It is also important in that it corroborates the fact that the title Yāqūt Khān was conferred on Sīdī Qāsim, during the life-time of Khairiyat Khān whose death occurred a decade after the date of this epigraph.

#### IV. INSCRIPTION OF THE PALACE OF YĀQŪT KHĀN

The slab bearing the second inscription of Yāqūt Khān I and fourth of the group is fixed on the gate of the ruined palace called Hāthī-Maḥal, at Rajpuri on the mainland.<sup>1</sup> It measures 1.82 m. by 32 cm. and contains two lines. The first is in Arabic comprising *Bismi'llāh*, which is inscribed in *Naskh* characters. The second line contains two verses in Persian, written in *Nasta'liq*, recording, in a chronogram, the construction of the house (i.e. palace) of Yāqūt Khān in 1692-93. The name of the composer reads like Mahdawī. The date is also inscribed in figure.

The record is quite important, as it provides a concrete proof of the fact that by 1692, the Sīdīs felt completely secure against the danger of the Marāṭhā attack and were in such a strong position that they could not resist the temptation of building a palace on the site of the ruined fort of Danda-Rajpuri, which was, we are told, destroyed by accidental explosion of the powder magazine in 1671, when the Sīdīs took the place from the Marāṭhās.<sup>2</sup>

The text which is damaged in some places, has been deciphered as under :—

##### TEXT

##### Plate XVIII (c)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(۲) [ش]د بنای خانه یاقوت خان در زمان اسعد از فضل خدا

یافت این را مهدوی(?) ز الهام غیب سال تاریخ بنا بیت السخا

۱۱۰۳

##### TRANSLATION

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

(2) The house (i.e. palace) of Yāqūt Khān was constructed at the most auspicious time, through the bounty of God.

Through the inspiration from the Unseen, Mahdawī found the year and date of construction in (the words) 'the house of generosity'. (A.H.) 1104 (1692-93 A.D.).

The chronogram contained in the last phrase works out to A.H. 1104, also given in figure.

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 155.

<sup>2</sup> Sarkār, *op. cit.*, p. 262.



## V. EPITAPH OF YĀQŪT KHĀN'S SON

The fifth record of the article is the epitaph of one of the sons of Yāqūt Khān. The arch-shaped tablet measuring 40 by 40 cm. appears as the headstone of one of the graves on a platform, near the building locally called *Hujra* in the Janjira fort.<sup>1</sup> Comprising eight lines in Arabic, inscribed in fairly exquisite *Thulth*, the epitaph records Monday, 21st *Shawwāl* 1120 (23rd December 1708), as the date of the demise of Sīdī Ishāq, son of Yāqūt Khān. The 21st *Shawwāl*, it may be pointed out fell on Thursday and not on Monday.

The text has been read as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XVIII (b)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(٢) الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَحْدَهُ إِمَّا بَعْدَ فَقْدِ انْقِلَابٍ مِنْ

(٣) دَارِ الْفَنَاءِ إِلَى دَارِ الْبَقَاءِ مَقْبَلًا عَلَى رَبِّهِ الْغَفُورِ

(٤) الْمَرْحُومِ الْمَعْصُومِ سَيِّدِي إِسْحَاقَ ابْنَ يَاقُوتِخَانَ يَوْمِ الْاِثْنَيْنِ

(٥) إِحْدَى وَعِشْرِينَ خُلُوفٍ مِنْ شَهْرِ شَوَّالٍ سَنَةِ عِشْرِينَ وَمِائَةٍ

(٦) بَعْدَ أَلْفٍ مِنَ الْهَجْرَةِ النَّبَوِيَّةِ أَفْضَلُ الصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ

(٧) عَلَى صَاحِبِهَا رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ رَحْمَةً الْإِبْرَارِ وَاسْكَنَهُ فِي الْجَنَّةِ مَعَ الْإِخْيَارِ

(٨) سَنَةِ ١١٢٠

## TRANSLATION

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

(2) Praise be to Allāh who is the One ! To come to the point : Passed away

(3) from the temporary abode to the everlasting one (and) accepted by his pardoning Nourisher,

(4) the deceased, the innocent, Sīdī Ishāq, son of Yāqūt Khān, on Monday,

(5) 21st of the month of *Shawwāl*, year twenty and one hundred and one thousand

(6) after the Migration of the Prophet, may the best of benedictions and salutation

(7) be on him ! May Allāh have mercy on him as in the case of the pious ones and provide him place in Paradise along with the righteous ones !

(8) Year (A.H.) 1120 (21 *Shawwāl* 1120=23 December 1708, which was Thursday).

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 148. The other graves belong to other members of Yāqūt Khān's family, as will be seen from the following lines.

(a) Epitaph of Yāqūt Khān's wife,  
Janjira (p. 62)



SCALE : -17

(b) Epitaph of his son,  
same place (p. 64)



SCALE : -28

(c) Inscription from his palace, A.H. 1104, Rajpuri (p. 63)



SCALE : -1

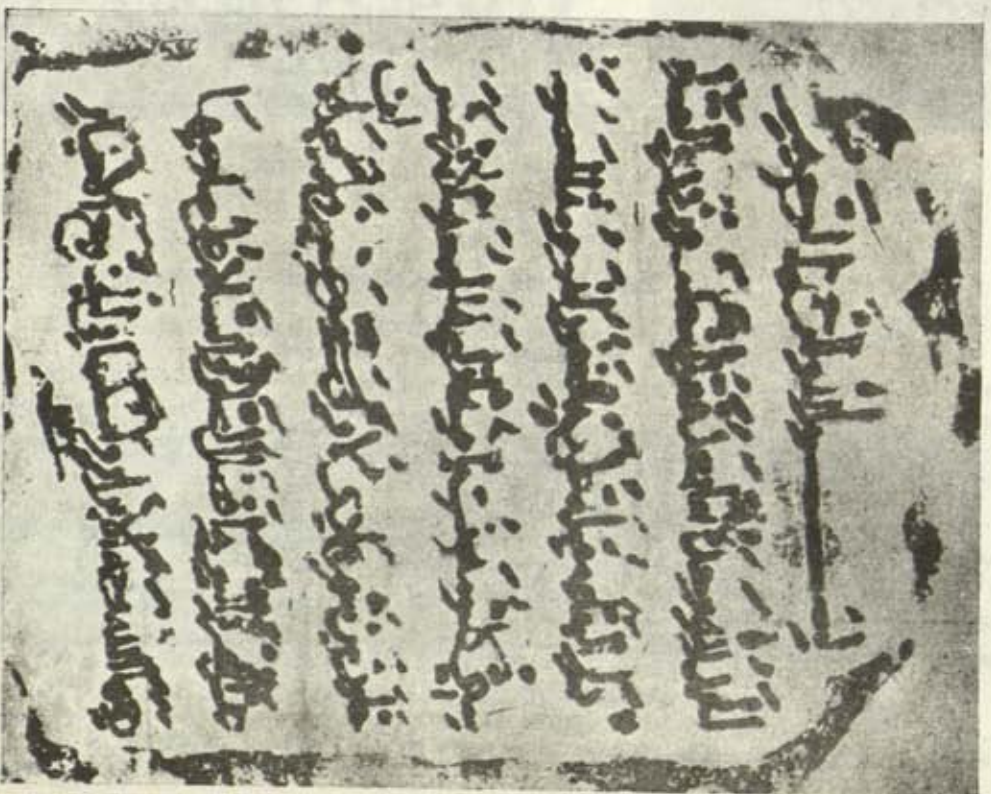


(a) Epitaph of Yāqūt Khān's daughter,  
Janjira (p. 65)



Scale : .2

(b) Epitaph of his another daughter,  
same place (p. 66)



Scale : .25

Nothing is known about Ishāq's career from any source. His very existence would have remained unknown but for this epigraph. Bhonsle wrongly puts his death as well as that of his brother (see p. 67 *infra*) in the lifetime of Yāqūt Khān himself.<sup>1</sup>

## VI. EPITAPH OF YĀQŪT Khān'S DAUGHTER

The sixth record to be studied in this article and fourth pertaining to the family of Yāqūt Khān I, is engraved on the headstone of another grave on the same platform, near the Hujra.<sup>2</sup> The slightly weathered arch-shaped tablet, measuring 40 by 65 cm., is inscribed with eight-line Arabic text, in *Naskh* characters in relief. According to it, the death of Sittī Zainab, daughter of Yāqūt Khān, occurred on Friday, 30th Shawwāl 1120 (31st December 1708). It may be pointed out that Zainab expired within ten days of the death of her brother Ishāq.

The epitaph reads as follows:—

### TEXT

#### Plate XIX (a)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 (٢) الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَحْدَهُ إِمَّا بَعْدَ انْتَقَلَتْ مِنْ دَارِ  
 (٣) الْفَنَاءِ إِلَى دَارِ الْبَقَاءِ مُقْبِلَةً عَلَى رَبِّهِ (كَذَا) الْغُفُورِ الْمَرْحُومَةِ  
 (٤) الْمَعْصُومَةِ سِتِّي زَيْنَبُ بِنْتُ يَاقُوتْخَانٍ يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ ثَلَاثُونَ  
 (٥) خَلَوْنَ مِنْ شَهْرِ شَوَّالٍ سَنَةِ عِشْرِينَ وَمِائَةٍ بَعْدَ الْآلِافِ  
 (٦) مِنَ الْهَجْرَةِ النَّبَوِيَّةِ أَفْضَلَ الصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ عَلَى صَاحِبِهَا  
 (٧) رَحِمَهَا اللَّهُ رَحْمَةً الْإِبْرَارِ وَاسْكَنْهَا فِي الْجَنَّةِ مَعَ الْإِخْيَارِ  
 (٨) سَنَةِ ١١٢٠

### TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
- (2) Praise be to Allāh, who is the One ! To come to the point : Passed away from the abode
- (3) of transitoriness to the everlasting abode (and) accepted before her pardoning Nourisher, the deceased,
- (4) the innocent, Sittī Zainab, daughter of Yāqūt Khān, on Friday, 30th of
- (5) the month of Shawwāl, year twenty and one hundred and one thousand
- (6) after the Migration of the Prophet, may the best of benedictions and salutations be upon him !

<sup>1</sup> Bhonsle, *op.cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 147.



(7) May Allāh have mercy on her along with the pious ones and provide an abode for her in Paradise in the company of the righteous ones!

(8) Year A.H. 1120 (30 Shawwāl 1120=31 December 1708).

#### VII. EPITAPH OF ANOTHER DAUGHTER OF YĀQŪT KHĀN

The next inscription of the group and fifth mentioning Yāqūt Khān I, is engraved on the arch-shaped headstone of a third grave on the same platform,<sup>1</sup> measuring 42 by 53 cm. It comprises eight lines of Arabic writing which purports that Sittī Kulthūma, daughter of Yāqūt Khān, died on the night of Friday, 13th of Jumādā I 1126 (16th May 1714). Here also, 13th Jumādā I of this year fell on Sunday and not on Friday. The style of writing is *Naskh* of a fairly good type.

The text has been read as under:—

#### TEXT

##### Plate XIX (b)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(٢) الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَحْدَهُ إِمَّا يَعْدُ فَقَدْ انْتَقَلَتْ مِنْ دَارِ الْفَنَاءِ

(٣) إِلَى دَارِ ابْقَاءٍ مَقْبَلَةً عَلَى رَبِّهِ (كَذَا) الْغُفُورِ الْمَرْحُومَةِ الْمَعْصُومَةِ

(٤) سِتِّي كُلْثُومَةَ بِنْتِ يَاقُوتْخَانَ لَيْلَةَ الْجُمُعَةِ ثَلَاثَةَ عَشَرَ

(٥) خُلُونِ مِنْ شَهْرِ جُمَادَى الْأَوَّلِ سَنَةِ ١١٢٦ مِائَتٍ وَعَشْرِينَ وَمِائَةً بَعْدَ الْأَلْفِ

(٦) مِنَ الْهَجْرَةِ النَّبَوِيَّةِ أَفْضَلَ الصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ عَلَى صَاحِبِهَا

(٧) رَحِمَهَا اللَّهُ رَحْمَةً الْأَبْرَارِ وَاسْكَنْهَا فِي الْجَنَّةِ مَعَ الْأَخْيَارِ

(٨) سَنَةِ ١١٢٦

#### TRANSLATION

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

(2) Praise be to Allāh who is the One! To come to the point: Passed away from the temporary abode

(3) to the everlasting abode (and) was accepted before her pardoning Nourisher, the deceased the innocent,

(4) Sittī Kulthūma, daughter of Yāqūt Khān, on the night of Friday, the 13th

(5) of the month of Jumādā I, year 1126, twenty-six and one thousand and one hundred

(6) after the Migration of the Prophet, may the best of benedictions and salutations be on him!

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 145.

(7) May Allāh have mercy on her along with the pious ones and provide an abode for her in Paradise in the company of the righteous ones !

(8) Year (A. H.) 1126 (Friday, 13 Jumādā I 1126=16 May 1714).

13th Jumādā I of this year was Saturday-Sunday.

### VIII. EPITAPH OF ANOTHER SON OF YĀQŪT KHĀN

The eighth inscription of this study and sixth of Yāqūt Khān's family, belongs to the fourth grave on the platform near the *Hujra*.<sup>1</sup> The arch-shaped headstone measures 42 by 62 cm. and contains an eight-line text in Arabic, carved in relief in *Naskh* characters, recording Thursday, 10th Jumādā II 1127 (2nd June 1715) as the date of the death of Sīdī 'Abdu'l-Ghafūr, son of Yāqūt Khān. It will be noted that 'Abdu'l-Ghafūr had not predeceased Yāqūt Khān as stated by Bhonsle.<sup>2</sup>

The text has been read as follows :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XX (b)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(٢) الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَحْدَهُ أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَقَدْ انْتَقَلَ مِنْ دَارِ

(٣) الْفَنَاءِ إِلَى دَارِ الْبَقَاءِ مَقْبَلًا عَلَى رَبِّهِ الْغَفُورِ الْمَرْحُومِ

(٤) الْمَعْصُومِ سَيِّدِي عَبْدِ الْغَفُورِ ابْنِ يَاقُوتْخَانَ يَوْمَ الْخَمِيسِ عَاشِرِ

(٥) خُلُونِ مِنْ شَهْرِ جُمَادَى الْآخِرَةِ سَبْعَةً وَعِشْرِينَ وَمِائَةً بَعْدَ

(٦) أَلْفٍ مِنَ الْهَجْرَةِ النَّبَوِيَّةِ أَفْضَلَ الصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ عَلَى صَاحِبِهَا

(٧) رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ رَحْمَةً الْأَبْرَارِ وَاسْكَنَهُ فِي الْجَنَّةِ مَعَ الْأَخْيَارِ

(٨) سَنَةِ ١١٢٧

#### TRANSLATION

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

(2) Praise be to Allāh who is the One ! To come to the point : Passed away from the abode

(3) of transitoriness to the everlasting abode (and) accepted before his pardoning Nourisher, the deceased,

(4) the innocent, Sīdī 'Abdu'l-Ghafūr, son of Yāqūt Khān, on Thursday, the 10th

(5) of the month of Jumādā II, year seven and twenty and one hundred after

(6) one thousand, from the Migration of the Prophet, may the best of benedictions and salutations be on him !

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 146.

<sup>2</sup> Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, p. 61.



(7) May Allāh have mercy on him along with the pious ones and provide a place for him in Paradise along with the righteous ones!

(8) Year (A.H.) 1127 (10 Jumādā 1127=2 June 1715).

### IX. EPIGRAPH ON A MOSQUE AT KHOKRI

This epigraph, the seventh to mention a family member of Yāqūt Khān, appears over the central *mihrāb* of the mosque, near the Sidī tombs in Khokri, near Rajpuri.<sup>1</sup> The first of its five-line text, is devoted to *Bismillāh* and is executed in *Naskh* characters, the next three contain a Persian fragment, carved in *Nasta'liq* characters, and the last line records the year. It states that the mosque was built by Ḥabībā Bibī, daughter of the deceased Yāqūt Khān, a brave man who strove in the path of Allāh. The date, contained in a chronogram composed by one Tuḥfa and yielding A.H. 1134 (1721-22 A.D.), is also given in figure.

There is nothing particular about the style of writing.

The text, engraved on a tablet measuring 64 by 12 cm., is quoted below:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XX (a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

(۲) مسجدے کردہ بنا بہر صلوة شد عماد الدین را زو ارتقاع

(۳) بنت مرحوم خدا یاقوتخان فی سبیل اللہ جاہد آن شجاع

(۴) گفت تاریخ تمامش تحفہ عقل از حبیبہ بی بی این خیر البقاع

(۵) سنہ ۱۱۳۴

#### TRANSLATION

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

(2) This mosque was built for offering prayers — and the pillar of religion has acquired elevation through it — by

(3) the daughter of Yāqūt Khān the brave, who strove in the path of Allāh and was taken into His mercy.

(4) Wisdom conveyed to Tuḥfa, the date of its completion (in the words) 'this best of place is (built) by Ḥabībā Bibī'.

(5) Year (A.H.) 1134 (1721-22 A.D.).

### X. EPITAPH OF A THIRD DAUGHTER OF YĀQŪT KHĀN

The tenth record of this article and the eighth and last inscription referring to Yāqūt Khān, is the epitaph of the above-mentioned Ḥabībā Bibī. One of the sarcophaga in the tomb of Yāqūt Khān situated at Khokri, contains the remains of this lady, according to the inscription of seven

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 153.





THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, PUBLISHED WEEKLY, CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 1, 1913.

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lines in Arabic prose and Persian verse engraved on its top.<sup>1</sup> It records A.H. 1141 (1728 A.D.) as the date of the death of Sitti Ḥabība, daughter of the late Yāqūt Khān. The date is given in figure only.

The style of writing of the Arabic text is *Naskh* and of the Persian, *Nasta'liq*.

The text which occupies a writing space of 17 by 77 cm., has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXII (b)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 (۲) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ  
 (۳) سَتِي حَبِيبِهِ دَخْتَرِ جَنَّتِ مَكَانِ يَاقُوتِخَانِ  
 (۴) شَرِبَتْ مَرَكِي بِخُورِدِ وَ كَرْدِه حَقِّ تَسْلِيمِجَانِ  
 (۵) وَقْتُ رَحَلَتْ چُونِ رَسِيدِ وَ هَاتَقَشِ آوَاZ دَادِ  
 (۶) جَنَّتِ الْفَرْدُوسِ رَا از بَهِرِ او پَرِ گُلِ كَشَادِ  
 (۷) سَنَه ۱۱۴۱ هَجَرِي

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
- (2) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.
- (3) Sitti Ḥabība, daughter of Yāqūt Khān, the dweller in Paradise,
- (4) tasted the syrup of death and submitted her soul to the Lord.
- (5) When the time of her departure came, the invisible angel called out to her (and)
- (6) opened the highest paradise, full of flowers, for her.
- (7) Year (A.H.) 1141 (1728-29 A. D.)

Sidi Surur

The next five inscriptions contain the name of Sidi Surūr, the first chief after whom the Janjira a principality became hereditary. He was one of the ablest Sidi commandants of Yāqūt Khān I, who according to Bhonsle, ravaged the Marāṭhā country and exacted tribute from Mudhkhora, sometime after 1701, to meet the cost of extensive repairs being carried out to the Janjira fort.<sup>2</sup> On the death of Yāqūt Khān, in 1706, Surūr who was at the time in command of the island-fort of Padmadurg near Janjira, was unanimously elected as the Sidi chief.<sup>3</sup> He adopted the title of Yāqūt Khān II. It was during his regime that Bālāji Vishvanāth and Kanhoji Angrey attacked

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 152.

<sup>2</sup> Bhonsle, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 94.



Janjira in 1714 and forced the Sīdīs to surrender eleven forts.<sup>1</sup> In about 1731, Janjira was attacked by Chimāji Appā, but he had to retreat. Surūr was not only able to defend his possessions, but also to take the offensive resulting in much loss to the adjoining Marāṭhā territories. Being wary of constant warfare, he adopted a policy of compromise and ceded to the Peshwā, half of Rajpuri, Tala, Ghosala, Nizampur, Goregaon, Birwadi and half of Govele. Two years later, he succeeded in beating off an attempt to capture Janjira fort by Angrey and the Peshwā, who had entered into a secret treaty with the Sīdī chief's best officer Ya'qūb Khān.<sup>2</sup> Surūr died in 1734 and was buried in the grand mausoleum, built during his own life-time, at Khokri. It is a pity that the inscriptional slab over the entrance of his tomb was removed in recent times by some one for unknown reasons.

### XI. INSCRIPTION FROM THE JANJIRA FORT

This inscription, eleventh of the present study, was set up when Surūr was yet subordinate to Yāqūt Khān. The epigraphical tablet measures 60 by 75 cm. and is fixed on the inner side of the right bastion of the imposing main entrance of the Janjira fort.<sup>3</sup> It is inscribed with three Persian couplets carved in six panels in fairly good *Nasta'liq* style. The poetry of the epigraph is quite mediocre. The text records that the two *hulmuk*-bastions<sup>4</sup> were built by Sīdī Surūr in the year A. H. 1111 (1699-1700 A. D.), afforded by a chronogram. It may be noted that the date must be that of the commencement of the construction, since according to the other inscription on the opposite side, which is studied next, the two bastions are stated to have been completed five years later.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XXI (b)

- (۱) یا الهی فضل تو شد بر نبی خیر الانام  
 (۲) برکت خاتم نبی سیدی سرور باشد مدام  
 (۳) نیک نامی در جهان بخت عوالی شد ظهور  
 (۴) هر دو هل مک برج را کرده بنا سیدی سرور  
 (۵) باکمال عقل تو قلعه جزیره کرده نور  
 (۶) آن بنای برج را تاریخ گشته از ظهور

#### TRANSLATION

- (1) O Allāh ! Thy grace was bestowed on the Prophet, the best of mankind.  
 (2) May Sīdī Surūr live for ever, through the blessings of the last of the Prophets !  
 (3) His fame became manifest in the world through his lofty fortune.

<sup>1</sup> *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 97; Bhonsle, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 139.

<sup>4</sup> *Hulmuk* means a sort of protecting bastion in front of the main gateway of a fort. For details and some interesting literary references, please see *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1955 & 1956, p. 76.

(a) Epitaph of Halima, daughter of Yāqūt  
Khān II, from Janjira (p. 73)



SCALE : 2

(b) Inscription on a bastion of the main  
entrance, Janjira Fort (p. 70)



SCALE : 16



PLATE XXII

(a) Epigraph on another bastion of the main entrance,  
Janjira Fort (p. 71)



SCALE : 2

(c) Inscription from the Anjanvel Fort, now in the  
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (p. 73)



SCALE : 14

(b) Epitaph of Yāqūt  
Khān's daughter,  
Khokri (p. 69)



SCALE : 23



- (4) Both the *hulmuk*-bastions were constructed by Sidi Surūr.
  - (5) You have illuminated the fort of Jazīra (i.e. Janjira), by the perfection of your wisdom.
  - (6) Hence, the date for the foundation is contained in the word 'manifestation'!
- The numerical value of the last word adds up to A. H. 1111 (1699-1700 A. D.)

This is an important record furnishing valuable information about the history of the construction of, or repairs carried out, to the fort of Janjira. It will be observed that the name of the place is spelt as *Jazīra*, the Arabic word for island, of which Janjira is said to be the corruption. Also, the epigraph settles once for all the correct spelling of the name of this Sidi chief, which like that of one of his predecessors Sidi Sumbul is written by some as Surūl and even Rasūl.<sup>1</sup>

## XII. ANOTHER EPIGRAPH FROM THE JANJIRA FORT

The record on the opposite wall, though dated five years later, is, in a way, continuation of the preceding record.<sup>2</sup> Engraved in relief on a slab measuring 87 by 60 cm., it consists of five lines in Persian, and the style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of a fairly high order. It runs to the effect that the two bastions which flank the main gate, were completed through the efforts of Sidi Surūr, on the 17th of *Dhī'l-Qa'da* 1116 (2nd March 1705). In other words, it took five years to complete the construction.

The text is read as follows :—

### TEXT

#### Plate XXII (a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(۲) بَعْنَايَات دَاوَر ذَوَالْجَلَال وَ تَوْفِیْقَات بَارْگَه لَا یَزَال بَنیَاد اَبَد آبَاد

(۳) اِیْن هَر دُو بَرَج پَایْدَار بِحَسَن نِیْت عَوَالِی هَم دُو لَتَمْدَار سِیدِی سُرُور شَهَامَت دَنَار

(۴) دَر مَاه ذِی قَعْدَه تَارِیْخ هَفْدَهَم سَنَه ۱۱۱۶ اَز هَجْرَت صَفْوِیَه نَبَوِیَه

(۵) صَلَی اللَّهُ عَلَیْهِ وَ آلِهِ وَ سَلَم صَوْرَت سَر اَنْجَام وَ فِیْض نِظَام دَرِیَاغَت

### TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
- (2) Through the kindness of the Glorious Judge and guidance of the Eternal Audience-Hall, the everlasting foundation of
- (3) both of these strong bastions, through the good intention and sublime magnanimity of the pivot of government, Sidi Surūr, the brave,
- (4) on the 17th of the month of *Dhī'l-Qa'da*, year 1116 from the noble Migration of the Prophet,

<sup>1</sup> *MSG*, Kolaba District, pp. 102, 104 ; H. N. Sinha, *Rise of the Peshwas* (Allahabad, 1954), p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 140.



(5) may the peace and salutations of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, attained the shape of completion and grace of foundation (17 *Dhī'l-Qa'da* 1116=2 March 1705).

### XIII. INSCRIPTION FROM THE ANJANVEL FORT

This record is unfortunately fragmentary and the name of the ruling chief is lost, except the first letter *S*, evidently of the word *Sīdī*, in the second hemistich. But there is no doubt that it belongs to *Sīdī Surūr*, as the missing name can only be read as *Sīdī Surūr* to rhyme with the first hemistich.

Its loose epigraphical tablet, originally fixed on the wall of the Anjanvel fort in the Ratnagiri district, was long back removed to the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.<sup>1</sup> Now measuring 85 by 55 cm., it has lost some portion on the left and contains a five-line text in Persian prose and verse, inscribed in ordinary *Nasta'liq* characters, recording that in the time of the Chief (*Sīdī Surūr*), the strong and matchless fort (of Anjanvel) was constructed by *Sīdī Sa'd*,<sup>2</sup> the *qal'adār*. It is dated the 10th of *Dhī'l-Hijja* 1119 (21st February 1708), in the first regnal year. This regnal year must refer to the reign of the Mughal emperor *Shāh 'Ālam* I (1707-12) and not of *Surūr*, who had succeeded to the chiefship more than a year ago, and moreover, in another record from Janjira (p. 74), *Shāh 'Ālam*'s suzerainty is clearly acknowledged.

In the gazetteer of Ratnagiri district where a corrupt translation of this record is given, Anjanvel fort is stated to have been attacked and captured in 1699, by *Khairiyat Khān*,<sup>3</sup> while in the revised edition of the Kolaba district gazetteer, it is asserted that Anjanvel was given by the Mughal emperor to *Sīdī Qāsim* in 1689, in reward for help rendered in the capture of Raygad.<sup>4</sup> These statements are somewhat confusing. *Khairiyat Khān* died in 1696 (see p. 60, *supra*) and was succeeded by his brother *Sīdī Qāsim Yāqūt Khān* I as the governor of Danda-Rajpuri. It was actually the latter who captured the fort of Anjanvel, soon after the death of his brother. He also took another fort nearby, called Govalkot in 1701.<sup>5</sup> *Sīdī Qāsim* died in 1706 and was succeeded by *Sīdī Surūr* alias *Yāqūt Khān* II, who had seven governors under him. One of them was *Sīdī Sa'd*, the builder of the fort mentioned in the record, who held charge of the fort of Govalkot and Anjanvel.<sup>6</sup>

The record is quite important. It gives the correct spelling of the name of *Sīdī Sa'd*, who is called *Sīdī Sat* or *Saat* by the modern writers.<sup>7</sup> *Sa'd* was a competent officer. For some personal reasons, he attacked the shrine of Parshuram, near Chiplun, in February 1727. As a result, *Bākāji Nāyak*, a subordinate of the Angrey, laid siege in 1732 to Anjanvel and Govalkot, which were ably defended by *Sa'd*, and the siege was raised through the intervention of the *Pratinidhi*.<sup>8</sup> In 1735, *Sa'd* took Bankot, and captured Rewas in a sudden attack in the next year.<sup>9</sup> *Shāhu*, being wary of *Sīdī Sa'd*'s growing power, directed *Vishvanāth* to subdue him at any cost. *Sa'd* died a hero's death, defending himself bravely near Alibag in that year.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 173.

For the history of Anjanvel under Bijapur rule, based on old records, see *Proceedings of the Bhārat Itihās Samāhodhak Mandal* Śaka 1835, pp. 319-41.

<sup>2</sup> The fort of Anjanvel is said in *ibid* to have been built during the 'Ādil *Shāhī* rule. Therefore, either *Sa'd* built it afresh or repaired it. The text has 'constructed'.

<sup>3</sup> *MSG*, Ratnagiri District, p. 735.

<sup>4</sup> *MSG*, Kolaba District, p. 94; Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> Bhonsale, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 58.

<sup>6</sup> G. S. Sardesai, *History of the Marathas*, vol. II (Bombay, 1948), p. 136; Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>7</sup> Sardesai, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 140; Sinha, *op. cit.*, pp. 169, 172, 182, 184; C. K. Srinivasan, *Bajiro the First* (Bombay, 1961), pp. 87, 88, 92, 93.

<sup>8</sup> Sardesai, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 137.

<sup>9</sup> Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 92.

<sup>10</sup> Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 140; Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

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

TEXT

Plate XXII (c)

(۱) هر كه آمد عمارت نوساخت اين .....  
 الله باقى و لكل فائى  
 رفت و منزل بديگرى پرداخت اين عمارت .....  
 (۲) چون كه شد حكم از حضور پر نور ..... رفعت و سطوت پناه سیدی سرور  
 (۳) قلعه را ساخت و چوكى ..... سیدی سعد قلعدار .....  
 (۴) تحرير في التاريخ دهم ذى الحج سنة احد سنه هجرى يکھزار یکصد و نوزدهم در .....

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Everlasting and everything else is perishable !

Whoever came, built a new edifice, (but) left it to others when he passed away.

This ..... this building .....

(2) Since it was ordered by the illuminated presence of the asylum of loftiness and majesty, [Sidi Surūr],

(3) Sidi Sa'd, the *gal'adār*, constructed a fort, a *chawki* and .....

(4) Written on the 10th of the month of Dhi'l-Hijja, (regnal) year One, Hijri year one thousand and one hundred and nineteen in ..... (10 Dhi'l-Hijja 1119=21 February 1708).

XIV. EPITAPH OF SIDI SURŪR'S DAUGHTER

The second inscription of the time of Sidi Surūr Yāqūt Khān II, is an epitaph of his daughter. The slightly damaged arch-shaped stone on which it is inscribed measures 37 by 60 cm. and is fixed at the head-side of a grave on the platform, near the Jāmi'-Masjid in the Janjira fort, referred to above.<sup>1</sup> The text records that Sitti Ḥalima, daughter of Sidi Surūr *alias* Yāqūt Khān, died on the 23rd of Jumādā I 1120 (29th August 1708). Nothing is known about this lady.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXI (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 (۲) الحمد لله وحده اما بعد فقد انتقلت  
 (۳) من دار الفناء الى دار البقاء مقبلة على ربه (كذا)  
 (۴) الغفور الرحومة المعصومة ستي حلیمه بنت  
 (۵) سيدى سرور عرف ياقوتخان يوم الاحد ثلث عشرون ؟  
 (۶) خلون من شهر جمادى الاول في سنة عشرين

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 145.



(٤) و مائة بعد الالف من الهجرة النبوية  
 (٨) افضل الصلوة و السلام على صاحبها  
 (٩) رحمها الله رحمة الابرار و اسكنها في الجنة مع الاخيار  
 (١٠) سنة ١١٢٠

## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
- (2) Praise be to Allāh who is the One ! To come to the point : Passed away
- (3) from the temporary abode to the everlasting one and was acceptable to her Nourisher,
- (4) the Pardonor, the innocent, the deceased, Sittī Ḥalīma, daughter of
- (5) Sīdī Surūr *alias* Yāqūt Khān, on Sunday the twenty-third(?)
- (6) of the month of Jumādā I of the year twenty
- (7) and one hundred above one thousand, after the Migration of the Prophet,
- (8) may the best of benedictions and salutations be upon him !
- (9) May Allāh have mercy on her along with the pious ones and provide her a place in Paradise in the company of righteous ones !
- (10) In the year (A. H.) 1120 (23 Jumādā I 1120=29 August 1708).

## XV. ANOTHER INSCRIPTION FROM THE JANJIRA FORT

The third inscription of Yāqūt Khān II is fixed on the facade of the inner gate of the Janjira fort.<sup>1</sup> The huge slab measuring 2.85 m. by 20 cm. has weathered considerably, affecting its two-line writing. Greater portion of the text has, however, been deciphered. According to it, the fort of Jazīra (Janjira), was originally constructed by Fahīm Khān during the time of Nizām Shāh the king of Dakhan (Deccan), in the year A. H. 984 (1576-77 A. D.),<sup>2</sup> and that the bastions, walls and the gate were reconstructed wholly by Yāqūt Khān the Second, in A. H. 1722 (1710-11 A. D.), during the reign of Shāh 'Ālam I, who is described as the Lord of the land and the sea.

The importance of this record is obvious. Apart from being one of the very few known records of the Mughal emperor Shāh 'Ālam I, it shows that the Sīdīs even after Aurangzeb's death continued to acknowledge Mughal suzerainty. The epigraph also helps to determine the history of the construction of the Janjira fort which took place at different times and periods.

The record has been deciphered as under :—

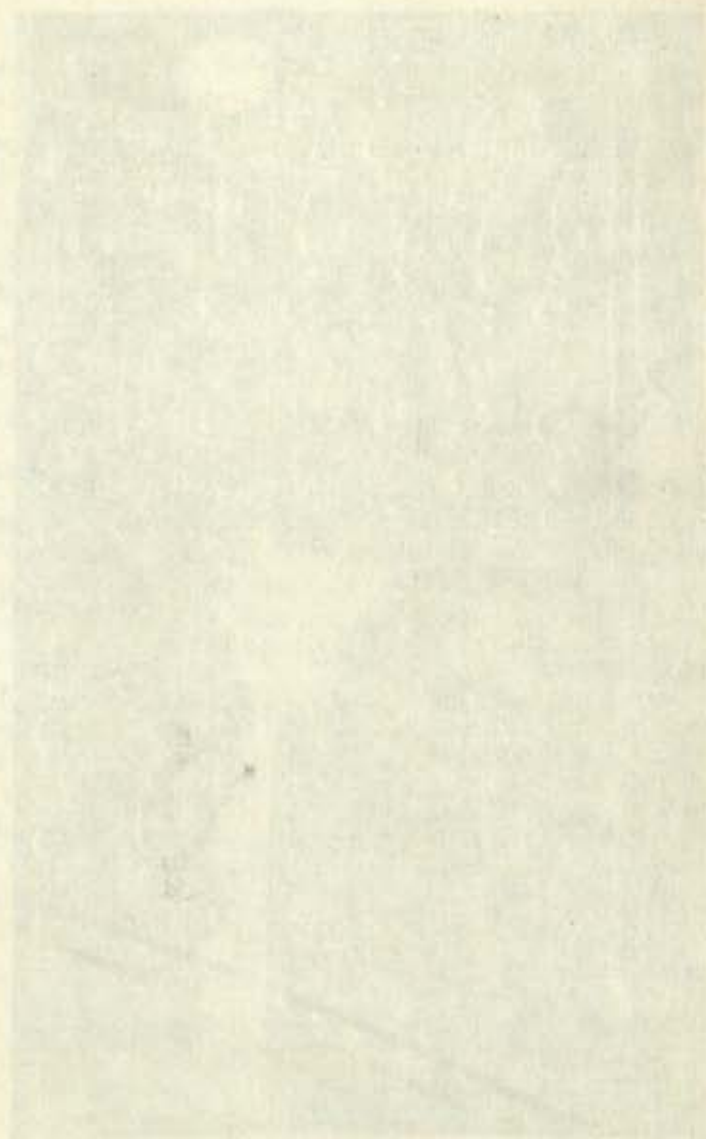
## TEXT

## Plate XXIII (b)

(١) از عون و فضل صانع منان ذوالمنن      دور نظامشاه آن (?) فرمان ده دکن  
 در سال نیکه نهصد و هشتاد با چهار      گشت از فهیم خان چو تعمیر این حصار

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 141.

<sup>2</sup> The original Nizām Shāhī inscription is now fixed into the north-wall of the Masāfaron-ki-Masjid, built on the rampart of the fort (*ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 140).





(a) Inscription on the main gate, Janjira Fort (p. 75)



SCALE : -12

(b) Inscription of Shāh 'Ālam I, Janjira Fort (p. 74)



SCALE : -08

بار دگر تمامی برج و حصار و در (۲) در عهد شاه عالم خاقان بحر و [بر]  
 یاقوت خان ثانی فیاض کرده است (۱) ز انسان که سر بطارم کیوان کشیده است  
 تاریخ چون بقاء قلعه (۱) مبارک نوشته شد اینک عدیل سد سکندر جزیره شد  
 سنه ۱۱۲۲

## TRANSLATION

(1) By the help and grace of the Beneficent and obliging Creator, in the reign of Nizām Shāh (Murtaḍā I), the king of Dakhan,

in the auspicious year nine hundred and eighty with four (A. H. 984=1576-77 A. D.), this fort was constructed by Fahīm Khān.

For the second time, all the bastions, the fort-wall and the gate were constructed

(2) in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam, the lord of land and sea. Yāqūt Khān II, the generous, has rebuilt it in such a way that it has raised its head to the dome of the Saturn.

When the date of this blessed fort was written, it was found to be in the phrase 'lo, Jazīra has become a match to the wall of Alexander'.

Year (A.H.) 1122 (1710-11 A. D.).

## XVI. ANOTHER EPIGRAPH FROM THE JANJIRA FORT

The last inscription of this study and the fifth of the time of Yāqūt Khān II, is fixed above the main gate of the Janjira fort,<sup>1</sup> at a considerable height, and it was a veritable achievement in itself to get its impressions prepared. As a matter of fact, but for the active help of Mr. 'Abdu'l-Ghafūr Shāhān, a leading resident of Janjira, it would not have been possible to copy it. Also commendable is the fortitude of Shri 'Abdu'l-Qādir Siddiqī, Mechanic of our office, who prepared the impressions, precariously perched on a rope-sling, with the roaring sea below.

The inscriptional tablet was damaged by a cannon ball in 1733, when the Marāṭhās had besieged the fort,<sup>2</sup> and a portion of the writing is also affected by weather. It measures 1.4 m. by 87 cm. and contains seven Persian couplets incised in beautiful *Nasta'liq* characters, preceded by *Bismi'llāh* which is inscribed in *Nasikh*.

The epigraph states that Yāqūt Khān established himself in Kokan and constructed anew the strong fort of Jazīra (i.e. Janjira) in A. H. 1140 (1727-28 A. D.). It also records A. H. 1118 (1706 A. D.), as the date of his accession to the throne, evidently on the death of Yāqūt Khān I.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XXIII (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) از فضل رب المستعان والا منس یاقوتخان

در ملک کوکن گشت چون بر مسند (۱) دولت مکن

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 137.

<sup>2</sup> Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 139.



- (۳) ز انعام فیضش بهره ور اعلی و هم ادنی شده  
 کس مثل او حاتم صفت نا دیده بر روی زمین  
 (۴) در مجلس داد و دهش در یست بر دریا بود  
 در معرکه بر دشمنان فتحش بود فتح مبین  
 (۵) اقبال روز افزون او صیت عدالت گستری  
 [انداخته در؟] شش جهت با صد هزاران آفرین  
 (۶) [آمد قوی] بخت این ندا از آسمان بهره جلوس  
 ..... خرد ..... ۱۱۱۸  
 (۷) حصن جزیره کرده نو در محکمے و ارتفاع  
 ز ینسان که گوید عالمے نبود دگر مانند این  
 (۸) قلعه مرتب گشت چون تاریخ گفتا هاتفی  
 با زیب شد حصن حصین دوران ندیده این چنین

۱۱۳۰

## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.  
 (2) By the grace of God whose aid is sought, when Yāqūt Khān of great magnanimity established himself firmly on the seat of government in the region of Kokan,  
 (3) the high and low (i. e. everyone) was benefited by the bounty of his favours. No one has seen a Ḥatīm-like (i. e. generous) man like him on the surface of the whole earth.  
 (4) In the assembly of generosity, only those pearls which are in the sea are left over <sup>1</sup>(and) in the battle, his victory over the enemies is a clear victory.  
 (5) His ever-increasing good fortune (has spread) fame of (his) dispensation of justice into the six directions (i. e. universe), with hundred thousand praises.  
 (6) (For the date of his) accession, the word 'very fortunate' was heard from the sky .....  
 ..... wisdom ..... (A. H.) 1118 (1706 A. D.).  
 (7) He constructed anew the fort of Jazīra (i. e. Janjira) in such great strength and height that the whole world says that there is no (fort) like it.  
 (8) When the fort was completed, the angel from the Unseen said for its date, 'The strong fort was completed with all embellishments, (and) the Time has not witnessed a like thereof'. (A. H.) 1140 (1727-28 A. D.).

The chronograms contained in lines 6 and 8 give A. H. 1118 and 1140 respectively as the dates of the accession of Yāqūt Khān II and the completion of the fort.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning seems to be that only such pearls as were in the ocean could not be gifted away.

# INDEX

	PAGE		PAGE
A		A—contd.	
'Abdu'llāh, Quṭb Shāh, of Golconda . . . . .	27, 31, 32, 33, 34	Alibag, in Kolaba district of Maharashtra . . . . .	72
'Abdu'llāh, Shāh, Kirmānī, a saint . . . . .	39	Aligarh, in Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	4, 8 (& f.n. 1), 9
'Abdu'l-Ghaffār, Sidi, son of Yāqūt Khān I . . . . .	67	'Alī Jār: Maṣḥadī, Mir, father of Mir 'Alī . . . . .	31, 32
epitaph of . . . . .	67	'Alī Tabrizī, Mir . . . . .	32
'Abdu'l-Laṭīf, servant of Āṣaf Khān . . . . .	41 (f.n. 1)	'Alī u'l-Kātib, Mir . . . . .	32
'Abdu'r-Raḥīm, Mirzā, see Khān-i-Khānān . . . . .	..	Allahabad, in Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	42
'Abdu'r-Razzāq Baig, father of Bulāq Baig . . . . .	54	Allāh Khān, governor of Danda-Rajpuri in Konkan so named . . . . .	55
'Ābida Bibī, epitaph ascribed to . . . . .	52	Altamaṣh, variant of Iltutmish (s.v.) . . . . .	4 (f.n. 4)
Abī Sa'd-al-Junaidī, father of the Mamlūk minister Niẓammu'd-Dīn Junaidī . . . . .	10	Altham, Captain, of the East India Company . . . . .	55
Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad, al-Junaidī, Qiwāmu'd-Dīn, Niẓamul-Mulk, minister of Iltutmish . . . . .	10	'Ambar, Malik, Niẓām Shāhī minister (& f.n. 5), 48, 55 (f.n. 6)	45, 47
Abu'l-Ḥasan, see Āṣaf Khān . . . . .	..	'Ambar, Sidi, a governor . . . . .	55, 56
Abu'l-Muẓaffar, title of Balban (s.v.) . . . . .	12	'Ambar Sānak, Sidi, a governor . . . . .	55
Abu'l-Muẓaffar, title of Iltutmish (s.v.) . . . . .	7	Amīru'd-Dīn, Mr., inscriptional tablet donated by . . . . .	8
Abu'l-Muẓaffar, title of Nāḡiru'd-Dīn (s.v.), son of Iltutmish . . . . .	11, 12	Amroha, in Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	1
Abū Naḡr Dahistānī, a builder . . . . .	17, 18	Angrey, Kanhoji, Marāṭhā chief . . . . .	69, 70, 72
'Ādil Shāh, Konkan transferred to . . . . .	55	Anjanvel, in Maharashtra . . . . .	59 (& f.n. 9), 72 (& f.n. 3)
'Ādil Shāhī, dynasty . . . . .	72 (f.n. 2)	'Arab, Sayyid Ḥasan 'Alī, see Ḥasan 'Alī . . . . .	..
Afdal Khān, governor of Bihar . . . . .	37	'Arab Khān, title of Nūr Muḥammad (s.v.) . . . . .	49
Aḥmad, a builder . . . . .	30	Arzānī, Shāh, a saint . . . . .	38 (& f.n. 3), 39
Aḥmad, Malik, founder of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty . . . . .	55	Āṣaf Khān, Abu'l-Ḥasan, governor of Bihar (& f.n. 1), 42 (f.n. 1), 49	41
Aḥmad, Malik Tāju'd-Dīn, Khaljī official . . . . .	26 (& f.n. 4)	Asarya Khurd, near Allahabad . . . . .	19 (f.n. 2)
Aḥmad, Malik Tāju'd-Duwal, son of Talbagha, governor of Mahoba under Tughluq Shāh . . . . .	24, 25, 26 (& f.n. 4)	Assam . . . . .	37
Aḥmad, Malik Tāju'd-Duwal, mentioned in the Junagadh inscription . . . . .	26 (f.n. 4)	Aurangzeb Mughal emperor . . . . .	52 (f.n. 4), 59, 61
Aḥmad, son of 'Umar-al-Khaljī, a builder . . . . .	6, 7	Ayāz, name doubtfully read as . . . . .	26 (f.n. 4)
Ahmadnagar, in Maharashtra . . . . .	55	A'zam Khān, Mughal official . . . . .	49
Aibak, cognomen of Quṭbu'd-Dīn . . . . .	9, 16	'Azīmu'sh-Shān, Mughal prince . . . . .	43
Ajmer, in Rajasthan . . . . .	6		
Akbar, Mughal prince . . . . .	61	B	
Akola, in Maharashtra . . . . .	43	Bābā Ishāq Maghribī, see Ishāq . . . . .	..
Akot, in Maharashtra . . . . .	43	Baglāna, in Nasik district of Maharashtra . . . . .	50, 52 (& f.n. 4)
'Alāu'd-Dīn, Khaljī king . . . . .	21	Bahādur Shāh, see Shāh 'Ālam . . . . .	..
Ālham Shahid . . . . .	14 (f.n. 2)	Bahmanī, a dynasty . . . . .	29
'Alī, fourth caliph . . . . .	28, 29	Bahrām Shāh, Mu'izzu'd-Dīn, see Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Bahrām Shāh . . . . .	..
'Alī, Mir, a scribe . . . . .	31, 32, 33	Bahramand Khān, Mughal official . . . . .	59
'Alī, Hirawī, Mir . . . . .	32	Bākāji Nāyak, subordinate of Angrey . . . . .	72
		Balāji Vishvanāth, Marāṭhā official (s.v.) . . . . .	69, 72



	PAGE
<i>B—contd.</i>	
Balban, <i>Ghiyāth</i> u'd-Dīn, Abu'l-Muẓaffar . . . . .	4 (f.n. 1), 5 (& f.n. 2), 12
Bankot, in Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra . . . . .	55, 72
Baran, old name of Bulandshahr in Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	1, 15, 16
Barē Ṣahib, husband of Ṣāliḥa . . . . .	33, 34
Bari Khatu, in Nagaur district of Rajasthan . . . . .	4
(& f.n. 3), 5 (& f.n. 2), 12, 13, 16	
Bayana, in Bharatpur district of Rajasthan . . . . .	4
(f.n. 1)	
Bāyazīd Karrānī . . . . .	37
Berar, region . . . . .	45
Bibi Ḥabiba, see Ḥabiba . . . . .	..
Bhakkar, in Sind . . . . .	10
Bharatpur, in Rajasthan . . . . .	4 (& f.n. 1)
Bihar . . . . .	8, 9, 35, 39, 40, 41 (& f.n. 1), 42 (& f.n. 1)
Bihar Sharif, in Patna district of Bihar . . . . .	8
Bijapur, in Mysore . . . . .	56
Bilhaur, in Kanpur district of Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	4, 5, 17
Birbhum, in West Bengal . . . . .	39
Birwadi, in Kolaba district of Maharashtra . . . . .	70
Bombay, in Maharashtra . . . . .	55, 56, 58, 61
Budaun, in Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	1, 4, 5, 6, 14 (& f.n. 1), 17
Bulandshahr, in Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	1, 4, 5, 15 (& f.n. 1), 16 (& f.n. 2)
Bulakhibeg, variant of Bulāq Baig (s.v.) . . . . .	53
Bulāq Baig, <i>faujdar</i> of the <i>pargana</i> of Panch- gawan . . . . .	44, 53, 54
Bundelkhand, region . . . . .	26
<i>C</i>	
Chandor, in Nasik district . . . . .	52 (f.n. 4)
Chimāji Appa, Marāṭhā official . . . . .	70
Chiplun, in Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra . . . . .	72
<i>D</i>	
Dahihanda, in Akola district of Maharashtra . . . . .	53
Dakhan, i. e. Deccan . . . . .	44, 45, 46, 48
Dakhanla . . . . .	45
Danda-Rajpuri, in Kolaba district of Maha- rashtra . . . . .	55, 56, 59 (& f.n. 5), 61, 63, 72
Dargāh Quli, father of Ṣāliḥa . . . . .	33, 34
Daryā Khān Nuḥānī, a repairer . . . . .	41
<i>Dastār</i> , a post . . . . .	9
Daulatabad, in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra . . . . .	22
Daulat Khān, Marāṭhā admiral . . . . .	57, 61
Deccan, region . . . . .	45, 56

	PAGE
<i>D—contd.</i>	
Delhi . . . . .	6, 16, 26, 44, 53
Devarkonda, in Nalgonda district of Andhra Pradesh . . . . .	27
Dewas, in Madhya Pradesh . . . . .	44
Dhubri, in Bihar . . . . .	37
Dharur, in Bir District of Maharashtra . . . . .	43, 48, 49
—, in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh . . . . .	49

## F

Fahim Khān, Nizām Shāhi official . . . . .	74, 75
Faridūn Ḥussain, Mir, epitaph of . . . . .	44, 46, 47, 48
Farrukh Siyar, Mughal emperor . . . . .	43
Fath, variant for Mal (s.v.) . . . . .	22 (f.n. 3)
Fathābād, Kaij-Dhārūr so named . . . . .	48, 49
Fath Khān, Sidi, governor of Janjira . . . . .	55, 56
Fath Khān, Sidi, son of Malik Ambar . . . . .	55 (f.n. 6)
<i>faujdar</i> , a post . . . . .	50, 52
Firūz, Ruknu'd-Dīn, son of Iltutmish . . . . .	1, 9, 10
Firūz, Shamsu'd-Dīn, Bengal Sultān . . . . .	8
Firūz Shāh, Tughluq king . . . . .	19

## G

Gangarampur, in West Dinajpur district of West Bengal . . . . .	14
Gaur, in Malda district of West Bengal . . . . .	35
Gazinagar, in Nalgonda district of Andhra Pradesh . . . . .	27
Gharib, Lāla, see Ujāgar Chand (s.v.) . . . . .	..
Ghazna, in modern Afghanistan . . . . .	5
Ghiyāth u'd-Dīn, see Tughluq Shāh . . . . .	..
Ghiyāth u'd-Dīn Balban, see Balban . . . . .	..
Ghiyāth u'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, title of Tughluq Shāh (s.v.) . . . . .	19, 24, 25, 26
Ghori, a dynasty . . . . .	15 (f.n. 2)
Ghosala, in Kolaba District of Maharashtra . . . . .	70
Gilhaney, in Bihar . . . . .	37
Goregaon, in Kolaba district of Maharashtra . . . . .	70
Govalkot, in Ratnagiri district of Maha- rashtra . . . . .	61, 72
Govele, in Maharashtra . . . . .	70

## H

Ḥabash Khān, governor of Janjira . . . . .	55
Ḥabiba, Bibi, daughter of Yāqūt Khān . . . . .	68, 69
Ḥāji Ḥusainī, a builder . . . . .	31, 32, 33
Ḥāji Tātār, mosque of, in Patna . . . . .	35
Ḥalima, Sitti, daughter of Yāqūt Khān . . . . .	73, 74



H—contd.	PAGE
Hamirpur, in Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	19, 24
Hansi, in Hissar district of Panjab . . . . .	1, 11 (f.n. 6)
Hasan 'Ali 'Arab, Sayyid, son of Mirān Sayyid Yūsuf . . . . .	30
Hasan Barāni, <i>Farmān</i> of Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām in possession of . . . . .	16 (f.n. 2)
Hasan Mahdi, Ghaznavid minister wrognly called . . . . .	11
Hasan Maimandī, Ghaznavid minister . . . . .	11 (f.n. 4)
Hilsa, in Patna district of Bihar . . . . .	41
Himmat Khān, title of Mir Sharafu'd-Dīn Husain (s.v.) . . . . .	44, 48, 49, 50, 52
Humāyūn, Mughal emperor . . . . .	11, 15
Husain, Mir Muḥammad, epitaph of . . . . .	44, 45, 50, 51, 52
Husain, Mir Shāh, epitaph of . . . . .	44, 45, 46
Husain, Mir Sharafu'd-Dīn, entitled Himmat Khān (s.v.), <i>gal'adār</i> of Dharur . . . . .	44, 45, 48, 49
Husain Sultānī, Maliku'ah-Sharq, Saifu'd-Dīn Mamlūk official & builder . . . . .	12, 13
Hyderabad, in Andhra Pradesh . . . . .	31, 32, 33, 48

## I

Ibrāhīm Khān, governor of Danda-Rajpuri . . . . .	55
Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, Golconda king . . . . .	27
Iltutmish, Shamsu'd-Dīn, Abu'l-Muẓaffar . . . . .	1, 2, 4
(f.n. 1, 3), 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 (f.n. 6), 12, 14, 15, 16, 18	
Imām Qūli Beg Shāmlū, Mirzā, brother-in-law of Jahāngir Quli Khān . . . . .	37
Ishāq Maghribī, Bābā, a saint of Bari Khatu . . . . .	5, 6, 12
Ishāq, Sidi, son of Yāqūt Khān . . . . .	64, 65
Islām Khān, governor of Bengal . . . . .	37
Ismā'īl Maḥḥ, first Gulbarga Sultān . . . . .	22

## J

Jahāndār Shāh, Mughal emperor . . . . .	43, 44, 53, 54
Jahāngir, Mughal emperor . . . . .	35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48
Jahāngirnagar, i.e. Dacca . . . . .	37
Jamman Madāri, Shāh, dargāh of, at Hilsa . . . . .	41, 42
Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh, Golconda king . . . . .	29
Jangī Shahīd, tomb of, at Budaun . . . . .	17
Janjira, in Kolaba district of Maharashtra . . . . .	55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75
Jaunpur, in Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	19
Jazira, variant for Janjira . . . . .	71, 74, 75
Juljin, Malik, Tughluq official . . . . .	19

## J—contd.

Junagadh, in Gujarat . . . . .	26 (f.n. 4)
Junaidī, Nizāmu'l-Mulk, see Nizāmu'l-Mulk . . . . .	..

## K

Kāfūr, Malik, general of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji . . . . .	29
Kāfūr muhrdār, Malik, official . . . . .	21
Kaij-Dhārūr, Fathābād, Dhārūr so mentioned in an epigraph . . . . .	48 (& f.n. 2), 49
Kalyan, in Thana district of Maharashtra . . . . .	61
Kamālu'd-Dīn, title of Nizāmu'l-Mulk Junsidi (s.v.) . . . . .	9
Kaman, in Bharatpur district . . . . .	4 (f.n. 1)
Kanhoji, Angrey, see Angrey . . . . .	..
Kanjdharo, Kaij-Dharur, wrongly read as . . . . .	48 (f.n. 2)
Kanpur, in Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	5, 17
Khāfi, variant for Khwāfi . . . . .	37 (f.n. 2)
Khairiyat Khān, Sidi chief . . . . .	56, 58, 59 (& f.n. 2), 60, 63, 72
Khalji, a dynasty . . . . .	21, 24
Khanderi, near Bombay . . . . .	61
Khān-i-A'zam, Zafar Khān, see Zafar Khān . . . . .	..
Khān-i-Khānān, Mirzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Mughal general . . . . .	47
Kharagpur, in Monghyr district of Bihar . . . . .	37
Kharāml, a poet . . . . .	39, 40
Khatu, in Nagaur district of Rajasthan . . . . .	4 (f.n. 3)
— Kalān, i.e. Bari Khatu . . . . .	5
— Khurd . . . . .	5
Khirkī, old site of Aurangabad . . . . .	46, 47 (& f.n. 5), 48
Khokri, in Kolaba district of Maharashtra . . . . .	56, 59, 68, 70
Khushtigir, in Birbhum District . . . . .	39
Khusraw Khān, Khalji official . . . . .	21
Khwāf, in Khurāsān . . . . .	37 (f.n. 2)
Khwāfi, variant of Khāfi . . . . .	37 (f.n. 2)
Khwāja-i-Jahān, title of Nizāmu'l-Mulk Junaidi (s.v.) . . . . .	9, 10
Khwāshgi, clan of the Afghāns . . . . .	40
Koil, i.e. Aligarh . . . . .	1
Kokan, variant for Konkan (s.v.) . . . . .	75, 76
Kōl, variant of Koil . . . . .	4 (f.n. 4), 9, 12
Kolaba, in Maharashtra . . . . .	55, 72
Konkan, region on the west Coast . . . . .	55
Kulthūma, Sitti, daughter of Yāqūt Khān I . . . . .	66
Kuch, in Assam . . . . .	37

## L

Lakhnauti, old capital of Bengal . . . . .	23
Lālā Ujāgar Chand Gharib, see Ujāgar Chand . . . . .	..



	PAGE		PAGE
M		M— <i>contd.</i>	
Madāri, <i>Shāh</i> Jamman, see Jamman . . . . .	..	Mecca . . . . .	55
Maghribī, Bābā Ishāq, see Ishāq . . . . .	..	Medak, in Andhra Pradesh . . . . .	29
Mahdawi, a composer . . . . .	63	Meerut, in Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	4, 5, 11
Mahmūd, father of a builder . . . . .	14, 15	Mir 'Alī, see 'Alī, Mir . . . . .	..
Mahmūd, father of Abū Naṣr Dahistānī . . . . .	17, 18	Mir 'Alī Hirawī, see 'Alī Hirawī . . . . .	..
Mahmūd, of Ghazna, Sultān . . . . .	5, 11, 18	Mir 'Alī Jān Maḡhādī, see 'Alī Jān . . . . .	..
Mahmūd, Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, see Nāṣiru'd-Dīn		Mir 'Alī Tabrizī, see 'Alī Tabrizī . . . . .	..
Mahmūd . . . . .	..	Mir 'Alī 'l-Kātib, see 'Alī 'l-Kātib . . . . .	..
Mahoba, in Hamirpur district of Uttar		Mir Faridūn Ḥusain, see Faridūn Ḥusain . . . . .	..
Pradesh . . . . .	19, 24, 25, 26 (& f.n. 4)	MirMuḡammadḤusain Niknām, see Muḡam-	
Maimandī, Ḥasan, see Ḥasan Maimandī . . . . .	..	mad Ḥusain . . . . .	..
Majhaurī, a fort . . . . .	39, 40, 41	MirMuḡammadYūsuf Niknām, see Muḡam-	
Makḡ, proposed variant for Mal (s.v.) . . . . .	22 (& f.n. 3)	mad Yūsuf . . . . .	..
Makḡdūm 'Ālam, mosque of, at Budaun . . . . .	14	Mir Shārafu'd-Dīn Ḥusain, see Ḥusain,	
Makḡdūm Jahāniyān, see Sayyid Yūsuf,		Mir Shārafu'd-Dīn . . . . .	..
Mirān . . . . .	..	Mir Yūsuf, see Muḡammad Yūsuf . . . . .	..
Makḡdūm Shāhib, Chirāgh-i-Hind, a saint . . . . .	19	Mirān Muḡham Shahīd, see Muḡham Shahīd . . . . .	..
Makḡdūm Shāh, a saint . . . . .	1, 19	Mirān Sayyid Yūsuf Makḡdūm Jahāniyān,	
Mal, Malik, deputy of Tātār Khān . . . . .	20, 21, 22,	see Yūsuf . . . . .	..
	23, 25	Mirzā 'Abdu'r-Raḡim, Khān-i-Khānān, see	
Mal, Malik, Tughluq official . . . . .	20, 21, 22	Khān-i-Khānān . . . . .	..
Malda, in West Bengal . . . . .	35	Mirza Bulakhibeg, see Bulakhibeg . . . . .	..
Malik Aḡmad, see Aḡmad, Malik . . . . .	..	Mirzā Imām Qulī Baig, Shāmlū, see Imām	
Malik Aḡmad, Tāju'd-Duwal, see Aḡmad,		Qulī Baig Shāmlū . . . . .	..
Malik Tāju'd-Duwal . . . . .	..	Mirzā Ma'ḡūm Khwāfi, see Ma'ḡūm Khwāfi . . . . .	..
Malik 'Ambar, see 'Ambar . . . . .	..	Mirzā Ma'ḡūm, mosque of, at Patna . . . . .	35
Malik Juljīn, see Juljīn . . . . .	..	Mirzā Mu'min, son of Ma'ḡūm Khān, see	
Malik Kāfūr, see Kāfūr . . . . .	..	Mu'min . . . . .	..
Malik Kāfūr muḡrdār, see Kāfūr muḡrdār . . . . .	..	Misri, Sidi, relative of Sidi Sumbul . . . . .	61
Malik Mal, see Mal . . . . .	..	Moro Pant, Peshwā, Marāṭhā official . . . . .	61
Malik Tāju'd-Duwal, see Aḡmad, Malik		Mubārak Shāh, Quṭbu'd-Dīn, Khaljī king . . . . .	21, 26
Tāju'd-Duwal . . . . .	..	Mughal, a dynasty . . . . .	35, 37, 43, 44, 45, 47, 53,
Malik Timūr, see Timūr, Malik . . . . .	..		55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 72, 74
Malik Zafar Khān, see Zafar Khān . . . . .	..	Muḡammad, the Holy Prophet . . . . .	28, 29, 39, 40
Maliku'sh-Sharq Ḥusain Sultānī, entitled		Muḡammad 'Alī, a scribe . . . . .	33, 34
Ṣaifu'd-Dīn, see Ḥusain Sultānī . . . . .	..	Muḡammad, son of Abī Sa'd, Khwāja-i-Jahān	
Mamlūk, a dynasty . . . . .	2, 4, 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15	Nigāmu'l-Mulk al-Jūnaidī (s.v.) . . . . .	10
	(& f.n. 2), 17	Muḡammad bin Tughluq, Sultān . . . . .	9, 21, 22
Manj, variant for Mal (s.v.) . . . . .	22 (f.n. 3)	Muḡammad bin Sām, Ghori king . . . . .	1, 4 (f.n. 1), 5,
Maḡabdar, a post . . . . .	37		16 (& f.n. 2)
Masnad-i-A'lā Ma'ḡūm Khān, see Ma'ḡūm		Muḡammad Ḥusain, Mir (s.v.) Mughal official,	
Khān . . . . .	..	epitaph of . . . . .	44, 45, 46, 50, 51, 52
Ma'ḡūd, son of Aḡmad Khaljī, a builder . . . . .	6, 7	Muḡammad Qulī, Quṭb Shāh, Goleonda	
Ma'ḡūm Khāfi, Mirzā, a builder . . . . .	36, 37 (& f.n. 1),	king . . . . .	27, 29, 30
	38	Muḡammad Tāhir, Mughal official . . . . .	52 (f.n. 4)
Ma'ḡūm Khān, an official . . . . .	37 (f.n. 1)	Muḡammad Yūsuf Niknām 'Alawī al-	
Ma'ḡūm Khān, father of Mirzā Mu'min . . . . .	37 (f.n. 1)	Ḥusainī, Mir, Mughal official, martyrdom	
Ma'ḡūm Khān Kābulī, rebel chief . . . . .	37 (f.n. 1)	of . . . . .	43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52
Ma'ḡūm Khān, Masnad-i-A'lā . . . . .	37 (f.n. 1)	Muḡrdār, a post . . . . .	21
Ma'ḡūm, Shaikh, see Shaikh Ma'ḡūm . . . . .	..	Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, Mamlūk	
Mazgaon, in Bombay . . . . .	57	king . . . . .	1 (f.n. 1)
		Mu'izzu'd-Dīn, title of Muḡammad bin	
		Sām (s.v.) . . . . .	16



	PAGE
M— <i>contd.</i>	
Mulham <i>Shahid</i> , Miṣān, a saint . . . .	6
Mulher, fort of, in Nasik district of Maharashtra . . . .	44, 50, 52 (& f.n. 4)
Mu'min, Mirzā . . . .	37 (f.n. 1)
Muqarrab <i>Khān</i> , Mughal governor . . . .	39
Murtaḍā, i.e. fourth caliph 'Alī . . . .	41, 42
Murtaḍā Nizām <i>Shāh</i> II, Ahmadnagar king . . . .	55
Muṣṭafā, i.e. the Holy Prophet . . . .	42

## N

Nagaur, in Rajasthan . . . .	5, 25
Nagothna, in Kolaba district . . . .	55, 56
Nalgonda, in Andhra Pradesh . . . .	27
Nandurbar, in Dhulia district of Maharashtra . . . .	52 (f.n. 4)
Nasib <i>Khān</i> Turkmān . . . .	37 (f.n. 1)
Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, Sulṭān, probable identification of Malik Mal with . . . .	22
Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Iltutmish (s.v.) . . . .	5, 11, 12, 14
Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Qubācha, see Qubācha . . . .	..
Nazar <i>Khawishgi</i> , Mughal official . . . .	39, 40
Niknām <i>Khān</i> , see Muḥammad Yūsuf . . . .	..
Niknām, family-name of Mughal officials . . . .	43, 44, 49, 50, 52
Niknām <i>Shāhib</i> , <i>dargāh</i> of, at Panchgawhan . . . .	43, 50, 53
Nizampur, in Kolaba district of Maharashtra . . . .	70
Nizams, of Hyderabad . . . .	43
Nizām <i>Shāh</i> , Ahmadnagar king . . . .	74, 75
Nizām <i>Shāhi</i> , a dynasty . . . .	55
Nizāmu'l-Mulk Junaidī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad, Qiwāmu'd-Dīn, Mamlūk minister . . . .	9, 10
Nūr Muḥammad 'Arab, entitled 'Arab <i>Khān</i> , Mughal official . . . .	49

## P

Padmadurg, fort in Konkan . . . .	69
Palwal, in Gurgaon district of Panjab . . . .	4 (f.n. 1)
Panchgawhan, in Akola district of Maharashtra . . . .	43, 44, 52, 53
Parvīz <i>Shāh</i> , Mughal prince . . . .	39, 40
Patna, in Bihar . . . .	35, 39
Pen, in Kolaba district . . . .	56
Peshwā, a post . . . .	70
<i>Pratinidhi</i> , Marāṭhā official . . . .	72
Purandhar, treaty of . . . .	56

## Q

Qal'adār, a post . . . .	49, 50, 52
Qāsim, Sidi, see Yāqūt <i>Khān</i> I . . . .	..
Qasūr, near Lahore . . . .	40
Qiwāmu'd-Dīn, title of Nizāmu'l-Mulk Junaidī . . . .	9, 10 (f.n. 3)
Qubācha, Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, Multan king . . . .	10
Qutb <i>Shāhi</i> , a dynasty . . . .	27, 29
Qutbu'd-Dīn, Aibek . . . .	9
Qutbu'd-Dīn Aibeg and Aibak . . . .	4 (f.n. 1), 9, 16
Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak <i>Shāh</i> <i>Khālī</i> , see Mubārak <i>Shāh</i> . . . .	..
Qutbu'l-Mulk, see Muḥammad Quli . . . .	..

## R

Rāḍiyya, Sulṭān, queen, daughter of Iltutmish . . . .	1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 15
Raghunath Ballāj, Marāṭhā official . . . .	59
Raghunāth Pant, Marāṭhā official . . . .	59
Rahīm <i>Khān</i> 's mosque, in Hyderabad . . . .	32
Raiḥān, father of Sidi Sumbul . . . .	57, 58
Raigarh, in Konkan . . . .	59
Rāja, of Warangal . . . .	29
Rāja Jaisingh, Mughal official . . . .	56
Rāja Sangrām Singh, of Kharagpur, see Sangrām Singh . . . .	..
Rajasthan . . . .	4, 5, 25
Rajpuri, in Kolaba district of Maharashtra . . . .	63, 68, 70
Rasūl, variant for Surūr . . . .	71
Ratnagiri, in Maharashtra . . . .	57, 72
Raygad, variant of Raigarh (s.v.) . . . .	72
Rewas, in Kolaba district . . . .	72
Ridā, builder, composer and scribe . . . .	41, 42
Rohankhed, in Buldana district of Maharashtra . . . .	47
Ruknu'd-Dīn Firūz, see Firūz . . . .	..

## S

Saat, variant for Sa'd (s.v.) . . . .	72
Sa'd, Sidi, qal'adār of Anjanwel . . . .	72 (& f.n. 3), 73
Sa'di wellknown poet of Irān . . . .	44
Saifu'd-Dīn, title of Maliku'ah-Sharq, Ḥusain Sulṭānī (s.v.) . . . .	13
Sāliha, wife of Baye <i>Shāhib</i> . . . .	33, 34
Salīm, name of Mughal emperor Jahāngir . . . .	41, 42 (& f.n. 1)
Samana, in Patiala district of Panjab . . . .	1
Samawati, a place in Deccan . . . .	47 (f.n. 5)
Sambal, variant for Sumbul (s.v.) . . . .	58





U—contd.	PAGE	Y—contd.	PAGE
'Umar al-Khalj . . . . .	6, 7	Yāqūt <u>Khān</u> I, Sidi Qāsim, Janjira governor	55, 56,
'Umar Dahistāni . . . . .	17, 18	57, 58 (& f.n. 1, 3), 59 (& f.n. 5),	
Underi, near Bombay . . . . .	61	60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68,	
V		69, 70, 72, 75	
Vazier, title of Sidi 'Ambar . . . . .	55	Yāqūt <u>Khān</u> II, Sidi Surūr, Janjira chief	55, 56,
Vengurla, in Ratnagiri district . . . . .	57	58, 61, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75,	76
Vishvanāth, Marāṭhā official . . . . .	72	Yūsuf, Maḥdūm, Mirān Sayyid (s.v.) . . . . .	30
W		Yūsuf, Sidi . . . . .	56
Warangal, in Andhra Pradesh . . . . .	29	Z	
West Bengal . . . . .	35	Zafarabad, near Jaunpur . . . . .	19 (& f.n. 4), 20,
Y		21, 22, 23	
Yaghda, father of Talbagha . . . . .	25 (& f.n. 1)	Zafar <u>Khān</u> , title of Tātār <u>Khān</u> (s.v.) . . . . .	23 (f.n. 5)
Ya'qūb <u>Khān</u> , Sidi official . . . . .	70	Zafar <u>Khān</u> , <u>Khān-i-A'zam</u> , third son of	
Yāqūt <u>Khān</u> , Sidi . . . . .	55	Tughluq <u>Shāh</u> . . . . .	19, 20, 23
		Zafarnagar, in Deccan . . . . .	52
		Zainab, Sitti, daughter of Yāqūt <u>Khān</u> I . . . . .	65
		Zuhra, Sitti, wife of Yāqūt <u>Khān</u> I . . . . .	62



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**DR. Z. A. DESAI**

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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
<b><u>Khalji</u> and <u>Tughluq</u> Inscriptions from Rajasthan—</b>	
By Dr. Z. A. Desai . . . . .	1
<b>Lodi and Sūr Inscriptions from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh—</b>	
By W. H. Siddiqi . . . . .	25
<b><u>Nizām Shāhi</u> Inscriptions from Galna—</b>	
By A. A. Kadiri . . . . .	43
<b>Two Epitaphs from Hyderabad City—</b>	
By M. F. Khan . . . . .	61
<b>Six <u>Mughal</u> Inscriptions from Vidarbha—</b>	
By S. A. Rahim . . . . .	66



# CONTENTS

Page

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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

## ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

### 1967

#### KHALJI AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAJASTHAN

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

So far, not many Arabic and Persian inscriptions of the Delhi Sultāns from the areas now comprising the State of Rajasthan, particularly its western part, have come to light. Whatever epigraphs were discovered in the past, have been either noticed or published by Major-General A. Cunningham and his collaborators in the Archaeological Survey and by Dr. J. Horovitz, Dr. Ghulām Yazdānī, Dr. M. A. Chaghtāi, Dr. A. Mahdi Husain and myself in the Archaeological reports or the previous issues of this journal. These inscriptions are from Ajmer,<sup>1</sup> Bayana and Kaman,<sup>2</sup> Chitorgarh,<sup>3</sup> Jalor,<sup>4</sup> Sambhar,<sup>5</sup> Bari Khatu,<sup>6</sup> Didwana,<sup>7</sup> Ladnun<sup>8</sup> and Nagaur,<sup>9</sup> and Hindaun,<sup>10</sup> respectively in Ajmer, Bharatpur, Chitorgarh, Jalor, Jaipur, Nagaur and Sawai Madhopur districts. But the published readings of quite a few of these epigraphs are either incomplete or incorrect, and their revised versions are worth publication.

Since then, no new inscription of the Mamlūk, Khalji and Tughluq dynasties was reported until during the past decade and a half, when tours of Shri N. G. Ghanam, Exploration Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, then stationed at Jodhpur, Shri I. A. Omeri, now in the National Museum, New Delhi, Shri W. H. Siddiqi, Senior Epigraphical Assistant of my office and myself to different parts of the State brought to light some more interesting and historically important epigraphs of, or assignable to, the above dynasties.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, none of the inscriptions which were briefly noticed previously received any further attention until

<sup>1</sup> A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. II (Simla, 1871), p. 261; *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1911-12, pp. 15, 29, 30.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XX (Calcutta, 1885), pp. 56, 70, 72, 76, 131; *EIM*, 1917-18, pp. 20, 39, 42; *ibid.*, 1937-38, pp. 5-6. A few inscriptions of the Auhadi chiefs of Bayana were published in *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1961, pp. 59-63.

<sup>3</sup> *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pp. 67, 69; *ibid.*, 1959 and 1960, pp. 71-74.

<sup>4</sup> *EIM*, 1935-36, p. 49; *ibid.*, 1949-50, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 57.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1966, pp. 4-18; *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference (PAIOC)*, 8th Session, 1935 (Bangalore, 1937), pp. 632-34; *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (PIHC)*, 8th Session, 1945 (Allahabad, 1947), pp. 286-88.

<sup>7</sup> *EIM*, 1949-50, pp. 19-20.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII (Calcutta, 1887), pp. 64, 67 (account by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick).

<sup>10</sup> *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, p. 34.

<sup>11</sup> These have been listed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, for 1955-56, Nos. D, 119, 135, 155; *ibid.*, 1962-63, Nos. D, 198, 204; *ibid.*, 1965-66, Nos. D, 338, 341, 343, 349. Apart from these, there are some inscriptions of about the same period, which do not contain the names of the reigning monarchs.



recently:<sup>1</sup> three such inscriptions of Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish and Ghiyāthu'd-Din Balban, from Bari Khatu, were studied by me in details in the last issue of this journal.<sup>2</sup>

It is proposed to study in this article eleven inscriptions. Four of these each come from Bari Khatu and Nagaur, and one each from Bayana, Chatsu in Jaipur district and Mandor in Jodhpur district.

Two of the four Bari Khatu inscriptions studied here are new, while the other two were briefly mentioned by Chaghtāi. One of the last mentioned two was fragmentary and the portion of its text containing the king's name and the date was lost, but on the basis of the surviving title Ghiyāth-u'd-Din, Chaghtāi assigned it to the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Din Balban.<sup>3</sup> For reasons quoted in the proper place, I feel that it is an inscription of Ghiyāthu'd-Din Tughluq Shāh. It is included in the present study (Inscription No. IV). Chaghtāi's notice of the other epigraph (Inscription No. I) was substantially correct, but it omitted to give the name of the builder of the mosque.<sup>4</sup>

As for Nagaur, only one of its four epigraphs (Inscription No. VII) was previously noticed. But its details as given by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick are incorrect.<sup>5</sup> One each of the other three (Inscription Nos. II, III and V), found by me in the course of my recent tour to that place, belongs to the time of 'Alāu'd-Din Khalji, Qutbu'd-Din Mubarak Shāh and Tughluq Shāh.<sup>6</sup>

All the remaining three inscriptions, which are, one each, from Bayana, Chatsu and Mandor are unpublished. The impressions from which they are published here were prepared in the course of my tour to these places in 1955.

A king-wise break up will show that three of these epigraphs belong to the Khalji dynasty: two are of 'Alāu'd-Din and one of his son Qutbu'd-Din Mubarak Shāh. The rest pertain to the Tughluqs: two were set up in the time of Tughluq Shāh, and three each belong to the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh and Firuz Shāh. Again, one epigraph each of 'Alāu'd-Din, Tughluq Shāh and Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh and all the three of Firuz Shāh, are fragmentary.

Since not much authentic information is available about the history of Rajasthan during the early period of the Muslim rule, these epigraphs are bound to be of sufficient interest to the students of medieval history. It may be recalled in this connexion that the inscriptions of 'Alāu'd-Din Khalji, Tughluq Shāh and his son Muhammad Shāh from Chitorgarh, have helped to determine the history of that place under 'Alāu'd-Din Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq and exposed the legendary character of the bardic accounts that had found favour even with serious students of history.<sup>7</sup> Coming as they do from different regions in the erstwhile Bharatpur, Jaipur and Jodhpur states of Rajputana, the records under study can be absolutely relied upon as the most authentic contemporary documents on the political status of these places under the Muslim rule.

Then, these epigraphs, as usual, provide either some new names in the political hierarchy of officials or a little more information about them. For example, it is only from the Bari Khatu

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 245; *ibid.*, 1962-63, Nos. D, 194, 202.

<sup>2</sup> *EIAPS*, 1966, pp. 4-18.

<sup>3</sup> *PIHC*, 8th Session (1945), p. 286.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 64, 69.

<sup>6</sup> I also found at Nagaur a fragmentary epigraph of Muhammad bin Sam. It is dated A.H. 594 (1197-98) and is, thus, the earliest Muslim record found so far in Rajasthan (*ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 335). It is proposed to be published in the next issue.

<sup>7</sup> *EIAPS*, 1959 and 1960, pp. 69-70.



record of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh (Inscription No. VI) that we know that Malik Nānak Sultānī, the *ākhurbek-i-maisara*—who held the same post, it will be recalled, in the time of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī—was entitled Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn and held the *iqṭā'* of Ajmer. The same epigraph also furnishes the name of the *muḥarrir* of the region. Another epigraph from the same place though fragmentary, provides the important information that Firūz, son of Muḥammad, held the post of *shah-nabek* of the *pāigāh-i-khāss-i-qadīm* and the *iqṭā'*, presumably, of the region. It also mentions Tāju'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, of royal extraction, whose name is unfortunately lost, but who apparently held a high rank.

In short, these inscriptions are quite important historically. From the palaeographical point of view too, they represent the styles of the mural records of the fourteenth century in different parts of Rajasthan, and should be of sufficient interest to students of calligraphy.

### 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī

Three inscriptions of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī which were found after his only inscription from Rajasthan, the one at Bayana, was published some fifty years back,<sup>1</sup> were published in a previous issue of this Series.<sup>2</sup> Of the two records studied below for the first time, one was found only recently, but though the other was briefly described some time back, its text was not published (see p. 2, *infra*). Incidentally, a Sanskrit inscription of his was found in the north-western part of the Jodhpur district: it mentions Tāju'd-Dīn 'Alī as his governor at Medta and records the construction of a well in 1302-03.<sup>3</sup>

### I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 702, FROM BARI KHATU

This inscription which was first mentioned and briefly described by Chaghtāi about two decades ago,<sup>4</sup> is from Bari Khatu, situated in the Jael *tahsil* of the Nagaur district. It is engraved around the rectangular border of an arch of red sandstone, which is now built up in the inner side of the wall, to the left of the main entrance, of a mosque situated in Maḥalla-Sayyidān.<sup>5</sup> The frame was lying loose in the basement of the mosque when Chaghtāi first found it.

Occupying a total space of about 2.75 m. by 11 cm., its text, which is in Arabic, records that a mosque was ordered to be built by one Muḥammad, during the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh in A.H. 702 (1302-03). The other titles used for the king are Sikandar-i-Thānī and Nāṣir-i-Amīrī'l-Mu'minīn which are known from his other epigraphs also.<sup>6</sup>

A few letters being damaged on account of the weathering of the stone, the parental name of the builder could not be deciphered. It was doubtfully read as al-Fakhri in our annual report for 1962-63, but now I feel certain that in any case, the name is not al-Fakhri. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to decipher it satisfactorily, nor could Mr. Siddiqi who had examined the tablet, make it out. The undeciphered name ends in ī which would make it more like a *nisba* than a

<sup>1</sup> EIM, 1917-18, p. 20. The epigraph does not exist now. The mosque on which the inscriptional tablet was set up was demolished in the communal disturbances of 1947.

<sup>2</sup> EIAPS, 1959 and 1960, pp. 72, 73.

<sup>3</sup> Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle (PRWC), 1909-10, p. 61, No. 58. A memorial stone dated V. S. 1358 (1302) has been recently listed (ARIE, 1964-65, No. B, 463).

<sup>4</sup> PIHC, 8th Session (1945), p. 287.

<sup>5</sup> ARIE, 1932-63, No. D, 202. The arched border contains religious text (*ibid.*, No. D, 203).

<sup>6</sup> EIAPS, 1964, p. 2; EIM, 1917-18, pp. 25, 29.



proper name. And a *nisba* for a parental name, though appearing somewhat unusual, is not quite unlikely, particularly in cases of men of Arab descent. In any case, it has not been possible to read the word.

The style of writing is usual *Naskh*, conforming, in broad outlines, to the style of contemporary records. But one aspect of its calligraphy calls for some remarks: The letters in the right panel would appear, even to a casual onlooker, to have been somewhat differently executed; these have more angular flourishes than the rest. This sort of variation in the calligraphy of the same epigraph, is not usually met with. The reason for such an occurrence is difficult to determine, but the possibility that the designer originally intended to write it in the same hand, but changed over to the usual style for want of space, is indicated by the fact that the writing in the left panel is much more than that in the left panel. Another possible explanation is that the designing of the text was done by different hands.

The text, reading anti-clock-wise from the right bottom, is as under:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate I(a)

#### (a) Right Panel.

امر ببناء هذه المسجد في عهد السلطان

#### (b) Top Panel.

ن المعظم علاء الدنيا و الدين سكندر الثاني ابو المظفر محمد شاه

#### (c) Left Panel.

[السلطان] ناصر امير المؤمنين العبد الضعيف محمد بن ..... اصلاحه الله اعماله

في سنة اثنى و سبعمائة

#### TRANSLATION

(a) The construction of this mosque was ordered in the reign of the Sultān,

(b) the magnificent, 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Sikandar-i-Thānī, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh,

(c) the Sultān, helper of the Commander of the Faithful, by the weak creature Muḥammad, son of ..... may Allāh reform his actions, in the year A.H. 702 (1302-03).

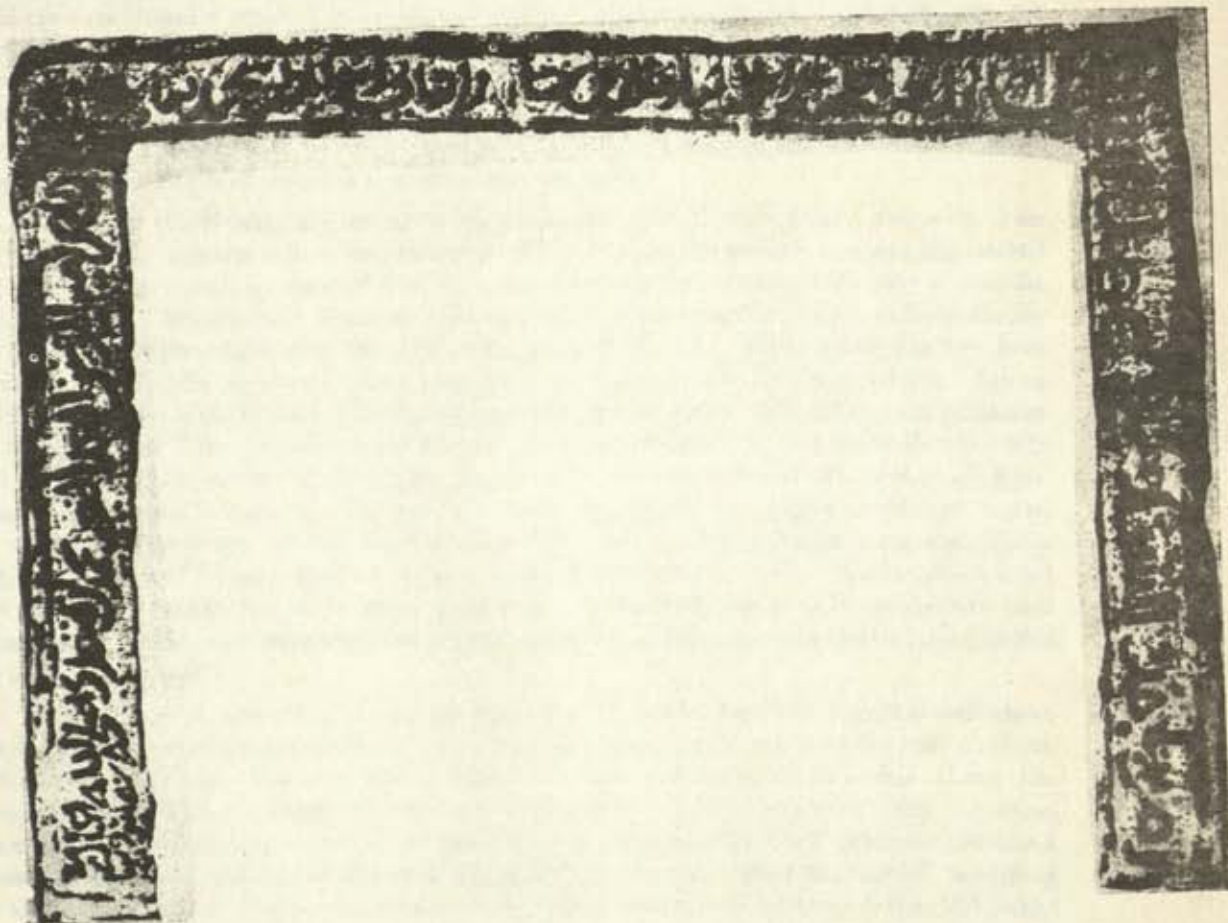
The identity of the builder cannot be established. Also, in the absence of any titles, etc., it is difficult to say if he had anything to do with the administration of Bari Khatu, the findspot of the inscription, or its neighbourhood.

## II. FRAGMENTARY RECORD, DATED A. H. 705, FROM NAGAU

The second inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khālji is from Nagaur, headquarters of the district in the former Jodhpur State as well as in Rajasthan. It is a picturesque town lying on the Jodhpur-Bikaner section of the Northern Railway, nearly one hundred and ten kilometres south-east of

( PLATES I-V )

(a) Epigraph of 'Alāu'd-Dīn, dated A.H. 702, from Bari Khatu (p. 4)



SCALE : ·136

(b) Fragmentary record, dated A.H. 705, from Nagaur (p. 6)



SCALE : ·17



# THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

BY JOHN BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE FIRST

FROM THE BEGINNING OF HIS REIGN

UNTIL HIS DEATH

IN THE YEAR 1649

BY JOHN BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY

LONDON

Printed by J. Streater, at the Sign of the Gun, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1679

THE SECOND

FROM HIS DEATH

UNTIL THE RESTORATION

IN THE YEAR 1660

BY JOHN BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY

LONDON

Printed by J. Streater, at the Sign of the Gun, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1679

Bikaner and one hundred and sixty kilometres north-east of Jodhpur. A wall more than six kilometres in length surrounded the town once, but it is now being dismantled in stages by the local Municipality. This is all the more regrettable, since in the battlements and walls were—and still are—embedded a number of Arabic and Persian inscriptions, which indiscriminately get destroyed along with the wall. It is, however, gratifying that a few epigraphical tablets that have escaped the ravage through the active interest of Mr. Raḥmatu'llāh Raunaq 'Uthmānī and others are preserved in different mosques of the town. Quite a few of these bear inscriptions of the time of the Khānzādas of Nagaur. Even now, at least two such tablets were shown to me in that part of the city-wall that still stands towards the north.<sup>1</sup>

Nagaur, in the Siwalik hills, seems to have come into contact with Muslim authority, from an early period. It seems to have been part of the Ghaznavid empire, and it is here that Muḥammad Bahlīm, the recalcitrant governor of Panjab, is stated to have built a fort, in the time of Bahrām Shāh (1118-52). Subsequently, it passed on, along with the territory surrounding it, to the authority of the Delhi Sultāns right from the time of Muḥammad bin Sām, whose inscription has been recently identified by me there. Since then Nagaur remained under the Delhi Sultāns. Among its first governors is Malik Karīmū'd-Dīn Ḥamza (early 13th century). The subsequent governors of Nagaur and Siwalik region during the Mamlūk period include Malik 'Izzu'd-Dīn Balban (c. 1242-52), Kishlū Khān, brother of Ulugh Khān, later Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Balban (c. 1252) and Ulugh Khān himself.<sup>2</sup> No specific mention of its governors under the Khaljis and Tughluqs could be traced in works available to me. On the disintegration of the Tughluq empire, Nagaur's governor Shams Khān, a brother of Muḥaffar Shāh of Gujarat, established independent rule. His successors ruled for more than a century and are known as Khānzādas. Incidentally, the town lay on the main road from Sind to Delhi, and travellers from foreign countries arriving by road through Sind halted at or passed through it.<sup>3</sup>

In the centre of, and rising above, the town, is an extensive fort with a double wall about 2 kilometres in circumference, its thickness varying from more than 9 metres at the base to about 3.5 metres at the top. The outer wall is about 7.5 metres and the inner, 15 metres above the ground. In the wall of the fort as in the case of the city-wall, may be seen even today, numerous Persian and Arabic inscriptions (and other parts such as carved *mīhrābs*, blind niches, etc.) obtained from the mosques demolished by Mahārājā Bakht Singh.<sup>4</sup> In the words of Mr. Garrick, 'according to the accounts rife at Nagaur, Aurangzeb himself never destroyed more temples than did Bakht Singh mosques, and this may — indeed does — account for the numerous Arabic and Persian inscriptions which I found built topsy-turvy into the main circumvallation of the city — some upside down, some diagonally, and others so that the lines of writing stand up vertically'.<sup>5</sup> Surprisingly, Erskine and Garrick, who have described the Fort in some details, do not refer to the

<sup>1</sup> A couple of tablets seen by me previously were found missing in October 1966.

<sup>2</sup> Minhāj-i-Sirāj, *Tuḥfāt-i-Nāgīrī* (Lahore, 1952), pp. 23, 85, 106, 124, 164, 167, 175-76, 193-95, etc.; *ibid.* Eng. tr. Major H.G. Raverty (London, 1881), pp. 200, 469, 520, 549, 611, 616, 668, 685, 689, 695, 696, 702, 759, 767, etc.

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed history of Nagaur and its Khānzāda dynasty, please see Chaghtāi, 'Nagaur, A forgotten kingdom', *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Poona, vol. II, Nos. 1-2 (1940), pp. 166-83. Also see Dr. K. C. Jain, 'A brief History of Nagaur', *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, vol. VII (1960). An exhaustive account of the town and its buildings will be found in *The Rajputana Gazetteer*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1879), pp. 260-61; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 48-72; Major K. D. Erskine, *Rajputana Gazetteers*, vol. III-A, The Western Rajputana States Agency and the Bikaner Agency (Allahabad, 1909), pp. 206-07; *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India (ARASI)*, 1921-22, pp. 71-73. For some of the inscriptions of Nagaur and its vicinity, studied by Chaghtāi, see EIM, 1949-50, pp. 35-53.

<sup>4</sup> Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, p. 63.



epigraphical tablets in its wall, as they did in the case of the city-wall. Through the kind permission of the Superintendent of the Household of His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur who owns the Fort and under the guidance of Shri Navranglal Bhat, the watchman and Mr. Raunaq 'Uthmānī, I visited the fort in company of Mr. Ghanam, and found not less than ten historical inscriptions, not to mention an equal number or even more, of those comprising religious texts. Five of these ten records belong to the time of the Khānzādas, and of the remaining five, one each refers to the rule of Muḥammad bin Sām, 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khālījī and Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh, the date of one falls in the reign of Firūz Tughluq and yet one more may be assigned on palaeographical grounds, to the same period.<sup>1</sup>

The stone-fragment on which the inscription under study is engraved, is built up into the southern upper wall, not far from the step-well.<sup>2</sup> It evidently formed the upper part of a rectangular door or very likely, a *mihrāb*-frame. It is now rectangular in shape, the two side panels having been either hewn off or broken and lost. It measures 1 m. by 30 cm. Considerable portion of the writing inscribed in two lines all along is lost. The surviving text comprises a variation of the First Creed inscribed horizontally and the royal name Muḥammad Shāh, title 'the second Alexander', and the date A.H. 705 (1305-06), vertically. The purport of the record cannot be determined, but it is very likely that as in the case of the inscription of Quṭbū'd-Dīn to be studied next, which is also engraved on the frame of a *mihrāb*, it originally belonged to a mosque.

The language of the record appears to be Arabic. The style of writing is ordinary *Naskh*, usually met with in the inscriptions of 'Alāu'd-Dīn. The text reads as under:—

## TEX:

## Plate I(b)

## (a) Horizontal portion.

(١) لا إله إلا الله الملك الجبار

(٢) محمد رسول الله النبي المختار

## (b) Right side.

(١) محمد شاه اسکندر

(٢) السلطان

## (c) Left side.

(١) [ال]ثاني خ[لد] (٩)

(٢) في سنة خمس و سبعمائة

## TRANSLATION

(a) (1) There is no god but Allāh the King, the Most Powerful.

(2) Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh, the Apostle, the Elected one.

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1965-66, Nos. D, 337-38.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. D, 341. Nearby is another fragment inscribed with two words from the *Ayatū'l-Kursī* in bold characters of the first years of the 13th century.

- (b) (1-2) Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, Alexander  
 (c) (1) the Second, may (Allāh) perpetuate.....  
 (2) in the year (A.H.) five and seven hundred (A.H. 705=1305-06 A.D.).

**Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh**

So far, only four records of Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh were known from the whole state : one from Jalor, also in erstwhile Jodhpur state and now a district town in the south-eastern part of western Rajasthan,<sup>1</sup> and three from Bayana in eastern Rajasthan, almost bordering on Uttar Pradesh.<sup>2</sup>

**III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 720, ALSO FROM NAGAU**

This new record of the Khaljī king, which is his only inscription to be found in central Rajasthan,<sup>3</sup> can be reasonably taken to point to uninterrupted Muslim authority in the region. It is inscribed on the rectangular border of the central *mihrāb* in the mosque of Maḥdūm Ḥusain Nāgaūrī, situated in the Phul-Maḥal locality at Nagaur.<sup>4</sup> The horizontal stone-beam contains the Second Creed, while the historical text is inscribed on the right and left sides; the total area of historical writing is about 2.4 m. in length and 14 cm. in width. The style of writing is *Naskh*, and language, Arabic.

This epigraph is not new in the sense that it came to light for the first time during my recent visit; far from that, it was known to the Muslim residents of the town, including Ḥāfiẓ Mu'īnu'd-Dīn and Mr. Raunaq 'Uthmānī who has made it a point to locate and note down the readings of the inscriptions at Nagaur. But since they were unable to decipher it, they did not know its purport. On examination, I found it to contain a new record of 'Alāu'd-Dīn's son Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh.

Unfortunately, the writing, which is carved in one line, is badly damaged, and as a result, its letters have considerably abraded or even flaked off in places, rendering the decipherment of the text difficult. It seems to record the construction of the mosque in A.H. 720 (1320-21) during the reign of Qutbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh. It will be observed that the king's rule has been termed, as in the case of his coins and epigraphs, as caliphate. The name of the builder could not be deciphered, due to damaged writing, but in any case, the saint Maḥdūm Ḥusain Nāgaūrī with whom the mosque is locally associated, has nothing to do with its construction, as he flourished at a much later date; he died in A.H. 901.<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately, the month in which the construction took place is not clear, due to the damaged writing. And his other epigraph of A. H. 720, from the Ukhā-Masjid at Bayana, too, does not specify the month. But if my tentative reading of the month as Muḥarram is proved to be correct, it would not throw any light on the subject. It will be recalled that the exact date of his death is differently given by different authorities. Contemporary Amīr Khusrāw gives Jumādā II, and Yahyā Sarhindī, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (who wrote about a century later), gives 5 Rabi'ul-Awwal. Dr. K. S. Lāl prefers the earlier date given by the later authority.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *EIM*, 1935-36, pp. 49-50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1917-18, p. 39-40, 42.

<sup>3</sup> A Sanskrit inscription recording the construction of a step-well in V. S. 1373 (1316-17) during his reign was found at Ladnun (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XII, pp. 23 ff).

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 349.

<sup>5</sup> 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq Dihlawī, *Akhbār-i-Akhṡār Fī-Asrār-i'l-Aḥrār* (Delhi, 1914), pp. 182-83.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. K. S. Lāl, *History of the Khaljis* (Allahabad, 1950), p. 345 and f.n. 98.



The text reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate II(b)

(a) Right side.

في عهد خلافة السلطان الاعظم ظل الله في العالم اعدل الخلافة (?) مولى (?) .....  
ابو المظفر (?) مبارکشاه سلطان (?)

(b) Left side.

بنا هذا المسجد العبد الراجى ..... في ..... المحرم (?) سنة عشرين و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) In the time of the caliphate of the great Sultān, shadow of Allāh in the world, the most just in the caliphate, master (?) ..... Abu'l-Muḡaffar (?) Mubārak Shāh Sultān (?),

(b) the construction of the mosque by the slave, hopeful ..... in ..... Muḡarram (?), year (A.H.) twenty and seven hundred (Muḡarram 720=February-March 1320).

Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh

So far only two inscriptions of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh have been found in Rajasthan; they are from Chitorgarh and Jalor.<sup>1</sup> His two inscriptions studied below, though fragmentary, are, therefore, significant. Both were found in Nagaur district. One of these is a new record discovered recently.

IV. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM BARI KHATU

The first inscription of Tughluq Shāh and the fourth of this article, is an incomplete record in Persian from Fari Khatu. Chaghtāi, who first described its gist in 1945, took it to be of Balban's time. He did not quote it in full and omitted to give certain details.<sup>2</sup> In 1959, I received its photograph for examination and report from the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Paroda. Three years later, Mr. Siddiqi of my office was deputed to have its impressions and also those of others prepared.

The fragmentary inscribed tablet, measuring 68 by 60 cm., is set up on a platform on the bank of the tank called Mulūk-Tālāb, near the western gateway of the town.<sup>3</sup> It contains a six-line text in Persian, inscribed in bold *Nasta'liq* letters of the early Tughluq period, which records that the excavation and construction of the tank called Fīrūz-Sāghar (i.e. sāgar or tank) was done during the governorship of Maliku'l-Umarā Fīrūz, son of Muḡammad, the chief superintendent (*shāhna-bek*) of the royal stables (*pāigāh-i-khāssa*) and *muqṭi* of the region, by Tāju'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn. The latter's proper name is lost, but he is mentioned with the sobriquet *khālafu'l-mulūk* (lit. descendant of kings).

<sup>1</sup> *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 67; *EIM*, 1949-50, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *PIHC*, 8th Session (1945), p. 28f.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 194.

(a) Fragmentary inscription of Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh (p. 9)



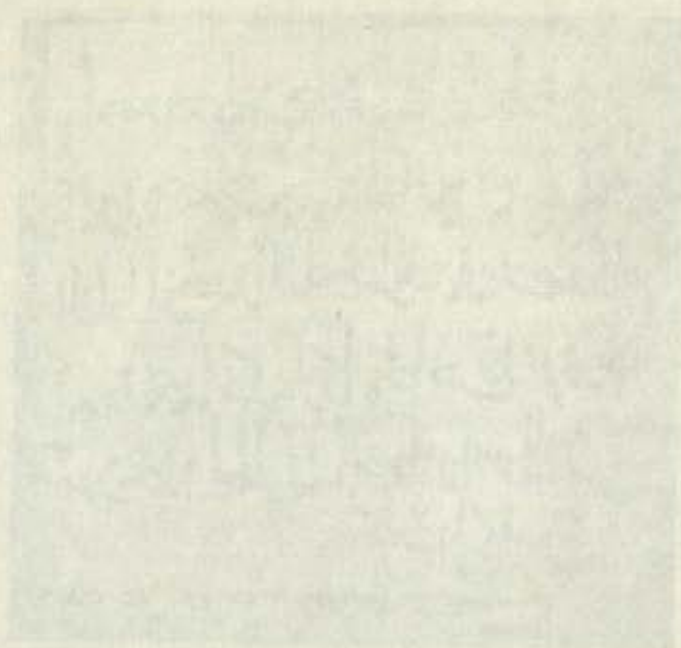
SCALE : 15

(b) Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh's record, dated A.H. 720, from Nagaur (p. 8)



SCALE : 146





It will be observed that the date and the name and titles of the king are lost, barring the part of the regal title, *Ghiyāth*, occurring at the end of the second line, which is preceded by the eulogistic phrase 'one selected by the Lord of the worlds'. The next, i.e. third line begins with a's-Sultān, followed by the phrase invoking perpetuation of the reign. It is reasonable to infer from the last and first words in the preceding and following lines, particularly in the second and third lines, that the lost portion of the text was not much; not more than four or five words at the most would appear to be missing; for example, between *Ghiyāth* in the second line and a's-Sultān in the third, it could only be 'u'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Balban or Tughluq Shāh', or after Maliku'l-Umarā in the third line, there could be only one phrase like 'Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik' or the like, before Fīrūz in the fourth line. In short, the missing text in the second line related to the titles and name of the king and not to the eulogistic phrase as '*Ghiyāth*u'l-Islām wa'l-Muslimin' or the like.

There should, thus, be little doubt that the epigraph was set up in the reign of either of the two Delhi Sultāns, Balban (1266-86) or Tughluq Shāh (1320-25). As stated above, Chaghtāi assigns it to Balban, on the basis of 'the writing and the wording of the inscription'.<sup>1</sup> But it is precisely on these very grounds that it may preferably be assigned to Tughluq Shāh. The style of writing is different from that of Balban's inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> and the text is, it may be remembered, in Persian, and particularly, the titles and designations like Maliku'l-Umarā, pāigāh-i khāss-i-qadīm, *Khalafu'l-Mulūk*, etc., make its assignment to a later period than Balban's more likely. On the other hand, Balban's inscription from Bari Khatu itself is in Arabic and uses, moreover, his usual honorific titles, which are absent here, and its style of writing is also different.<sup>3</sup>

The text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate II (a)

- (۱) بنا حفر و عمارت حوض فیروز ساغر در.....  
 (۲) برگزیده حضرت رب العالمین غیاث.....  
 (۳) السلطان خلد الله خلافتہ نوبت ملک الامرا.....  
 (۴) فیروز محمد شهنیک پایگاه خاص قدیم و مہ [طع].....  
 (۵) کرد خلف الملوک تاج الدولة و الدین.....  
 (۶) فی الخامس ع [شر].....

TRANSLATION

- (1) The work of the excavation and the construction of the tank Fīrūz-Sāghar (i. e. Sāgar) in (the reign of).....  
 (2) the one selected by the Almighty Lord of the worlds, *Ghiyāth*.....  
 (3) the Sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his caliphate (and) during the time of Maliku'l-Umarā.....

<sup>1</sup> *PIHC*, 8th Session (1945), p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> *EIM*, 1913-14, pls. X a & b, XI b, XII, XIII a & b, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *EIAPS*, 1966, p. 13, pl. III a.



(4) Firūz, (son of) Muḥammad, *shahna-bek* of the Old Royal Stables (*pāigāh-i-khāss-i-qadīm*) and *muqfi* of .....

(5) was ordered by *Khalafu'l-Mulūk* (lit. descendant of kings) Tāju'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn.....

(6) on the fifteenth.....

The date of the inscription, as stated above, is unfortunately lost. The invocatory phrase refers to the 'caliphate' of the king, a style adopted by Tughluq Shāh's almost immediate predecessor,<sup>1</sup> Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, and son and successor, Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh. This, if at all, may be taken to indicate that the epigraph belongs to the early part of his reign, since in none of his other known inscriptions, his sovereignty is termed as 'caliphate'. If this be the case, the epigraph must have been set up towards the close of A. H. 721 (December 1321) or beginning of the following year.

It is unfortunate that the name and official status of the excavator of the tank are lost. His very title Tāju'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn bespeaks of high status. The phrase *khalafu'l-mulūk* may be reasonably taken to suggest that he came of royal stock. In view of the absence of name, his identification is difficult, much more so since, in the lists of the nobles of the Delhi Sultāns, right from Balban to Tughluq Shāh, we have quite a few officials bearing this title.<sup>2</sup> And, as we have already seen above (p. 3), one Tāju'd-Dīn had governed Medta (also in Nagaur district) on behalf of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī, about two decades earlier.

Likewise, Maliku'l-Umarā Firūz is untraceable. For want of any data, it is difficult to say if he is identical with Firūz, who is mentioned in another record from Nagaur district, dated A. H. 772, as the father of Sipahsālār Muḥammad.<sup>3</sup> Then, it is not quite clear to what *qadīm* in the phrase *shahna-bek-i-pāigāh-i-khāss-i-qadīm* qualifies: *shahna-bek* or *pāigāh-i-khāss*. Very likely, it qualifies the latter term. In that case, he was the chief superintendent of the Old Royal Stables. Again, the name of his *iqṭā'* is lost. But it must be Ajmer, since in another inscription from this place of the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh (Inscription No. III), the governor is called the *muqfi* of the *ma'mūra* of Ajmer.

#### V. INCOMPLETE INSCRIPTION FROM NAGAU

The other epigraph of Tughluq Shāh is engraved on a slab of marble, which is built into the southern lower wall of the Fort at Nagaur, referred to above. The inverted tablet just overlooks the Dargāh of Bābā Badr on the Station Road.<sup>4</sup>

This inscription also, like most of those found in the Fort, is incomplete. About half of the text seems to be lost. But the tablet itself, as is apparent from the borders and the surviving text—the text in the first and the second line is continuous—is whole. This can only mean that there was another tablet below the present one in its original place of occurrence. It will be noted that here too, the text starts with the references to the reign of the king, as in the case of the inscription of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh studied above.

The surviving text only refers to the reign of the king and does not quote anything beyond the name and titles of the king and the prayer for his reign; incidentally, the phrase 'Helper of the

<sup>1</sup> Tughluq Shāh's immediate predecessor was *Khusraw Khān*, whose reign was very short.

<sup>2</sup> Diyā'u'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1862), pp. 24, 126, 174, 240, 379, 424.

<sup>3</sup> *EIM*, 1949-50, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 343.

Chief of the Faithful' used here is not usually found in his other inscriptions. The text, likewise, contains neither the date and the name of the person who set up the epigraph nor any clue to the object of the record. But from the size, etc., of the present tablet, it may be reasonably surmised that it belonged to a monument of some importance and also of sufficient dimensions.

The style of writing is *Naskh* of a somewhat better variety than is found in most of the epigraphs of this monarch. It may be pertinent to note here the fact that like that of his Jalor inscription, referred to above, the calligraphy of the record under study is more akin to the inscriptions of, say, the Gujarat region. While it may be too early to generalise about the origin and spread of the calligraphical styles of the mural records in different parts of India, quite a good deal of epigraphical material has come to light in recent times, to point to some kind of relation between different regions as far as the similarity in the styles is concerned. I had, a couple of years back, drawn attention to this fact, while editing some inscriptions from Gujarat and Bihar.<sup>1</sup> A new pattern of this relationship which seems to be emerging from the fresh material that is coming up in recent years, can certainly provide a new subject of research to the students of palaeography of the Arabic and Persian inscriptions of India.

The inscribed tablet measures 57 by 32 cm., and the two-line text has been deciphered as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate III (a)

(۱) فِي نَوْبَةِ سُلْطَانَةِ السُّلْطَانِ الْاَعْظَمِ غِيَاثِ الدُّنْيَا وَ [الدِّينِ]  
(۲) اَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ تَغْلُقْ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ نَاصِرِ اَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ خَلَدَ مَلِكُهُ وَ سُلْطَانُهُ

## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the time of the sovereignty of the great Sultān, *Ghiyāthu'd-Dunyā wa[d-Dīn]*  
(2) Abu'l-Muzaffar Tughluq Shāh a's-Sultān Nāṣir-i-Amīrī'l-Mū'minīn, may his kingdom and sovereignty last for ever!

## Muḥammad Bin Tughluq Shāh

This is the fourth inscription of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh to be found in Rajasthan. The three known epigraphs are—one each from Chitorgarh, Hindaun and Nagaur.<sup>2</sup> Of these, the Nagaur inscription is included in this article and will be studied next.

## VI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 733, FROM BARI KHATU

The sixth epigraph of the article is a new and important record of the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh. It was found at Bari Khatu by Mr. Siddiqī in 1962. The marble tablet on which it is inscribed is broken into three pieces, jointly measuring 90 by 43 cm., which are now lying in the tomb of Ḥaḍrat Maḥmūd Qattāl, situated on the hill.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 69; *ibid.*, 1957 and 1958, p. 34; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 64, 69.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 198.



Unfortunately, the exact findspot of the tablet is not known. Nor does the text provide any clue to the nature of the building for which it was meant. It simply states that a 'building' was constructed, and this could mean any edifice, including the *dargāh* of the above saint. Nevertheless, lack of information on this count, does not detract from its historical value, as we shall presently see.

The six-line text, which is composed in a curious mixture of Arabic and Persian—not an uncommon feature of the Persian and Arabic inscriptions of India—records that an edifice was raised in A. H. 733 (1333) during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh. It also states that the construction took place during the time of Malikū'l-Umarā Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Nānak Sultānī, the *ākhurbek-i-maisara* and *muqfi'* of the region or district (*ma'mūra*) of Ajmer, and the work was carried out by or under the supervision (*kārhard*)<sup>1</sup> of Mu'ayyad, son of Sirāj, son of Fakhr, who was the secretary or accountant (*muḥarrir*) of the district. The name Nānak is written without diacritical marks, and hence, its linear form would answer to a couple of more name-forms, but Nānak is, in all probability, the correct form as will be discussed shortly. The official is evidently identical with Malik Nānak Sultānī who held the post of the *ākhurbek-i-maisara* under 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī.

The epigraph is executed in *Naskh* style of the usual type. The writing is slightly damaged: small chips have come out from the edges of the slab at a couple of places, and as a result, a letter or two have been either lost or disfigured.

The text has been deciphered as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate III (b)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(۲) بِنَا هَذِهِ الْعِمَارَةَ فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ الْمَعْظُمِ مَالِكِ رَقَابِ الْأُمَمِ مُوَلَّى حُلُوكِ

(۳) التُّرْكِ وَالْعَرَبِ وَالْعَجَمِ ظَلَّ اللَّهُ فِي الْعَالَمِ الْمَجَاهِدِ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَبُو الْمَظْفَرِ

(۴) مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ تَغْلُتَشَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ خَلَدَتْ خِلَافَتُهُ نَوْبَتِ اقْطَاعِ مُلْكِ الْأُمَرَاءِ سَيْفِ الدَّوْلَةِ وَالْدِينِ

اخْرَبَكَ مَيْسَرَهُ

(۵) وَاقْطَعَ مَعْمُورَهُ أَجْمِيرِ نَانَكِ سُلْطَانِي مَكْنَهُ اللَّهُ كَارِ كَرْدِ بَنْدِهِ [امید] دَوَارِ حَضْرَتِ پُروردگار

(۶) مَوْبِدِ سَرَاخِ فَخْرِ مُحَرَّرِ مَعْمُورِهِ مَذْكُورِ بِتَارِيخِ غَرِّهِ مَاهِ جُمَادَى الْأَوَّلِ [سَنَةِ] ثَلَاثَةِ وَ

ثَلَاثِينَ وَ سَبْعِمِائَةٍ

## TRANSLATION

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

(2) This edifice was raised during the reign of the magnificent Sultān, the lord of the necks of nations, master of the kings of

<sup>1</sup> In Deccan, in official documents and inscriptions, the term *kārhard* usually means time or tenure. But here as elsewhere in northern India, the term seems to indicate charge, supervision, etc. Moreover, here the phrase may be better taken as *kār-kard*, meaning 'he carried out the work.'

(a) Incomplete epigraph of Tughluq Shāh, from Nagaur (p. 11)



SCALE : ·16

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 733, of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh (p. 12)



SCALE : ·19

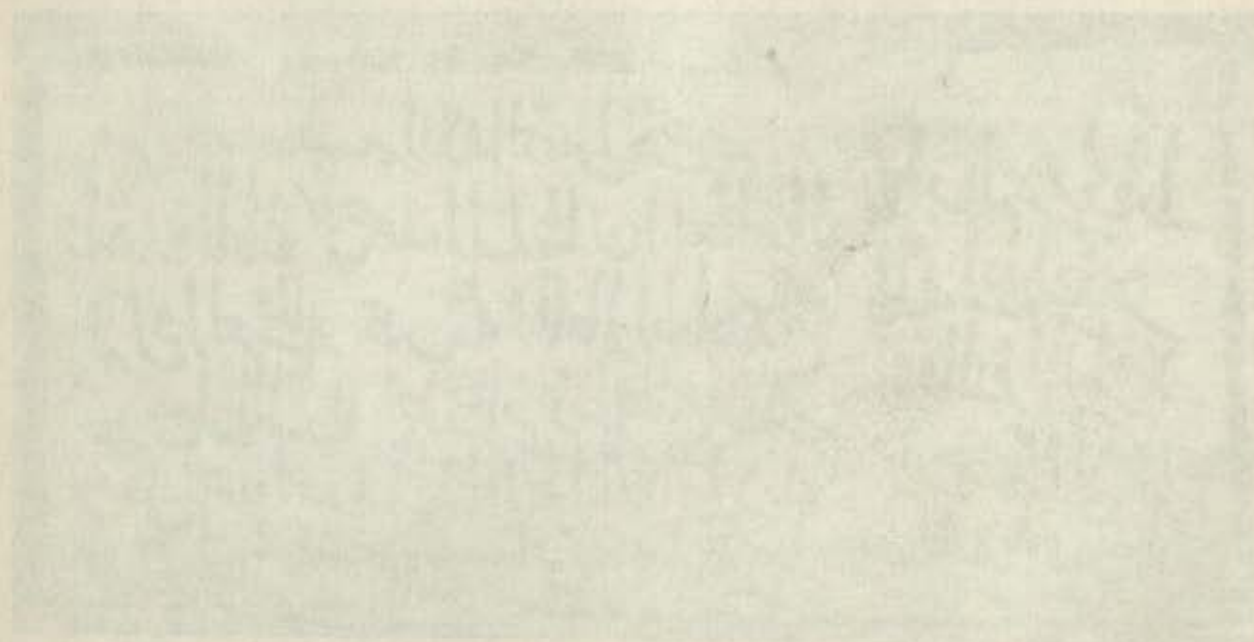


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(3) the Turks, Arabs and Persians, the shadow of Allāh in the world, the striver in the path of Allāh, Abu'l-Muzaffar

(4) Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh, the Sultān, may his caliphate be perpetuated, during the time of the *iqṭā'* of Maliku'l-Umarā Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, the *ākhurbek-i-maisara*

(5) and *muḡti* of the district (*ma'mūra*) of Ajmer, Nānak Sultānī, may Allāh grant him strength! The work was carried out by the creature, hopeful of the Almighty Nourisher,

(6) Mu'ayyad, (son of) Sirāj, (son of) Fakhr, the secretary or accountant (*muḥarrir*) of the said *ma'mūra*, on the date, first day of the month of Jumādā I, year (A. H.) three and thirty and seven hundred (1 Jumādā I 733=18 January 1333).

Historically, the above inscription furnishes contemporary evidence of the continuous authority of the Delhi Sultāns over this region in Rajasthan. It adds one more to the very few epigraphs of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh found in this part of the country. Its text is also not without interest: the titles used for the Sultān, which were almost as a rule employed in the epigraphs of the Mamlūk kings, were generally omitted in those of their successors, the Khaljis and Tughluq Shāh. But their use here may perhaps be attributed to the influence of the earlier Mamlūk records from Bari Khatu. Then, also worthy of note is the use of the *kunya* 'Abu'l-Muzaffar' for the king, instead of 'Abu'l-Mujāhid', adopted in all his inscriptions and coins known so far.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to account for this departure from the current usage.<sup>2</sup> But it is certainly not that the present record is the earliest inscription of this king wherein this *kunya* was adopted and replaced subsequently by Abu'l-Mujāhid.<sup>3</sup> As against this, the use of the term 'caliphate' for reign is in conformity with the usage of his other inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

Another important aspect of this record is that it furnishes one important link in the chain of administrative machinery of the state, to wit, the *muḥarrir* of a district. The post of *muḥarrir*, so far as I have been able to ascertain, does not find mention in the works on the administration of the Delhi Sultanate.<sup>5</sup>

The exact duties of the office of the *muḥarrir* are not recorded. The term is generally taken to mean a clerk, a writer, a scribe, an accountant.<sup>6</sup> That the post enjoyed a much higher status is obvious from the fact that it was attached to a district. It may be taken to be equivalent to the secretary's post of our days and might have included accountancy as well. In any case, this Arabic designation was later on changed to the Persian *navīsanda*, which also must mean more than 'a clerk' the meaning given by Qureshī, or 'a writer assisting the *shiqdār*' as stated by Tripāthi.<sup>7</sup>

Even greater importance of this record is that it furnishes new information regarding Malik Nānak. It is strange that an official of his status, who imposed a crushing defeat on the Mongols,

<sup>1</sup> *EIM*, 1933-34 (Supplement), pp. 27, 46; *ibid.*, 1935-36, p. 3; *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, pp. 34, 37, 39, 41, etc.

<sup>2</sup> It may appear as likely that the reason was to avoid repetition of the term Mujāhid occurring in the preceding phrase. But this, if at all, cannot be seriously considered a valid reason.

<sup>3</sup> For inscriptions with the usual *kunya*, dated prior to or later than our epigraph, see *EIM*, 1933-34 (Supplement), pp. 27, 46 and *ibid.*, 1935-36, p. 3; *ibid.*, 1939-40, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, pp. 37, 38, 39, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. I. H. Qureshī, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (Karachi, 1958); Dr. R. P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration* (Allahabad, 1956); etc. The office of *muḥarrir* also finds mention in two more epigraphs, both of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī: in one, a *Muḥarrir* to the kotwāl is mentioned (*EIAPS*, 1964, p. 5), and in the other, a *muḥarrir* to the district (*ARIE*, 1962-63, p. 36 and No. D, 59).

<sup>6</sup> H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, etc. (London, 1855), p. 350; F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian English Dictionary* (London, 1957), p. 1185.

<sup>7</sup> Qureshī, *op. cit.*, p. 260; Tripāthi, *op. cit.*, p. 298. Incidentally, the term *navīsanda* is stated to be synonymous with *paṭwārī*, a revenue official (Firishta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, vol. I, Kanpur, 1884, p. 109).



should have received scant attention of the Historians. According to them, he received the fief of Sunam and Samana on 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji's accession, and defeated the Mongol invaders 'Alī and Turtāq in 1305.<sup>1</sup> According to a contemporary foreign writer Waggāf Shīrāzī, he was despatched in 1309 to Telangana, along with Malik Nāib and Zafar Khān by 'Alāu'd-Dīn.<sup>2</sup> Nothing more is known about him or his subsequent career, except that Amīr Khusrāw casually speaks of him as being a Hindu.<sup>3</sup> Very likely, it was he who saved 'Alāu'd-Dīn from the murderous attack of his nephew Sulaimān Shāh at Tilpat.<sup>4</sup>

Our inscription thus supplies new information about his titles and extends his career from 1305 or even 1309 to 1333. It cites the titles Malikul-Umarā Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, not known from any other source. Then, it also indicates that he held the same post of *ākḥurbek-i-maisara* in 1333 under Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh and, also states that he held the *iqṭā'* of Ajmer.

But whether this was a continuous charge, it is difficult to say. His name is absent from Baranī's list of the nobles of either Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh and even of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh. This is rather surprising. A probable explanation may be that he was out of favour in the reigns of the first two Sultāns. But in any case, he must have held the position some time before 1333, if not continuously after 1309. His official career seems to have come to an end some time in 1333, for in another inscription dated in the same year, from Daulatabad, in Deccan, Malik Qīrān is mentioned as Malik Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Malik Saḍdar-Mulk *ākḥurbek-i-maisara*.<sup>5</sup> Malik Nānak must have relinquished his post and fief some time after 1st Jumādā I 733 (18th January 1333), the date of the present inscription, but before the year A. H. 733 expired on 11th September 1333. Two nobles holding the same rank and title simultaneously is out of question.

It is difficult to determine the reason of this change. It could be either due to death, dismissal or elevation to a higher status. But very probably, it was subsequent upon his death, since he was quite a senior officer by 1333. That is also perhaps why his name is excluded from Baranī's list of the nobles of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh. Since Saḍdar-Mulk held, for the greater part of that monarch's reign, the post of *ākḥurbek-i-maisara* and title Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, Baranī included only him in his list.

A reference has been made above to the lack of uniformity and consequent confusion in the spelling of the name of Malik Nānak, in historical works, both early and modern. The contemporary writers, Amīr Khusrāw and Baranī, the near-contemporary 'Iṣmī and subsequent historians of note, Yahyā Sarhindī, Nizāmud-Dīn Aḥmad, Badāyūnī, Firigha and Hājī Dabīr mention him, most of them only once, in connexion with the Mongol invasion, and as is well known, the printed editions of their works are corrupt, particularly in regard to names of places and personalities.

<sup>1</sup> Baranī, *op. cit.*, pp. 241, 320, 323, where the name is differently and again wrongly spelt; Amīr Khusrāw, *Kāshimū'l-Futūḥ* (KF), ed. Dr. M. Wahid Mirzā (Calcutta, 1953), pp. 38, 40, introduction, p. 16, and *ibid.*, ed. S. Mo'inu'l-Ḥaq (Aligarh, 1927), p. 41, where too the name is wrongly spelt; 'Iṣmī, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭin* (Agra, 1938), pp. 294-97, is the only one to call him Nānak.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abdu'llāh al-Waggāf, *Taẓẓiyatu'l-Amṣār wa Taẓẓiyatu'l-Aḥṣār*, published under the title *Waggāfu'l-Ḥadīrat* (Bombay, A. H. 1269), p. 527. Zafar Khān was dead by this time, and no other Indian authority mentions Malik Nānak as having joined this expedition.

<sup>3</sup> Amīr Khusrāw, *Dagāl Rānī-Khāṣṣ* (Aligarh, 1916), p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 273, where the text spells the name differently; Professor H. Hodiwālā, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, vol. II (Bombay, 1957), p. 96.

<sup>5</sup> *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 113.



Taking Amīr *Khusraw* first, Dr. M. Waḥid Mirzā's edition of his *Khazāinu'l-Futūḥ* has مانك —Mānik with a variant نايب —Nā'ib.<sup>1</sup> In the Aligarh edition of S. Mo'īnu'l-Ḥaḳī and in the English translation of Professor M. Ḥabīb—at whose instance, that edition was prepared and published in 1927—the name is spelt as نايك —Nāyak.<sup>2</sup> Ḥabīb has not tried to discuss the spelling of the name, beyond quoting the statement of an early seventeenth century author about Nāyaks being a tribe of outcaste Rajputs, and stating thereafter that 'be this as it may, the surname 'Nāik' is common enough today'.<sup>3</sup> Thus, according to Ḥabīb, the official was Malik Nāyak. Dr. S. A. A. Rizvī in his Hindi translation of the relevant extracts, retains Mānik without comment.<sup>4</sup> Elliot's translated extract does not contain the name.<sup>5</sup> In short, the three variants of this name as found in the *Khazāinu'l-Futūḥ* and its English and Hindi translations are : مانك —Mānik, نايك —Nāyak and نايب —Nā'ib.

The other contemporary historian, Baranī, mentions him thrice: the printed edition of his work spells the name اتابك —Atābek, in the list of the nobles of 'Alāu'd-Dīn, نايك —Nāyak in the account of the Mughal invasion and تاتك —Tātak, in connexion with the grant of the fief.<sup>6</sup> In one place, one مانك —Mānik is mentioned as having saved 'Alāu'd-Dīn's life as stated above,<sup>7</sup> and if he is identical with our official, as is quite likely, that would be the fourth variant.

Unfortunately, none of Baranī's translators, except Major Fuller, has made any effort to establish the spellings of place-names and personalities, which are so incorrectly given in the printed edition of his work.<sup>8</sup> The history by Elliot and Dowson contains only two of the above four extracts where the name is spelt as مانك —Mānik and نايك —Nāyak.<sup>9</sup> Rizvī follows the printed text in three of the four places,<sup>10</sup> and has نايب —Nā'ib instead of نايك —Nāyak in the fourth.<sup>11</sup> Fuller, in his translation, instead of مانك —Mānik and تاتك —Tātak of the printed text, spells the name as نانك —Nānak with a query.<sup>12</sup> But in the third place, translated and added by Mr. H. Blochmann, who edited Fuller's translation, the spelling of the printed text was retained.<sup>13</sup> In short—and this is quite significant—Fuller's manuscript had نانك —Nānak, in both the extracts he translated.

<sup>1</sup> *KF*, p. 38. Waḥid Mirzā identifies him with 'Malik Kāfūr, called by Firīḡhta Malik Nā'ib' (*ibid.*, introduction, p. 16, f. n. 4).

<sup>2</sup> *KF*, ed. Mo'īnu'l-Ḥaḳī, p. 41; M. Ḥabīb, *The Campaigns of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khiljī being the Khazāinu'l-Futūḥ* (Madras, 1931), p. 26 and f. n. 5 on pp. 28-29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29, note, where the statement that according to Firīḡhta, the commander was 'Malik Mānik (an obvious misreading for Malik Nāik)' is not to be found in the Nawalkishore edition, which has نايب —Nā'ib (Firīḡhta, *op. cit.*, p. 114).

<sup>4</sup> S. A. A. Rizvī, *Khuljī-kālīn Bhārat*, in Hindi (Aligarh, 1955), p. 158.

<sup>5</sup> Elliot & Dowson, *History of India*, vol. III (London, 1871), p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> Baranī, *op. cit.*, pp. 241, 320, 323. It was been ascertained through the unfailing help of Prof. S. H. 'Askari, Jt. Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, that in the Bankipore Public Library manuscript of Baranī's work, the name is twice transcribed quite clearly as Nānak.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 273.

<sup>8</sup> For instance, see foot-notes by H. Blochmann in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (JASB)*, vol. XXXIX (1870), pp. 37-38 and 39-40.

<sup>9</sup> Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit.*, pp. 172, 198.

<sup>10</sup> Rizvī, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 60, 89.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>12</sup> *JASB*, vol. XXXVIII (1869), p. 212; *ibid.*, vol. XXXIX (1870), p. 48.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIX, p. 40.



Thus, Baranī's printed text and translations have نایب (but نایب in Rizvī who has followed the printed text in the other three places), مانک and (in Fuller's translation) نانک.

In the Bombay edition of the work of Waggāf, the non-Indian contemporary, the name is spelt as بابک —Bābak,<sup>1</sup> but in Elliot's translation, the corresponding passage has نانک —Nānak, with a note that the reading is doubtful.<sup>2</sup>

The near-contemporary 'Iṣāmī mentions him only in connexion with the Mongol invasion, but he gives more details than both Amīr Khusrav and Baranī do. He describes the event under two sections, in the headings of which, as well as in eight places in the text, the name cited is نانک —Nānak. In both the Agra and Madras editions of 'Iṣāmī's work, as well as in Rizvī's Hindi translation, the same spelling is found.<sup>3</sup> In short, 'Iṣāmī repeatedly used the name نانک —Nānak and like Waggāf, also adds the *nisba* Hindī.

Among the later histories, the printed text of Yahyā Sarhindī's work has نایب —Nā'ib with the variant نایک —Nāyak. In the Navalkishore edition of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad's history, it is spelt بابک —Bābak, while the Calcutta edition has نانک.<sup>4</sup> The accounts of Badāy-ūnī and Firigha are rather confused and incorrect. The former mentions Malik Mānik as the commander of the Delhi army against the Mongols and identifies him with Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr Hazār-Dīnārī.<sup>5</sup> Firigha, also wrongly, makes Malik Nā'ib the leader of this expedition.<sup>6</sup> Lastly, Ḥājī Dabīr has بانک —Bānak,<sup>7</sup> in which the linear form of either نانک —Nānak, بابک —Bābak or نایک —Nāyak is obtained, if the terminal *alif* is removed.

It will thus be seen that the majority of the variants preclude the possibility of the name being either مانک —Mānik or نایب —Nā'ib. This is also conclusively proved by our record, where neither the initial letter is م —*m* nor the terminal one ب —*b*; it is very unfortunate that the name is inscribed without diacritical marks, depriving us of undisputed evidence for the correct spelling of the name. Thus, the variants point to the linear form answering to any of these three names: بابک —Bābak, نایک —Nāyak and نانک —Nānak, since the names نانک and اتابک (which, if the initial *alif* is removed, would read as نانک) can be easily discarded as very unlikely, if not quite impossible.

Now which of the above three names was actually borne by the Ākhurbek-i-Maīṣara? The modern writers are inclined to call him Malik Nāyak only. For example, Dr. S. Roy, the latest to write on the subject, prefers Malik Nāyak or Mānik. His argument for this, at least inasmuch as it provides an unfortunate example of confused and inconclusive thinking, and has not even the merit of originality, may be reproduced here. Roy says: 'Baranī, p. 320, has Nāyak; Amīr Khusrav, Khazāin-ul-Futūh, p. 38, Mānik; 'Iṣāmī, p. 301-2, Nānak. The name was either Nāyak

<sup>1</sup> Waggāf, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 49 and f. n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 294, 295, 296, 297; Rizvī, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-04.

<sup>4</sup> Yahyā Sarhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1931), p. 73; Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, *Taḥqīq-i-Akbarī* (Lucknow, 1875), p. 80; *ibid.*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1927), p. 162.

<sup>5</sup> Badāyūnī, *Muntaḥabāt-i-Tawārīkh*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 185-86.

<sup>6</sup> Firigha, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>7</sup> Ḥājī Dabīr, *Zafar-nāmah bi Muẓaffar wa-Ālīh*, vol. II (London, 1928), p. 815.



or Mānik and the leader of the campaign was a Hindu as Khusrav states in the *'Ashīqa*, p. 61. He is possibly the Mānik who saved 'Alā-ud-dīn from Ākat Khān's assault referred to by Baranī, p. 273. According to Firishṭa, Malik Nāib and Ghāzī Malik Tughluq were leaders of the campaign.<sup>1</sup>

The above statement which needs no further comments, may be compared with what Dr. K. S. Lāl, has stated in his history of the Khaljis, written almost a decade earlier: 'Khusrau says that Malik Naik was a Hindu. Baranī also names the commander as Malik Naik. 'Iṣāmī incorrectly reads Malik Nanak. 'Alāuddīn had a *paik* Manik by name who had saved him at the time of Ikat Khan's assault (Baranī, p. 273). But the general who fought the Mughals was surely Malik Nāik as mentioned by two contemporary authorities Baranī and Khusrau. Ferisṭah says that Malik Naib and Malik Tughlaq were sent'.<sup>2</sup>

It is surprising that Lāl too has not taken into account the glaring misprints in the printed works of Baranī and others. He does not even seem to have consulted the original text, leave alone a manuscript, of Amīr Khusraw's *Khaṣā'in*. Otherwise, as we have already seen above, where do Baranī and Khusraw, the two contemporary authorities, mention him beyond any confusion, as Malik Nāyak? The printed edition of Baranī's work has Nāyak only in one place and three different spellings in the remaining places where he is mentioned, and that of Khusraw does not have Nāyak at all. Lāl has only consulted the translation of Ḥabīb, who, as stated above, has arbitrarily adopted the form Nāyak. Then, secondly, Lāl has not cared to explain, leave alone prove, how is 'Iṣāmī incorrect. As a matter of fact, both the Madras and Agra editions of his work have Nānak in not less than ten places.

It appears that neither Lāl nor Roy saw the pertinent note of Professor S. H. Hodiwālā, who, having revised his earlier note (in which he had accepted the spelling Nāyak), after 'Iṣāmī's *Futūḥ* was published, stated that 'as he is repeatedly called Nānak Hindī Ākhurbek-i-Maisara, in the *Futūḥ*'s *Salāṭīn* also (pp. 294-95; verses 5649, 5659, 5669), Nānak seems to be correct and may have been his old Hindu name'.<sup>3</sup>

To me also, the name appears to be Nānak only. On the face of it, Nāyak as a proper name is quite unlikely, and the use of a surname or caste along with the official designation Malik, particularly without the definite article used before it, is almost improbable. Moreover, in the metrical work of 'Iṣāmī, who elsewhere uses the word Nāyak in its original sense indicating a surname or status,<sup>4</sup> its use as a proper name, without even Malik, is quite unlikely. Therefore, the name should either be بابک, ناک or ناک. But since the official was Indian (Hindī) as well as a Hindu, the name could only be ناک — Nānak.<sup>5</sup>

## VII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 733, FROM NAGAU

This inscription is from a beautifully carved lofty gateway, called Baland-Darwāza, leading to the enclosure\* containing the tomb of the famous thirteenth century saint Ḥaḍrat

<sup>1</sup> Dr. R. C. Majumdar, ed. *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bombay, 1960), pp. 29, 50 (f. n. 23).

<sup>2</sup> Lāl, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-69, f. n. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Hodiwālā, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. xiv. Amīr Khusraw; as stated above, categorically mentions his religion.

<sup>4</sup> 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 514, line 10031.

<sup>5</sup> Incidentally, one Thakkur Nānak finds mention in the Daulatabad inscription of Tughluq Shāh, dated A.H. 721 (*ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 43).

\* It would not be correct to say that it stands in the middle of the enclosure (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, p. 69). The impression is given by the fact that the enclosure wall has fallen and there are graves outside too.



Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Suwālī Ṣūfī Nāgaurī, commonly known as Sulṭānu't-Tārikīn.<sup>1</sup> The Dargāh of Ṣūfī Ṣāhib, as the tomb is popularly known, is situated outside the Maya gate of Nagaur and seems to have been originally fenced off by imposing four walls of stone masonry having a rounded tower at each corner; two of these in line of the gateway may still be seen in partial ruins. The gateway is also known as Atārkin-kā-Darwāza, after the saint's title. This impressive structure, which is remarkable for its elaborate carving occupying its whole surface, is about 16 metres high. Two three-storeyed square towers, comprising four-sided balconied kiosks marked by crenellations and each surmounted by a dome, and built against the corners of the southern facade, add dignity to the whole building.<sup>2</sup>

On the top of this gateway, into the inside face of the wall, immediately above the floor-level of the last but one landing between two side-stairs, is built up a long rectangular red sandstone slab which contains the record under study.<sup>3</sup> Garrick, who was the first to describe its contents, assigned it to the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh, but quoted A.H. 630 as its date and also held the erroneous view that the gateway was only *repaired* by the king.<sup>4</sup> He also cited the local tradition attributing the commencement of the edifice to the saint himself and its completion to his heir Khwāja Ḥusain Chishtī<sup>5</sup> under the guidance of the architect Shaikh 'Abdul.

The text of the record runs into six couplets, of which the first is Arabic and the rest are Persian. It purports that the Dāru'l-Karāmāt (lit. Abode of Miracles), the tomb of Shaikhul-Islām, the Shaikh among the *abdāl*s (second in the hierarchy of saints),<sup>6</sup> was constructed in the middle (i.e. 15th) of the month of Sha'bān 733 (1st May 1333), by the order of the reigning king, Muḥammad, son of Tughluq Shāh. Thus, the tomb of the saint was built and not repaired by the order of the Sulṭān, as Mr. Garrick was informed. Also, its date is A.H. 733 and not A.H. 630 or A.H. 633<sup>7</sup> when incidentally, the ruling king was Iltutmish.

A point that may be noted here is that the inscription does not make any reference to the gateway itself. It is difficult to say if that is because the gateway was supposed to be part of the tomb and as such, was not separately mentioned. Incidentally, hagiological works state that the four-wall enclosure of the tomb was built by the Sulṭān, and the gateway by Makhdūm Ḥusain Nāgaurī.<sup>8</sup> But though the inscribed tablet fits in completely with the masonry and gives the impression of being a homogeneous part of the wall, it is extremely doubtful if the inscription was intended to record the construction of the gateway as well. Not only this slab is of red sandstone and the remaining masonry, of yellow sandstone, but—and this is very important—the construction of the gateway, on architectural grounds, must have taken place at least a century or so earlier, for the arches of the gateway and the squinches of its domed hall are built in

<sup>1</sup> Mir Khurd, *Siyarū'l-Auliya* (Delhi, 1876), p. 156, quotes his full name as 'Shaikhul-Islām Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Suwālī Abū Ahmad a's-Sa'idī a's-Ṣūfī'.

<sup>2</sup> A detailed description of the gateway will be found in Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 69-71, pl. XIV and *ARASI*, 1921-22, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 245.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, p. 69, but on p. 64, the date quoted is A.H. 633.

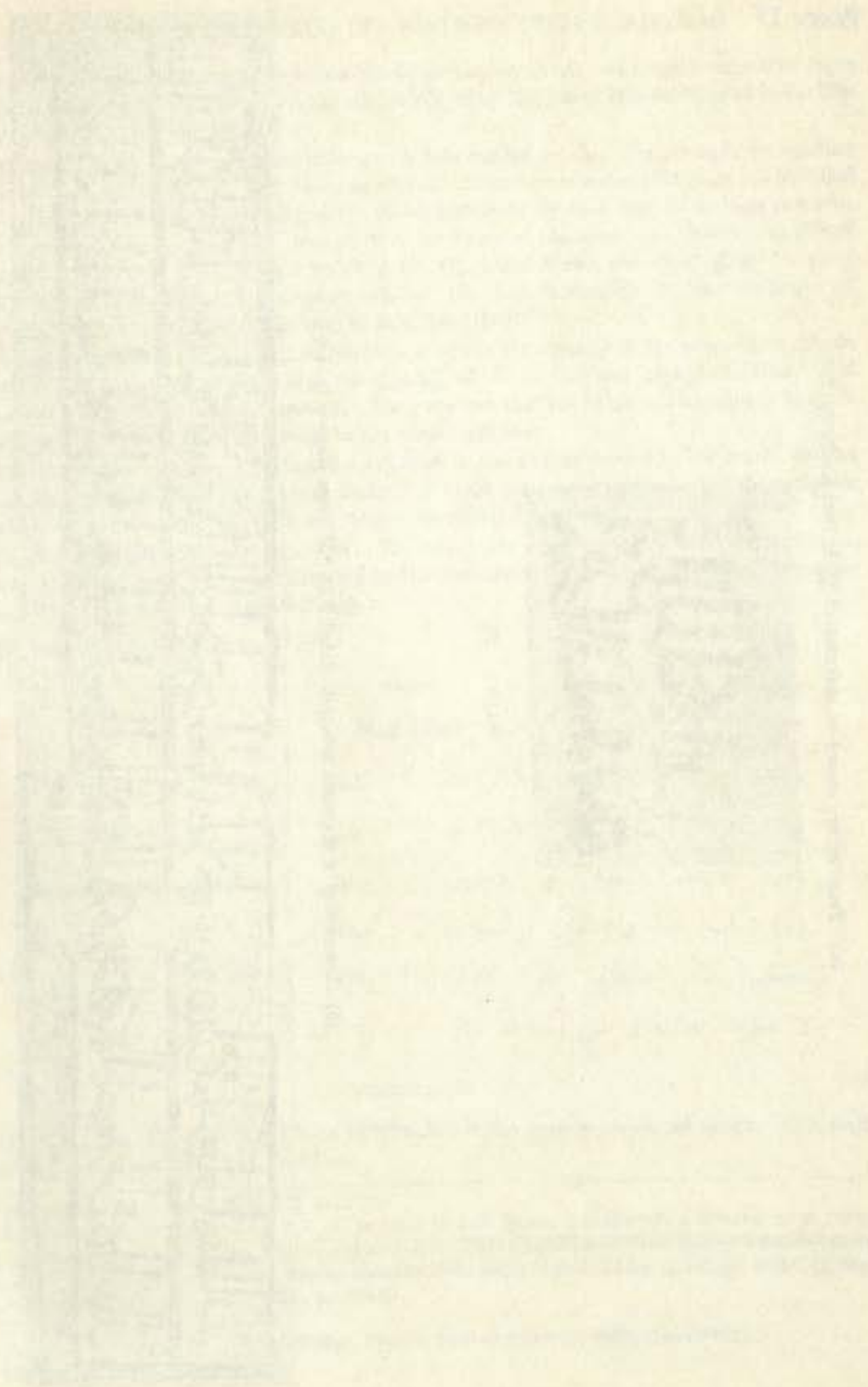
<sup>5</sup> Here, evidently Makhdūm Ḥusain Nāgaurī, to whom a reference has been made above, is intended. He was a descendant of the saint and himself a man of great piety and religiosity. He died in A.H. 901 (1495-96). This local belief seems to owe its origin to a statement of the seventeenth century author and scholar 'Abdul-Ḥaq (*op. cit.*, p. 183).

<sup>6</sup> In Ṣūfī hagiocracy, they are second in rank to *qutb* and represent seventy persons, by whom God continues the world in existence. When one dies, his place is filled up by some one selected from the lower order.

<sup>7</sup> Evidently, the misreading of this word as Abdul gave rise to the fictitious identity of the architect Shaikh 'Abdul.

<sup>8</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 64, 69.

<sup>9</sup> 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq, *op. cit.*, p. 183.





(a) Fragmentary record of Muhammad Shāh, Bari Khatu (p. 20)



SCALE : .29

(b) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 733, from Nagaur (p. 19)



SCALE : .1

corbel style and not according to the true scientific principles, which had already come into vogue more than three decades earlier.<sup>1</sup> Its having been built by Makhdūm Ḥusain Nāgaurī in the late fifteenth century is out of question.

It is indeed a pity that the record does not contain further details. For example, no mention is made of the *muqfi*<sup>2</sup> of the region, or the local official. It is also not stated if Nagaur was included in the Ajmer province, as Bari Khatu, about 60 kilometres to the east, was, as we have just seen above. Strangely enough, the text does not cite the name of the saint too. He was, as is well known, a disciple of the great Khawāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī of Ajmer, renowned alike for piety and scholarship, and endowed with literary talent. He died, according to one account, in A.H. 673 (1274) and according to another, in A.H. 659 (1259).<sup>3</sup>

Though, the text in itself neither conforms nor rejects the identity of the saint, there should be little doubt about it. It calls him the Shāikh of the *abdāls* and Shāikhu'l-Islām,<sup>4</sup> and designates his tomb as 'Abode of Miracles'. The very fact that the tomb was ordered to be built by Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh points to the saint's greatness.

Not much significance may perhaps be attached to the wish expressed in the fourth couplet that the king might not have any rebel or denier. If at all, it may only indicate that the composer did take notice of the rebellions that had started troubling the Sultān.<sup>5</sup>

The two-line text is engraved in relief. The long tablet which measures 2.47 m. by 40 cm., seems to have developed cracks, as indicated by the cementing in two or three places affecting the letters. The style of writing is usual Naskh.

The text has been read as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate IV(b)

دار مکرمه دار الکرامات	کانها روضه من روضه الجنات
بنا این روضه دار الکرامات	مقامی معتبر خیر المقامات
بامر بادشاه عهد و دوران	محمد ابن تغلق شاه سلطان
(۲) نصاب عدل و احسان بوالمجاهد	مباداکس ورا باغی و [جا] حد
بنصف ماه شعبان شد باتمام	بنا [۳] روضه این شیخ الاسلام
ز هجرت هفتصد و سی و سه بد سال	بنا شد روضه این شیخ الابدال

## TRANSLATION

(1) The *Dāru'l-Karāmāt* (lit. Abode of Miracles) is the greatly venerated abode. It is as if a garden from the garden(s) of Paradise.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, pl. XIV.

<sup>2</sup> Some particulars of his life and beliefs will be found in Amir Hasan, *Fatāwā-i-Fatāwā* (Delhi, A. H. 1312), pp. 3, 70, 206; Mir Khurd, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-64; *Adhkar-i-Abrār*, Urdū translation of Hasan Ghauth's *Gulzar-i-Abrār* (Agra, 1906), pp. 63-65 (who also cites a Persian quatrain of the saint); 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-37; Ghulam Sarwar, *Khawāsinat-ul-Aḡfiyā* (Kanpur, 1902), pp. 308-09.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mir Khurd, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> For the rebellions, see Dr. A. Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty* (Calcutta, 1963), chapter VIII.

<sup>5</sup> Thus on the stone.



The construction of this tomb (called) *Dāru'l-Karāmāt*, a much respected and the best of abodes, (took place) by the order of the sovereign of the time and age, Muḥammad, son of Tughluq Shāh, the Sultān,

(2) the origin of justice and benevolence, (A)bu'l-Mujāhid. May none turn a rebel against or denier, of him ;

The edifice of the tomb of this *Shaiḥ*u'l-Islām was completed in the middle (i.e. 15th day) of the month of *Shā'bān*.

From the Migration, the year was seven hundred and thirty and three (when), the tomb of this *Shaiḥ* among the Abdāls was constructed (15 *Shā'bān* 733=1 May 1333).

### VIII. FRAGMENTARY RECORD FROM BARI KHATU

A small inscribed fragment of marble measuring 21 by 14 cm. was found by Mr. Ṣiddiqī in the mosque in the Maḥalla-Sayyidān—same as the one in which inscription No. I was found—at Bari Khatu.<sup>1</sup> The incomplete two-line text merely comprises part of the honorific title and name of the Sultān in the first line and part of the titles of another person, presumably an official, in the second. From the name of the Sultān, viz. Muḥammad, followed by the word *bin* (i.e. son of) and the honorific title '(Striver) in the path of Allāh' as well as from the calligraphy, the identity of the king is established beyond doubt.

The style of writing is *Naskh*. The extant text reads as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate IV(a)

..... [ف] سبيل الله محمد بن ..... (1)

..... مج... الدولة و الدين ..... (2)

#### TRANSLATION

- (1) ..... (striver in) the path of Allāh, Muḥammad, son of.....  
 (2)..... u'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn.....

It is not possible to determine the name of the official from the extant writing. The first two letters of the phrase indicating the name are م—*m* and ج—*j* or ح—*h*, and since there is not much space between these and the letters that immediately follow, the titular phrase could be either *محي الدولة* or *مجير الدولة*. Could it be the latter? Mujīru'd-Dīn Abū Rajā was a prominent official.<sup>2</sup> If so, the epigraph would indicate that Khatu or Ajmer was under his charge, prior to his posting at Bayana, a piece of information not met with in any historical work.

#### Firūz Shāh

The last three inscriptions of this study are of the time of Firūz Shāh (1351-88). They are to be found at as far off places as Chatsu in Jaipur District, Mander in Jodhpur district and

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 204. It does not seem to have come to Chaghtāi's notice.

<sup>2</sup> Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 472; 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 358, 388, 413, 453; Ibn Battūṭa, *The Rūḥ*, Eng. tr. A. Mahdi Husain (Baroda, 1963), pp. 61, 95, 152; etc.



Bayana. All the three are fragmentary, and two of them, undated. Nevertheless, their importance lies in determining the period and extent of the Tughluq rule in various parts of Rajasthan. It may be recalled here that of Firūz's four known inscriptions from Rajasthan, three were found in Nagaur district and one in Jaipur district.<sup>1</sup>

#### IX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 783, FROM CHATSU

Chatsu or Chaksu as it is also called, is a *tahsil* town, about 40 kilometres to the south-east of the district headquarters Jaipur. It is an ancient town, but unfortunately, no old remains have survived in or about, except those of a few tanks.<sup>2</sup> Its most notable Muslim remain is the Chhatrī of Gurg 'Alī Shāh (died 1568-69), which bears two inscriptions, one recording the date of his martyrdom, and the other, a visitor's memento engraved by the famous Mir Muḥammad Ma'gūm of Akbar's period.<sup>3</sup>

Both A. C. L. Carlisle and D. R. Bhandarkar who visited Chatsu in 1871-72 and 1909-10 respectively,<sup>4</sup> had overlooked this inscription. It was first found by Rāi Bahādur Dayā Rām Sāhni, then Director of Archaeology and Historical Research, Jaipur State, who was, however, unable to give any details except the date and the occurrence of the name of Chatsu pargana.<sup>5</sup>

It is not exactly known when Chatsu first came to be occupied by the Muslims, but it may have, at an early date. That the region around Chatsu was occupied by the Tughluqs is testified by the present record, dated 1381. Bābur mentions it among his possessions in India.<sup>6</sup> But some time before the sixteenth century, the Kachhwāhas appear to have gained control: They ruled, first from Amber near Jaipur and later on from Jaipur, either independently or as vassals of the Mughal rulers and of the British.

The loose fragmentary tablet on which this four-line epigraph is inscribed is lying in the Nil-garon ki-Masjid in the town.<sup>7</sup> Measuring 54 by 31 cm., it seems to be a complete unit as there appears to be a border on the left. If so, it would mean that another same-sized slab which contained the remaining text is missing. Be as it may, considerable text is lost, and the full purport cannot be made out. But even whatever has survived is not without interest. The extant text does not contain the name of the king, but it refers to his reign, and since the date A.H. 783 (1381) is fortunately preserved, the king is none other than Firūz Shāh Tughluq.

The epigraph mentions the Bāzār-i-Khāss (Main Market). The phrase 'is set up (in the) Main Market' occurring in the third line, must refer to the setting up of the inscription there, and this would mean that the text might have contained some sort of instructions, a royal order or a decision perhaps, notified for general information. Also, the place-name is spelt in the record as Chātsū with *t*, which may be noted. Then, Chātsū is called a *pargana*, which shows that the town was already a *pargana* headquarters in old days. In short, the record indicates that Chatsu was a town of sufficient importance.

<sup>1</sup> *EIM*, 1949-50, pp. 19, 20; *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the town and its remains, see Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. VI (Calcutta, 1878), pp. 116-20 (account by Mr. A. C. L. Carlisle); *PRWC*, 1909-10, pp. 49-50; *ARASI*, 1927-28, p. 147; Dayā Rām Sāhni, *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairat*, pp. 5-8.

<sup>3</sup> *EIM*, 1923-24, pp. 21, 23. The chronogram for the death of Gurg 'Alī Shāh is doubtfully read and worked out to yield A. H. 860 (*ibid.*, p. 23), but the inscription is in Nasta'liq and according to my reading of the chronogram, the date of death would be A. H. 976 (1568-69). *ARASI*, 1925-26, p. 128, gives A. H. 979.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, pp. 116-20; *PRWC*, 1909-10, pp. 49-50.

<sup>5</sup> Sāhni, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> A. S. Beveridge, *The Bābur-Nāma in English* (Memoirs of Bābur) (London, 1921), p. 521.

<sup>7</sup> *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 138.



The text refers to a freed slave ('*atīq*) of Khwāja Jahān. The latter can be none other than the well-known Prime Minister of Firūz Shāh. As to the former, it may be inferred from the phrase 'on behalf of the Maliku'sh-Sharq' that he was in charge of the *pargana*. And most probably, the Maliku'sh-Sharq, whose name is lost, was some one other than the Khwāja Jahān. The first line of the text 'by his special (i.e. personal) attention, the humble creature hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher' may be taken to convey that the said subordinate had ordered to undertake some work of public good, provided of course, the record begins with this sentence only, as is very likely the case. But if some portion of the text is missing in the beginning, the phrase would mean that he acted under orders of his master.

Thus, our inscription, fragmentary as it is, is quite interesting, and therefore, it is regrettable that it is incomplete. Palaeographically too, it is of sufficient importance. Executed in conventional *Naskh*, it gives an overall impression of being slightly inelegant, but that is due to the somewhat uneven alignment and spacing of letters. Otherwise, the calligraphy is of sufficient artistic merit, and in particular, the execution of the letter د—d jointed to a preceding letter, in several places in lines 1 and 4 recall to mind the much more developed and finer calligraphy of the Tughluq inscriptions of Bihar.<sup>1</sup>

The text which is in Persian, reads as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate V(c)

- (۱) بتوجه خاصه خود بنده ضعیف امیدوار برحمت پروردگار.....  
 (۲) پرگنه چاتسو عتیق خواجه جهان کے از جهت ملک الشرق.....  
 (۳) بازار خاص نصب است در عهد خداوند عالمپناه.....  
 (۴) بتاریخ دوم ماه محرم سنه ثلاث و ثمانین و سبعمایه.....

## TRANSLATION

- (1) The weak creature, hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, by his personal attention.....  
 (2) *pargana* of Chātsū, the freed slave ('*atīq*) of Khwāja Jahān, who on behalf of Maliku'sh-Sharq.....  
 (3) is fixed up in the Bāzār-i-Khāss (Main Market), in the reign of the Lord, shelter of the world.....  
 (4) on the second day of the month of Muḥarram, year (A.H.) three and eighty and seven hundred (2 Muḥarram 783=29 March 1381).....

## X. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM MANDOR

The tenth inscription, from Mandor, in the Jodhpur district, published here for the first time, was copied by me in 1955, from the mosque locally called Shāhi-Masjid or Royal mosque,<sup>2</sup> perhaps

<sup>1</sup> *EIAPS*, 1961, pls. VIII, IX.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 155. *Lāl, op. cit.*, p. 44, f.n. 16, refers to the existence of the inscription but does not give any purport.

(a) Incomplete inscription of Firūz Shan, from Bayana (p. 24)



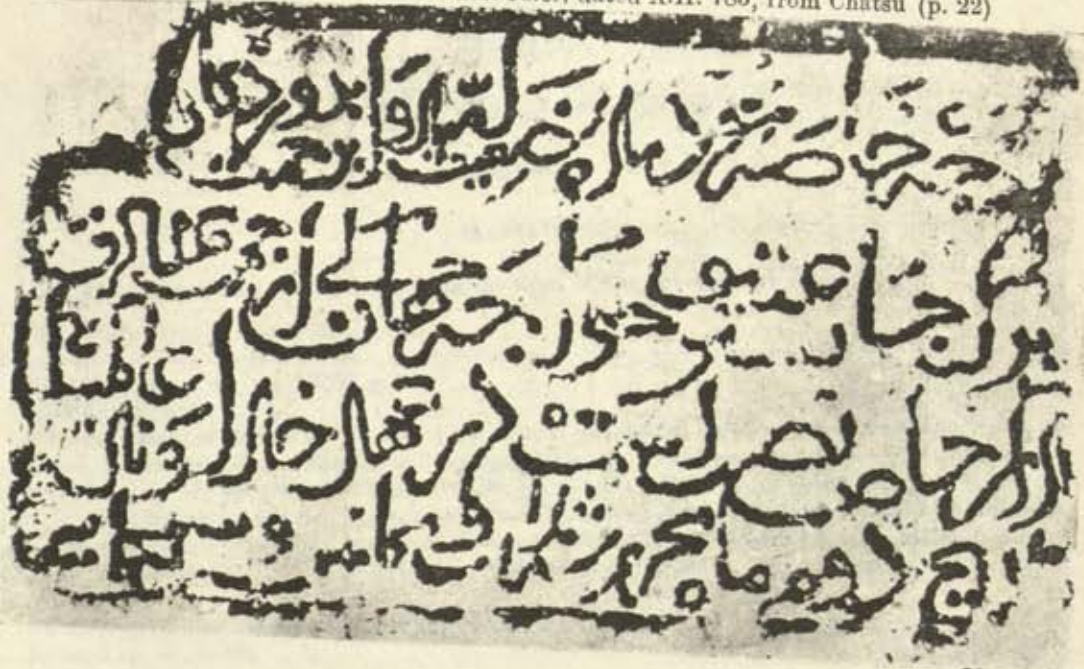
SCALE : .21

(b) Another fragmentary record of the same king, from Mandor (p. 23)



SCALE : .125

(c) Another record of the same ruler, dated A.H. 783, from Chatsu (p. 22)



SCALE : .26



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the same as the mosque of Ghulām Khān of Garriek.<sup>1</sup> A building of no merit, it is probably on account of the present record that it is known by this name.

This epigraph is a mere fragment: The extant two-line text in Persian refers to the construction of a mosque in the reign of Sultān Firūz Shāh. Other details including the date are lost. But on palaeographical grounds, the epigraph has to be assigned to the Tughluq king and not to the founder of the Khalji dynasty who conquered Mandor in 1292.<sup>2</sup>

Mandor was the capital of the Rāthor chiefs till 1459, when Jodhpur city was founded a few kilometres to the south. It is a place of considerable antiquity. The old fort, a hall of sixteen colossal hero-figures hewn out of a single natural rock and richly sculptured stone conotaphs and chhatris, also remarkable for their carving, are among its chief archaeological remains.<sup>3</sup>

The early history of Mandor during the Muslim period is not very clear. It was conquered in 1226-27 by Iltutmish. In 1242, along with Ajmer and Nagaur, it was conferred on Malik 'Izzu'd-Dīn Balban, and must have also been included in the fief of Ulugh Khān, later on Sultān Balban, who had succeeded Malik 'Izzu'd-Dīn. It must have relapsed to the Hindu authority some time before the rule of Jalālu'd-Dīn Khalji who conquered it again in about 1292. After that, the authority of his successor 'Alāu'd-Dīn had extended to Jalor and Siwana about 100 kilometres to the south-west.<sup>4</sup> One Malik Dā'ūd was the governor of Jalor under Firūz Tughluq himself.<sup>5</sup> The traditional account that right from about 1212, Mandor was the capital of the Parihār chiefs, from whom it was wrested in 1381 by Rao Chonda,<sup>6</sup> is disproved by the above, as well as by the present inscription of Firūz Tughluq (1351-88). The place, like Chatsu and other places in Rajasthan, must have relapsed to the Rajput authority some time during the period of the disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate after the Tughluqs, if not still later.

The inscriptional slab, measuring 62 by 40 cm. in its present condition, is built up into the west wall of the said mosque and contains a two-line text, inscribed in Nasḫ of no particular merit, which has been read as under:—

## TEXT

## Plate V(b)

(۱) بناء این مسجد در نوبت دولت.....[ت]

(۲) فیروز شاه السلطان[ن].....

## TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of this mosque, in the time of the government of.....

(2) Firūz Shāh, the Sultān.....

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> *Lāl*, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> For the history of Mandor and detailed description of its remains, including a few Muslim buildings, see B. N. Reu, *Mārwād-kā-Itihās*, in Hindi, vol. I (Jodhpur, 1938), pp. 8-10; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 73-85; Erskine, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-98; *ARASI*, 1905-06, pp. 135-40; *ibid.*, 1909-10, pp. 93-103; *PRWC*, 1906-07, pp. 31-33; *ibid.*, 1907-08, p. 29; etc. There is a small booklet entitled *Mandor*, giving an account of the buildings etc., about whose author or place and year of publication, no information is available. A paper entitled, 'History of Mandor', was read by Dr. K. C. Jain before the 22nd Session of the Indian History Congress held in 1959 at Gauhati.

<sup>4</sup> Minhāj, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 106; Reu, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>5</sup> Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 528.

<sup>6</sup> Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 54.



## XI. FRAGMENTARY RECORD FROM BAYANA

The last record of this study was found in 1955 by me at Bayana, a sub-divisional headquarters in Bharatpur district.<sup>1</sup> The fragmentary sandstone slab, measuring 24 by 14 cm., was recovered from the debris lying to the west of a mosque behind the 'Idgāh, outside the town.<sup>2</sup>

Bayana was connected with the Muslim rule from its very inception. Its importance may be judged from the fact that it was usually conferred in fief upon nobles of great rank, the first in recorded history being Malik Bahāu'd-Dīn Tughril, the most trusted lieutenant of Muḥammad bin Sām. Among its subsequent governors were Nugratu'd-Dīn Tābisī (1235), Qarāqash Khān (1242), Arsalān Khān and Nugrat Khān (c. 1242-56), Qutluḡ Khān (1252) and Sher Khān, a cousin of Balban (1259).<sup>3</sup> Under the Khaljis, we only get the name of 'Alāu'd-Dīn's brother Ulugh Khān as the governor<sup>4</sup> and under the Tughluqs, those of Malik Muẓaffar and Malik Muḡīr Abū Rajā.<sup>5</sup>

Naturally, therefore, the place had a considerable number of early buildings and numerous inscriptions, of which unfortunately no exhaustive survey seems to have been made earlier. When I visited the place in 1955, I did not come across any pre-Mughal inscription with the exception of a couple of epitaphs, one of which I have identified with that of Auḡad Khān, founder of the Auḡadī line of Bayana chiefs.<sup>6</sup> No trace remains even of those Khalji inscriptions, which were fortunately published in a previous issue of this Series.<sup>7</sup> These epigraphical remains met with destruction about two decades ago, along with the buildings, particularly mosques, on which they were set up. Those that have fortunately survived include a few records of the time of the Auḡadis, the Sūrs and the Mughals, mostly appearing on secular buildings at Bayana and the Bijaimandirgarh fort nearby.<sup>8</sup>

Mainly from this point of view, the record may be considered important. It is the only known Tughluq record from Bayana, though on the nearby fort, a later inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluq, as already stated above, is reported.<sup>9</sup> But for this, the present fragment of the surviving text contains merely the name of the king and his *kunya*.

The style of writing is *Naskh*.

## TEXT

## Plate V(a)

.....[ابو المظفر فيروز شاه].....

## TRANSLATION

.....Abu'l-Muẓaffar Fir[ūz Shāh].....

<sup>1</sup> For the history, buildings and inscriptions of Bayana and nearby Bijayamandirgarh, see Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, pp. 40-73; *ibid.*, vol. XX, pp. 60-88; *ibid.*, vol. XXIII, p. 64; *EIM*, 1917-18, pp. 20, 39, 42; *ARIE*, 1955-56, Nos. D, 113-25; *EIAPS*, 1959 and 1960, pp. 60-61. A paper on the history of Bayana was read by Dr. K. C. Jain before the All India Oriental Conference held at Bhubaneswar in 1959.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 119. It was then removed to the P.W.D. Inspection Bungalow near the Railway Station.

<sup>3</sup> Minhāj, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 123, 143, 152, 164, 171, 174, 206.

<sup>4</sup> Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Battūṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

<sup>6</sup> *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 61.

<sup>7</sup> *EIM*, 1917-18, pp. 20, 39, 42.

<sup>8</sup> *ARIE*, 1955-56, Nos. D, 113-25.

<sup>9</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64 No. D, 309; *Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Muslim Monuments in the Northern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, Agra, for the year ending 31st March, 1912* (Allahabad, 1912), p. 68, App. F, No. 18.



## LODI AND SUR INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR AND UTTAR PRADESH

By W. H. SIDDIQI

Senior Epigraphical Assistant

It is regrettable that the Afghān rule which forms an important epoch in the history of medieval India has not been properly recorded by the contemporary historians. Our knowledge of the Lodīs and Sūrs is based almost entirely either on the Mughal histories or on the works of Afghān authors, which were compiled during the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr. In this perspective, any contemporary document, however fragmentary, is a valuable record for the history of the period. It is, therefore, a little gratifying that some epigraphical records of these dynasties have survived till this day.

In this article, I have taken up for study eleven such inscriptions. These epigraphs are interesting records from historical point of view, since they furnish information, particularly about personages which is not known from any other source and also yield valuable data about the monuments on which they are found. Some of these records were noticed previously, but their texts were copied, almost in all cases, without any critical acumen, and no historical description or notes regarding the personages were given.

For obvious reasons, the study of these epigraphs has been taken up region-wise : the first part deals with those from Bihar and the other, with those of Uttar Pradesh. I am thankful to Dr. Z. A. Desai for the help I have received from him in preparing the article in its present form.

### Bihar

The history of Bihar during the last quarter of the fifteenth century is represented by the final phase of the Sharqi-Lodi struggle for territorial supremacy over the region. And though at the turn of the century, Sikandar Lodi succeeded in annexing Bihar or a part thereof to the Delhi kingdom, the political status of the province was yet somewhat complicated : different parts were under the suzerainty, at one time or the other, or alternatively, of the Lodīs and the Bengal Sultāns.<sup>1</sup> This phase also witnessed the rise of the Afghān confederacy in eastern India, the Nūhānīs being the first to establish their authority which extended from Bihar in the east to Sambhal in the west.<sup>2</sup> In short, for about fifty years (1522-1574), the various Afghān tribes, namely Nūhānīs, Karrānīs, Iṣṭurānīs and Sūrs, held sway over a large part of Bihar, successfully defying the Sultāns of Bengal as well as of Delhi.

Bābur invaded Bihar in May 1529, but having realised the superior strength of Nuṣrat Shāh of Bengal, he was obliged to retreat after entering into an agreement.<sup>3</sup> After Bābur's death, disorder prevailed in the province, and taking advantage of this, Farīd, entitled Sher Khān, the leader

<sup>1</sup> For inscriptions of the Bengal Sultāns in Bihar, please see *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1961, pp. 35-44. The Sharqi records from Bihar have been studied by me in *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 41-52.

<sup>2</sup> R. R. Diwakar, ed. *Bihar Through the Ages* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 395.

<sup>3</sup> Bābur, *Memoirs of Bābur*, ed. L.W. King, Vol. II (Oxford, 1921), p. 406; Professor S. H. 'Askari, 'Bihar in the time of Bābur and Humāyūn', *Current Studies* (Patna College Magazine), 1957, p. 4; *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 45.



of the Sūrs and a protege of the Nūhānīs, supplanted his rivals and ultimately established an all-India empire in A. H. 946 (1539). Henceforth, Bihar remained under the effective control of the Sūrs, until it was finally subjugated by Akbar in A. H. 983 (1575).<sup>1</sup>

No Lodi monument of any architectural value has survived in the province, but we have one epigraph of Sikandar Lodi. On the other hand, there are quite a few buildings and inscriptions of the Sūr period, which is not surprising.<sup>2</sup> Three of the four Bihar epigraphs studied in the following lines belong to Sher Shāh; they include one set up during his pre-kingship period.

### Lodi

#### I. INSCRIPTION OF SIKANDAR LODI, DATED A. H. 901

The first inscription is quite interesting in that it contains useful, though scanty data, on the Lodi conquest of the province. The tablet on which it is inscribed measures 94 by 30 cm. and is built up in the northern wall of the four-wall enclosure marking the Dargāh of Shāh Faḍlu'llāh Gosā'in in the Dāira-Maḥalla of Bihar Sharif in Patna district. It was Professor S. H. 'Askari of Patna College and now Honorary Joint Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, who discovered it first and brought it to the notice of Dr. Desai, having accompanied him to the place in January 1956. After removing the thick coating of whitewash the record was copied, deciphered and found to be that of Sikandar Lodi.<sup>3</sup> The tablet is unfortunately badly damaged with the result that the text is not quite legible in parts. But it was more or less completely deciphered by Dr. Desai subsequently, and I have utilised his reading here.

Evidently not *in situ*, the epigraph refers to the conquest of Bihar in A. H. 901 (1496), by Sikandar Lodi and records the construction of 'an eastern gate' by Hājī Khān at the instance of the Bihar governor Daryā Khān Nūhānī, who is mentioned as the 'minister of the kingdom' immediately thereafter. It is not clear from the text of what building the eastern gate formed part. Very likely, it was the city-wall, since the text indicates that the construction took place on the last day of the month in which Bihar was conquered. Therefore, it is more than probable that the city-walls were repaired immediately after the event.

The record comprises four verses in Persian of mediocre quality. The style of writing, likewise, is an inelegant, if not crude, form of *Nasḫ*. This feature is also seen in the other epigraphs of this period in the State, and it is indeed a matter of surprise that in Bihar, the calligraphical style that had reached such a high level of excellence in the mural records of the Tughluq period should have deteriorated to this extent.

The text of the epigraph is quoted below :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate VI (c)

(۱) شهنشاه علم آرا شه آفاق دین پرور  
نسب فایق حسب رایق جهاندار است اسکندر  
ششم ماه اسف بود است یکی و نهصد از هجرت  
بهار آمد بدست او ز فضل ایزد بنیک اختر

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma* vol. III (Lucknow, 1867), pp. 27-30.

<sup>2</sup> Some Sūr inscriptions of Bihar were published in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1923-24, pp. 26-29.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1955-56, No. D, 78; 'Askari, 'Bihar in the Time of the two Lodi Sultāns of Delhi', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, vol. XLI (1955), part 3, p. 7.



(۲) ہمارے صلح (؟) زان پس بامرو حکم اشرف کو وزیر ملک دین آراء دریا خان فریدون فر  
موس کرد حاجیخان در شرق کنون یارب سپہر ملک و ملت را ز نوحانی بود محور

TRANSLATION

(1) The emperor who adorns the standard (of kingship), the king of the horizons (and) the protector of Faith, superior in lineage and distinguished in achievements, the possessor of the world is Iskandar (Sikandar).

It was sixth of the month, [al]-Aşamm (i.e. Rajab), one and nine hundred (years) from the Migration (of the Prophet) (6 Rajab 901=21 March 1496), when the province of Bihar came into his hand by God's grace, at the auspicious moment.

(2) After that, on the last day (of the same month), by the exalted orders of the minister of the kingdom, the adorer of Faith, Daryā Khān, who possesses the dignity of Faridūn.

Hājī Khān has laid the foundation of the eastern gate (of the city-wall?). Now O God! May Nuḥānī be the pivot of the sphere of the country and the nation!

Daryā Khān, referred to above, succeeded his father Mubārak Khān Nuḥānī, the first Lodi governor of Jaunpur and Bihar, in the governorship of Bihar, on the latter's death, in A. H. 901 (1495 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> He is also mentioned as having been his father's deputy (nā'ib) in Bihar at least in A. H. 894.<sup>2</sup> As *Amīru'l-umārā* under Sikandar and Ibrāhīm Lodī, he was not only responsible for consolidating the Lodī possessions in Bihar, but also played an important part in most of the Lodī campaigns in the east. In the last years of Ibrāhīm's unpopular regime, Daryā Khān revolted and was still deliberating over his plans, when death overtook him in 1522.<sup>3</sup> As for Hājī Khān, the builder, it is not possible to say for certain if he is identical with Hājī Khān Tarīn, brother of Jalāl Khān, who seems to have served both Lodī and Sūr dynasties. This Hājī Khān had led the Afghān army, when Humāyūn marched on Gaur, and after killing the Mughal governors of Jaunpur and Kara-Manikpur, had occupied these places as well as Qannauj on behalf of Sher Khān, under whom he was an important officer. Sher Khān appointed him *faujdar* of Mewat in 1541.<sup>4</sup>

Sūr

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 942, FROM AMTHUA

The tablet bearing this epigraph was lying loose in a mosque at Amthua in Gaya district, when Dr. Desai got its impressions prepared in 1956 in the company of Professor 'Askari, who was also

<sup>1</sup> Ni'matu'llāh, *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī wa Makẖzan-i-Afghānī* (Dacca, 1960), pp. 184-85.

<sup>2</sup> Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Lucknow, 1875), p. 159. Dr. K. R. Qanungo, *Sher Shāh* (Calcutta, 1921), p. 281, however, says that Daryā Khān held chief of Bihar from the days of the kings of Jaunpur.

<sup>3</sup> For details of his career, see Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 174; Ni'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-86, 233, 249, 251-52; Firāhta, *Tārīkh-i-Firāhta*, vol. I (Kanpur, 1884), pp. 182, 191; 'Abdu'llāh, *Tārīkh-i-Da'udī*, ed. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm (Aligarh, 1954), p. 11; Rizqu'llāh, *Wāq'āt-i-Muḥtāḡāt* in Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi, *Uttar Taimūr-kālīn Bhārat* (Aligarh, 1958), pp. 158-59; and 'Askari, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 23rd Session, 1960, Aligarh (Calcutta, 1961), pp. 157-58.

<sup>4</sup> Ni'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 344. For subsequent career of Hājī Khān in Punjab, Malwa, Mewat and Gujarat, see *ibid.*, pp. 344-49; 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī, *Muntakhab ul-Tawārīkh*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 431, 433; 'Abdu'llāh, *op. cit.*, pp. 147, 148, etc.



responsible for its discovery.<sup>1</sup> It measures 68 by 15 cm., and is slightly weather-beaten. The style of writing is also somewhat crude, and the letters are of uneven size. All these have made the decipherment of the text difficult. Moreover, the language of the record is quite hopeless. It will be observed that the sentence even is not complete. The text quoted below is the result of the efforts of Dr. Desai, who has permitted me to use the reading.

It is not possible to define the exact purport of the record. But since it contains the famous tradition of the Prophet commonly found in mosque inscriptions, it may refer to the construction of some mosque, erected in the name of a saint, whose name reads like Khawāja Budh (?) Chāyanda (?). The builder's name is proposed to be deciphered as Bāzid Nūhānī Khidr Khaili, a protege of Malik Mānik Shahbāz Khānī, and the scribe's name, as Mirān Dā'ūd Abdāl. The connexion between the few names mentioned in the text cannot be determined beyond doubt.

Another inexplicable aspect of the record is its date, which is clearly indicated in the text as 'Shuhūr Sana nine hundred and thirtyfive, Monday, twenty-first of Sha'bān, year 942'. Now the later date in which the year is given in figure is regular, since the twenty-first of Sha'bān of A. H. 942 was Monday. But it is difficult to be exactly sure as to what the scribe meant by coupling this date with the date Shuhūr Sana 935. If the phrase Shuhūr Sana is taken literally, i.e. to mean '(in) the months of the year', the date 935 would indicate the Hijra era, in which case the year should be that of the beginning of the construction. But the text does not warrant this assumption. Alternatively, the phrase Shuhūr Sana may be taken to refer to the Shuhūr era. This era, which was commonly used in Deccan, is generally believed to have started from A. H. 744 (1343).<sup>2</sup> Now Shuhūr year 935 in vogue in Deccan was equivalent to A. H. 941 and not A. H. 942.<sup>3</sup> But then, it may be remembered that no authentic or exact data are available about the starting point of the Shuhūr era and particularly about the months adapted for that solar-Hijra year that Shuhūr Sana represents. Then again, it is not known if the Shuhūr era as was in vogue in Deccan was current in North India as well. No doubt, the Shuhūr era was in vogue in North, as is known from an inscription at Narwar, in Sheopuri district of Madhya Pradesh, which is dated Shuhūr 909 and A.H. 914.<sup>4</sup> But whether the Shuhūr era of north and south India were identical, it has not been possible to ascertain. It is likely that there was a different solar year adapted in the northern or even in the eastern region, as is perhaps indicated, to some extent, by an inscription from Budaun (p. 34, *infra*). In the absence of detailed data, no definite conclusion can be reached in this regard. Consequently, in the present case, it is difficult to explain satisfactorily the two dates for the present.<sup>5</sup>

All the same, the epigraph is valuable. It belongs to the pre-kingship period of Sher Shāh who is designated therein as Hadrat-i-'Alī Sher Khān. It thus confirms the fact that though Sher Khān was virtual master of Bihar in the year A. H. 942 (1536), he had not assumed any royal titles till then.<sup>6</sup> It also corroborates the statement of Ni'matu'llāh that Sher Khān had become master of the kingdom of Bihar in A. H. 941 (1535), after the death of Dūdū, mother of Jalāl Khān Nūhānī.

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 61; 'Askari, 'A Review of Bihar during the Turko-Afghan Period', *Current Studies* (Patna, 1954), p. 21 and n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. M. Nāgim, *Bijapur Inscriptions*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 49 (Delhi, 1936), pp. 93-102.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> *EIAPS*, 1965, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> This paragraph is by the Editor.

<sup>6</sup> Ni'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 276; 'Abdu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 115.



The epigraph runs into three lines beginning with the famous tradition in Arabic, commonly found in mosque inscriptions. The remaining text is in Persian. The style of writing is *Naskh*. The record has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate VI (b)

(۱) قال النبی علیہ السلام من بنی مسجدا لله بنی الله له بیتا مثله فی الجنة بئمه خان  
اعظم شهباز خان شیخ بازید نوحانی خضر خیل بر آورده ملک العادلی ملک مانک شهباز خانی  
(۲) در عهد بندگان حضرت عالی شیر خان حسن سور دام عالیاً باسم امام خواجه بده  
چاینده (۳) نبشت میران داؤد ابدال  
(۳) شهور مینه خمسة ثلاثین و تسعمایه یوم [۱] لاثنین الحادی و عشرون من شهر  
شعبان سنه ۹۴۲

TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, may peace (of Allāh) be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh builds for him a similar house in Paradise'. The servant (?) of *Khān-i-A'zam Shahbāz Khān*, (namely) *Shāikh Bāzīd Nūhānī Khidr Khaili* (who was) raised by the just noble, *Malik Mānik Shahbāz Khānī*,

(2) (constructed this mosque ?) during the reign of His Majesty *Hadrat-i-'Alī Sher Khān*, son of *Hasan Sūr*, may he always be exalted (and) in the name of *Imām Khwāja Budh (?) Chāyanda*. Written by (?) *Mīrān Dā'ūd Abdāl*.

(3) (In) the *Shuhūr Sana* five (and) thirty and nine hundred, Monday, the twentyfirst of the month of *Sha'bān* 942 (14th February 1536).

*Khān-i-A'zam Shahbāz Khān* of the epigraph appears to be identical with *Shahbāz Khān Nūhānī*, son-in-law of *Sher Shāh*<sup>1</sup> who was a noble of high rank under the latter as well as under his son *Islām Shāh*.<sup>2</sup> About *Bāzīd Nūhānī*, presumably the builder, nothing is known from the historical records at our disposal. From our record, it would appear that he served *Malik Mānik Shahbāz Khānī*, who must have been a trusted subordinate of *Shahbāz Khān*. Also, we have no information about the last-mentioned and other saintly personages mentioned in the text.

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 946, FROM JANA

The third inscription is dated A. H. 946 (1539) in the reign of *Sher Shāh* after he had assumed royal prerogatives. There is no unanimity among the authorities as to the date and place of the accession of *Sher Shāh*. 'Abbās Sarwānī does not mention the event at all. According to *Nizāmu'd-Dīn*, *Firāhta*, *Ni'matu'llāh* and others, *Sher Khān* sat on the throne in A.H. 946 after the victory at Chausa (27 June 1539) and assumed the royal title of *Sher Shāh*,<sup>3</sup> while *Qanungo* puts the event

<sup>1</sup> *Bādāyūnī*, *op. cit.*, p. 379, but *Ranking* in his translation (Calcutta, 1898), p. 490, makes *Shahbāz Khān* a brother-in-law of *Sher Shāh*, which is wrong. *Firāhta*, *op. cit.*, p. 230; *Ni'matu'llāh*, *op. cit.*, p. 363 and f.n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Bādāyūnī*, *op. cit.*, p. 495; *Ni'matu'llāh*, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Nizāmu'd-Dīn*, *op. cit.*, p. 230; *Firāhta*, *op. cit.*, p. 226; *Ni'matu'llāh*, *op. cit.*, p. 306; 'Abdu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 126; *Bādāyūnī*, *op. cit.*, p. 352.



in about the beginning of December 1539.<sup>1</sup> But N. K. Bhattasali, on the basis of coins, fixed the date of accession between the end of June and the middle of July 1538 (i.e. about the middle of Safar A. H. 945).<sup>2</sup> It is a pity that in our record, the month is not quoted. Even then it makes it absolutely clear that there is no substance in S. R. Sharma's assertion that Sher Shāh proclaimed full independence and assumed the title of Sher Shāh in A. H. 947.<sup>3</sup>

Carved on a black-tablet built into the facade of the Jāmi' mosque at Jana in Patna district,<sup>4</sup> the epigraph is apparently the earliest record of Sher Shāh's period of kingship discovered so far. It would appear that the present writing was super-imposed on an earlier text without properly chiselling out the previous writing. Vertical lines particularly in the sides of the text coupled with the fact that the present epigraph does not occupy the whole area support this surmise. Also, the prolonged vertical strokes, in that case recalling to mind what is termed as Bow-and-Arrow variety of calligraphical style of Bengal inscriptions, would make the original record pertain to an earlier period.

The inscriptional tablet measures 68 by 22 cm. and contains a text of three lines in Persian executed in relief in ordinary *Nasikh* script, assigning the construction of a mosque to one Ismā'il.

The text has been read as follows :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate VI (a)

- (۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
 (۲) عهد سلطان شیر شاه مسجد بنی کرد بنده اسماعیل  
 (۳) شهور سنة ست و اربعین تسعمایه کاتبخروف ابو الخیر اوحد

#### TRANSLATION

- (1) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.  
 (2) (During) the reign of Sultān Sher Shāh, the mosque was constructed by the creature Ismā'il.  
 (3) (in) the months\* of the years six and forty (and) nine hundred (A. H. 946=1539 A. D.). Written by Abu'l-Khair Auḥad.

I have not been able to identify either Ismā'il, the builder or Abu'l-Khair Auḥad, the scribe.

#### IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 950, FROM HILSA

The fourth and the last inscription of Bihar comes from Hilsa in Patna district. The inscriptional slab measuring 82 by 33 cm. is fixed over the main entrance of the tomb of the famous saint

<sup>1</sup> Qanungo, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-08.

<sup>2</sup> N. K. Bhattasali, 'The date of Sher Shāh's Accession', *Islamic Culture*, vol. X (1936), pp. 127-30.

<sup>3</sup> S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India*, part I (Bombay, 1934), p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 24.

<sup>5</sup> I had previously deciphered it as بیازم; but the correct reading is بنده as suggested by my colleague Shri S. A. Rahim, to whom I am thankful.

\* The word Shuhūr is evidently used here in its literary sense.



LODĪ AND SŪR INSCRIPTIONS  
( PLATES VI-X )

PLATE VI

(a) Sūr inscription, dated A.H. 946, from Jana (p. 30)



SCALE : ·18

(b) Another Sūr inscription, dated A.H. 942, from Amthua (p. 29)



SCALE : ·27

(c) Inscription of Sikandar Lodī, dated A.H. 901, from Bihar Sharif (p. 26)



SCALE : ·2



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Shāh Jumman Madārī, a small square-building, built in brick after the style of Malik Bayyū's mausoleum at Bihar Sharif.<sup>1</sup> This record was first noticed by A. Cunningham and later on its text was published without plate in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and also by Professor 'Askari.<sup>2</sup>

The epigraph, comprising seven lines of Persian prose executed in relief in ordinary *Naskh* characters, mentions the fact that the tomb of the saint was repaired during the life-time of Miyān Shāikh 'Ālam, son of Ādam, son of Jumman Madārī, in A. H. 950 (1543),<sup>3</sup> during the rule of Sher Shāh. It also mentions Daryā Khān Nūḥānī, either as the builder of the original tomb or as the one who carried out the repairs. The text further names Shams Madārī as the supervisor of the construction.

The epigraph has been read as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate VII (a)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ تَزَكَّرُهُ (کَذَا) مَرْمَت  
 (۲) گنبد بندگی حضرت میران سید جمن مداری قلّس اللّٰه روحه بحضور  
 (۳) بندگی میان شیخ عالم آدم شاه جمن مداری در عمل بندگی  
 (۴) حضرت سلیمان شیر شاه سلطان خلد اللّٰه ملکه و سلطانه  
 (۵) بر آورده دریا خان زنگی هود نوحانی خاص خیل  
 (۶) التاسع و العشرين من ماه صفر ختم اللّٰه بالخیر و الظفر  
 (۷) سنه ۹۵۰ کارفرمان شمس مداری

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh. (This is) an account of the repairs

(2) to the dome (i.e. tomb) of His Holiness Mīrān Sayyid Jumman Madārī, may Allāh sanctify his soul, in the presence of (i.e. during the life-time of)

(3) the revered Miyān Shāikh 'Ālam (son of) Ādam, (son of) Shāh Jumman Madārī, during the time of His Majesty

(4) possessing the dignity of Solomon, (namely) Sher Shāh, the Sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, which were

(5) carried out by (?) Daryā Khān Zangī Hūd Nūḥānī Khāss Khail

(6) (on the) twentieth of the month of Ṣafar, may Allāh end it with welfare and victory !

(7) of the year (A. H.) 950 (29 Ṣafar 950=3 June 1543). The supervisor (is) Shams Madārī.

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 22. A loose inscriptional tablet kept in the house of the *mutawallī* of the tomb contains a record of the pre-kingship period of Mughal emperor Jahāngir. It refers to the construction of a mosque in the Dargāh (*ETAPS*, 1966, pp. 41-42).

<sup>2</sup> A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XI (Calcutta, 1881), pp. 163-64; *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. IV (1918), pp. 186-87; *Current Studies*, Patna, 1954, p. 21, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 164, wrongly considers that it is the date of the erection of the tomb.



The saint<sup>1</sup> Jumman Madārī, a renowned representative of Madāriyya order of his time, was greatly venerated by the people of Bihar. It is difficult to satisfactorily establish the identity of Daryā Khān Zangī Hūd Nūhānī Khāss Khail mentioned in the record. The difficulty arises out of the fact that the language of the text is clumsy and indifferent. If the phrase *barāwarda*, whose infinitive *barāwardan* means 'to raise, to bring up, to carry out', etc., is taken to mean 'brought up by', then Daryā Khān of our inscription would be none other than Daryā Khān Nūhānī, Lodī governor of Bihar, already referred to in the preceding lines, and the record would supply an interesting piece of information of Sher Shāh's being a protégé of his, as was pointed out earlier by Professor 'Askarī. But in that case, there would not be any mention in the record of the person who carried out the repairs. This omission would be supplied if we take the phrase *barāwarda* to indicate 'carried out' in which case Daryā Khān, who repaired the tomb, would be an altogether different person. There is yet another alternative. The phrase may be taken to indicate that repairs were done to the tomb which was originally raised or built by Daryā Khān. If so, Daryā Khān could be the famous governor. Also, in that case, the repairs must have been undertaken by Shaikh 'Ālam, the saint's grandson. I am personally inclined to take the last-mentioned view. Likewise, nothing is known from the historical records either about Shaikh 'Ālam in whose tenure as *sajjāda*—for that is how, I think the phrase *ba-ḥudūr* can best be interpreted—the repairs were carried out or about Shams Madārī who supervised the work. Their very existence is known from our record only.

#### Uttar Pradesh

Most of the buildings of the Lodī-Sūr periods in Uttar Pradesh are now lying in ruinous condition and except few, are devoid of any epigraphical records. Of the seven inscriptions found in recent years in the province, two represent the independent rule at Budaun of A'zam Humāyūn Ahmad Khān, two belong to the time of the Lodīs and the remaining three represent the reign of the Sūrs. They represent all the Lodī and Sūr kings except Bahlūl Shāh. In view of the paucity of sufficient historical information about the period under review, these inscriptions, it is hoped, will provide useful material for the history as well as for a study of mural calligraphy then prevalent. It will also prove useful for regional history.

#### Lodī

The first two records are dated in the reign of A'zam Humāyūn Ahmad Khān who seems to have ruled independently at Budaun.<sup>2</sup> Their importance lies in the fact that these are the only known records mentioning the independent rule of this chief, about which historical works are silent. They were first noticed by Cunningham and subsequently by Maulvi Raḍī'u'd-Dīn, but they were unable to decipher them correctly and fully, nor could they give any satisfactory account of Ahmad Khān and his independent position.

#### V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 882, FROM BUDAUN

The first of these two epigraphs, and the fifth of this study, appears on the southern door of a tomb situated to the west of the town.<sup>3</sup> It is carved on two different-coloured sandstone slabs,

<sup>1</sup> An account of the saint will be found in Diwakar, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

<sup>2</sup> For references to the history of Budaun and its monuments and inscriptions, see *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 7, f.n. 2, and *ibid.*, 1965, p. 11, f.n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 248; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 9; A. Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions from the North West Frontier Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), p. 22; Raḍī'u'd-Dīn, *Kanzu'l-Tārīkh* (Budaun, A.H. 1319), p. 58.



the one on the left hand being white and the other, red. Cunningham and A. Führer who apparently followed him, were mistaken in taking this single epigraph as two separate records on the basis of the different colours of the two tablets and two dates given therein.<sup>1</sup> As will be seen presently, they contain only one epigraph.

The said tomb is a structure of about 8 metres square outside, with a square room inside. Cunningham who marked it as Tomb C, ascribed the tomb to 'Alāu'd-Dīn 'Ālam Shāh and Führer, to him and to his wife both, on the basis of the date A.H. 882 (1478) of the inscription. But though Raḡīu'd-Dīn refuted their statements and correctly ascribed it to 'Imādu'l-Mulk, he was unfortunately puzzled by the two dates and like Cunningham, believed that the writing on these two slabs constituted two separate records.<sup>2</sup>

The inscriptional tablet measures 92 by 38 cm. and contains a four-line text in Persian prose, executed in relief in crude *Naskh*. The weathering of the stone has resulted in slight damage to the writing, which states that the tomb of Malik-i Sharq 'Imādu'l-Mulk was constructed in the reign of A'zam Humāyūn Nawwāb Aḥmad Khān, at the instance of Malik-i Sharq 'Imādu'l-Mulk, son of the deceased, in A.H. 877 (1472-73). Its date of writing is given as A.H. 882 (1478). The name of the scribe is lost.

It will be observed that two dates are quoted in the text : one, 877, preceded by the words *Shuhūr* in which the construction took place and the other, 2nd *Dhu'l-Hijja* (A.H.) 882, when the text was inscribed. If the first date is taken to be in the Hijra and not in *Shuhūr* era, it would mean that the slab was inscribed five years after the construction of the tomb, which is rather inexplicable. Why should it take so much time for the setting up of a mere inscription? What prevented from its being put up on the completion of such a time-consuming job of the construction of the tomb? This difficulty would be removed if both the years were identical, that is to say, if 877 represented some other era and corresponded to A. H. 882. On the face of it, one would appear to represent the solar era called *Shuhūr* San and the other, the lunar Hijra era. But as in the case of the Amthua inscription (Inscription No. II above), both the years do not tally. A.H. 882 ended on 3rd April 1478, while *Shuhūr* 877 was over on 24th May of 1477 itself, according to the system prevalent in Deccan.<sup>3</sup> In view of the fact that even according to this reckoning, the difference is slightly less than one year, both in the case of this as well as the Amthua inscription, I feel that very likely, there is either some complication some where in the *Shuhūr* calculation, particularly when we know that we do not possess much details thereof, such as the actual duration of its months, etc. or in the alternative, in northern or eastern India, as stated earlier, there might have been in vogue another solar-lunar adaptation of the Hijra era. A definite conclusion can only be reached, when more definite data are available.

The style of writing is somewhat peculiar so far as the arrangement of letters and spellings of certain words are concerned. In quite a few places, the ligatures have been dispensed with and even certain letters are so engraved as to represent other letters. For example, the *b* of *bandagī* in the first line and the *w* of *Nawwāb* in the second are engraved as *m* and *r* respectively. All this tends to show the ignorance of the scribe.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.* ; Führer, *op. cit.*

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

<sup>3</sup> Raḡīu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Nāḡim, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>5</sup> These two paras are by the Editor.



The rubbings of this epigraph were prepared by our office in 1960. Its tentative reading prepared by Shri S.M.A. Nadvi, then Junior Technical Assistant, was finalized by Dr. Desai<sup>1</sup> and it reads as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate VII (b)

- (۱) بنا [ی] این گنبد مقبره بندگان ملک در عهد دولت بندگان عالی  
 (۲) اعظم همایون نواب احمد خان دام علیا بفرمایش ملک شرق عمادا  
 (۳) لعلک بن عماد الملک شهور سنه سبع سبعین و ثمانمیه مور  
 (۴) خا فی الثانی من ذی الحجه سنه اثنی و ثمانین و ثمانمیه کاتبه.....

## TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of this dome of the tomb of His Highness Malik-i-Sharq 'Imādu'l-Mulk (took place) in the reign of the government of His Exalted Highness

(2) A'zam Humāyūn Nawwāb Aḥmad Khān, may he be ever exalted, at the instance of Malik-i-Sharq 'Imād-

(3) u'l-Mulk, son of 'Imādu'l-Mulk (in) the Shuhūr (or months of the) year, seventyseven and eight hundred.

(4) Dated (i.e. written on) the 2nd Dhu'l-Hijja, year (A.H.) two and eighty and eight hundred (2 Dhu'l-Hijja 882=7 March 1478). Its writer is.....

Little is known about Aḥmad Khān whom the text calls the reigning chief. Contemporary historians are silent about his independent rule at Budaun. Very probably, he is identical with Aḥmad Khān, uncle of Bahlūl Lodī, who, according to 'Abdu'llāh, was permanently stationed at Budaun by his nephew to attend, in fact, to keep an eye, upon the Sayyid king 'Alāu'd-Dīn 'Ālam Shāh, then reigning at Budaun.<sup>2</sup> But we do not know how and when Aḥmad Khān assumed independence and how long it lasted. Now at the time of the setting up of the record, the Sayyid king was alive.<sup>3</sup> Then according to historians, 'Alāu'd-Dīn was succeeded by his son, and it was the latter who was overthrown by his kinsman Husain Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpur.<sup>4</sup> This would rule out the independent reign of Aḥmad Khān. The only explanation for this, provided of course, the historians are correct, may be that Aḥmad Khān was all powerful and was *de facto* ruler of the place, which fact was perhaps, by way of flattery, mentioned as *de jure* by the composer.

As regards both Malik-i-Sharq 'Imādu'l-Mulk the father and the son, we are not in a position to establish their identity, particularly since on one hand there were quite a few nobles of the Sayyid and Lodī kings who bore this title, and on the other, even about them, not much

<sup>1</sup> Its incomplete and incorrect reading is quoted in Raḡīu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abdu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 16. There was one more important Lodī noble Aḥmad Khān, son of Khān Jahān, who served both Bahlūl and Sikandar Lodī (*ibid.*, p. 64; Ni'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 184). But he received the title of A'zam Humāyūn as late as in A.H. 901 (1495-96), that is, nineteen years after the date of our inscription. Moreover, no reference to his association with Budaun is found in chronicles.

<sup>3</sup> He died in A.H. 883 (1478-79), *vide*, Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 173. Also, cf. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 156; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XLI, Calcutta (1872), p. 113.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله تبارك وتعالى  
 كنيد بتلك حق بن میران سید حسن مداري قدس الله روحه حضور  
 بتلك میان شیخ عالم زدم شاه حسن مداري در عمل بتی  
 حضرت سلیمان بن نبیر شاه سلطنت خلد الله ملكه وسلطان  
 بر آورد در میان خان زنگی هوو نورحانی خاص خلد  
 التماسع والعتشیرین بت باق صفر ختم الله بتانین والظفر  
 سید احمد فرمان شمس ملک

SCALE : 17

(b) Record of A'zam Humāyūn Aḥmad Khān, dated A.H. 882, from Budaun (p. 34)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله تبارك وتعالى  
 اننا ان بن كنند مقبہ مركز ملكوت على الالاب در عیال اولی علی  
 اوعطاهما وور اب احاطه اعم كنانفا بن ملان علی  
 ان الملك علی الالاب نور سید سلس واما الالاب  
 احاط الالاب مرای الحی سید سلس واما الالاب

SCALE : 17

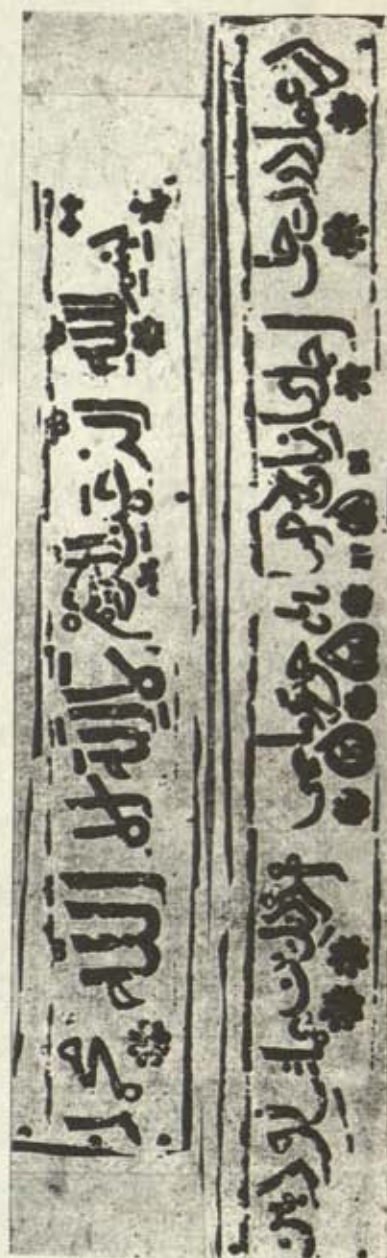


(a) Sûr inscription, dated A.H. 950, from Budaun (p. 41)



SCALE : ·17

(b) An undated record of Ahmad Khān, from Budaun (p. 35)



SCALE : ·14

is known from historical works mentioning them.<sup>1</sup> According to Raḍīu'd-Dīn, 'Imādu'l-Mulk was the brother of Aḥmad Khān mentioned in the inscription,<sup>2</sup> but he has cited no authority for his statement. In any case, it is evident that both the father and the son were nobles of great rank and were connected with Budaun in some way or the other.

## VI. UNDATED EPIGRAPH FROM THE SAME PLACE

The tablet bearing the second inscription of the same Aḥmad Khān is built up in the southern wall of the tomb near the above, called Gumbad-i-Rāpaṛ, locally,<sup>3</sup> or Tomb D by Cunningham.<sup>4</sup> It is one of the largest tombs now standing at Budaun, being a square of 13 metres outside, with a room 8.5 metres square inside. Its dome, which is incidentally far loftier than that of Chīmī Khān's tomb, also at Budaun, is dwarfed by the great mass of building below. Had its corners been cut off, this would have been, according to Cunningham, one of the most striking tombs in Budaun. It was ascribed by him to Daulat Khān, evidently due to his wrong reading of the epigraph.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, Raḍīu'd-Dīn also believed, on the basis of this epigraph, that the tomb contained the remains of Aḥmad Khān or some of his relatives, but there is nothing in the text to suggest this. As it is, the inscription refers to the reign of Aḥmad Khān indicating that he was then alive, though the possibility that he might have got it constructed for himself in his life time is there.

The epigraphical tablet, measuring 2.6 m. by 15 cm., contains *Bismi'llāh* and First Creed, followed by a Persian verse, all inscribed in a single line, purporting that when they constructed the edifice during the reign of Aḥmad Khān, Jūmman and Mājhi were the supervisors-in-charge (*kārfarmān*). There is unfortunately no date, nor is there any indication that the epigraph is incomplete. The writing is slightly damaged, and the script is crude *Naskh*.

It reads as follows<sup>6</sup> :—

### TEXT

#### Plate VIII (b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد [رسول الله]

در عهد دولت خان احمد کار فرمان هر دو این جو من و ماجهی که کردندین عمارت زود بین

### TRANSLATION

In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad [is the Prophet of Allāh].

In the period of the rule of Khān-i-Aḥmad (i.e. Aḥmad Khān), lo ! both the supervisors were Jūmman and Mājhi who constructed this edifice.

<sup>1</sup> Rizvi, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 54, 68, 201, 204, 211, 225.

<sup>2</sup> Raḍīu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D 249.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> The text of this epigraph was also finalized by Dr. Desai who had got its impressions prepared.

<sup>7</sup> This reading of the name is suggested by Dr. Desai.



Needless to say that *Khān-i-Aḥmad* is none other than A'zam Humāyūn Aḥmad *Khān* of the previous epigraph. Jūmman and Mājhi, who were the overseers supervising the construction, might have been local officials.

#### VII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 909, FROM SAMBHAL

The seventh inscription of the group and the first of Sikandar Lodī is a new and interesting record. It was first found by the late Maulvī Muḥammad Aḥraf Ḥusain, a former editor of this Series, immediately prior to his retirement. It was subsequently deciphered and listed by Dr. Desai, and it is his reading that has been utilized here. The inscriptional tablet is reported to be built into the inner side of the eastern wall, near the entrance, of the Sarāi Tarīn mosque at Sambhal in Moradabad District.<sup>1</sup>

The town of Sambhal, now a *tahsil* headquarters, is a place of antiquarian interest. The ancient mounds and remains of old buildings are to be found in the town proper as well as in the vicinity. It had numerous *sarāis* (inns), being in those days a halting stage for travellers between Delhi and Budaun; tradition avers that there were as many as 52 *sarāis* at one time. From these, most of the present day localities have derived their name. It is a pity that most of these and other historical buildings are no more extant.<sup>2</sup>

Sambhal was conquered by the Muslims in the early period and remained a part of the Delhi kingdom thereafter. It was for sometime held by the Lodīs and sometime by the Sharqīs during their struggle for political supremacy.<sup>3</sup> In A.H. 905 (1499-1500), Sikandar Lodī came to Sambhal and stayed there for four years.<sup>4</sup>

The tablet bearing the inscription measures 82 by 23 cm. and contains a one-line text in Persian, which assigns the erection of a mosque in 1503 to Miyān Dādū Malik, son of Maghūlā, son of Ikhtiyār *Khān*, the *chāshni-gir* of the Sultān.

The inscription is thus quite interesting. It was set up at a time when Sikandar Lodī was stationed at Sambhal. It also records the name and designation of one of his trusted officials who is not mentioned in any historical work. Calligraphically too, it is remarkable for its fine and artistic execution. The style of writing, which is *Thulth*, with *Tughrā* flourish, of a fairly high order, recalls to mind some similarly executed epigraphs of Bengal.

Its text is quoted below :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate IX (a)

بنا کرد این مسجد بوقت سعد و اقبال صاحب العز و الکمال میان دادو ملک بن مغولا  
بن اختیار خان چاشنیگیر سلطان السلاطین سکندر بن بهلول شاه سلطان روز یکشنبه  
دوازدهم ماه ربیع الاول سنه تسع و تسعمایه

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1952-53, No. C, 158.

<sup>2</sup> H.R. Nevill, *U.P. District Gazetteers*, vol. XVI, Moradabad (Allahabad, 1911), pp. 253-55.

<sup>3</sup> For the detailed history and archaeology of Sambhal, see *ibid.*, pp. 141-69, 253-62; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XII (Calcutta, 1879), pp. 24-27.

<sup>4</sup> Abdu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 54; Ni'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-91; Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-64; Firāhta, *op. cit.*, p. 182.



(a) Sikandar Lodi's record, dated A.H. 909, from Sambhal (p. 36)



SCALE : -22

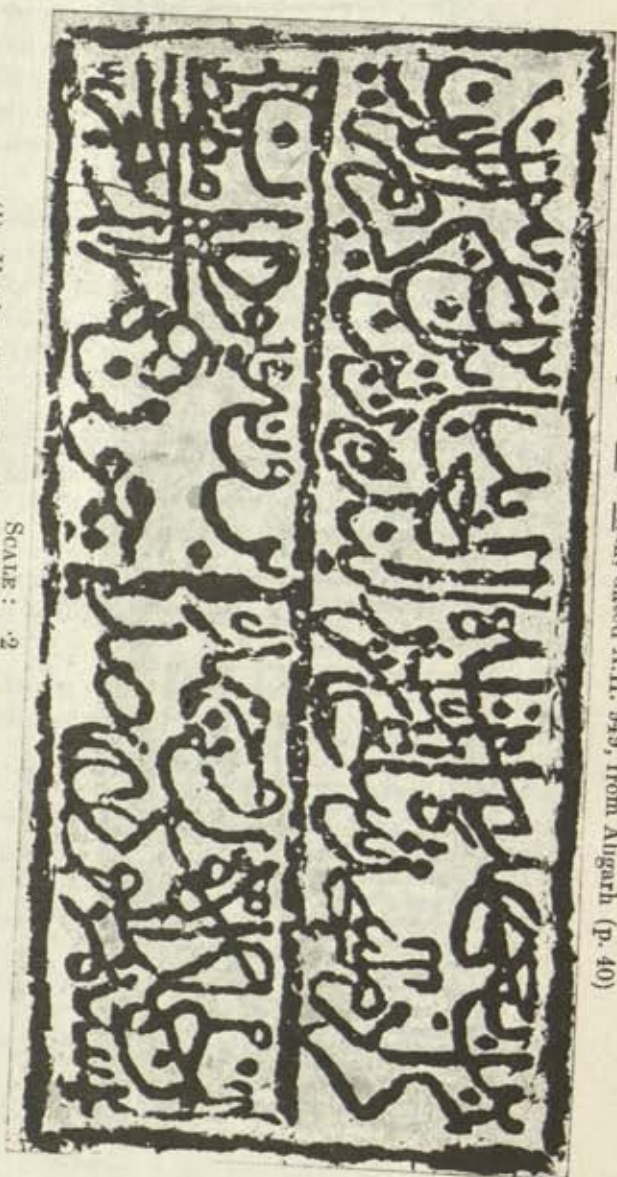
(b) Epigraph of Sher Shah, dated A.H. 947, from Sakit (p. 39)



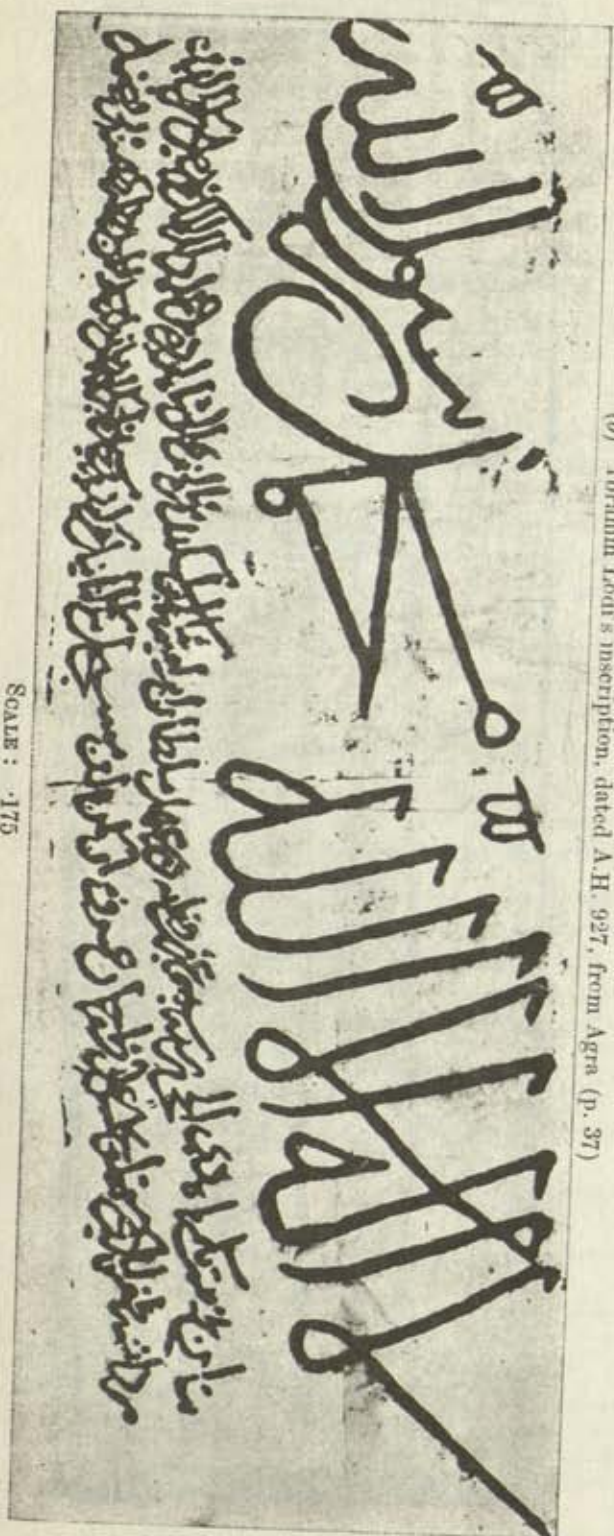
SCALE : -1



(a) Epigraph of Sher Shāh, dated A.H. 949, from Aligarh (p. 40)



(b) Ibrahim Lodi's inscription, dated A.H. 927, from Agra (p. 37)





## TRANSLATION

This mosque was constructed at an auspicious and propitious time by the lord of the dignity and perfection, Miyān Dādū Malik, son of Maghūlā, son of Ikhtiyār Khān, the *chāshnigīr* of the king of kings, Sultān Sikandar, son of Bahlūl Shāh, the Sultān, on Sunday, the 12th of the month of Rabī' u'l-Awwal, year (A.H.) nine and nine hundred (Monday, 12 Rabī' I 909=4 September 1503).

It is difficult to trace the builder of the mosque, Miyān Dādū Malik, from available records. Even the information that he was the royal *chāshnigīr*<sup>1</sup> (superintendent of the royal kitchen and food) and caused a mosque to be erected at Sambhal is furnished by the present record only. But his father and grandfather may possibly be identified with Maghūlā and Ikhtiyār Khān Karrānī who fought for Miyān Husain Farmulī, fief-holder of Saran in Bihar under Sikandar Lodī, in his conquest of Champaran. Maghūlā lost his life in the engagement.<sup>2</sup>

## VIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 927, FROM AGRA

The last Lodī record from Uttar Pradesh and eighth of the article, belonging to the time of Ibrāhīm Shāh Lodī, is from Agra. Historically, it is interesting in that it is not only one of the very few known records of this king, particularly from Uttar Pradesh, but also one of the very few pre-Mughal records found at Agra. Also, it mentions two personages and gives some new piece of information about them. Then, the mention of Delhi in the text as the capital is noteworthy.

The inscribed slab, measuring 1.02 m. by 40 cm., is set up over the central *mihrāb* of a mosque in Maḥalla-Athāin.<sup>3</sup> It was copied by Shri S.A. Rahīm. I have utilised the reading prepared by him. I am beholden to him as well as to Dr. Desai who suggested improved readings of a couple of words. The writing which is slightly damaged consists of three lines of Persian prose, executed in *Naskh* characters of a fairly high order. The first line, written in large letters, comprises the First Creed, while the remaining two lines, in much smaller hand, assigns the construction of a mosque in 1521 to Ruknu'd-Dīn Mardānshāh Zafarābādī (i.e. of Zafarabad), a servant of Majlis-i-'Alī Zafar Khān *alias* Miyān Makan.

The text has been deciphered as under:—

## TEXT

## Plate X (b)

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) بتاریخ بیست یکم ماه ذی الحجه سنه سبعو عشرین و تسعمایه در عهد سلطان

ابراهیم شاه ابن اسکندر شاه ابن بهلولشاه لودی بادشاه دار الملک شهر دهلی رکن الدین

(۳) مردانشه ظفرآبادی متعلق مجلس عالی ظفر خان عرف میان مکن این مسجد بنا

کنانید هر که درین مسجد نماز بگذارد بانی را بدعاء ایمان مراد برآرد بمنه و فضله

<sup>1</sup> The *chāshnigīr* supervised the kitchen and tasted the food to be served to the king (I.H. Qureshī, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, Lahore, 1942, p. 62).

<sup>2</sup> Rizvi, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-58. I owe this reference to Dr. Desai.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 389. (It was first described in the *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Surveyor, Northern Circle*, 1909-10, p. 38, No. 125, but its notice is full of mistakes of dates and names.—Ed.)



## TRANSLATION

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

(2) On the twentyfirst of the month of Dhī'l-Hijja, year (A.H.) seven and twenty and nine hundred (21 Dhī'l-Hijja 927=22 November 1521), during the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Iskandar (i.e. Sikandar) Shāh, son of Buhlūl Shāh Lodī, king of the capital city of Delhi, Ruknu'd-Dīn

(3) Mardānshāh Zafarābādī, a servant of Majlis-i-Āli Zafar Khān alias Miyān Makan, got this mosque constructed. Whoever offers prayer in this mosque, should fulfil the desire of the builder by offering prayers for his faith. By His (God's) Grace and Favour.

Nothing is known from historical works about Ruknu'd-Dīn Mardānshāh who built the mosque. According to our epigraph, he was in the employ of Majlis-i-Āli Zafar Khān alias Miyān Makan and hailed from Zafarabad, near Jaunpur. He may have been posted at Agra by his master. Miyān Makan himself must have been a noble of very high rank, as his title Majlis-i-Āli shows. But he does not find detailed mention in historical works. We know only one Miyān Makan, variously written as Makkhan or Makhan, a famous general of Ibrāhīm Lodī, who led the army against the forces of Rānā Sāngā.<sup>1</sup> Nothing more is known about him. Evidently, he is identical with the Majlis-i-Āli of our record, which thus furnishes us not only with his title Zafar Khān, but also with the correct spelling of his name Makan.

## Sūrs

As stated above, we have so far had three inscriptions of the Sūr kings from Uttar Pradesh :<sup>2</sup> Two bear the name of Sher Shāh and one, that of his son and successor Islām Shāh.

## IX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 947, FROM SAKIT

The first inscription of Sher Shāh is from a mosque at Sakit, in Etah district.<sup>3</sup> It was published along with other inscriptions from the place by H. Blochmann whose reading except of a few words is correct.<sup>4</sup> The only misreading of some consequence is 'Matī' instead of the correct clan-name Batanī. But the epigraph was neither illustrated nor critically edited by him, and hence it is included here.

The large tablet measuring 1.96 m. by 60 cm. is inscribed with four lines of Arabic prose with an admixture of Persian words, which are executed in fairly good *Naskh* script. The text purports that a mosque was constructed in 1540 by the orders of Mas'ūd Khān, son of Mas'ūd Khān Batanī. It quotes the full titles of Sher Shāh, to wit, the Imām, Farīdu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Sher Shāh 'Adīl. Incidentally, 'Adīl does not seem to have been used here in its literary sense, but as a title. Also, the titles Imām, Farīdu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, etc., used here, are not generally met with in the epigraphs of Sher Shāh.

<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Yādgār, *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1939), pp. 78-83.

<sup>2</sup> There is one more epigraph of the time of Islām Shāh at Agra, but its old impression preserved in my office was worn out and hence, it was not possible for Mr. Siddiqī to include it in this study. A new impression was subsequently prepared by me in 1966 after Mr. Siddiqī had left my office on temporary transfer. It was listed in *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 374.—Ed.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1952-53, No. C, 133. For the history and archaeological remains of Sakit, see E.R. Neave, *U.P. District Gazetteers*, vol. XII, Etah (Allahabad, 1911.), pp. 126-42, 213-14.

<sup>4</sup> *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (PASSB)*, 1874 (Calcutta, 1875), pp. 104-05; E.T. Atkinson, *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical account of the North-Western Provinces* (Allahabad, 1876), p. 189; *ARIE*, 1952-53, Nos. C, 131-132; *ESM*, 1913-14, p. 32.

A striking aspect of the text is that it suffers from grammatical mistakes : The last two invocations to the Divine attributes after the First Creed in the first line should have been without the definite article, the letter *a* is omitted in the first line in two places and the first phrase and the invocatory formulae in the last line, are grammatically wrong.

It reads as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate IX (b)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ يَا اللَّهُ يَا الرَّحْمَنَ يَا الرَّحِيمَ (كَذَا)

(٢) بِنَاءُ هَذِهِ الْمَسْجِدِ الْمُبَارَكَةِ فِي عَهْدِ الْإِمَامِ خُداوند عالم بادشاه بنی آدم فرید الدنیا

و الدین

(٣) أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ شِير شَاهْ عَادِلْ سُلْطَانْ خُلْدِ اللَّهِ مَلِكُهُ وَ سُلْطَانُهُ وَ أَعْلَى أَمْرُهُ وَ شَانُهُ اسْتَ (٩)

(٤) فِي الْأَمْرِ [م] سَعُودُ خَانِ بْنِ مَسْعُودِ خَانِ بَتْنَى قَبْلَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّابِعُ مِنَ شَهْرِ شَعْبَانَ

سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَ أَرْبَعِينَ وَ تَسْعَمِائَةَ

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh. O Allāh ! O Beneficent ! O Merciful !

(2) The construction of this auspicious mosque took place in the reign of the Imām, master of the world, king of the mankind, Faridu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn

(3) Abu'l-Muzaffar, Sher Shāh 'Ādil (lit. just), the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and may his authority and dignity be exalted !

(4) by the order of Mas'ūd(?) Khān, son of Mas'ūd Khān Batanī, may Allāh accept his (good deed), (on) the seventh of the month of Sha'bān, year (A.H.) seven and forty and nine hundred (7 Sha'bān 947=7 December 1540).

I have not been able to trace Mas'ūd Khān, at whose instance the mosque was erected. But he could be identical with a notable Sūr noble Mas'ūd Khān, governor of Amroha, who helped Prince Ibrāhīm Sūr at Sambhal, the findspot of this record, in his contest for the throne, fifteen years after its date.<sup>2</sup>

## X. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 949, FROM ALIGARH

The other inscription of Sher Shāh and tenth of this group is from Aligarh, a district headquarters. The old name of the city is Koil or Kol. Nothing definite is known of its history till

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be سَعُود — Sa'ūd in the rubbing, and it was read so by Mr. Siddiqi. But I suggested that very likely, the letter م in the beginning has flaked off. The name Sa'ūd Khān is generally not met with in Afghān histories.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann, *P.A.S.B.*, 1874, correctly pointed out that this is intended for نَقَبْلَ اللَّهِ مِنْهُ.

<sup>3</sup> Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 423.



the twelfth century. It was taken by Qutbu'd-Dīn Aibak in 1194.<sup>1</sup> Since then, it became the seat of a Muslim governor and finds frequent mention in contemporary Persian chronicles.

The slab bearing this record, which measures 72 by 35 cm., is built up in the southern wall of the tomb of the famous local saint Jamālu'd-Dīn Shamsu'l-'Ārifīn.<sup>2</sup> It is evidently not *in situ*, for it mentions the construction of a mosque. The tablet may have belonged to a dilapidated one-wall mosque attached to a tomb nearby, which dates from the Sūr period. An almost obliterated inscription of the time of the Sūr king, fixed in a ruined wall behind the mosque, was noticed by me recently. The inner surface of the wall and dome of the tomb under reference are also inscribed in the same fashion with quotations from the *Qur'ān*.

The epigraph comprises two verses in Persian. The writing which is slightly damaged, is executed in relief in *Thulth* style of a fairly high order. It records the construction of a mosque in 1542 by Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, son of Karīmu'd-Dīn.

The text reads as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate X (a)

- (۱) کرد این مسجد بعهد شاه عالم شیر شاه  
بنده زین العابدین ابن کریم الدین بنا
- (۲) بستم بود از جماد الاول و نهصد چهل  
چون بروندهم بود از هجرت آن مصطفی

## TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was constructed in the reign of the king of the world, Sher Shāh, by the servant Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, son of Karīmu'd-Dīn.

(2) It was twentieth (day) of the month of Jumāda'l-Awwal, and the year from the Migration of the Prophet was nine hundred forty with nine added to it (20 Jumādā I 949=1 September 1542).

Zainu'l-'Ābidīn must have been an official, but his identity is unknown.

## XI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 950, FROM BUDAUN

The eleventh inscription with which the article is concluded represents the reign of Islām Shāh. It is engraved in relief on a tablet, measuring 65 by 45 cm., which is fixed above the eastern door of a tomb, locally called Jhujhār Khān's Rauḍa in Sarāi-Mallān, near Maḥalla-Qabūlpūra of Budaun. Marked as Tomb F by Cunningham, the building stands close to the tomb of Chimnī Khān and is ornamented with a single band of dark-blue glazed tiles, and has a rather flat dome.<sup>4</sup>

The text comprises five lines of slightly damaged writing in Arabic and Persian prose, which are executed in ordinary *Nasḥ* script. The first two lines contain religious text and in the

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed history and account of the remains of Aligarh, see H.R. Nevill, *op. cit.*, vol. XI, Aligarh (Allahabad, 1909), pp. 163-70, 197-208.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 218. For the Mamlūk and Mughal inscriptions from Aligarh, see *EIM*, 1913-14, p. 23; *ARIE*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 217, 219-20; *EIAPS*, 1966, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> The reading was finalised in consultation with Dr. Desai.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 240. Its reading was prepared by Shri Nadvi and finalised by Dr. Desai.

remaining three lines, which contain the historical information, it is stated that the tomb of Jujhār Khān *alias* Shaiḥh Buddhan, son of Sa'du'llāh was constructed by Miyān Faṭḥu'llāh in 1550, during the reign of Islām Shāh.

The inscription was noticed earlier by both Cunningham and Raḍīu'd-Dīn.<sup>1</sup> The latter quoted its date as A.H. 950 instead of A.H. 957, but Cunningham had assigned it to the time of Islām Shāh, having correctly read the date.

Its text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ  
 (۲) لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ  
 (۳) اَيْنَ كَمْبُودَ اَزَانِ جِجِهَارِ خَانَ عَرَفِ شَيْخِ بَدَهْنِ  
 (۴) سَنَعَدَ اللّٰهُ سَنَةَ سَبْعٍ وَ خَمْسِيْنَ وَ تَسْعَمَایَهْ دَرِ عَهْدِ  
 (۵) اِسْلَامِ شَاهِ فَرْمَایَشِ مِیَانِ فَتَحِ اللّٰهِ

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent and Merciful.  
 (2) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.  
 (3) This dome (i.e. tomb) is that of Jujhār Khān *alias* Shaiḥh Buddhan.  
 (4) (son of) Sa'du'llāh (and was built in the) year (A.H.) seven and fifty and nine hundred (A.H. 957=1550 A.D.), in the reign of  
 (5) Islām Shāh, at the instance of Miyān Faṭḥu'llāh.

Jujhār Khān is not as obscure a figure as most of the persons mentioned in the previous line are. Raḍīu'd-Dīn, on the basis of the local tradition perhaps, says that his real name was Shaiḥh Shamsu'd-Dīn *alias* Shaiḥh Buddhan Qura'ishī Ṣiddīqī; he was a descendant of 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān son of Abū Bakr the first caliph, and his great grandfather 'Abdu'llāh Makki had settled down at Budaun.<sup>2</sup>

Raḍīu'd-Dīn also quotes a contemporary reference to him, but has not given the details. Jujhār Khān's townsman, Badāyūnī, who casually mentions him, states that he was one of the chief and leading men of Budaun, who also used to compose verses under the *nom-de-plume* Zāhid. He also cites one of his verses and the witty comments thereon of Mīr Murtaḍā 'Ilmī, sometime fief-holder of Budaun. The reference is contained in this 'Ilmī's account.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XI, p. 9; Raḍīu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Raḍīu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1869), p. 279.]



Thus, our inscription supplies additional information about his own name proper as well as that of his father. But what is yet more important is that it determines the correct spelling of the name. Neither Raḍīu'd-Dīn who had seen the epigraph, nor Sir Wolseley Haig, Badāyūnī's translator, was able to establish the correct spelling. Both the manuscripts of Badāyūnī's work which Haig consulted had Ḥijāz Khān, while the printed text has Ḥabjāz or Jahjāz Khān.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Raḍīu'd-Dīn had read it as Jhājār Khān.<sup>2</sup> The name is clearly written on the stone as ججهار خان — Jujhār Khān, which must be accepted as final.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Muntāẓẓat al-Ḥabībāt*, English translation, vol. III (Calcutta, 1925), p. 385, f.n.5.

<sup>2</sup> Raḍīu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> These two paragraphs are by the Editor.

## NIZAM SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM GALNA

By A. A. KADIRI

Epigraphical Assistant

Of about thirtyfive Nizām Shāhī inscriptions so far published, only three are from Galna in Nasik district of Maharashtra.<sup>1</sup> I propose to study here ten more inscriptions of this dynasty found in recent years from the village and the fort of Galna. These range in their dates from A. H. 974 (1566-67) to A. H. 1030 (1620-21) and represent the reigns of three Nizām Shāhī kings.

The fort of Galna situated in 20°46' N. and 74°32' E., which along with Salher and Mulher, is one of the nine impregnable strongholds of Baglana,<sup>2</sup> was from ancient times under the authority of the Rāthor rājās of Baglana who styled themselves as Bhārji.<sup>3</sup> Some time during the latter half of the 15th century, it became part of the Bahmanī territory in the regime of the formidable minister Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān, but it does not seem to have remained long under the Muslim power. As a matter of fact, in the succeeding years, the fort was a bone of contention between the two, one dislodging the other from there, as and when any advantage offered itself.

On the death of Muḥammad Shāh III in 1482, Galna was retaken by Bhārji, but the Rājā was subdued by Malik Wajih and Malik Ashraf, the governors of Daulātābād and the neighbourhood, some time in 1487.<sup>4</sup> In 1490, one Dastūr Khān was the commandant of the Galna fort, probably on behalf of Malik Wajih, according to an epigraph.<sup>5</sup> However, the Rājā must have re-captured it some time during the confusion that prevailed on the murder of Malik Wajih, since we are told that the founder of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, Malik Aḥmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk Bahri, had to reduce the Rājā of Baglana in 1506.<sup>6</sup>

Once again the Rājā seems to have thrown off his allegiance and conquered the fort of Galna, probably on the death of Aḥmad Nizām Shāh I (1490-1510), and it was not until 1534 that Burhān Nizām Shāh I (1510-53) besieged and captured it.<sup>7</sup> Rājā Bhārji again availed himself of the opportunity of taking it in 1543 from the garrison, when Burhān marched to Raichur to assist his confederate Rām Rāj.<sup>8</sup> Thereafter, it remained in the possession of the Rājā till 1560, when Ḥusain Nizām Shāh I (1553-65), after reducing the Antur fort, conquered it and appointed one of his officers, with instructions to strengthen and improve the defences of the fort in order to hold it securely.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1957 and 1958, pp. 13-16.

<sup>2</sup> For details, see A. Richardson, 'Description of the Fort of Galna in Khandeish', *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. VI (1861), pp. 143-45.

<sup>3</sup> J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vols. I and II (Calcutta, 1925), p. 44. Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* (Kanpur, 1884), vol. II, p. 97, mentions him as a Marāṭha chief.

<sup>4</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 364; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency (BG)*, vol. XVI, Nasik District (Bombay, 1883), p. 438.

<sup>5</sup> *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1929-30, pp. 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 100.

<sup>7</sup> Ali Tabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āṭir* (Hyderabad, 1936), p. 295.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 388.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 390-92. According to Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 124, Ḥusain Shāh was the first to take the Galna fort from the Rājā.



From 1560 onwards, Galna remained a Nizām Shāhī possession. But unfortunately, historical works do not contain any information about its administration or governors, etc. However, the epigraphs from the place provide the names of at least six officials, four of whom are not known from any other source: Aflātūn Khān finds mention in four inscriptions, dated 1562-63, 1566-67, 1569-70 and 1570-71; Haibat Khān the Abyssinian, in two, dated 1557 and 1579; Pūlād Khān, son of Pūlād Khān, in two undated and two dated 1580 and 1583; and Mir 'Alī, Maḥaldār Khān and Jamshīd, in one each, of 1585, 1604-05 and 1620-21 respectively.<sup>1</sup> Of them, only Maḥaldār Khān and Jamshīd Khān are known from historical works. From the above, it would appear that Aflātūn Khān was succeeded by Haibat Khān some time before 1577, and the latter was in turn succeeded by Pūlād Khān in about 1580. Then came Mir 'Alī some time during 1583-1585.

We have not much information about the governors of Galna after this year. But some time before 1601, Sa'adat Khān seems to have held charge of the region including the fort, for in the March of that year, this fort, one of the best in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, was surrendered by him to Khwājagī Fathu'llāh who appointed Ya'qūb Baig Shīkhālī and Sa'id Baig Badaḥshī to its charge.<sup>2</sup> But after about six months, in October-November 1601, Rājū Dakanī, a former official (maḥaldār) of Sa'adat Khān retook it.<sup>3</sup> Rājū defied the Mughal forces from his headquarters at Nasik. But it is not known if he posted any one at Galna.

The next Nizām Shāhī official who is mentioned in connexion with the Mughal-Nizām Shāhī skirmishes in the region is Maḥaldār Khān, a subordinate of Rājū's rival, the more celebrated Malik 'Ambar. His connexion with Galna is not definitely known, but on the basis of his epigraph there, recording the construction of the tomb of Āqā Sulaimān in 1604-05 (Inscription No. IX, *infra*), it may be reasonably inferred that he was in charge of that place. This guess is further supported by the fact, also known from an epigraph (No. X, *infra*), that it was Malik 'Ambar who gave Galna to one Jamshīd, some time before 1620-21, the date of the said record. This may also mean that Maḥaldār Khān was in charge of the region until the appointment of Jamshīd. It is not known how long the latter held Galna. It is difficult to say if the next commandant to find mention in historical works, viz. Maḥmūd Khān had succeeded him or some body else. The latter had, during the last stages of the Nizām Shāhī resistance, hard pressed as he was by Malik 'Ambar's son Faṭḥ Khān against whom he had rebelled, intended to hand over the fort to Shāhji Bhonsle, but was ultimately prevailed upon to surrender it to the Mughals on 7th October 1632.<sup>4</sup> Maḥmūd was, thus, the last Nizām Shāhī official to command the Galna fort.

Of the ten Nizām Shāhī inscriptions studied below, as many as eight pertain to the time of Murtaḍā I (1565-88), and one each is dated in the reign of Murtaḍā II (1600-10) and Burhān III (1610-31). Incidentally, it may be pertinent to point out here that the chronology of the Nizām Shāhī kings has not been correctly established so far. Sir T. W. Haig was the first to publish the most reliable and complete list of the Deccan dynasties in his *Historical Land-marks of the Deccan*. The same was incorporated by him in the *Cambridge History of India*.<sup>5</sup> But the very existence of Burhān III was unknown to him. Also, his chronology is incorrect in some other respects too.

<sup>1</sup> Except for those dated 1569-70, 1577 and 1585, which were published in *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, pp. 13-16, these epigraphs are included for study in the present article.

<sup>2</sup> Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1887), p. 788.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 798-99. Abu'l-Faḍl states that the agents of the two Mughal officials gave away the fort to Rājū in consideration of 2,000 *ḥons* only.

<sup>4</sup> 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, vol. I, part i (Calcutta, 1867), pp. 442-44; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Amal-i-Ṣalīḥ*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1923), pp. 505-07. Khāfi Khān, *Muntaḥabul-Lubāb*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1869), p. 470, gives A.H. 1041 (1631), which is wrong. Also, in *BG*, XVI, Nasik District, the event is placed in 1634 and the commandant's name given as Muḥammad Khān, which is incorrect.

<sup>5</sup> S.T.W. Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1928), p. 704.



It was Dr. Ghulām Yazdānī who established a new Nizām Shāhī ruler in Burhān III on the basis of his inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> He also tried to revise Haig's chronology of the last three kings including Burhān III.<sup>2</sup> Then, Dr. M. Nāzīm corrected a few dates in a brief resume of the history of the dynasty in the course of his study of some inscriptions from Ahmadnagar and other places,<sup>3</sup> but his chronology is also not without mistakes. Subsequently, Mr. V. S. Bendre wrote about the date of the death of Aḥmad Nizām Shāh I.<sup>4</sup>

Despite these attempts to correct Haig's list, which was done piecemeal, we do not have a correct chronology of the Ahmadnagar kings. I have prepared one, after a close study of the findings of the above writers as well as of contemporary and later sources, and hope to publish it elsewhere shortly.

### Murtadā Nizām Shāh I

#### I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 974

So far twelve inscriptions of the reign of Murtadā I, have been published, and these range in their dates between A.H. 974 (1566-67) and A.H. 995 (1586-87).<sup>5</sup>

Of his eight new inscriptions studied below, the first is fixed on the facade of the Iron gate of the Fort.\* The rectangular slab measuring 80 by 40 cm., is cut into three panels which contain three Persian couplets, the last panel containing also additional phrases of invocation to God by His attributes and the name of the composer who was also the scribe. The style of writing is *Naskh* of rather inelegant type, though the poetry of the verses is tolerably good. The record states that Aflātūn Khān laid the foundation of a very strong fortification in this fort and constructed a lofty and strong bastion in A.H. 974 (1566-67). The date given in figure is 974, but the chronogram yields 978. It is therefore not possible in the absence of any other evidence to say if the figure represents Shuhūr year or Hijra one. Therefore, I have taken it to be in Hijra era.

The text, composed and written by Hūshī Shīrāzī, has been read as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XI(b)

(۱) بناء بنهاد افلاطون خانے درین قلعه حصار سخت محکم  
 (۲) دران برجیے مهیا کرد از سنگ کہ امثالیں ندیله چشم عالم  
 (۳) ز رفعت برتر از چرخ فلک بود ازان تاریخ شد چرخ فلک هم  
 (۴) یا لطیف سنه ۹۷۴ یا فتاح قایله و راقمه هوشی شیرازی

#### TRANSLATION

(1) Aflātūn Khān laid the foundation of a very strong fortification in this fort.

(2) In it, he constructed (lit. provided) a stone bastion, the like of which was not seen by the eye of the world.

<sup>1</sup> *EIM*, 1919-20, pp. 12-14.

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

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1933-34 (Supplement), pp. 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV (1941-42), pp. 243-44.

<sup>5</sup> *EIM*, 1919-20, p. 22; *ibid.*, 1933-34 (Supplement), pp. 20-21, 24; *ibid.*, 1935-36, pp. 30, 37; *ibid.*, 1939-40, p. 30; *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, pp. 13, 15, 16.

\* *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1961-62, No. D, 184.



(3) It was higher than the heavenly sphere ; hence, its date also has come to be 'the heavenly sphere'.

(4) O Kind One ! Year (A.H. ?) 974 (1566-67). O Opener ! Its composer and writer is Hūshī Shīrāzī.

It has been pointed out above that the chronogram contained in the second hemistich of the third couplet works out to 978, while the figure given is 974. In some inscriptions from the Deccan, Shuhūr year is given in words and the Hijra one in figure.<sup>1</sup> Even if it is presumed that here a reverse practice is adopted, that is to say, the figure indicates Shuhūr year, the equivalent of Shuhūr 974 would be 981. Therefore, the figure may be taken as representing the Hijra year only, and the chronogram as defective.

Historical works are totally silent about both Aflātūn Khān and the composer Hūshī Shīrāzī. Both of them are mentioned in another inscription from Galna, dated about three years earlier, which records some building activities of the former.<sup>2</sup> Aflātūn Khān also finds mention in two more epigraphs, in the Fort, dated Shuhūr 970, A.H. 977 (1569-70) and A.H. 978 (1570-71), which will be studied presently. In two of the three records under reference, the phrase used before Aflātūn's name is *dar kār kard* which means that the inscriptions were set up in his time, i.e. governorship.<sup>3</sup> It would, therefore, follow that Aflātūn Khān was the Nizām Shāhī governor in charge of the Galna fort (as well as, perhaps, of its dependencies) at least during the years 1566-71.

It may also be stated that the epigraph under study does not make any reference to the reigning king, but since his other inscriptions do, it was thought advisable to study it (as also four similar epigraphs) along with the rest. In this connexion, it may be noted that except in one of the remaining five inscriptions, the reigning king is not mentioned by name, but is merely referred to as king or Nizām Shāh.

## II. INSCRIPTION DATED SHUHŪR 970

The second inscription which is bilingual, is fixed on the inner side of the fort-wall to the right of the Iron gate, at a distance of one third of the total length of the wall.<sup>4</sup> The arch-shaped slab measuring 54 by 54 cm. contains four lines of writing, in Arabic prose and Persian prose and verse, carved in relief in ordinary *Nasḥ* characters. The *Nāgarī* version is incised in one line in the left and lower borders, the portion in the latter being badly damaged. The legible portion records the Arabic phrase for the year 970 and Śaka year 1491.<sup>5</sup>

The Arabic portion of the text contained in lines 1-2, is except for the year, unhistorical, being religious in content, and the text in Persian prose occurring in line 1 only refers to the governorship of Aflātūn Khān. The text in the remaining two lines comprises a fragment of two Persian couplets recording the date of the construction of the fort by the Khān, by whom evidently Aflātūn Khān is meant.

The year given in Arabic numerals is 970, also indicated in the *Nāgarī* text: सन सबईन व तिसामेया सके १४९१..... Now this version clearly gives the Śaka equivalent 1491, which shows that the year 970 is to be taken in the Shuhūr era and not in the Hijra one. The

<sup>1</sup> *EIAPS*, 1963, pp. 64, 65, 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1957 and 1958, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase *dar kār kard* has been generally translated as 'under the supervision of' which does not appear to be correct, particularly in the Deccan inscriptions. In Marāṭhī records, this very term is used to denote tenure of office.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 185.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. B, 471, where the Arabic phrase giving the date is not read.

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Handwritten text in the third row, left column.	Handwritten text in the third row, right column.





SCALE : ·185



SCALE : ·175

chronogram yields 978, but as the difference of 1 in calculation is admissible both ways, according to the science of chronogram, the year may be 977, which could be taken as the Hijra equivalent, provided, as already stated above (p. 46), the figure 970 is taken to indicate the *Shuhūr* year. This would mean that the fort (*ḥiṣār*) was constructed in *Shuhūr* 970, A.H. 977, Śaka 1491 (1569-70).

The text has been read as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XI(a)

(۱) درکار کرد      یا الله یا محمد یا علی هو      افلاطون خان  
(۲) نصر من الله و فتح قریب ۹۷۰  
(۳) بنا کرد از لطف شه خان حصارے      که در رفعت او هست برتر ز مریخ  
(۲) چو تاریخ سال از خرد خواستم گفت      چه نیکو حصارست محکم به تاریخ

## TRANSLATION

(1) O Allāh, O Muḥammad, O 'Alī! He is [God]! During the time (i.e. governorship) of Aflātūn Khān.

(2) Help is from Allāh, and victory near.<sup>1</sup> (*Shuhūr*) 970 (1569-70).

(3) Through the kindness of the king (Murtaḍā I), the Khān (i.e. Aflātūn Khān) constructed a fort, which is higher than Mars in loftiness.

(4) When I asked Wisdom about its date, it said 'what a beautiful and strong fort!' for its date.

The chronogram contained in the last line seems to have meant to give the Hijra year. It yields 978, which may be taken to stand for 977, as explained above.

## III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 978

The third inscription, which is also bilingual, is fixed on the western wall of the enclosure of the Spring called in the record '*Chashma-i-Khidr*' (Spring of Prophet Khidr), which is situated to the north of the mosque in the Galna Fort.<sup>2</sup> The tablet is arch-shaped, measuring 71 cm. from apex to bottom and 68 cm. from left to right. The Persian version is inscribed in six lines in ordinary *Nasta'liq* style in relief. The first line contains only the date and the name of the Spring, '*Chashma-i-Khwāja-Khidr*', and the remaining contain five couplets, composed by one Ḥakīmī. The *Nāgarī* version is engraved in one line in the lower and right margin-borders, but the lettering is considerably damaged. It seems to contain only the date Śaka 14[92] [Pra]moda, Pausa ba. [13], Monday (22nd January 1571).<sup>3</sup>

According to the Persian text, Aflātūn Khān constructed the Spring to perpetuate his memory among the people of the world, in A.H. 978 (1570-71). From the text, it transpires that the cons-

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, chapter LXI, part of verse 13.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 190.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. B, 473.



truction referred to was not confined to the masonry steps, etc. of the Spring and a four-walled enclosure around it only, but the Spring was excavated by the Khān. The date is given both in figure and by chronogram.

The composer of the metrical text is one Hakīmī. It has not been possible to trace any information about him, but very likely it was he who had composed the text of another inscription, containing the chronogram for the death of Ghālib Khān, a Nizām Shāhī official, which took place in A.H. 977.<sup>1</sup>

I have deciphered the text as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate XII(a)

چشمه خواجه خضر	(۱) فی سنه ۹۷۸
بگلانه بدر آورد چشمه چو نبات	(۲) چو لطف حق شده شامل بحال افلاطون
حیات یابد از آن آب چشمه اهل ممت	(۳) ز حوض کوثر و جنت نشانه دارد
که [ن]زد خلق [بما]ند نشانه بهر ثبات	(۴) ز روی حکمت خود ساخت چشمه افلاطون
بنای آن طلب از [ز] چشمه زار آب حیات	(۵) ز بهر سال بنا چون طلب کنی تاریخ
بیابد از در حق تا بروز حشر نجات	(۶) <u>حک</u> [ه]میا بدعا ختم کن که افلاطون

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the year (A.H.) 978 (1570-71). The Spring of (Prophet) Khawāja Khidr.

(2) When Aflātūn was favoured with Divine kindness, he excavated (lit. brought out) at Gālna a spring (of sweet water) like sugar-candy.

(3) It bears a sign of the tank of Kauthar and Paradise; by that water of the spring, (even) the dead are revived.

(4) Out of wisdom, Aflātūn constructed the spring, so that it may endure among the people as (his) perpetual mark.

(5) Since you ask for the year of its construction, seek it in (the words) 'place abounding in springs of the Water of Life'.

(6) O Hakīmī! End (these verses now) with a prayer that may Aflātūn attain salvation till the day of retribution from the threshold of God!

## IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 987

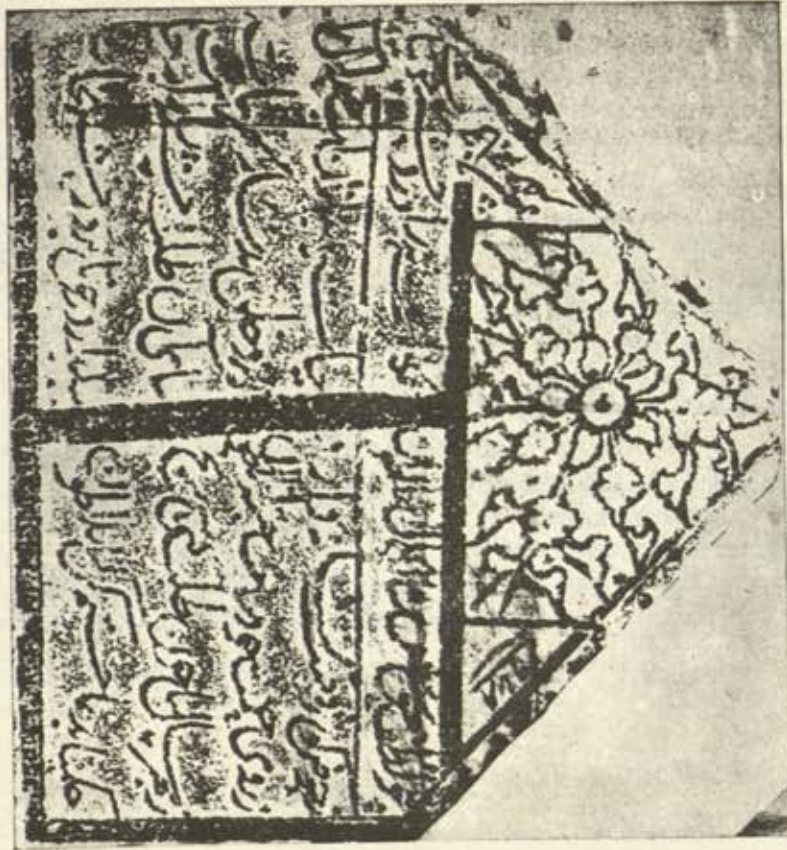
The tablet bearing the fourth inscription in the Fort is fixed on the wall to the right of the same Iron gate.<sup>2</sup> Measuring 72 cm. by 1.1 m., it contains thirteen lines of Persian prose and verse carved

<sup>1</sup> *EIM*, 1933-34 (Supplement), p. 9, where, however, it did not occur to Dr. M. Nāzīm who edited it that Hakīmī was the *nom-de-plume* of the composer. For the identity of Ghālib Khān, see *ibid.*, 1939-40, pp. 47-48.

<sup>2</sup> One *yā* seems to have been left out by the engraver.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 189.

(a) Bilingual record, dated A.H. 978, from Galna (p. 48)



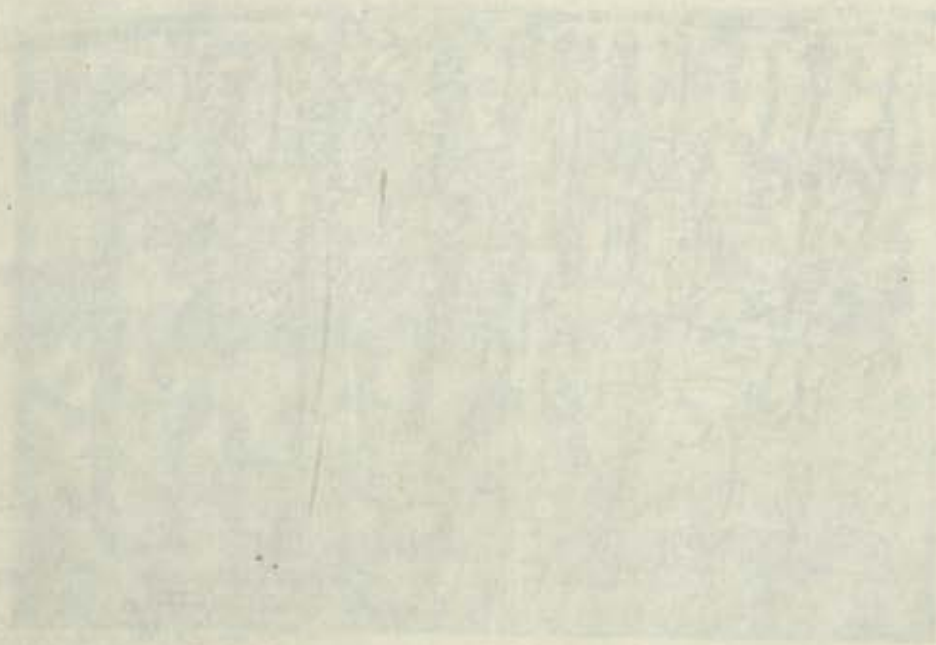
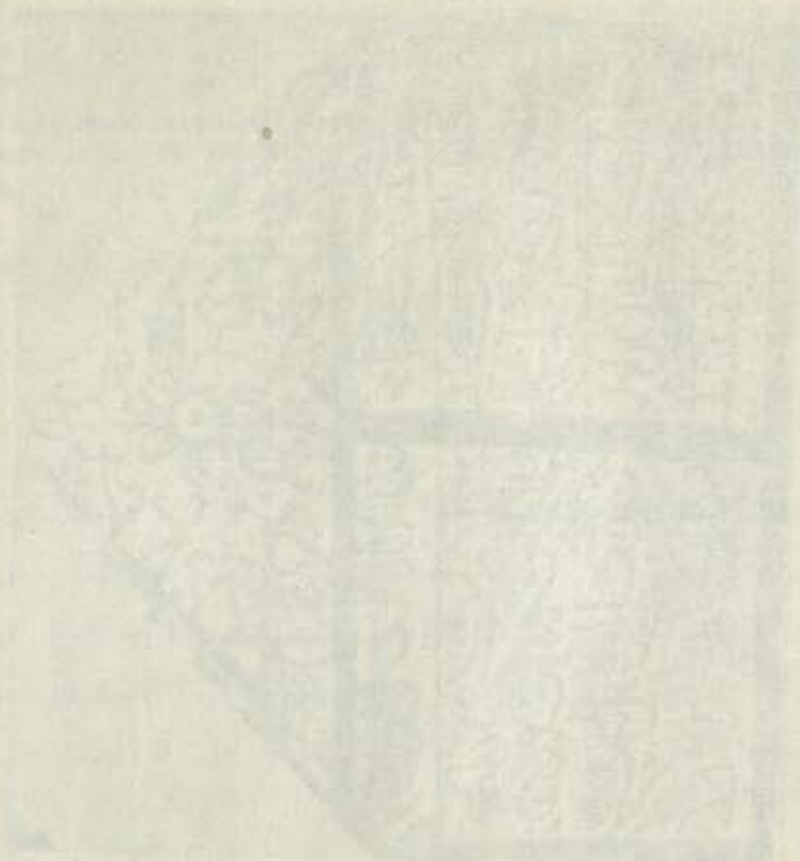
SCALE : .155

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 987, same place (p. 49)



SCALE : .11





in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters. The metrical text of five couplets is an ill-feigned attempt at versification, rendering it difficult for the reader to catch up with the drift of the composer's purport. It appears to state that a palace was constructed in the fort of Galna, and a bastion which was constructed earlier but was not very strong, was reinforced with stone. It also seems to record that the palace was built for the king and it was liked by all. It names Haibat Khān as the builder in the last couplet. The text was inscribed by Sayyid Ismā'il, son of Sayyid Maṣā Ḥusainī, on the 1st Rabi' I 987 (28th April 1579).

Haibat Khān, who appears to be the next commander of the fort of Galna, after Aflātūn Khān, during the reign of Murtaḍā I, is like his predecessor unknown to history. But he also has to his credit one more record, a fragmentary and bilingual one, at Galna itself; its epigraphical tablet is now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is dated A.H. 985 (1577-78) and mentions him as Haibat Khān Ḥabashī Nizām Shāhī. The *Nāgarī* text clearly refers to him as the *thānadār* of the fort.<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, the text of the record under study, which also refers to a bastion constructed earlier, may be taken to suggest that the fragmentary inscription of A.H. 985 (1577-78) under reference, pertained to a bastion built by Haibat Khān.

As regards the scribe Sayyid Ismā'il also, we have no information. Two more records in the Fort were inscribed by him as will be seen presently. In one of these two records, which was also composed by him, he lays a claim to poetical talent. In view of the mediocre quality of verse in the present record, it would not be surprising, if it was also composed by him. He does not appear to have been even a tolerably good calligraphist either.

The text has been read as under:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XII(b)

هو (۱)

(۲) برج مراد گشته ز لطف و پناه عزت

(۳) نامش تومی پسندی و ظفرش بده بدولت

(۴) در قلعه گالند هم قصری مراد باشد

(۵) تا زین خجسته قصری یابند خلق نصرت

(۶) برجی که ساخت اول چندان نبود محکم

(۷) زان دو بسنگ بست ازان شد مکرم

(۸) منزل که کرد بنائی در قلعه گشت مقبول

(۹) شد تمام منزل ز بهر شاه ظفرت

(۱۰) باری چنین برونق یک ساخت یادگار

(۱۱) بادا همیشه نامی از کرد خان هیبت



(١٢) كاتب العبد سيد اسماعيل ابن سيد مناحسيني

(١٣) تاريخ غره شهر ربيع الاول سنة ٩٨٤

## TRANSLATION

- (1) He is (Allāh)!
- (2) The Murād bastion was constructed through the support and protection of honour.
- (3) If you like its name, then (lit. and) grant it victory and (lit. in) prosperity.
- (4) There should also be a Murād palace in the Galna fort,
- (5) so that the people may obtain help from that (lit. this) auspicious palace.
- (6) The bastion which was constructed earlier (by him?), was not very strong.
- (7) Hence, it was reinforced with stone and it thus attained respectability.
- (8) The palace (lit. house) constructed in the fort became popular.
- (9) It was completed for the sake of the victorious king.
- (10) Since, he has constructed such a beautiful memento,
- (11) may it always be famous, on account of its being constructed by Haibat Khān
- (12) Written by the creature Sayyid Ismā'īl, son of Sayyid Manā Ḥusainī,
- (13) on the 1st day of the month of Rabi' I, year 987 (28th April 1579).

## V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 988

The fifth record of this group is fixed over the entrance of the Dargāh of Pīr Polād (Pūlād) in the village of Galna.<sup>1</sup> The slab, measuring 19 by 75 cm., is fixed length-wise above the door and contains fifteen lines of writing carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters. The text comprises a poetical fragment of 5 couplets written in ten lines (3-12), preceded by two lines of religious matter. In the last three lines occur the name of the composer and scribe, the above-mentioned Sayyid Ismā'īl, son of Sayyid Manā Ḥusainī, and the date. This epigraph shows that Sayyid Ismā'īl had adopted Sayyid as his poetical name. The reference to the help of Shāh Mardān, i.e. 'Alī, may also indicate him to be a follower of the Shī'a creed. As in the case of the previous inscription, the text presents yet another example of mediocre versification. It is worse than prose.

The text pretends to give an eulogistic description of the tomb and its surroundings: the 'resplendent tomb' is stated to be 'popular in the fort' (p. 52) by which perhaps, 'venerated' is meant, and to have been surrounded by 'verdant trees and lofty edifices'. It assigns the construction to Pūlād Khān. It is dated 15th Sha'bān 988 (25th September 1580).

It will be noted that the text does not mention the name of the person on whose remains the tomb was constructed. Locally, the tomb is called Dargāh of Pīr Pōlād, which could as well have been derived from the name of the builder Pūlād, occurring in the text. It does not appear to be likely that his own tomb was constructed in his life-time by Pūlād Khān, since the trend of the purport, as far as it can be judged from the phrases 'auspicious', 'resplendent' etc., used for the tomb, would suggest that it was built over the remains of some one who had already died. Could

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 177.

that some one be Pūlād Khān's father, also entitled Pūlād Khān, mentioned as Pūlād Khān Senior, in the bilingual inscription to be studied next? Incidentally, one Pīr Pūlād has been mentioned in a copper-plate issued in 1017 (1608), registering the grant of the village Akār in *pargāna* Gālā by (?) Pīr Polād to certain persons for cultivating the lands (belonging to the dargāh?).<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the language of this grant is not quite definite. But it is clear that if the grant is genuine, Pīr Pūlād mentioned therein cannot be identical with the person, Pīr Pūlād or any body else, occupying the tomb at Galna. In any case, it is a reasonable surmise that the tomb was constructed by Pūlād khān the son, for Pūlād Khān the father.

I have failed to trace any reference to Pūlād Khān, the builder, in the chronicles available to me. No doubt, 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā mentions one Fūlād (Pūlād) Khān as a nobleman of Aḥmad Nizām Shāh I and his son Burhān I.<sup>2</sup> But he could not have lived so long. Then, one Pūlād Khān is mentioned in an inscription from Kandahar in Nander district of Maharashtra. It is dated 1566-67, in the reign of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh.<sup>3</sup> In case, both are one and the same person, it would mean that Pūlād Khān was transferred from Qandhar to Galna some time before 1580, the date of the record under study, probably in succession to Haibat Khān Ḥabashī.

The text of the epigraph has been deciphered as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XIII(a)

(۱) هو الفتح

(۲) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(۳) این روضه مبارک در قلعه گشته مقبول

(۴) این دایره بحسب آراسته شد قبول

(۵) آن شجرهای سبز و این طرفه شد مقامی

(۶) آن قصرهای عالی دارند عجب اوصول

(۷) این روضه منور دارد تمام رونق

(۸) از روی این عمارت نوری بشد نزول

(۹) از کرد خان پولاد این شد عجب نشانی

(۱۰) تا نزد خلق باشد این منزلت قبول

(۱۱) سید بگفت ثنائی شد شرح این منازل

(۱۲) از لطف شاه مردان این روضه ام قبول

<sup>1</sup> *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 5-10, pl. II.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṭabāṭabā, op. cit.*, pp. 233, 246.

<sup>3</sup> *EIM*, 1919-20, p. 22.



(۱۳) تمت تمام گفتار کاتب العبد

(۱۴) سید اسمعیل ابن سید منا حسینی تحریراً فی

(۱۵) التاريخ پانزدهم شهر شعبان المعظم سنه ۹۸۸

## TRANSLATION

- (1) He is the Opener !
- (2) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
- (3) This auspicious tomb became popular (venerated ?) in the fort,
- (4) (and) the region has become adorned through its beauty.
- (5) Those verdant trees and this wonderful spot,
- (6) those lofty buildings, all these, have wonderful foundations.
- (7) This illuminated tomb possesses utmost splendour,
- (8) (and) from the face of this building, light is diffused.
- (9) This wonderful memento is the work of Pūlād Khān,
- (10) so that this edifice (constructed) by him may become popular among (lit. accepted by) the people.
- (11) Sayyid has eulogised and described these edifices.
- (12) May this tomb (built by) him become popular (lit. accepted) through the favour of Shāh-i-Mardān (i.e. Ḥaḍrat 'Alī) !
- (13) Came to end the speech of the writer, the creature,
- (14) Sayyid Ismā'il, son of Sayyid Manā Ḥusainī. Written
- (15) on the 15th of the month of Shā'bān, year 988 (25th September 1580).

## VI. INSCRIPTION, DATED ŚAKA 1503

The sixth inscription forms the second record of Pūlād Khān. Its tablet, measuring 35 by 60 cm., is fixed on the wall to the right of the Iron gate,\* a short distance to the left of Inscription No. V. This again is a bilingual record consisting of ten lines of writing of which six are in Persian and four in Marāṭhī. The Persian text is carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters, and the Marāṭhī portion, in *Nāgarī*.<sup>2</sup> The Persian version does not contain any date. It merely

\* This phrase is engraved in the preceding line on the stone.

\* *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 188.

† *Ibid.*, No. B, 472.

comprises two couplets containing a prayer for the long life of the Nizām Shāh and a reference to the governorship of Pūlād Khān. The Marāṭhī portion, on the other hand, contains a little more historical information apart from the date, which is Śaka 1503, Vriṣhā Vai ākha ba. 1 (19 April 1581). It refers to the construction of some structure by Khān Pūlād Khān and also gives the name of his father as Pūlād Khān, the elder.

The text has been read as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XIII (c)

(۱) هو الفتاح

(۲) هر کرا بخت همعنان باشد

(۳) در رکاب شه زمان باشد

(۴) سایه کردگار شاه نظام

(۵) باد پاینده تا جهان باشد

(۶) بکار کرد پولاد خان

## TRANSLATION

- (1) He is the Opener !
- (2) He, who is supported by good fortune,
- (3) follows the king of the world.
- (4) May the shadow of the Omnipotent God Nizām Shāh (Murtaḍā I)
- (5) last till the world exists !
- (6) During the regime of Pūlād Khān.

## TEXT

(1) सके १५०३ वृषा संवत्सरे वैसा

(2) ख वदि १ तदीनी वडीळा पोळा

(3) द खानाचे पूत्र खा । पोळादखा ते ही

(4) सीध केळें । सुभमस्तु ॥



## TRANSLATION

(1-4) On this day, the first of the dark fortnight of Vaisākha in the year Vrishā, in Śaka 1503 (19 April 1581), Khān Pūlād Khān himself, the son of the elder Pūlād Khān, accomplished (this). May (there) be prosperity!

The importance of this record in establishing the period of Pūlād Khān's governorship as well as in supplying the important information about Pūlād Khān's father, has already been pointed out above. As stated above, the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'ūthīr* mentions one Fūlād (Pūlād) Khān as a noble of Aḥmad Nizām Shāh I and Burhān I. It is likely that he is identical with Pūlād Khān Senior, of our epigraph.<sup>1</sup>

## VII. UNDATED INSCRIPTION OF PŪLĀD ĀN

The tablet inscribed with the third record of Pūlād Khān and the seventh of this article, is built into the wall to the left of the Iron gate.<sup>2</sup> It measures 38 by 40 cm. and contains six lines of writing in Persian prose and verse, carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* style. It records that a bastion was constructed in the Gālna *koṭ*, during the time of Pūlād Khān. The date of construction or writing is not mentioned. But it is quite likely that it is supplementary to the preceding inscription in which no mention of the object of construction was made. If that be so, this epigraph also must have been set up some time about April 1580.

The text of this epigraph was also written by Sayyid Ismā'il, son of Sayyid Manā Ḥusainī. It has been read as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate XIII (b)

(۱) هو العزيز

(۲) بکوت گالنه برجی بنا شد

(۳) بدور اکرمی پولاد خان شد

(۴) نوشته شد بخط خادم اهل بیت

(۵) رسول الله سید اسماعیل ابن

(۶) سید مناحسینی

## TRANSLATION

(1) He is the Glorious!

(2) In the *koṭ* of Gālna, a bastion was built;

(3) it was during the time of the generous Pūlād Khān.

<sup>1</sup> *Tabāṭabā, op. cit.*, pp. 233, 246.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. 11, 187.

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 988,  
from Galna (p. 51)



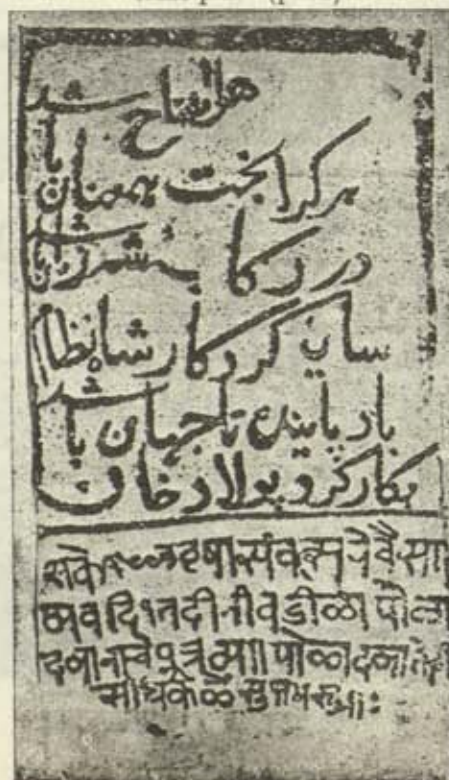
SCALE : .19

(b) Undated record of Pūlād Khān,  
same place (p. 54)



SCALE : .21

(c) Epigraph, dated Śaka 1503,  
same place (p. 53)



SCALE : .15



Inscription of Murtaḍā II, dated A.H. 1013, from Galna (p. 57)



SCALE : ·15

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 991, same place (p. 5b)



SCALE : ·1

- (4) It was written by the servant of the house of  
 (5) the Prophet of Allāh, Sayyid Ismā'il, son of  
 (6) Sayyid Manā Husainī.

## VIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 991

The next record from the Fort is engraved on a tablet measuring 76 by 54 cm., which is built up into the side wall of the Iron gate, to the left of No. VII above.<sup>1</sup>

This record is also bilingual. The Persian portion consists of seven lines of writing, carved in relief in *Naskh* characters and records that Pūlād Khān Ghāzī constructed a bastion in the Galna fort. It was written by Zāhīr Muḥammad in Rabi' I 991 (March 1583).

The Marāṭhī portion is carved in relief in one line below the Persian text and merely contains the date, Śaka 1505, Subhānu, Chaitra su. 1, Thursday, which fell on the 14th March 1583.<sup>2</sup> The Persian record, thus, must have been engraved on about the 1st Rabi' I 991.

Pūlād Khān's name is written in the text as Fūlād Khān which is just a way of writing it after the fashion of Arabic which has no *p* sound, and need not be attached any significance. What is more important here is the fact that the record extends the period of his charge of Galna fort by at least about two years. Now, as we have already seen above, he must have been succeeded by Mir 'Alī some time in or before A. H. 993 (1585).

But the epigraph has very important bearing on the significance of the word *Shuhūr* in indicating the era of that name. It is generally accepted that the term '*Shuhūr-i-Sana*', at least in the inscriptions of the Deccan, should be taken to indicate *Shuhūr* era, when the month also occurs therein.<sup>3</sup> But that this view may not be correct in all cases is proved by the present epigraph. Here the date given is 'Rabi' I in the *Shuhūr-i-Sana* 991 and Śaka 1505, Subhānu, Chaitra su. 1. Now the term '*Shuhūr-i-Sana*', along with which the month is mentioned, cannot be taken in any sense other than its literary meaning of 'the months of the year', because the corresponding Śaka year's equivalent will only be A. H. 991 (almost to the day and month). If *Shuhūr* era were intended, the year would be *Shuhūr* 991 which corresponded with Śaka 1512 only. And there is no sufficient reason that may account for the gap of about seven years in the dates of the two versions. It may be mentioned that the Śaka date is absolutely clear.

The text reads as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XIV (b)

هو (۱)

ماضی برج یک کالنه (۲) بقلعه

غازی خان فولاد بنمود بنا (۳)

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 186.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. B, 470.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. M. Nāgim, *Bijapur Inscriptions*, Archaeological Survey of India Memoirs, No. 49 (Delhi, 1936), p. 94; *EIM*, 1939-40, p. 12.



(۴) مرتب شد ز همت شاه مردان  
 (۵) همیشه باد قایم و کارسازے  
 (۶) کاتب عبد الفقیر ظہیر محمد فی التاریخ من شہر ربیع  
 (۷) الاحد شہور سنہ احدے تسعین و تسعمایہ

## TRANSLATION

(1) He is !

(2-3) In the fort of Gālna, the foundation of an enduring bastion was laid down by Fūlād (i.e. Pūlād) Khān Ghāzī.

(4) It was completed through the favour of Shāh-i-Mardān (i.e. 'Alī).

(5) May it be everlasting and serviceable !

(6) The writer (is) the needy creature Zahīr Muḥammad. In the month of Rabi'

(7) One, of the months of the year (A.H.) one (and) ninety and nine hundred (Rabi' I A. H. 991=March 1583).

The scribe Zahīr Muḥammad is untraceable. But it was he who wrote the Galna inscription of Haibat Khān mentioned above.<sup>1</sup>

## Murtadā Nizām Shāh II

## IX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1013

The only epigraph in this group whose date falls in the reign of Murtadā II, is fixed on the southern end of the western wall of the tomb locally known as Wazīr's tomb in the village, very near the Dargāh of Pīr Polād.<sup>2</sup> The inscriptional slab, measuring 47 by 53 cm., contains five Persian couplets, carved in relief in as many lines in *Nasta'liq* characters. The quality of the poetry is of a fairly high order and perhaps the best in the present study. As a matter of fact, it can compare quite favourably with similar specimens. It is evident that the composer of these verses Mushfiqī was one of the talented Persian poets who had flocked to the court of the Nizām Shāhī and other rulers of the Deccan. Then again, the calligraphy of the record is excellent. The *Nasta'liq* style of this epigraph can rank among the best specimens of that style, whether on paper or on stone. It is a pity that the calligrapher has not disclosed his name.

The text purports that Āqā Sulaimān, 'the like of whom in manliness and fortitude, none in the world remembers to have known' was killed by an enemy, and the great Khān Maḥaldār constructed a tomb over his grave in A. H. 1013 (1604-05). The date is afforded by a chronogram.

I have failed to trace any reference to Āqā Sulaimān, the deceased, in the historical works available to me. But he appears to have been a man of distinction, not only because the text

<sup>1</sup> *ELAPS*, 1957 and 1958, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 178.

showers high praises upon him, but also because a great Nizām Shāhī nobleman thought fit to construct his tomb.

About Maḥaldār Khān, the difficulty is of another nature. There were both the father and son who enjoyed this title in the court of the Nizām Shāhī kings. Maḥaldār Khān, the father, is stated to have been a grandee of Circassian origin and held high position. Unfortunately, the date of his death is not known. Therefore, it is difficult to say which of the two, father or son, took part in the skirmishes between the Mughal army and Malik 'Ambar's forces reported in contemporary chronicles in the events of the year 1615-16.<sup>1</sup> The son is reported to have succeeded to the title of his father on his death, but unfortunately, neither the name of the king nor the date of the death is quoted.<sup>2</sup> In the middle of 1634, he entered the services of the Mughal emperor and was granted fief in Bihar. In about February 1636, he was again sent to Deccan along with Sayyid Khān-i-Zamān against 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur.<sup>3</sup>

In any case, if the chronogram has been correctly understood, as it has most probably been,<sup>4</sup> the date of the construction i.e. 1604-05, should indicate that Maḥaldār referred to therein is the father and not the son. For, he had more occasion to be at Galna than his son and must have been in charge of the region about this time.

The writing of the epigraph is slightly damaged due to the weathering of the stone. But the text is quite legible. It has been read as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XIV (a)

(۱) چو آقا سلیمان کسی در جهان  
بمردی و جرات ندارد بیاد  
(۲) چو دور حیاتش باخر رسید  
ز زخم معاند ز پا در افتاد  
(۳) بناکرد بر تربتش گنبدی  
سر سروان خان عالی نژاد  
(۴) سپهر مروت محلدار خان  
که چون او خلف ام گیتی نژاد  
(۵) چو از مشفقى خواست تاریخ گفت  
که آقا سلیمان بجهت رساد

## TRANSLATION

(1) Nobody in the world remembers anyone like Āqā Sulaimān in manliness and fortitude.

(2) Since the period of his life came to an end, he fell off his feet from a blow of the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> Jahāngir, *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngirī*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad (Aligarh, 1864), p. 153; 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nahāwandī, *Ma'āṭṭir-i-Raḥīmī*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1925), pp. 622-623, 638-639, etc.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abdu'l-Ḥamid, *op. cit.*, p. 526; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āṭṭir-i-Umarā*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), p. 419.

<sup>3</sup> For details, see 'Abdu'l-Ḥamid, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 14, 140; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, pp. 419-21.

<sup>4</sup> The conjunction که in the second hemistick of the last couplet is not taken by me to be a part of the chronogram. If it is, the date would be A. H. 1038 (1628-29).



(3-4) Over his grave, the chief among the chiefs, the Khān of noble lineage, the sky of generosity, Maḥaldār Khān, like whom the mother-earth did not beget, constructed a tomb.

(5) When Mushfiqī was asked for its date, he said, 'May Āqā Sulaimān attain paradise!'

The chronogram constituting the benedictory phrase works out to A.H. 1013 (1604-05). I do not think that the conjunction *ki* forms part of the chronogram, as has been stated in the preceding lines.

### Burhān Nizām Shāh III

#### X. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1030

The last inscription of the present study belongs to the reign of Burhān III. The three slabs bearing this record measure 64 by 28 cm. each and are fixed on the north, south and west faces of the pillar of the left outer arch of the only mosque in the Fort.<sup>1</sup> Each of the slab is inscribed with two Persian couplets, and the text starts from that on the northern face and continues on the western and southern faces. Thus comprising six couplets in all, which are composed by one Abu'l-Faḍl, the text records in a chronogram that the mosque was built in A. H. 1030 (1620-21) on the site of a ruined mosque by Jamshīd who also repaired a reservoir which too was lying desolate nearby.

The builder Jamshīd Khān is stated in the text to have received the fort (of Galna) from Malik 'Ambar, the *vakīl* of Burhān Nizām Shāh (i.e. III). From the style of the text, the appointment appears to have taken place not long before the date of the record. In other words, Jamshīd Khān may have come to Galna not long before 1620.

This epigraph is a valuable document. It is one more record of Burhān III, of whom only six records were known so far.<sup>2</sup> It also provides one more name in the incomplete list of the governors of the Galna fort and neighbourhood. It is also remarkable for its calligraphy which is a fine specimen of *Nasta'liq* style.

I have read the text as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XV

(a) North face.

(۱) بنام خداوند بیت الحرام که اقبال داده به برهان نظام

(۲) وکیل شهنشاه کشور کماے ملک عنبرے بود باعدل و دای

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 193.

<sup>2</sup> *EIM*, 1919-20, pp. 12, 14; *ibid.*, 1933-34 (Supplement), p. 22; *ibid.*, 1949-50, p. 6.

Record of Burhān III, dated A.H. 1030, from Galna (p. 58)







West face.

- (۱) بجمشید ملک از سر اعتبار وطن قلعه داد آن سر نامدار  
(۲) بنا ساخت مسجد ز بهر ثواب برین جای مسجد که بودش خراب

(c) South face.

- (۱) یکی برکه بد در فضایش خراب همی کرد تعمیر پر شد ز آب  
(۲) دعاے ز ابوالفضل تاریخ باد که آمرزش از حق بجمشید باد

#### TRANSLATION

(a) (1) In the name of the Lord of the sacred house (i.e. Ka'ba), who has bestowed good fortune on Burhān Nizām (III).

(2) the prime-minister (*vakīl*) of the victorious emperor, was the just and wise Malik 'Ambar.

(b) (1) Out of confidence, that illustrious chief (i.e. Malik 'Ambar), gave the fort (of Galna) in fief (*waṭān*) to the Jamshīd of the kingdom.

(2) He constructed a mosque, for seeking reward, on this (very) site of a mosque which was desolate.

(c) (1) In the neighbourhood was a ruined reservoir which he reconstructed, and it became full of water.

(2) Let this prayer of Abu'l-Faḍl be its date, that 'may Jamshīd be forgiven by God !'

The date afforded by the chronogram is A. H. 1030 (1620-21).

Malik 'Ambar, the Nizām Shāhī minister, is too well-known to need any mention here. But not much is known about Jamshīd, who was appointed the governor of the Galna fort by him. Now we know that one 'Abdu'l-Latif entitled Jamshīd Khān was a relation of Malik 'Ambar, who ultimately went over to the Mughals on the 19th September 1629 and received the rank of 1000, 1500 horse.<sup>1</sup> In all probability, he is identical with Jamshīd of our record. The particular mention of 'Ambar's having granted the fort to Jamshīd in whom the former had full confidence, is quite significant. It can be reasonably interpreted to mean that he was a near relation of 'Ambar. If the above identification is correct, it may mean that Jamshīd Khān had continued in the command of the Galna fort until his crossing over to the Mughals in 1629. We may further hazard a guess that about this time when 'Ambar's son Faṭḥ Khān was imprisoned by Burhān III, Jamshīd Khān might have been ousted, and the Galna fort occupied by Maḥmūd Khān, whose being in command of the fort in 1632 has already been mentioned above (p. 44).

<sup>1</sup> 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, *op. cit.*, part i, pp. 269, 299.



Likewise, the composer Abu'l-Faḍl may be identical with Qāḍī Abu'l-Faḍl who, later on, in 1632, carried out the negotiations on behalf of Maḥmūd Khān with the Mughal general Khān-i-Zamān, resulting in Maḥmūd Khān's surrender of the fort.<sup>1</sup> Abu'l-Faḍl appears to have been a local man in the state service and probably continued in the same capacity at Galna during the Mughal occupation as well.

Incidentally, the ruined mosque, completely rebuilt by Jamshīd, is very likely to have been the one for which Dastūr Khān had endowed an inn in 1489-90.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, *op. cit.*, part i, p. 443.

<sup>2</sup> *EIM*, 1929-30, pp. 5-6.

## TWO EPITAPHS FROM HYDERABAD CITY

By M. F. KHAN

Epigraphical Assistant

It is our sad experience that the scholars interested in historical research are not making sufficient use of the epigraphical material, particularly on the Arabic and Persian side, which is being brought to light from time to time. It is understandable that they cannot embark upon any large-scale exploration and search of these epigraphs themselves. But what is rather inexplicable is why cannot they utilize the published material on these. Even the Gazetteer Revision Units in most of the States do not care to utilise the epigraphical publications, which could otherwise provide them with important and, what is more, authentic, information on the matters of India's past.

The result is that though some very interesting inscriptions have come to light in recent years, few scholars seem to know about it even. The two epitaphs from Hyderabad, which are the subject matter of this article, are two of the many such historical records. These epitaphs were discovered as long back as in 1922-23 and published immediately thereafter,<sup>1</sup> but have more or less failed to attract the attention of the scholars, so far as my knowledge goes.

The credit of discovering these two epitaphs goes to the late Mr. S. A. A. Bilgrāmī, then Assistant Secretary to H. E. H. the Nizām's Government, Judicial, Police and General Departments, who held temporary charge as the Director of Archaeology of the Hyderabad State during 1922-24, when Dr. Ghulām Yazdānī was on a study-tour abroad. During his tenure, Mr. Bilgrāmī, it seems, had made it a point to 'hunt for fresh inscriptions, in the ruined cemeteries of forgotten ages' in Hyderabad,<sup>2</sup> and was, one must acknowledge, responsible for bringing to light some interesting unpublished inscriptions from that city.\* It was during one of these excursions made to unearth the past that the graves of an eminent Quṭb Shāhī nobleman, Khairāt Khān and his son were discovered by him by chance in the Rifā'ī graveyard, near the Gowlipūra gate of the city, while he was engaged in finding out the grave of Sayyid Muẓaffar.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Bilgrāmī published the texts of both the epitaphs which unfortunately do not reveal anything much about their subject, beyond recording their names and dates of death. He also added a valuable note on the career of Khairāt Khān, prepared on the basis of some unpublished works and published inscriptions which were set up by Khairāt Khān.<sup>4</sup> But Mr. Bilgrāmī could not decipher the date-figure correctly, with the result that the year of the death—same in both the cases—was advanced by more than a decade than was actually the case. Moreover, he has not illustrated these records which are remarkable for their beautiful calligraphy. It was, therefore, deemed necessary in the interest of historical research to correct the date and republish these epigraphs with their facsimiles.

<sup>1</sup> S. A. A. Bilgrāmī, *Landmarks of the Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1927), pp. 58-59. Mr. Bilgrāmī's work was first published in Urdū under the title *Ma'āthir-i-Dakan*.

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

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.



Each of the two slabs is also inscribed on the reverse with religious texts. Since as such, these inscriptions on the reverse do not contain any historical information, they are not included in this article. Incidentally, they are of the same highly artistic execution.<sup>1</sup>

The epitaphs are reported to have been engraved on the headstones of two graves contained in a large tomb built on an elevated platform inside the necropolis of the Rifā'is within the Gowli-pūra gate of the city. The grave in the adjoining smaller tomb is said to contain the remains of the wife of Khairāt Khān, but it does not contain any inscription.<sup>2</sup>

The smaller of the two graves, situated in the centre of the tomb, belongs to Khairāt Khān's son who had predeceased his father, also buried by his side, by about six months. The arch-shaped tablet fixed at its head measures 30 by 50 cm. and is inscribed on both sides in elegant *Thulth* script, which is of high order. Unfortunately, the scribe who must have been a calligraphist of great merit, has not mentioned his name, which is a pity. The excellent calligraphy, which can easily match with the best specimens to be found not only at Hyderabad but elsewhere as well, is sufficient to show that its artist was a high-ranking calligrapher of his time.

The obverse of the slab contains a five-line text, the major portion of which is devoted to the Shiite *durūd*.<sup>3</sup> The obituary proper, which is engraved in a thinner hand, but of almost the same artistic quality, occurs in the second part of the last line, and records that the death of Bābā 'Abdu'llāh, son of Khairāt Khān, took place on the 5th Rabi' II 1055 (21st May 1645). Mr. Bilgrāmī read the year as A. H. 1066, which is wrong.<sup>4</sup>

The language of the religious text is Arabic, while that of the obituary, Persian. The text has been deciphered as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XVI (a)

(۱) اللهم صل على النبي  
 (۲) و الوصي و البتول و السبطين و السجاد  
 (۳) و الباقر و الصادق و الكاظم  
 (۴) و الرضا و التقي و التقي و الزكي  
 (۵) و المهدي عليهم السلام وفات مغفوري بابا عبد الله بن خيرآخان پنجم ماه  
 ربيع الثاني سنة ۱۰۵۵

## TRANSLATION

(1-5) Shiite *durūd*.<sup>5</sup>

(5) The death of pardoned Bābā 'Abdu'llāh, son of Khairāt Khān, (occurred on) the 5th of the month of Rabi'u'th-Thānī (A. H.) 1055 (21st May 1645).

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1964-65, Nos. D, 3, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 4. The reverse contains the Quranic chapter XC VII inscribed in the same hand (*ibid.*, No. 5).

<sup>4</sup> Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> For a translation of the most popular version of the Shiite *durūd*, please see *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (EIM), 1915-16, p. 26.



It will be observed from the illustration that the first two digits of the year-figure are thus engraved on the stone: عع. These were mistakenly read by Mr. Bilgrāmī as 66, while they correctly stand for the numeral 55. ع is nothing but a way of writing the figure 5 in vertical position with the upper portion towards right and the two ends, otherwise joined, remaining open and apart.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bilgrāmī while rejecting the reading, by Dr. Yazdānī, of this figure in the epitaph of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh,<sup>2</sup> stated that in Persia, the numeral 6, and in Egypt and Turkey, the numeral 4, were written that way.<sup>3</sup> I am afraid, Mr. Bilgrāmī was misinformed. The figure 4 represents 6 in Persia, but is never written there as ع. And even 4 is nothing but the usual 4 written with an upward slant towards right. That Mr. Bilgrāmī was wrong in interpreting the figure as 6 is borne out by the very fact that in the above-mentioned epitaph of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, the figure is corrected as 6 by him but almost the same figure, with joined ends no doubt, in another part of the same epitaph, is taken even by him to be 5 in the figure of the year of death, viz. A. H. 1035. And he has tried to reconcile the two dates A. H. 1035 and 1036 by stating that one was that of the death and the other of fixing up of the slab.<sup>4</sup> This is far-fetched.

The figure in question, with and without joined ends, is used to indicate the numeral 5 in quite a few inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> That it cannot but be taken to stand for 5 is conclusively proved by at least two epigraphs: in one of them, the figures ۲ع and ۲۴ are used to indicate Monday 25th and Tuesday 26th of Dhu'l-Hijja respectively.<sup>6</sup> This shows that the figure in question stood for 5 only. But the most conclusive proof of my contention is afforded by an inscription from Raichur, in which the second digit of the numerical value 50, according to the *Abjad* system of the letter ۵ is indicated by the same figure, not in one, but in three places where it occurs.<sup>7</sup>

In short, the figure represents only 5 and not 6 and therefore the year in which 'Abdu'llāh and his father expired was A. H. 1055 and not A. H. 1066.<sup>8</sup>

The headstone on the grave of Khairāt Khān is also arch-shaped and measures 85 cm. from apex to bottom and is 42 cm. wide. It contains five lines of writing, which, except for the obituary note occurring in the second half of the last line, contain a Quranic chapter. The reverse of this tablet is also inscribed, as in the case of the previous epitaph, with religious text, which however, comprises in this case Shiite *durūd*.<sup>9</sup> In other words, in the other epitaph, the obverse had Shiite *durūd*, and the reverse, a Quranic chapter and in this one, it is *vice versa*.

The obituary, which is in Persian, places the death of Khairāt Khān on the 18th Ramaḍān 1055 (28th October 1645). Unfortunately, no other details are given in this otherwise interesting epigraph of an eminent Quṭb Shāhī official.

<sup>1</sup> The same mistake was committed by Mr. Bilgrāmī in his decipherment of the date of another inscription of Hyderabad discovered by him, as was pointed out in *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1966, pp. 32-33.

<sup>2</sup> *EIM*, 1915-16, pl. VIII b.

<sup>3</sup> Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 139, f.n.1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>5</sup> *EIM*, 1921-22, pl. X b; *ibid.*, 1925-26, pl. XI a; *ibid.*, 1932-34 (Supplement), pls. XXIV b, XXXIII a & b, XXXIV a; *ibid.*, 1937-38, pls. VI a, XIX b; *ibid.*, 1949-50, pls. XIV c, XVI a; *EIAPS*, 1959 and 1960, pl. XVIII; *ibid.*, 1963, pls. XX, XXIII; etc.

<sup>6</sup> *EIM*, 1937-38, pl. VIa.

<sup>7</sup> *EIAPS*, 1963, pl. XXIIIc.

<sup>8</sup> This and the preceding two paragraphs are by the Editor.

<sup>9</sup> *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 5.



The text has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XVI (b)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 (٢) اَنَا [١] نَزَلْنَا فِي لَيْلَةِ الْقَدْرِ وَ مَا ادْرَاكَ مَا  
 (٣) لَيْلَةُ الْقَدْرِ لَيْلَةُ الْقَدْرِ خَيْرٌ مِنْ أَلْفِ شَهْرٍ  
 (٤) تَنَزَّلُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ وَالرُّوحُ فِيهَا بِإِذْنِ رَبِّهِمْ مِنْ  
 (٥) كُلِّ أَمْرٍ سَلَامٌ هُوَ حَتَّى مَطْلَعِ الْفَجْرِ وَفَاتَ مَغْفِرَةً آثَارِي خَيْرَاتِخَانِ هَجْدِهِمْ مَاهِ  
 رَمَضَانَ سَنَةِ ١٠٥٥

TRANSLATION

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

(2-5) *Qur'ān*, chapter XCVII.

(5) The death of the pardoned *Khairāt Khān* (occurred on) the 18th of the month of *Ramaḍān* (A. H.) 1055 (28 October 1645).

In this epitaph too, the year A. H. 1055 was wrongly read as A. H. 1066 by Mr. Bilgrāmī.<sup>1</sup>

From the above epitaphs, it is clear that the father expired hardly within six months of the death of his son. Unfortunately, it is not possible from the text to determine the age of 'Abdu'llāh. That he was quite young when he died, is indicated by the size of his grave and also by the term of endearment 'Bābā' used for him in the text.

*Khairāt Khān* seems to have held high position in the *Quṭb Shāhī* court. But very little is known about him. Almost all the available information relating to him from a contemporary work, *Ḥadiqatu's-Salṭīn* of Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shīrāzī, which was then not published, was given by Mr. Bilgrāmī in his account.<sup>2</sup>

According to this work, *Khairāt Khān* was the *sar naubat* and one of the most trusted servants of 'Abdu'llāh *Quṭb Shāh*. He went to Iran in 1627, as the *Quṭb Shāhī* envoy to the court of *Shāh 'Abbās*. On his way to Iran, he was summoned from Surat, the port of embarkation, to Agra by the Mughal emperor *Shāh Jahān* who also gave him a letter for the Iranian sovereign. But by the time he reached the Iranian port *Bandar-i-'Abbās*, *Shāh 'Abbās* had died and was succeeded by *Shāh Saffi*. *Khairāt Khān* went to Isfahan, presented the letters of 'Abdu'llāh *Quṭb Shāh* as well as of *Shāh Jahān* and was very well received. He started for India in 1633 and reached *Hyderabad*, after delivering the reply of *Shāh Jahān's* letter to him, in 1634. He was received with much

<sup>1</sup> Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60. According to Dr. Yazdānī (*EIM*, 1913-14, p. 55), *Khairāt Khān's* embassy to Iran is also mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Rasūl-i-Dīn Khānī*.



HYDERABAD EPI TAPHS

(a) Epitaph, dated A.H. 1055 (p. 62)



(b) Epitaph, dated A.H. 1055 (p. 64)



SCALE : .3

SCALE : .18





favour by his master, who conferred upon him the post of a minister. In 1637, he accompanied the grand mother of the Golconda monarch upto Masulipatam on the eastern coast, whence she sailed for Jeddah on Pilgrimage.

Mr. Bilgrāmī has also given the above particulars, with some details of dates. From the notes which Dr. Z. A. Desai, the editor of this journal took from this manuscript and which he was kind enough to place at my disposal, it appears that Mr. Bilgrāmī has omitted to mention that Khairāt Khān originally belonged to the Uymāq tribe and that his kinsmen were living in a village in Iran. The name of this village is unfortunately not mentioned in the above manuscript, but the author states that Shāh Ṣafī gave the very village in *in'ām* to Khairāt Khān because of that fact only. Another point which Mr. Bilgrāmī has not taken note of is that Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shīrāzī mentions Khairāt Khān as a 'man of great wealth and generosity' and also as 'one who had rendered great services'.<sup>1</sup>

Khairāt Khān also finds mention in a few epigraphs, of which two, earlier published by Dr. Yazdānī, have also been noticed by Mr. Bilgrāmī. According to these, he had constructed several shops and a well and a garden in 1640 and a granary in 1642.<sup>2</sup>

A third inscription, in Telugu and Persian, recording his name has been recently found at Pangal in the Mahbubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. Providing a much earlier date in Khairāt Khān's career, it states he had constructed a watch-tower at the top of the Bālā-Qal'a and a well in the potter's street inside the fort at Pangal in 1620, during the reign of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh.<sup>3</sup> It may also indicate that Khairāt Khān was stationed at Pangal in the early period of his career or had his fief there.<sup>4</sup>

[After these lines were written, it was found that the *Ḥadiqatu's-Salāṭīn*, edited by the late Mr. Bilgrāmī has been printed at Hyderabad in 1961. It seems to have been released for sale long after that date.—Editor.]

<sup>1</sup> *Ḥadiqatu's-Salāṭīn*, Ms. in the Sālār Jang Museum Library, ff. 77 and 89.

<sup>2</sup> *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 55, 57; Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1961-62, Nos. B, 38 and D, 21.

<sup>4</sup> This paragraph is by the Editor.



## SIX MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM VIDARBHA

By S. A. RAHIM

Epigraphical Assistant

As a part of my study of the Mughal inscriptions from the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra,<sup>1</sup> I propose to publish here six more epigraphs, which were copied in November 1964, in the course of my official tour. Of these, three are from Ellichpur in Amraoti district and one each from Amner in Amraoti, Ashti in Wardha and Karanja in Akola districts. According to the king-wise break-up, four records are dated in the reign of Aurangzeb and two in that of Shāh 'Ālam II.

### I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1082, FROM ASHTI

The earliest of these in chronological order is from Ashti, situated in 21°12' N. and 78°11' E. in the Arvi *taluka* of Wardha district.<sup>2</sup> Ashti, now reduced to a small village, was an important place in the Mughal period, and formed a *pargana* in the *jāgīr* of Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī in the time of Akbar.<sup>3</sup> The inscribed tombs of Muḥammad Khān and his son Aḥmad Khān in the village are among the chief objects of sufficient antiquarian interest in the whole district.<sup>4</sup>

The inscription is engraved on the slabs of the walls forming the south-east corner of the mosque, locally called Lodi-Masjid, which is situated in a field, outside the village. Its four-line text in Persian, including one verse, neatly executed in ordinary *Nasta'liq* script, occupies a space of 1.6 m. by 31 cm. on both the sides of the corner. It records that the mosque was constructed in A.H. 1082 (1671-72) during the reign of Aurangzeb by Maḥmūd, son of Daulat, an Afghān of the Lodi clan. The composition of the text leaves much to be desired.

The mosque seems to have acquired its present name, most probably because the clan-name 'Lodi' occurring in the fourth line just below the word 'Masjid' was taken by some body as a part of the phrase 'Binā Masjid'. It could as well be due to the fact that it was built by a Lodi Afghān. But the first reason seems to be more probable.

The text of the epigraph is quoted below :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XVII (b)

(۱) در زمان با امان اورنگ زیب بادشاه گیتی بنا

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1963, pp. 51-60; *ibid.*, 1966, pp. 43-54.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1964-65, No. D, 237.

<sup>3</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āfīrū'l-Umarā*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), p. 376.

<sup>4</sup> For a brief description of the tombs and its inscriptions as well as history of the Niyāzī chiefs, see M. A. Suboor, 'A Short Note on the Ashti and Burhanpur Inscriptions', *Bulletins of the Nagpur Museum*, No. 1 (Allahabad, 1920), pp. 1-7.

(۲) بیت :

الف و هشتاد و دو ز هجرت بود

کین (۳) بنا مسجد محمود بن دولت نمود

عرف افغان

(۴) لودی

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the peaceful reign of Aurangzeb Bādshāh, the shelter of the world.

(2-3) Verse : It was one thousand and eighty and two from the Migration (of the Prophet), when this mosque was constructed by Maḥmūd, son of Daulat, *alias* Afghān

(4) Lodi.

No information is available about Maḥmūd, Afghān of Lodi clan.

## II. EPIGRAPH, DATED A.H. 1100, FROM AMNER

This interesting epigraph is engraved on a slab, measuring 57 by 57 cm. which is fixed on the outer side of the eastern wall of the tomb of La'l Khān, a large domed building in stucco with small spires at each corner, at Amner in Morsi tāluka of the Amraoti district.<sup>1</sup> It was first noticed in the district gazetteer, where a faulty rendering in English was also given.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, Rāc Bahādur Hirālāl too noticed it in his List, but his brief notice, though certainly an improvement, also from a suffers mistake or two.<sup>3</sup>

The text consists of eight lines of writing of which the first is devoted to the religious text comprising *Bismillāh*, the First Creed and the names of the first four caliphs. The next six contain a couplet each in Persian, and the last line records the dates. The quality of the Persian verses is unfortunately not only mediocre, but is also somewhat ambiguous, with the result that their purport is not absolutely clear. But it seems to state that La'l Khān, a servant of Rāja Kishan Singh, laid down his life in the service of emperor Aurang Shāh 'Ālamgīr, i.e. Aurangzeb, on the 4th Ramaḍān. The year of La'l Khān's death in the battle is given as A.H. 1100, regnal year 34, which is irregular in the sense that 4th Ramaḍān of A.H. 1100 was the fourth day of the regnal year 33. But since the chronogram in words contained in line 7 yields A.H. 1100, we may safely presume that 34 is either the composer's or engraver's mistake for 33. La'l Khān must have thus died on the 4th Ramaḍān A.H. 1100 (12th June 1689).

The text further records that though La'l Khān attained martyrdom at a place called Badhnūr, he was buried at Amner. It assigns the construction of his tomb as well as a mosque, a tank and a flourishing garden to one Ḥusain. The date of the construction of the tomb is given as regnal year 36, which, if not a mistake of calculation (as in the case of La'l Khān's date of death as stated

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 121. The tomb was briefly described in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1926-27, pp. 39-40, where the gist of the inscription is incorrectly given.

<sup>2</sup> S. V. Fitzgerald and A. E. Nelson, ed. *Central Provinces District Gazetteers, Amraoti District*, vol. A (Bombay, 1911), pp. 350-51.

<sup>3</sup> Hirālāl, *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the C. P. & Berar* (Nagpur, 1916), p. 130, No. 178



above) for 35—regnal year 35 started on the 1st Ramaḍān 1102 or 19th May 1691—would mean that the tomb and other edifices mentioned in the text were built in the year Ramaḍān 1103-Sha'bān 1104 (May 1692-April 1693). But I am inclined to think that the regnal year 36 is a mistake for 35, and the construction took place some time during May 1691-April 1692.

The style of writing of the main text is tolerably good *Nasta'liq* which is remarkable for its neat execution; the religious text in the first line is inscribed in mediocre *Naskh*.

The epigraph reads as under:—

## TEXT

## Plate XVII(a)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ حَضْرَت اِبَا بَكْرٍ عَمْرٍ عُثْمَانُ عَلٰی  
 (۲) از پئی خدمت اورنگ شه عالم گیر نوکر راجه کشن سنگه بسعی موفور  
 (۳) بود چون روز مبارک ز چهارم رمضان لعنخان نیز ازین دیر کهن کرد عبور  
 (۴) قالبش گرچه نهادند بخاک امنیر لیکن ارواح لطیفش بسپردند بحور  
 (۵) بصفائے دل و جان کرد بنا روضه حسین مسجد و حوض دگر باغ چو خلد معمور  
 (۶) جاودان دار خدا یا تو چنین روضه غریب تابد از تربت پاکس بدوکان قبه نور  
 (۷) سال تاریخ بجستم چو من از عاتف گفت لعنخان یافت شهادت بمکانی بدهنود  
 (۸) عمارت مقبره سنه ۳۶ مرتب شد سنه ۳۴ جاوس والا سنه ۱۱۰۰ هجری

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god but Allāh (and) Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh. Ḥaḍrat Abā Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṭhmān (and) 'Alī.

(2) For rendering service to Aurang Shah-i-'Ālamgīr, with great efforts, the subordinate of Rāja Kishan Singh (namely),

(3) La'l Khān, passed away from this old world, as the auspicious day was 4th Ramaḍān.

(4) Though his body was interred into the earth of Amner, his benign soul was entrusted to the Houris (of Paradise).

(5) Husain with sincerity of heart and soul, constructed the tomb, a mosque and a tank (*ḥauḍ*) and also a garden like flourishing Paradise.

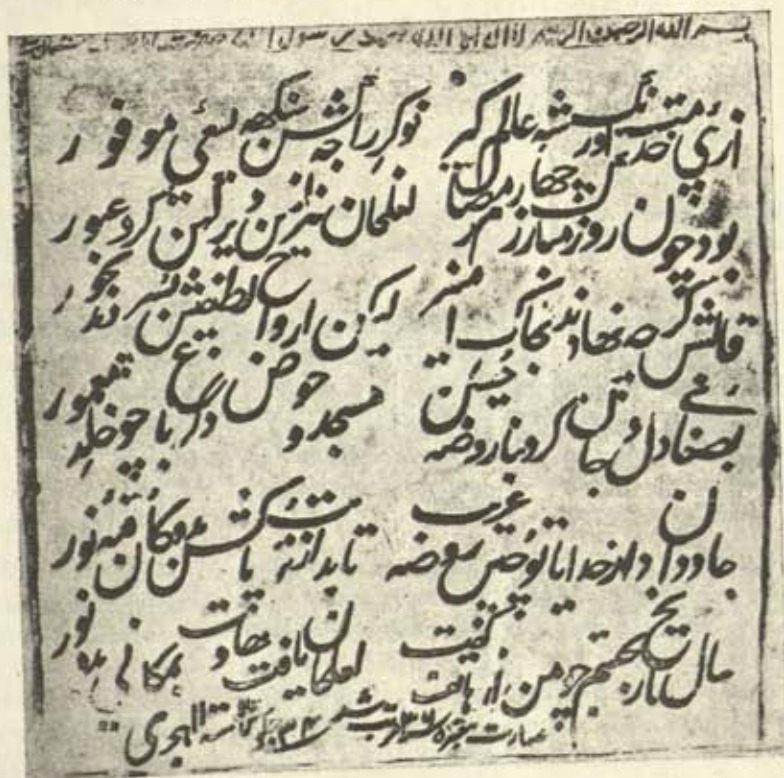
(6) Oh God! may this extraordinary tomb last for ever, and may the dome of light from his holy grave shine in both the worlds!

† This is probably the engraver's mistake for 'بدوکون' meaning 'in both the worlds'

MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS

( PLATES XVII-XIX )

(a) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1100, from Amner (p. 68)



SCALE : 1845

(b) Aurangzeb's inscription, dated A.H. 1082, from Ashti (p. 66)



SCALE : 16





(7) When I sought its date from the Angel of the Unseen, he replied that La'l Khān attained martyrdom at the place of Badhnūr.

(8) The building of the tomb was completed in the (regnal) year 36. (He died in) the exalted regnal year 34, A.H. 1100.

It has been stated above that regnal year 33 and not 34, A.H. 1100, is the correct date of death of La'l Khān. He therefore died on 4th Ramaḍān 1100 (12th June 1689). Likewise, it stands more to reason to suppose that the tomb was also built in regnal year 35 (1691-92) and not 36 (1692-93).

From the above text and translation, it will be seen that it was not Rāja Kishan Singh who built the tomb as stated in the district gazetteer,<sup>1</sup> nor is Husain mentioned as the Rājā's servant, as stated by Hirālāl.<sup>2</sup>

About the three personages mentioned in the text, only Rāja Kishan Singh seems to be known to history. He may be identical with Rāja Kishan Singh who succeeded Rām Singh as the zamīndār of Chanda in October 1683.<sup>3</sup> There were also Kunwar Kishan Singh and Kishan Singh Hādā, both of Aurangzeb's time, but they had died earlier.<sup>4</sup> Though the possibility of La'l Khān's being the subordinate of either of the two cannot be ruled out, the odds of Rāja Kishan Singh of Chanda being the person referred to in the epigraph, appear to be heavy, as he was living and also close to the findspot of the inscription.

About La'l Khān, no information is available. That his body was brought to Amner for burial from the place of his death in the battle, shows that Amner was his fief or more probably his place of residence. Amner, as we know, was in bygone days a place of considerable importance, and the Amner tract was included in the fief of Ismā'il Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī, whose inscription, dated A. H. 1055 (1645-46), now in the Central Museum, Nagpur, was stated by the members of the Niyāzī family to have originally belonged to Amner.<sup>5</sup> It is not unlikely that La'l Khān might have belonged to the Niyāzī stock.

Husain, the builder of the edifices mentioned above, is also quite unknown, but the possibility of his being a relative of La'l Khān cannot be ruled out.

As regards the locale or the battle in which La'l Khān laid down his life, no clue is available. He is stated to have died at Badhnūr, which should mean that Badhnūr was the place where some engagement took place resulting in the death of La'l Khān. There are quite a few places bearing this name in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, etc., as also in other parts in the south, e.g. Badhnor in Merwara region of Rajasthan, one each in Bijapur and Gulbarga districts of Mysore and three in the adjoining districts of Betul and Chhindwara in Madhya Pradesh. Of those, each of the three places in Madhya Pradesh are within a distance of not more than 100 kilometres from Amner. There is Gori-Bidnur in the Tumkur district of Mysore, which was simply called Bidnur in those days. And the queen of this Bidnur was engaged, in the year previous to the one in which La'l Khān died, in hostilities against Aurangzeb's men.<sup>6</sup> But this Bidnur is rather too far to have been the place whence La'l Khān's dead body could be conveniently brought to Amner. I feel that it

<sup>1</sup> Fitzgerald and Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

<sup>2</sup> Hirālāl *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Musta'id Khān, *Ma'āthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* (Calcutta, 1871), pp. 239, 250.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 217.

<sup>5</sup> Suboor, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Musta'id Khān, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-29.



must be one of the places near Betul-Chhindwara, which border on Wardha district, that must be the place of the battle.

### III. INSCRIPTION, DATED REGNAL YEAR 41, FROM ELLICHPUR

The third inscription belongs to Ellichpur, head-quarters of the *tāluka* of the same name in Amraoti district. Ellichpur has been historically quite important in Berar region, and finds mention in the events of the Muslim rule of the early fourteenth century. It was the capital of Berar, after Gawilgarh, in the time of the 'Imād Shāhī dynasty and succeeding governors and rulers. But unfortunately, no early record, dated prior to A.H. 991 (1583-84), has been traced there.<sup>1</sup>

The tablet bearing the record under notice is fixed over the main entrance of the Jāmi' mosque of the town.<sup>2</sup> Measuring 1.2 m. by 82 cm., it contains seven Persian couplets, preceded by *Bismillāh* and followed by the name of the scribe, which are executed in *Thulth* of a fairly high order in six lines. The poetry of the text is also fairly impressive.

The epigraph states that the ancient Jāmi' mosque of Ellichpur, which was the pride of the town, but was lying unrepaired for centuries, was reconstructed along with its reservoir (*haud*) and well by the great Khān 'Alī Mardān Khān, through the efforts of Shāh Muḥammad Baig, in the 41st regnal year of Aurangzeb's reign corresponding to A.H. 1108 (1697). The Hijra date is also afforded by a chronogram. The scribe has signed his name as Muḥammad Hāshim 'Alī Mardān Khānī.

I have read the text as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XVIII(b)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ وَ بِهٖ تَعٰلٰی

(۲) در زمان دولت خاقان عالمگیر شاه	آنکه حکم نافذش تاج از سر قیصر ربود
حامی دین حاکم دنیا علی مردان خان	(۳) کز گل نعل سمنش مه کلف از رخ زدود
مسجد جامع که ایلچپور بود از وی بهشت	بی مرمت از مرور دهر دون افتاده بود
(۴) همت این خان گردون قدر شد معمار آن	شد باندک فرصتی آئینه دار قصر جود
شاه محمد بیگ ساعی بود در این کار خیر	(۵) نیتش چون خیر بود این کار را زینت فرود
موج حوض جان فزایش آبروی طاعت ست	نکته عذب انبیائے زمزم از چاهش شنود

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-69, No. D, 62. For the history of Ellichpur as well as Berar, of which it was the premier city, see Fitzgerald and Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-100.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 99. Hirālāl, *op. cit.*, p. 128, has noticed it very briefly.

(۶) خواستم تاریخ زیب این بنا از پیر عقل گفت کعبه دیده تعمیر این مسجد نمود

۱۱۰[۸]

کتبه محمد هاشم علیمردان خان ۳۱

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. And in Him I have trust.

(2) In the time of the reign of the king 'Ālamgīr Shāh, whose absolute order removed the crown from the head of Caesar,

(there was) 'Alī Mardān Khān, the champion of religion and the commander of the world,

(3) by the dust of the shoe of whose horse, the moon wiped the spots from its face.

The Jāmi' mosque, on account of which Illichpūr (Ellichpur) was (like) Paradise, had remained desolate and without any repairs, on account of the passage of the mean Time.

(4) The magnanimity of the (said) Khān of sky-like status repaired it, and within a short period, it became the mirror of the Jūd (lit. of munificence) palace.

(It was) Shāh Muḥammad Baid (who) strove for this charitable work.

(5) As his intention was sincere, the work was accomplished more beautifully.

The wave of its life-refreshing reservoir is the water of the face of (i.e. adds lustre to) devotion. The Zamzam<sup>1</sup> learnt the point of sweet description from its well.

(6) When I asked the date of its construction from the old man of Wisdom, he replied, 'One who has seen the Ka'ba has repaired this mosque'. (A. H.) 110[8]. Written by Muḥammad Hāshim 'Alī Mardān Khānī, (regnal year) 41 (1697).

Mir Ḥusainī, entitled 'Alī Mardān Khān, who extensively repaired and renovated the old Jāmi' mosque of Ellichpur, which is locally believed to have been first constructed in the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh,<sup>2</sup> was an eminent official of Aurangzeb. He is mentioned in historical works as 'Alī Mardān Khān Haidarbādī, since before entering the service of Aurangzeb in the 30th regnal year, he was one of the eminent noblemen of the last Quṭb Shāhī ruler, Sulṭān Abu'l-Ḥasan. He received from Aurangzeb the title of 'Alī Mardān Khān with a rank of 6000. He died some time during the 49th regnal year (started 17th December 1704). He is stated to have been appointed to the governorship of Berar some time in A.H. 1105 (1693) subsequent to his release from the Marāṭhā captivity of two years. Before his death, he also acted as the deputy of Muḥammad Bīdār Bakht at Burhanpur.<sup>3</sup>

The present inscription supplies the additional information that as late as in A.H. 1108 (1697), 'Alī Mardān Khān was in Berar. This is important, as the exact date of his appointment as governor to, or transfer from, Berar is not recorded anywhere. The epigraph also furnishes one more piece of information: In case the first phrase of the second hemistich of the last couplet, which

<sup>1</sup> Hagar's well in Ka'ba at Mecca.

<sup>2</sup> Fitzgerald and Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.* vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 824-25. Musta'id Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 364, mentions only his release from captivity.



evidently refers to 'Alī Mardān Khān, is correctly translated, as it most probably has been, it would mean that he had, some time in the past, performed pilgrimage to the Ka'ba.

About the scribe Muḥammad Hāshim, nothing is known. He must have been a professional calligrapher apparently of no mean merit, and the appellation 'Alī Mardān Khānī shows that he was in regular employ of the governor. About Shāh Muḥammad Baig also, nothing could be traced. He may have been a local official.

#### IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED REGNAL YEAR 42, FROM KARANJA

The fourth inscription of this article which constitutes the last record of Aurangzeb, comes from Karanja in Murtazapur *tāluka* of Akola district. Engraved on a tablet measuring 86 by 22 cm., fixed on the right side of the Pūhā gate of the town,<sup>1</sup> it forms the third record of the time of Rustam Khān, the *jāgirdār*, and Qādī Bashīru'llāh, the *faujdār*, of Kāranja Bībī, the other two dated in the 42nd (as in the case of the one under study) and 43rd regnal years of Aurangzeb having been published in an earlier issue of this Journal.<sup>2</sup> The text consists of four lines of writing in Persian partly in prose and partly in verse. It states that Rustam Khān became the master through the kindness of Shāh 'Ālamgīr, which can only be taken to mean that he became the fief-holder, particularly since in his other two records from the place referred to above, he is termed as *jāgirdār* of the place. It further states that the gate of the *qaṣba* of Kāranja-Bībī—called Makka Gate in the text—was built in the 42nd regnal year (March 1698-February 1699), during the time of Bashīru'llāh, the *faujdār*.

The text of this epigraph has the same purport as that appearing on the Dārwa gate of the town, also built in the 42nd regnal year.<sup>3</sup> The calligraphy of both the records is likewise similar, which means that both were inscribed by the same person, whose name is not given in either of the two.

The style of writing is fairly good *Nasta'liq*. Some letters in the last line, being damaged, could not be read. The text has been deciphered as under :—

#### TEXT

##### Plate XVIII(a)

(۱) الله اکبر

(۲) ز لطف شاه عالم گیر شد مخدوم رستم خان - دروازه مکہ

(۳) قصبہ کارنجہ ہے ہے در عمل قاضی بشیر الله فوجدار جلوس میمنت مانوس

(۴) سنہ ۴۲ چہل دو ترتیب شد.....عاقبت بخیر باد

#### TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is great !

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 97.

<sup>2</sup> *EIAPS*, 1963, pp. 55-56.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

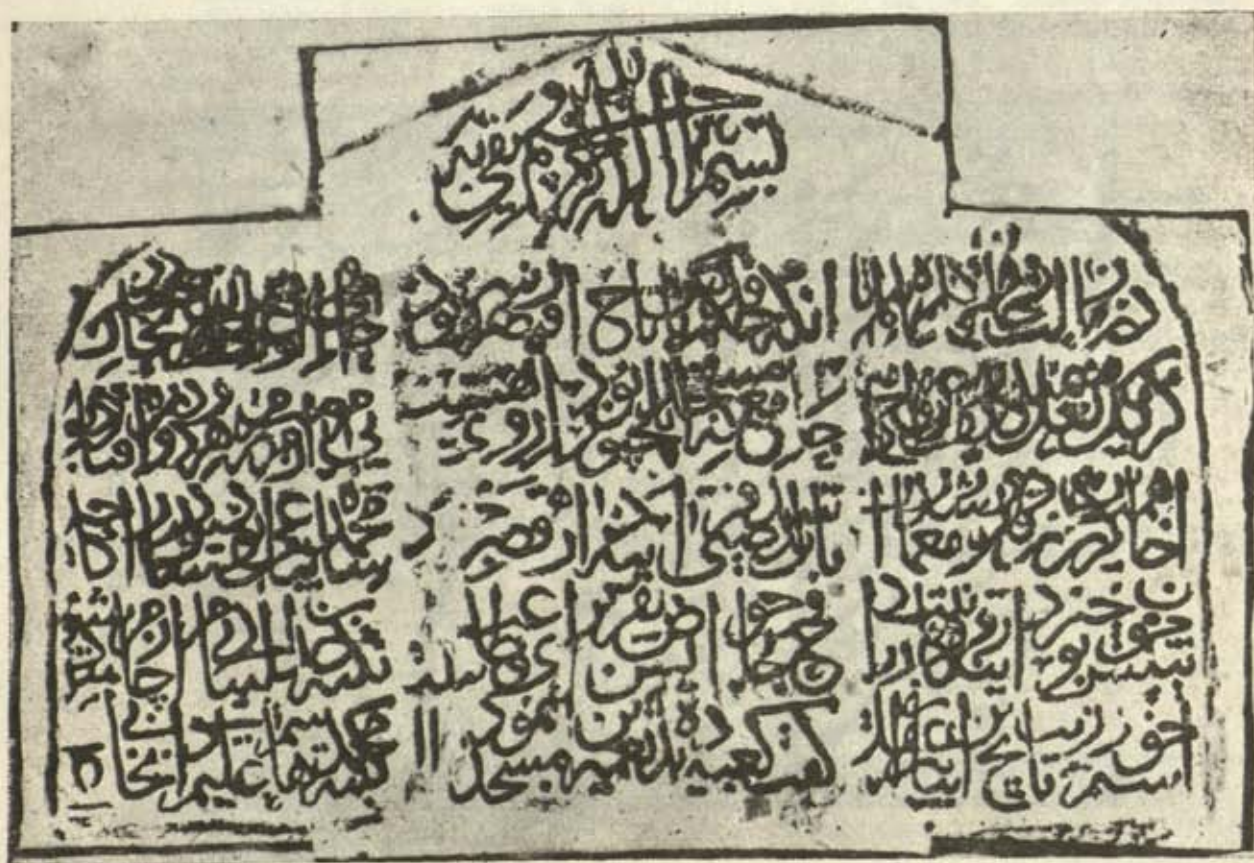


(a) Record of Aurangzeb, dated regnal year 42, from Karanja (p. 72)



SCALE : 16

(b) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 1108, from Ellichpur (p. 70)



SCALE : 13







(2) Through the kindness of Shāh 'Ālamgīr, Rustam Khān became the lord (i.e. fief-holder).<sup>1</sup>  
The Makka gate

(3-4) of the *qasba* Kāranja-Bībī was completed in the time of Qāḍī Bashīru'llāh, the *faujdār*,  
(in the) auspicious regnal year fortytwo, 42 (A. H. 1109=3 March 1698-20 February 1699)  
.....May the end be good !

As stated above, both Rustam Khān and Bashīru'llāh find mention in two inscriptions from Kāranja. The former is mentioned therein as the *jāgirdār* of the place, which fact also is more or less conveyed in the present epigraph, by the word *makhdūm* (lord) used for him. It is difficult to say if our Rustam Khān is identical with Sayyid Rustam Khān Dakhanī, Firūz Jang's deputy in Berar sometime after the 33rd regnal year of Aurangzeb, who held Balapur and other places in his fief.<sup>2</sup> About Bashīru'llāh, it is only from these three epigraphs that we know of his tenure as *faujdār* of the place, at least during the regnal years 42-43.

#### V-VI. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 1180, FROM ELLICHPUR

The fifth and sixth inscriptions, with which the present study concludes, are again from Ellichpur. They were engraved in the reign of the Mughal emperor Shāh 'Ālam II (1759-1806) and as such, are important in showing that the Mughal emperor, despite his dwindling authority, was still acknowledged as, if nothing more, a titular head by Nawwāb Nizāmu'd-Daula Bahādur Āṣaf Jāh II of Hyderabad, who was the virtual master of the Berar province.

The tablets of these two records flank the Hirāpūra gate of the town. Both the epigraphs contain the same purport, which runs to the effect that in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam, Nawwāb Amīr Nizāmu'd-Daula Bahādur Āṣaf Jāh instructed Nawwāb Ismā'il Khān Bahādur, the governor (*nāzim*) of the province (*sūba*) of Berar, to strengthen the fort of Ellichpur (Ellichpur) and reconstruct the Hirāpūra gate, and accordingly, the work was carried out by Khūshkhabar Khān in the year A. H. 1180 (1766-67).

The tablet, fixed on the right side of the gate,<sup>3</sup> measures 50 by 70 cm. and is inscribed with a nine-line Persian text in prose and verse. Its purport is more detailed than that of the other record, in that it mentions the construction of the gate and also its name and gives the name and titles of the Āṣaf Jāhī chief and his Berar governor.

The style of writing is pleasing *Nasta'liq*. The letters are damaged by the weathering of the stone, but that has not affected the decipherment of the text which is quoted below :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XIX(a)

- (۱) بعهد شاه [ه] عالم [باد] شاه حسب [۱] لحکم  
(۲) نواب نظام الد [و] له بهادر آصفجه  
(۳) باسمعل خان بهادر [د] ناظم صوبه برار  
(۴) از سر نو بنیا [د] ی (۴) [دروا] زه هیراپور [ره]

<sup>1</sup> This is in verse and forms one hemistich.

<sup>2</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 504.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 103.



- (۵) فرمود [د با] ستصو [ا] ب خوش خبر خان  
 (۶) زینت است [م] گرفت در سال  
 (۷) هزار و یکصد و هشتاد [د] سن هجر نبوی  
 (۸) بجستم [چو] تاریخ سال بنایش  
 (۹) ندا داد هاتف [خج] سته همایون

## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh. By order.  
 (2) Nawwāb Nizāmu'd-Daula Bahādur Āṣaf Jāh ordered  
 (3) Ismā'il Khān Bahādur, the governor (*nāzim*) of the province (*gūba*) of Berār,  
 (4) to construct afresh the Hirāpūra gate.  
 (5) (Consequently), in the charge of Khūshkhabar Khān,  
 (6) it received the beauty of strengthening, in the year  
 (7) one thousand and one hundred and eighty from the Migration of the Prophet (A.H. 1180=1766-67 A.D.).  
 (8) (Verse :) When I asked the date of its construction,  
 (9) the Angel of the Unseen, replied, 'It is auspicious (and) fortunate'.

The chronogram contained in the last line works out to A.H. 1180, also given in figure.

The second inscription of the Hirāpūra gate and the last of the study is fixed on its left side.<sup>1</sup> It is engraved on a tablet measuring 50 by 70 cm. and consists of three couplets in Persian followed by the date-figure. Its purport is same as in its above-mentioned counterpart, but here the Āṣaf Jāhī chief and its Berar governor are only mentioned by the titles Āṣaf Jāh and Nawwāb Ismā'il Khān respectively, and it only states that the former had ordered the 'strengthening of the fort' and does not make any reference to the gate. The date is also contained in the chronogram occurring in the last hemistich.

The style of writing of this record is also beautiful *Nasta'liq*. Its text reads as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate XIX(b)

- (۱) در زمان [ن] شاه عالم خسرو گیتی ستان  
 (۲) امر آصف جاء اشجع چون بناظم شد عیان

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 104. Its text is also quoted on page 47 in an Urdu work on the life of the patron-saint of Ellichpur, entitled *Tadhkira-i-Rahmānī* by M. Mahtāb Khān of Ellichpur. It was printed at Banaras and published by the author in 1958.

- (۳) بہر ایچپور پر نور انتظام قلعہ را  
 (۴) کرد فکریمنصرف نواب اسماعیلخان  
 (۵) عزم تجویز چو ناظم خوشخبر خانرا نمود  
 (۶) رونق شہری شدہ تاریخ این عظیمکان  
 (۷) سنہ ۱۱۸۰

## TRANSLATION

- (1) During the time of Shāh 'Ālam, the world-conquering monarch,  
 (2) when the order of Āṣaf Jāh, the bravest, was made obvious to the governor (*nāzim*)  
 (3) for strengthening the fort of Ellichpur (Ellichpur) which is full of light,  
 (4) Nawwāb Ismā'il Khān thought of its compliance.  
 (5) When the governor (*nāzim*) conveyed his decision on the proposal to Khushkhabar Khān,  
 (6) (it was carried out and) the 'splendour of the city' became the date of this exalted edifice.  
 (7) Year (A.H.) 1180 (1766-67).

About the personages mentioned in the record, Āṣaf Jāh II does not need any introduction. The Berar governor on his behalf, Ismā'il Khān Bahādur, the Pannī Afghān, is also quite well-known. He came into conflict with the governor of the neighbouring province Zafaru'd-Daula, who suspected that he was harbouring the rebels of Nirmal. Zafaru'd-Daula, without waiting for the permission of the minister Ruknu'd-Daula to march against him which he had asked for, went and besieged him in Ellichpur in June 1773, but through the intervention of the minister, a truce was made. In 1775, the Āṣaf Jāh appointed his eldest son as the governor of Berar in place of Ismā'il Khān, confining him to the fiefship of Balapur, but he refused to obey. Zafaru'd-Daula was sent to Ellichpur and closely followed by Āṣaf Jāh himself. Ultimately, in the middle of May 1775, Ismā'il Khān fell in an engagement.<sup>1</sup> It may be mentioned that he finds mention as governor in some more inscriptions from Ellichpur which omit to mention the sovereignty of the Mughal emperor.<sup>2</sup>

Khushkhabar Khān, through whom the reconstruction was carried out, is not mentioned in historical works. But according to the inscription of the Mālīpūra gate of Ellichpur, which was also constructed, under his supervision, by Ismā'il Khān under orders of Āṣaf Jāh II in A.H. 1184 (1770-71), he was the 'āmīl of the *pargana* of Ellichpur.<sup>3</sup> Incidentally, the inscription under reference is the earliest of the Āṣaf Jāhī records at Ellichpur which omit the name of Shāh 'Ālam II.

<sup>1</sup> For details, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 370-71; M. Najmu'l-Ghārī, *Tārīkh-i Riyāsat-i-Haidarābād-i-Dakan*, vol. II (Lucknow, 1930), pp. 349-50; Fitzgerald and Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-3.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1964-65, Nos. D, 105, 109, 110. For other inscriptions mentioning him and also for epitaphs of his descendants, see *ibid.*, 1959-60, Nos. D, 66, 67, 73-83, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1964-65, No. D, 105.



# INDEX

	PAGE		PAGE
<b>A</b>			
Abū Bakr, Ḥaḍrat, first caliph . . . . .	68	Aḥmad Nizām Shāh I, Ahmadnagar ruler . . . . .	43, 45, 51, 54
Abdāl, in Sufi terminology . . . . .	18, 19, 20	Aḥmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk Bahri, Malik, founder of Nizām Shāhi dynasty, also see Aḥmad Nizām Shāh I . . . . .	43
'Abdu'llāh, Bābā, son of Khairāt Khān . . . . .	62, 64	Ajmer, in Rajasthan . . . . .	1, 3, 10, 12, 13, 14, 19, 20, 23
'Abdu'llāh, Quṭb Shāhi ruler . . . . .	64	Ākār, in Nasik district of Maharashtra . . . . .	51
'Abdu'llāh Makki, great grand-father of Jujhār Khān . . . . .	41	Ākat Khān, title of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khālji's nephew Sulaimān Shāh . . . . .	17
'Abdu'l-Latif, entitled Jamshīd Khān, see Jamshīd Khān . . . . .	..	Akbar, Mughal emperor . . . . .	21, 25, 26, 66
'Abdul, Shaikh, see Shaikh 'Abdul . . . . .	..	Ākḥurbek-i-maisara, a post . . . . .	3, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17
Abdu'r-Rahmān, son of Abū Bakr . . . . .	41	Akola, a district in Maharashtra . . . . .	68, 72
Abū Aḥmad, kunya of Sūfi Ḥamidu'd-Dīn Nāgaūri (s.v.) . . . . .	18 (f.n. 1)	'Ālam, Miyān Shaikh . . . . .	31, 32
Abū Bakr, father of 'Abdu'r-Rahmān . . . . .	41	'Ālam Shāh, see 'Alāu'd-Dīn 'Ālam Shāh . . . . .	..
Abu'l-Faḍl, a composer . . . . .	58-60	'Ālamgir, Shāh, Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (s.v.) . . . . .	67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73
Abu'l-Faḍl, Qāḍi, see Abu'l-Faḍl . . . . .	..	'Alāu'd-Dīn, Khālji, Delhi Sultān . . . . .	2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13 (f.n. 5), 15, (& f.n. 2), 17, 23, 24
Abu'l-Ḥasan, Sultān, last Quṭb Shāhi ruler . . . . .	71	'Alāu'd-Dīn 'Ālam Shāh, Sayyid king, tomb of, at Budaun . . . . .	33, 34
Abu'l-Khair Aḥmad, a scribe . . . . .	30	'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaḥḥar, Muḥammad Shāh, Delhi Sultān . . . . .	3, 4
Abu'l-Mujāhid, kunya of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh (s.v.) . . . . .	13, 20	Al-Fakhri, see also Fakhri . . . . .	3
Abu'l-Muzaḥḥar, kunya of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khālji . . . . .	4	'Ali, Ḥaḍrat, fourth caliph . . . . .	50, 52, 56, 68
—, kunya of Muḥarak Shāh Khālji . . . . .	8	'Ali, Mongol invader . . . . .	14
—, kunya of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh . . . . .	13	Aligarh, inscription from . . . . .	39, 40 (f.n. 1, 2)
Abū Rajā, Malik Mujir, Tughluq official . . . . .	24	'Ali Mardān-Khāni, title of Mir Ḥusaini . . . . .	70, 71, 72
Ādam, son of Jumman Madāri . . . . .	31	'Ali, Mardān-Khāni, epithet of Muḥammad Ḥāshim (s.v.) . . . . .	70, 71, 72
'Ādil, title of Sher Shāh . . . . .	38, 39	'Ali, Tāju'd-Dīn, Khālji governor . . . . .	3, 10
'Ādil Shāh, Bijapur ruler . . . . .	57	'Ambar, Malik, Nizām Shāhi minister . . . . .	44, 57, 58, 59
Afghān, a dynasty . . . . .	25, 27, 39 (f.n. 1)	Amber, near Jaipur in Rajasthan . . . . .	21
Aḥḥātūn Khān, Nizām Shāhi governor of Galna . . . . .	44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49	'Āmil' a post . . . . .	75
Agra, in Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	37, 38 (f.n. 2), 64	Amir Khusrāw, see Khusrāw . . . . .	..
Aḥmad Khān Lodi, A'zam Ḥumāyūn, Nawwāb, Budaun inscription of . . . . .	32, 33, 34 & (f.n. 2), 35, 36	Amirū'l-Umarā, a post . . . . .	27
Aḥmad Khān, uncle of Buhlāl Lodi . . . . .	34	Amner, in Amraoti district of Maharashtra . . . . .	66, 67, 68, 69
Aḥmad Khān, son of Khān Jahān, a Lodi nobleman . . . . .	34 (f.n. 2)	Amraoti, in Maharashtra . . . . .	66, 67, 70
Aḥmad Khān, Niyāzi, son of Muḥammad Khān Niyāzi, . . . . .	66	Amroha, in Moradabad district of Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	39
Ahmadnagar . . . . .	44, 45		

# INDEX

	PAGE
Amthua, in Gaya district of Bihar, inscription from . . . . .	27, 33
Andhra Pradesh, State of . . . . .	65
Antur, fort, in Aurangabad district . . . . .	43
Āqā Sulaimān, tomb of, at Galna . . . . .	44, 56, 57, 58
Arsalān Khān, Mamlūk governor of Bayana . . . . .	24
Arvi, in Wardha district of Maharashtra . . . . .	66
Āsaf Jāh, Nawwāb Nizāmu'd-Daula Bahādur, Nizām of Hyderabad . . . . .	73, 74, 75
Āsaf Jāhī, a dynasty . . . . .	73, 74, 75
Ashraf, Malik, Bahmani governor . . . . .	43
Ashti, in Wardha district . . . . .	66 (& f.n. 4)
A's-Sa'īdi, see Sa'īdi . . . . .	..
Atābak, name of a Khālji noble so transcribed . . . . .	16
Atābek, variant of Nānak (s.v.) . . . . .	15, 16
Auḥadī, chiefs of Bayana . . . . .	1 (f.n. 2), 24
Auḥad Kīān, founder of the Auḥadī dynasty . . . . .	24
Aurang Shāh, Ālamgīr, emperor Aurangzeb (s.v.) . . . . .	67, 68
Aurangzeb, Mughal emperor . . . . .	5, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73
A'zam Humāyūn, Ahmad Khān, see Ahmad Khān . . . . .	..

## B

Bābā 'Abdu'llāh, see 'Abdu'llāh, Bābā . . . . .	..
Bābā Badr, see Badr . . . . .	..
Bābak, name of a Khālji noble so transcribed . . . . .	16
Bābur, Mughal emperor . . . . .	21 (& f.n. 6), 25 (f.n. 3)
Badhnur, in Madhya Pradesh . . . . .	67, 69
Badr, Bābā, dargah of, at Nagaur . . . . .	..
Baglana, fort, in Nasik district . . . . .	43
Bahāu'd-Dīn Tughril, Malik, see Tughril . . . . .	..
Bahmani, a dynasty . . . . .	43
Bahrām Shāh, Ghaznavid king . . . . .	5
Bakht Singh, Mahārāja, of Jodhpur . . . . .	5
Balapur, in Akola district of Maharashtra . . . . .	73, 75
Balban, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn, Sultān of Delhi . . . . .	2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 23, 24
Balban, 'Izzu'd-Dīn . . . . .	5, 23
Bānak or Bānakā, variant of Nānak (s.v.) . . . . .	16
Bandar-i-Abbās, port in Iran . . . . .	64

	PAGE
Bari Khatu, in Nagaur district of Rajasthan, inscriptions from . . . . .	1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 19, 20
Bashīru'llāh, Qāḍī, faujdār . . . . .	72, 73
Batani, clan-name . . . . .	38, 39
Bayana, in Bharatpur district of Rajasthan, inscriptions from . . . . .	1 (& f.n. 2), 2, 3, 7, 20, 21, 24 (& f.n. 1)
Bayyū, Malik, governor of Bihar . . . . .	31
Bāzid Nūbānī, Shaikh, Khidr Khailī, a builder . . . . .	28, 29
Bengal, Sultān of . . . . .	25 (& f.n. 1)
Be'ar, a region in Maharashtra . . . . .	70 (& f.n. 1), 71, 73, 74, 75
Betul, district in Madhya Pradesh . . . . .	69, 70
Bharatpur, erstwhile state and district in Rajasthan . . . . .	1, 2, 24
Bhārjī, Rāthor, Rājas, of Baglana . . . . .	43
Bidnur, see Gori-Bidnur . . . . .	..
Bihar, state . . . . .	11, 25, 26 (& f.n. 2), 27 (& f.n. 2), 28, 30, 31, 32, 37, 57
Bihar Sharif, in Patna district of Bihar . . . . .	26, 31
Bijaimandirgarh fort, at Bayana, inscriptions from . . . . .	24 (& f.n. 1)
Bijapur district, in Mysore . . . . .	57, 69
Bikaner, district in Rajasthan . . . . .	4
Budaun, Uttar Pradesh, inscriptions from . . . . .	28, 32 (& f.n. 2), 34, (& f.n. 2), 35, 36, 40, 41
Buddhan, Shaikh, entitled Jujhār Khān . . . . .	41
Budh, Khwāja, Chāyanda, a saint . . . . .	28, 29
Buhlāl Shāh, Lodī king . . . . .	32, 34 (& f.n. 2), 37, 38
Burhān, Nizām Shāh I, Ahmadnagar ruler . . . . .	43, 51, 54
—, Nizām Shāh III . . . . .	44, 45, 58, 59
Burhanpur, in Madhya Pradesh . . . . .	66 (f.n. 4), 71

## C

Chāshnigīr, a post . . . . .	36, 37 (& f.n. 1)
Champaran, in Bihar . . . . .	37
Chaksu, variant for Chatsu (s.v.) . . . . .	21
Chanda, a district in Maharashtra . . . . .	69
Chatsu, in Jaipur district, inscriptions from . . . . .	2, 20, 21, 22
Chausa, in Shahabad district of Bihar . . . . .	29
Chāyanda, Budh, see Budh, Chāyanda . . . . .	..
Chimni Khān, tomb of, at Budaun . . . . .	35, 40
Chindwara, a district, in Madhya Pradesh . . . . .	69, 70



	PAGE		PAGE
Chitorgarh, a district, in Rajasthan	1, 2, 8, 11	<i>Faujdar</i> , a post	27, 72, 73
Chonda, Rao, Jodhpur ruler	23	Firuz, father of Sipahsalar Muhammad	10
D		Firuz, Maliku'l-Umarā, <i>shah-nabek</i> and <i>sipahsalar</i>	3, 8, 9, 10
Dādū, Malik Miyān, <i>Chāshnigir</i> of Sikandar Lodi	36, 37	Firuz Jang, Mughal official	73
Dāru'l-Karāmāt, a tomb at Nagaur so called	18, 19	Firuz-Sāghar, name of a tank	8, 9
Daryā Khān, son of Mubarak Khān, Nūhānī, Lodi governor	26, 27 (& f. n. 2), 31, 32	Firuz Shāh, Tughluq king	2, 6, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24
Daryā Khān Zangī, Hūd, Nūhānī Khāss Khail, mentioned in an ins- cription	31, 32	Fulād Khān, variant for Palād Khān (s. v.)	51, 54, 55, 56
Dastūr Khān, governor of Galna	43, 60	G	
Dā'ud, Malik, governor of Jalor under Tughluqs	23	Galna, fort in Nasik district	43 (& f. n. 2, 9), 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60
Dā'ūd Abdāl, Mirān, a scribe	28, 29	Gaur, in Malda district of West Bengal	27
Daulat, Lodi, Afghān, father of Mah- mūd	66, 67	Gawilgarh, in Amraoti district	70
Daulatabad, in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra	14, 17 (f. n. 5), 43	Gayā, a district, in Bihar	27
Daulat Khān, believed to be a builder	35	Glālib Khān, Nizām Shāhī official	48 (& f. n. 1)
Deccan, a region	12 (f. n. 1), 14, 28, 33, 44, 46 (& f. n. 3.), 55, 56, 57	Ghanam, Mr. N. G.	1, 6
Delhi, Sultāns of	1, 5, 9, 10, 13, 23, 26 (f. n. 3)	Glāzi Malik, title of Tughluq	17
Didwana, in Nagaur district	1	Glaznavid, a dynasty	5
Dādū, mother of Jalāl Khān Nūhānī	28	Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn, title of Balban (s. v.)	2, 5, 9
E		Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn, title of Tughluq Shāh (s. v.)	2, 6, 8, 9, 14
Ellichpur, in Amraoti district	66, 70 (& f. n. 1), 71, 73, 74 (f. n. 1), 75	Ghiyāthū'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l- Muzaffar, <i>kunya</i> and titles of Tugh- luq Shāh (s. v.)	2, 6, 8, 9 11, 14
Etab, district, in Uttar Pradesh	28	Ghulām Khān, mosque of, at Mandor	23
F		Gori-Bidnur, in Tumkur district of Mysore	69
Faḍlu'llāh Gosā'in, Shāh, a saint, dargāh of, at Bihar Sharif	26	Goleonda, near Hyderabad	65
Fakhr, father of Sirāj and grand- father of Mu'ayyad	12, 13	Gosā'in, Shāh Faḍlu'llāh see Faḍlu'llāh	..
Fakhri, name so read	3	Gujarat, region	5, 11, 27 (f. n. 4)
Farid, name of Sher Shāh Sūr	25	Gulbarga, in Mysore State	69
Faridu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l- Muzaffar 'Adil, <i>kunya</i> and titles of Sher Shāh (s. v.)	38, 39	Gurg 'Alī Shāh, tomb of, at Chatau	21 (& f. n. 3)
Faridūn, Iranian king	27	H	
Fath Khān, son of Malik 'Ambar (s. v.)	44 59	Haḍrat-i-'Alī Sher Khān, son of Hasan Sūr, see also Sher Shāh	23, 29
Fatḥu'llāh, Miyān, builder	41	Hāfiz Mu'inu'd-Dīn, of Nagaur	7
Fatḥu'llāh, Khwājagi, Mughal official	44	Hājiz Khān, name Jujhār Khān so transcribed	42
		Hajbat Khān, Nizām Shāhī official	44, 49, 50 51, 56
		Hāji Khān, builder	26, 27 (& f. n. 4)
		Hāji Khān Tarin, Lodi official	27

	PAGE		PAGE
Hakimi, a composer . . . . .	47,	Ismā'il, a builder . . . . .	30
	48 (& f. n. 1)	Ismā'il Khān, Niyāzi, Mughal noble- man . . . . .	69
Hamidu'd-Din Suwālī Shūfi, Nāgaūri, Hadrat, a saint . . . . .	18 (& f. n. 1)	Ismā'il Khān Pannī, Afghān, Āsaf Jāhī governor of Ellīchpur . . . . .	73, 74, 75
Hamza, Malik Karīmū'd-Dīn, Mamlūk governor . . . . .	5	'Izzu'd-Dīn Balban, Malik, see Balban . . . . .	3
Hasan Sūr, father of Hadrat-i-'Alī Sher Khān . . . . .	29	Jahāngīr, Mughal emperor . . . . .	25, 31 (f. n. 1)
Hijāz Khān, name Jujhār Khān so transcribed . . . . .	42	Jahjāz Khān, name Jujhār Khān so transcribed . . . . .	42
Hilsa, in Patna district, inscriptions from . . . . .	30	Jaipur, erstwhile state and district in Rajasthan, inscriptions from . . . . .	1, 2, 20, 21
Hindaun, in Sawai Madhopur district of Rajasthan . . . . .	1, 11	Jalāl Khān Nūhānī, official under Lodīs and Sūras . . . . .	27, 28
Humāyūn, Mughal emperor . . . . .	25 (f. n. 3), 27	Jalālū'd-Dīn, Khaljī king . . . . .	23
Husain, a builder . . . . .	67, 68, 69	Jalor, district in Rajasthan, inscrip- tions from . . . . .	1, 7, 8, 11, 23
Husain Chishtī, Khwāja . . . . .	18	Jamālū'd-Dīn Shamsu'l-'Arifin, a saint . . . . .	40
Husain Farmulī, Miyān, fief-holder of Saran under Lodīs . . . . .	37	Jamshīd Khān, Nizām Shāhī official . . . . .	44, 58, 59, 60
Husain Nizām I, Ahmadnagar ruler . . . . .	43 (& f. n. 9)	Jana, in Patna district of Bihar, ins- cription from . . . . .	29, 30
Husain Shāh, Sharqī, Jaunpur ruler . . . . .	34	Jaunpur, district, in Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	27 (& f. n. 2), 34, 38
Hūshī Shīrāzī, composer and scribe . . . . .	45, 46	Jeddah, a city in Saudi Arabia . . . . .	65
Hyderabad, in Andhra Pradesh . . . . .	61, 62 64, 73	Jhajjār Khān, name Jujhār Khān so transcribed . . . . .	42
I		Jhujhār Khān, variant for Jujhār Khān (s. v.) . . . . .	40
Ibrāhīm Shāh, Lodi king . . . . .	27, 37, 38	Jodhpur, erstwhile state and district, in Rajasthan . . . . .	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 20, 22
Ibrāhīm Sūr, Prince . . . . .	39	Jujhār Khān, title of Shaikh Buddhan, son of Sa'du'llāh . . . . .	41, 42
Ikat Khān, see Akat Khān . . . . .	..	Jūmman, supervisor of construction . . . . .	35, 36
Ikhtiyār Khān Karrānī, grandfather of Dādū Mīlk . . . . .	36, 37	Jumman, Madārī, Shāh, a saint . . . . .	31, 32
Ellīchpur, see Ellīchpur . . . . .	..	K	
'Imī, Mīr Murtaḍā, a poet and fief- holder of Budaun . . . . .	41	Kachhwāhās, a Rajput clan . . . . .	21
Itutmīsh, Shamsu'd-Dīn, Mamlūk king . . . . .	2, 23	Kāfūr, Malik, Khaljī general . . . . .	15 (f. n. 1), 16
'Imād Shāhī, a dynasty . . . . .	70	Kaman, in Bharatpur district, inscrip- tions from . . . . .	1
'Imādu'l-Mulk, father of Malik-i-Sharq 'Imādu'l-Mulk . . . . .	33	Kandahar, in Nander district . . . . .	51
'Imādu'l-Mulk, Malik-i-Sharq . . . . .	33, 34, 35	Kara-Manikpur, in Allahabad district of Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	27
Imām, title used for Sher Shāh . . . . .	38, 39	Karanja, in Akola district, inscriptions from . . . . .	66, 72, 73
Imām Khwājā Budh Chāyanda, see Budh . . . . .	..	Kāranja-Bībī, Karanja so called . . . . .	72, 73
Iqtā' . . . . .	3, 10, 13, 14	Karīmū'd-Dīn, father of Zainu'l-'Abīdīn . . . . .	40
Iran . . . . .	64 (& f. n. 2), 65		
Ishṭurānīs, Afghān clan . . . . .	25		
Iskandar, variant for Sikandar (s. v.), Lodi king . . . . .	27, 38		
Islām Shāh, Sūr king . . . . .	29,		
	38 (& f. n. 2), 40, 41		



	PAGE
Karīmū'd-Dīn Ḥamza, Malik, see Ḥamza . . . . .	..
Kārkard, meaning of the term . . . . .	12 (f. n. 1)
Karrānī, an Afghān clan . . . . .	25
Khairāt Khān, Quṭb Shāhī nobleman . . . . .	61, 62, 63, 64 (& f. n. 2), 65
Khalaṣu'l-Mulūk, sobriquet . . . . .	8, 9, 10
Khalji, a dynasty . . . . .	1, 2, 5, 7, 13, 17, 23, 24
Khān-i-A'zam Shāhbāz Khān, see Shāhbāz Khān . . . . .	..
Khān-i-Jahān, father of Ahmad Khān . . . . .	34 (f. n. 2)
Khān-i-Zamān, Sayyid . . . . .	57, 60
Khānzādas of Nagaur, a dynasty . . . . .	5 (& f. n. 3), 6
Khatu, see Bari Khatu . . . . .	..
Khiḍr, Khwāja, Prophet . . . . .	47, 48
Khiḍr Khaḷī, nisba of Bāzid Nūḥānī . . . . .	28, 29
Khusraw, Amīr . . . . .	7, 14 (& f. n. 3), 15, 16, 17 (& f. n. 3)
Khwāja Budh, a saint, see Budh . . . . .	..
Khwāja Faṭḥu'llāh, see Faṭḥu'llāh . . . . .	..
Khwāja Ḥusain Chishtī, see Ḥusain Chishtī . . . . .	..
Khwāja Jahār, prime-minister of Firūz Tughluq . . . . .	22
Khwāja Khiḍr, see Khiḍr . . . . .	..
Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān, see Maḥmūd Gāwān . . . . .	..
Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī, see Mu'īnu'd-Dīn . . . . .	..
Khushkhabar Khān, an official . . . . .	73, 74, 75
Khusraw Khān, predecessor of Tughluq Shāh . . . . .	10 (f. n. 1)
Kishan Singh, Rāja of Chanda . . . . .	67, 68, 69
Kishan Singh Hādā, Rāja, a Mughal mansabdār . . . . .	69
Kishlū Khān, Mamlūk governor . . . . .	5
Koīl, old name of Aligarh . . . . .	39
Koī, variant for Koīl . . . . .	39

## L

Ladnun, in Nagaur district, inscrip- tions from . . . . .	1, 7 (f. n. 3)
La'l Khān, Mughal official . . . . .	67, 68, 69

	PAGE
Lodī, a dynasty and clan . . . . .	25 26 (& f. n. 3), 27, 32, 34 (& f. n. 2), 36, 37, 38, 66, 67
M	
Madāriyya, order, of mystics . . . . .	32
Madhya Pradesh, State of . . . . .	28, 69
Maghūlā, father of Malik Dādō, the Chāshnigār . . . . .	36, 37
Maḥaldār, a post . . . . .	44
Maḥaldār Khān, the son . . . . .	57
—, the father, Nizām Shāhī official . . . . .	44, 56, 57, 58
Maḥārāja Bakht Sing, see Bakht Singh . . . . .	..
Maḥārāja of Jodhpur . . . . .	6
Maharashtra, State of . . . . .	43, 51, 66
Maḥbubnagar, in Andhra Pradesh . . . . .	65
Maḥmūd, son of Daulat Afghān, a builder . . . . .	66, 67
Maḥmūd Gāwān, Khwāja, Bahmanī minister . . . . .	43
Maḥmūd Khān, Nizām Shāhī official . . . . .	44, 59, 60
Maḥmūd Qattāl, Ḥaḍrat, a saint . . . . .	11
Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluq, Delhi Sultān . . . . .	24
Mājhi, a supervisor of a construction . . . . .	35, 36
Majlis-i-'Alī, a title . . . . .	37, 38
Makan, Miyān, Majlis-i-'Alī Zafar Khān, Lodī official . . . . .	37, 38
Makhan, variant for Makan . . . . .	38
Makhdūm Ḥusain Nāgaurī, a saint . . . . .	7, 18 (& f. n. 5), 19
Makkhan, variant for Makan . . . . .	38
Malik Ahmad, Nizāmu'l-Mulk Babri, see Ahmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk . . . . .	..
Malik 'Ambar, see 'Ambar . . . . .	..
Malik Ashraf, see Ashraf . . . . .	..
Malik Bahāu'd-Dīn Tughril, see Tughril . . . . .	..
Malik Bayyū, see Bayyū . . . . .	..
Malik Dā'ūd, see Dā'ūd . . . . .	..
Malik 'Izzu'd-Dīn Balban, see Balban, 'Izzu'd-Dīn . . . . .	..
Malik Kāfūr, see Kāfūr . . . . .	..
Malik Karīmū'd-Dīn Ḥamza, see Ḥamza . . . . .	..
Malik Mānik Shāhbāz Khānī, see Mānik . . . . .	..
Malik Mujir Abū Rajā, see Mujir . . . . .	..
Malik Muzaḥfar, see Muzaḥfar . . . . .	..
Malik Nā'ib, title of Kāfūr Ḥazār Dināri, Khalji official . . . . .	14, 15 (& f. n. 1), 16, 17

	PAGE		PAGE
Malik Nānak Sultānī, see Nānak	..	Mu'ayyad, son of Sirāj, <i>muḥarrir</i>	12, 13
Malik Nāyak, see Nāyak	..	Mubārak Khān Nūhānī, Lodī governor	27
Malik Qirān, see Qirān	..	Mubārak Shāh, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Quṭbū'd-	
Malik Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, title of		Dīn, Sultān of Delhi	2, 7, 8, 10, 14
Ma'ik Nānak	12, 13, 14	Mughal, a dynasty	17, 21, 24,
—, title of Malik Qirān	14	25, 27, 31 (f.n. 1), 40 (f.n. 2), 44 (& f.n. 3),	
Malik Ghāzī Tughluq, see Ghāzī Malik	..	57, 59, 60, 64, 66, 73, 75	
Malik Wajih, see Wajih	..	Muḥammad, the Prophet	30, 31, 35,
Maliku'l-Umarā, title of Firūz, son of		38, 39, 41, 68	
Muḥammad	8, 9, 10	Muḥammad, a builder	3, 4
—, title of Nānak Sultānī (s.v.)	12, 13, 14	Muḥammad, father of Maliku'l-Umarā	
Maliku'ḥ- <i>Sharg</i> , a title	9, 22	Firuz	3, 8, 10
—, title of 'Imādu'l-Mulk	33, 34	Muḥammad Bahlīm, Ghaznavid	
Malwa, a region	27 (f.n. 4)	governor	5
Mamlūk, a dynasty	1, 5, 13, 40 (f.n. 2)	Muḥammad Bidār Bakht, Mughal	
Ma'mūra, administrative unit	12, 13	prince	71
Manā Husainī, Sayyid, father of		Muḥammad bin Sām, Sultān, of Delhi	2 (f.n. 6),
Ismā'il	49, 50, 52, 54, 55	5, 6, 24	
Mandor, in Dohpur district	2, 20, 22,		
23 (& f.n. 3)		Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh, Sultān	
Mānik, variant for Nānak	15, 16, 17	of Delhi	2, 3, 10, 11,
Mānik, Malik, Shahbāz Khānī	28, 29	12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 71	
Mardānshah, Ruknu'd-Dīn, a bui'der	37, 38	Muḥammad Hāshim 'Alī Mardān Kīānī,	
Ma'gūm, Mīr Muḥammad, inscription of	21	a scribe	70, 71, 72
Mas'ūd Khān, Batanī, a Sūr noble	38, 39	Muḥammad Khān, so-called Mughal	
Masulipatam, in Kistna district of		official	44 (f.n. 4)
Andhra Pradesh	65	Muḥammad Khān, Niyāzī, Jāgīrdār of	
Mati, Batanī so read	38	Ashti	66, 69
Mecca, Hagar's well at, in Saudi Arabia	71 (f.n. 1)	Muḥammad Ma'gūm, Mīr, see Ma'gūm	..
Medta, in Nagaur district	3, 10	Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, Golconda ruler	63, 65
Merwara, a region	69	Muḥammad Shāh, name of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn	
Mewat, a region	27 (& f.n. 4)	Khalji	3, 4, 6, 7
Mir 'Alī, a Nizām Shāhī official	44, 55	Muḥammad, Shāh III, Bahmanī king	43
Mir Husainī, entitled 'Alī Mardān		Muḥammad, Sipahsālār, son of Firūz	10
Khān, an official	71	<i>Muḥarrir</i> a post	3, 12, 13
Mir Muḥammad Ma'gūm, see Ma'gūm	..	(& f.n. 5)	
Mir Murtaḍā 'Ilmī, see 'Ilmī	..	Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī, Khwāja, the	
Mirān Dā'ūd Abdāl, see Dā'ūd Abdāl	..	famous saint	19
Mirān Sayyid Jumman Madārī, see		Mujir, Abū Rajā, Malik, Tughluq official	20, 24
Jumman, Madārī	..	Mujirū'd-Dīn, see Mujir	..
Miyān Dādū, Malik, see Dādū	..	Mulher, fort, in Nasik district	43
Miyān Fathu'llāh, see Fathu'llāh	..	Mulūk Tālāb, local name of Firūz Shāh	8
Miyān Husain Farmulī, see Husain		Muḥṭī, a post	8, 10, 12, 13
Farmulī	..	Murād, name of a place and a bastion	50
Miyān Makan, Majlis-i-'Alī, Zafar		Murtaḍā 'Ilmī, see 'Ilmī	..
Khān, see Makan	..	Murtaḍā I, Nizām Shāh, Ahmadnagar	
Miyān Shaikh 'Ālam, see 'Ālam	..	king	44, 45, 47, 49,
Mongol, invasion	13, 14, 16	51, 53	
Moradabad, a district in Uttar Pradesh	36	Murtaḍā II, Nizām Shāh, Ahmadnagar	
Morsi, in Amravati district	67	king	44, 56
		Murtazapur, in Akola district	72
		Mushfiq, a composer	56, 58
		Muzaffar, Malik, Tughluq official	24



	PAGE
Muzaffar Shāh, Sultān of Gujarat	5
Mysore, State of	69
N	
Nagaur, district, in Rajasthan	1, 2 (& f.n. 6), 3, 4, 5 (& f.n. 3), 7, 8, 10, 11, 18, 19, 21, 23
Nā'ib—a deputy	27
—, variant for Nānak	15, 16
Nā'ib, Malik, title of Kāfur Hazār Dināri, see Malik Nā'ib	
Nānak Hindī, Malik Nānak so called	14, 15, 16, 17
Nānak Sultānī, Maliku'l-Umarā, Saifu'd- Daulat wa'd-Dīn, Khalji & Tughluq official	3, 12, 13, 14 (& f.n. 1, 2), 15 (& f.n. 6), 16
Nānak, Thakkur, of Daulatabad	17 f.n. 5)
Nander, district, in Maharashtra	51
Narwar, in Sheopuri district of Madhya Pradesh	28
Nasik, district in Maharashtra	43, 44
Nāsir-i-Amīrī'l-Mu'minīn, title of Delhi Sultāns	3, 11
Navranglal Bhat	6
Nawānda, a post	13
Nawwāb Ismā'il Khān Bahādūr, see Ismā'il Khān	
Nawwāb Nizāmu'd-Daula Bahādūr, see Āṣaf Jāh II	
Nāyak, variant for Nānak	15 (& f.n. 3), 16
Nāyak, Malik, see Nāyak	
Niyāzi, clan-name	66 (& f.n. 4), 69
Nirmal, in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh	75
Nizām Shāhī, a dynasty	43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 57, 59
Nizāmu'd-Daula Bahādūr, see Āṣaf Jāh	
Nizāmu'l-Mulk Bahri, Malik Ahmad, see Ahmad, Nizāmu'l-Mulk	
Nūhānī, a clan of the Afghāns	25, 26, 27
Nugrat Khān, Mamlūk governor	24
Nugrat Shāh, Sultān of Bengal	25
Nugratu'd-Dīn Tābisī, Mamlūk governor	24

	PAGE
Pāigāh-i-Khāss-i-Qadīm	3, 8, 10
Pangal, in Mahbubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, inscription from	65
Panjab, a region	5
Pargana, a revenue division	21, 22, 66
Parihar, chiefs of Jodhpur	23
Patna, a district in Bihar	26, 30
Pir Pōlād, dargāh of, at Galna	50, 56
Pōlād, Pir	50, 51
Pōlād Khān, a Nizām Shāhī official	44, 50 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56
Pōlād Khān, father of Pōlād Khān	44, 51, 53, 54
Q	
Qāḍī Abu'l-Faḍl, see Abu'l-Faḍl	
Qāḍī Bishīru'llāh, see Bishīru'llāh	
Qannauj, in Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh	27
Qaraqash Khān, Mamlūk governor	24
Qirān, Malik, Tughluq official	14
Qutb, first in rank in Sūfi hierarchy	18 (f. n. 6)
Qutb Shāhī, a dynasty	61, 63, 64, 71
Qutbu'd-Dīn, title of Mubārak Shāh Khalji	2, 6, 7, 10, 14
Qutbu'd-Dīn Aibak, Sultān of Delhi	40
Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, see Mubārak Shāh	
Qutbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, title of Mubārak Shāh	7
Qutluḡ Khān, Mamlūk governor	24
R	
Rahmatu'llāh, Raunāq Uthmānī	5, 6, 7
Raichur, a district, in Mysore	43, 63
Rāja, of Baglana	43
Rāja Kishan Singh, see Kishan Singh	
Rajasthan, State of, inscriptions from (& f.n. 6), 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 13, 21, 23, 69	1, 2
Rajputana, a region	2
Rājū Dakanī, mahaldār	44 (& f.n. 3)
Rām Rāj, of Vijayanagara	43
Rām Singh, zamīndār of Chanda	69
Rānā Sāngā, of Mewar	38
Rāo Chonda, see Chonda	
Rāthor, chiefs of Jodhpur	23
—, Rājas of Baglana	43
Ruknu'd-Daula, Āṣaf Jāhī minister	75
Ruknu'd-Dīn Mardānshah Zafarābādī, see Mardānshah	

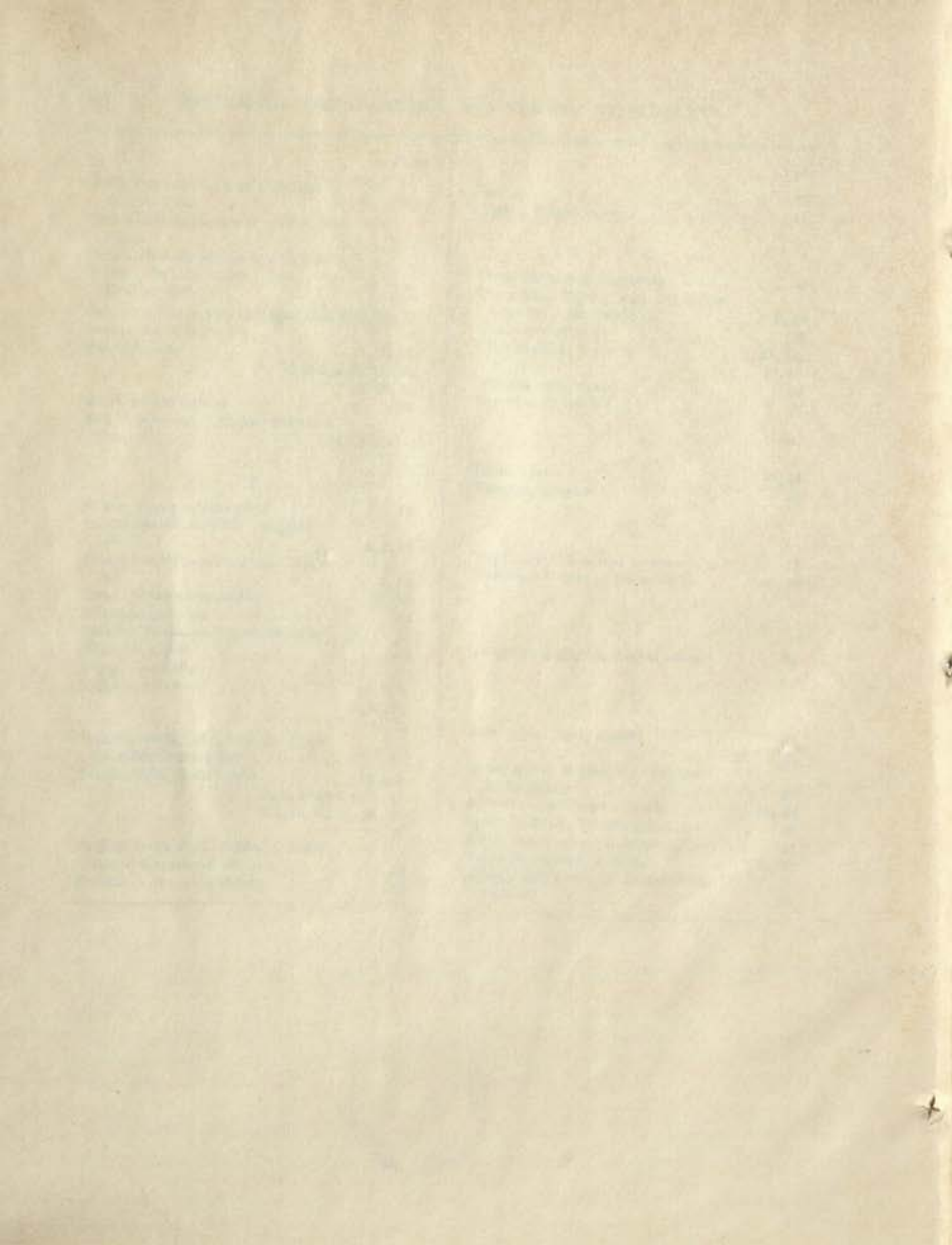
	PAGE		PAGE
Rustam Khān, <i>jāgirdār</i> . . . . .	72, 73	Shāh Muḥammad Baig, Mughal official . . . . .	70, 71, 72
Rustam Khān, Dakhani, Sayyid, deputy of Firūz Jang . . . . .	73	Shāh-i-Mardān, sobriquet of Ḥaḍrat 'Alī . . . . .	50, 52, 56
S		Shāh Jahān, Mughal emperor . . . . .	64
Sa'ādat Khān, Nizām Shāhī official . . . . .	44	Shāhji Bhonsle, Marāṭha chief . . . . .	44
Sa'du'llāh, father of Jujhār Khān . . . . .	41	Shahānabek, a post . . . . .	3, 8, 10
Safdar-Mulk, Malik, title of Malik Qirān . . . . .	14	Shāh Saifi, king of Iran . . . . .	64, 65
Sa'id Baig Badakhshī, Mughal official . . . . .	44	Shaikh 'Abdul, supposed architect of a gate . . . . .	18 (& f. n. 6)
Sa'idi, <i>nieba</i> of Ḥaḍrat Ḥamidu'd-Dīn . . . . .	18 (f. n. 1)	Shaikh 'Ālam, Miyān, see 'Ālam . . . . .	
Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, title of Malik Nānak Sulṭānī . . . . .	3, 12, 13, 14	Shaikh Bāzid Nūhānī, see Bāzid . . . . .	
—, title of Malik Qirān . . . . .	14	Shaikh Buddhan Quraishī Siddiqī, full name of Shamsu'd-Dīn Jujhār Khān . . . . .	41
Sakit, in Etah district of Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	38 (& f. n. 3)	Shaikh Shamsu'd-Dīn, see Shamsu'd-Dīn . . . . .	
Salher, a fort, in Nasik district . . . . .	43	Shaikhul-Islām, title of Ḥamidu'd-Dīn Suwālī Nāgaurī . . . . .	18 (& f. n. 1), 19, 20
Samana, fief of, in Panjab . . . . .	14	Shams Khān, founder of the Khānzāda line of Nagaur chiefs . . . . .	5
Sambhal, in Morabadabad district of Uttar Pradesh . . . . .	25, 30 (& f. n. 3), 37, 39	Shams Madārī, supervisor of a construction . . . . .	
Sambhar, in Jaipur district of Rajasthan . . . . .	1	Shamsu'd-Dīn, Iltutmish, Mamlūk king, see Iltutmish . . . . .	31, 32
Saran, a district in Bihar . . . . .	37	Shamsu'd-Dīn, Shaikh, title of Shaikh Buddhan Jhujhar Khān . . . . .	41
Sarnaubat, a post . . . . .	64	Shamsu'l-Ārifin, name of the saint Jamālu'd-Dīn . . . . .	40
Sa'ūd Khān, the name Mas'ūd Khān so read . . . . .	39 (f. n. 1)	Sharqī, a dynasty . . . . .	25 (& f. n. 1), 34, 36
Sawai Madhopur, a district in Rajasthan . . . . .	1	Sheopuri, a district in Madhya Pradesh . . . . .	28
Sayyid, a dynasty . . . . .	34	Sher Khān, Mamlūk governor . . . . .	24
Sayyid, poetical name of Sayyid Ismā'il, composer of an inscription . . . . .	50, 52	Sher Khān, later on Sher Shāh . . . . .	25, 27, 28, 29, 30
Sayyid Ismā'il, a composer and scribe . . . . .	49, 50, 52, 54, 55	Sher Shāh, Sār emperor . . . . .	26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 38, 39, 40
Sayyid Jumman Madārī, Mirān, see Jumman Madārī . . . . .		Shighālī, see Ya'qūb Baig . . . . .	
Sayyid Manā Husainī, see Manā . . . . .		Shiqdār, a post . . . . .	13
Sayyid Muzaḥfar, Qutb Shāhī nobleman . . . . .	61	Sikandar, Lodi king . . . . .	25, 26, 27, 34 (f. n. 2), 36, 37, 38
Sayyid Rustam Khān Dakhani, see Rustam Khān . . . . .		Sikandar-i-Thānī, title of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji . . . . .	3, 4
Shāh 'Abbās, king of Iran, embassy to . . . . .	64	Sind, province of, now in Pakistan . . . . .	5
Shāh 'Ālam II, Mughal emperor . . . . .	66, 73, 74, 75	Sirāj, father of Mu'ayyad and son of Fakhr . . . . .	12, 13
Shāh 'Ālamgir, see 'Ālamgir . . . . .		Siwalik, hills . . . . .	5
Shahbāz Khān Nūhānī, Khān-i-A'zam . . . . .	29 (& f. n. 1)	Siwana, in Jodhpur district of Rajasthan . . . . .	23
Shāh Faḍlu'llāh Goā'in, see Faḍlu'llāh . . . . .			
Shāh Jumman Madārī, see Jumman Madārī . . . . .			

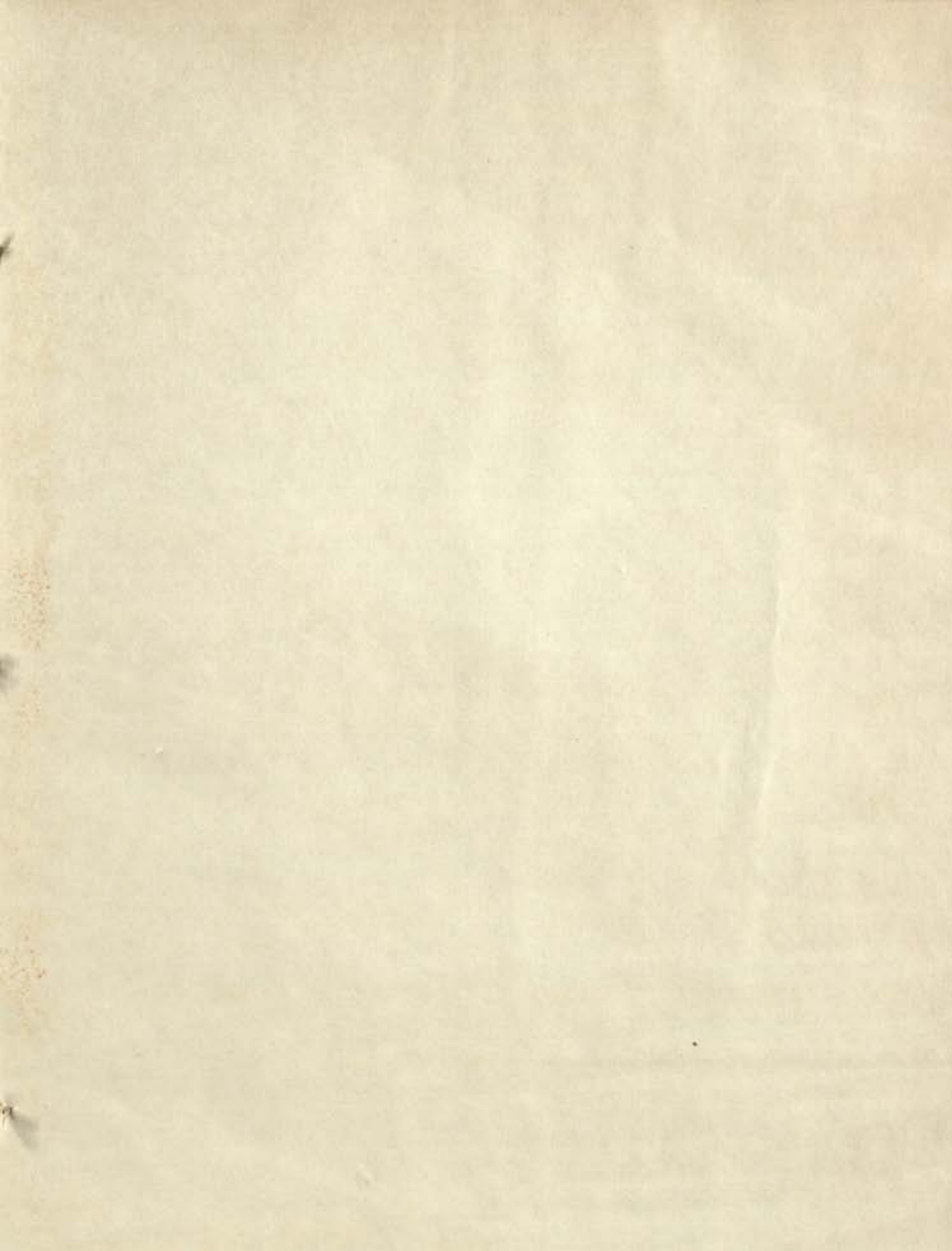
















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